LANGUAGE USE AND MODE OF COMMUNICATION IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN NYANZA PROVINCE, KENYA

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR PHILOSOPHIAE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS, UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE.

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ABSTRACT

**Language Use and Mode of Communication in Community Development
Projects in Nyanza Province, Kenya**
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The concept of community development is founded on the premise that changes in the living conditions of people are best effected by the people themselves. The term community evokes the idea of a homogeneous social group who can recognise their common interests and work together harmoniously for their common good. The concerns of the leading development agents and donors in the past two decades have been on empowering communities to participate in their own development by taking control of decisions and initiatives that seek to improve their living conditions. The zeal to address these concerns has in the past decade been pushed with such resounding statements that people's participation in development projects has not only been seen as a basic human right, but also as an imperative condition for human survival. It has been strongly argued in the UNDP reports that the overall development strategy is to enable people to gain access to a much broader range of opportunities.

From this perspective, development as a social activity seeks to ensconce economic liberalisation, freedom of association, good governance and access to free market economy as the guiding tenets of an improved life in all communities in the world. The realization of this dream posed a major challenge to many governments in the Third World and the 1980s saw the emergence of 'associational revolution' – the proliferation of small-scale non governmental organizations (NGOs) with relative autonomy from the state. The mainstream development agencies perceived the NGOs as the best instruments to instigate changes in the living conditions of the poor and the disadvantaged people. For this reason, NGOs became increasingly instrumental in implementing development objectives in the rural and

disadvantaged communities. Development in this sense consists of processes in which various groups are stimulated to improve aspects of their lives particularly by people from outside their community. This has drawn attention to how these outsider- development agents communicate development information particularly due to the sociolinguistic situation in many rural African communities. The real concern is with is that the target majority of the people in the rural areas are not speakers of the dominant languages of the development discourse, in most cases this is the official foreign languages taught in schools.

Communication is a fundamental part in community development programmes and language emerges as a key factor in effective communication and implementation of these programmes. While it is evident that social interactions are sustained by agreeable communicative principles, the role of language and the different mode of communication applied to development interventions have received very little attention from the parties concerned. This has yielded detrimental repercussions in the quality of interaction at the grassroots level. More often than not, it is assumed that once there is a common language, effective communication will take place and for this reason language use and mode of communication are never given much thought in the field of development interaction.

This is a linguistic study of the social interaction in development interventions in Nyanza Province in Kenya. The study examines language use and mode of communication in disseminating development messages in the communities in the province. This thesis argues that the province has not achieved development dreams set by the many NGOs working in the area due to inattention to language use and communication modes. In order to understand the poverty situation in the province, particularly as reported in the Kenya government poverty reports in the last four years and the UNDP report 2005, this study investigated the interactive process between the change agents and the communities they target to change. Arguing from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theoretical position, this thesis seeks to explain how the opaque and transparent structural relationships of dominance,

discrimination, power and control are constituted, expressed and legitimized in the discourse practices as observed in the interactions between development agents and the target communities. The thesis also applies the tenets of Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) particularly the notion of metafunctions (Experiential, Interpersonal and Textual) to analyse clauses and multimodal texts used by development interactants in the study area. In this way, the thesis explores the how discourse choices, mode of communication, power and ideology impact on meaning making and dissemination of development information.

To be able to investigate language use and mode of communication comprehensively, the study embarked on a thorough examination of development projects' objectives, languages used in development interaction and the modes of communication applied in disseminating development information. This study is therefore situated within the qualitative paradigm and uses qualitative methods of data collection, namely Questionnaires, Key Informant Interviews Focus Group Discussions, Document Analysis and participant Observation, to gather data that is used to advance the arguments in this thesis. While recognizing the fecundity of these tools in exhaustive data collection, the study also used them to triangulate the data gathered thus verifying the data and ensuring reliability and validity.

The data is analyzed qualitatively using an analytical framework developed from two linguistic theories, Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. The analysis reveal that the three modes of communication (the phonic, the graphic and the multimodal) commonly used in development communication in the study area are not common to the target community. More often than not the modes are not sensitive to the cultural and situational contexts of the interaction, thus ignoring the communities' schemata, concerns and preferences. This results into disorder of discourse, which in turn hampers interactive community participation that is deemed critical to community development. Furthermore, the language preferences of the change agents construct development as an elite exercise, thereby stereotyping development as something foreign disseminated by

elites mostly through elitist language (English) and modes of communication. The results reveal that many development projects fail because they are not rooted in the socio-cultural contexts of the communities they seek to serve.

The thesis also concludes that language is a powerful capital that is used to construct and construe reality hence influencing change in social structures and human relationships. This revelation dispels the notion held by many people that language is transparent and has no significant place in development. Language reflects social status and the power imbalances among participants involved in development interaction and this impact on the way development messages are disseminated and interpreted.

Ultimately, the thesis concludes that the language and mode of communication used in development initiatives in the study area, do not aid effective communication and common understanding of development objectives. In some cases the language choice and mode of communication are completely inaccessible/inappropriate to the target group, thus making the projects an end in themselves and an opportunity for the powerful agents of change to manipulate and control the people in the rural communities. In this regard, development projects are not benefiting the target communities and this could explain why the province is ranked among the poorest in Kenya.

Finally, based on the best practices observed from the field and the analysis of some of the communication models used, this study suggests a communication model that can be used to enhance communication in community development interactions. This model recognises the dialectical relation between texts and the socio-cultural contexts that produce them and incorporates all the modes of communication. It is my take that once participants are aware of these features of contexts and how they are manifested in texts, they will be able to select the correct modes of communication and improve their interaction in development projects.

DECLARATION

I declare that *Language Use and Modes of Communication in Community Development in Nyanza Province, Kenya* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other University, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Signed

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Omondi Oketch

Supervisor

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Professor Felix Banda   **May 2006**

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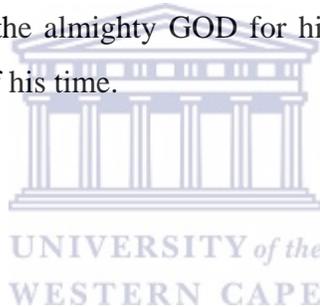
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ABBREVIATIONS

CBO	Community Based Organization
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	Clause
CRCK	Constitutional Review Committee of Kenya
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune Virus/Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
ICRAF	International Centre for Research in Agro-Forestry
IGA	Income Generating Activities
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
KIPPRA	Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis
KPU	Kenya People's Union
MDA	Multimodal Discourse Analysis
NGO	Non-Governmental organization
NP	Noun Phrase
PAMFORK	Participatory Methodologies Forum of Kenya
PLA	Participatory Learning and Action
PLWAs	People Living with HIV/AIDS
PMTCT	Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
SANA	Sustainable Aid International- Africa
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
STIPA	Support for Tropical Initiatives in Poverty Alleviation
TfD	Theatre for Development
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Education and Social Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Education Fund

VP	Verb Phrase
GNP	Gross National Product
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
NIEO	New International Economic Order
BNA	Basic Needs Approach
MDA	Multimodal Discourse Analysis

Symbols

//	Clause

CHAPTER ONE

1.0: BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

1.1: Introduction

Since the mid 20th century the global community has been concerned with the idea of change and growth in all aspects of human life. This period has witnessed the emergence of many organizations and governments in support of development, a term used to mean change, a process of becoming better, and the realization of our true and full potential (Byomantara and Mace, 1997). Development is a process of social interaction that brings people together into a communicative event with the aim of making meaning and exchanging meanings through signs in order to achieve some purpose, usually change in behaviour or improvement of the living conditions of human beings. This purpose is designed to be achieved through a process of activities financed by donors or governments to assist the aspects of growth and change especially in the Third World communities. This study is an investigation of how language use and mode of communication construe and constitute development purpose in community development projects in Nyanza province in Kenya.

Development is a key concept in the western culture and philosophy from which it is understood as a natural process in phases of renewal, expansion, contraction and decomposition which follow each other sequentially according to a perpetually recurrent cycle. In this broad sense the idea of 'development' was central to the nineteenth century social evolution which pictured human history as a 'unilinear' developmental progression from 'savage' and 'barbarian' levels of social evolution towards the 'civilized' status represented by the modern West (Barnard and Spencer, 1996). From the mid-twentieth century, the term development has mostly been used to refer to economic progress generally, involving expansion of production and consumption and rising standards of living especially in the so-called poor countries of the Third World. Lately, it is taken as a mere fact of life

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that all nations must bow to the emerging logic of 'a globalizing knowledge-driven economy' and embrace neo-liberalism (Fairclough, 2004: 4). Neo-liberalism itself is a political project for facilitating the re-structuring and re-scaling of social relations in accordance with the demands of unrestricted global capitalism (Bourdieu, 1998).

In the latter sense, the term development is associated with international projects of planned social change that came into being especially in the period around the Second World War and which saw the beginning of 'development agencies', 'development projects' and later development studies and development communication. It is from this period that development was construed as

> a process of enlarging people's choices; of enhancing participatory democratic processes; and the ability of people to have a say in the decisions that affect their lives; of providing human beings with opportunity to fully develop their potential; of enabling the poor, women, and free independent peasants to organize for themselves and work together (Cowen and Shenton, 1996:3).

Cowen and Shenton (*ibid*) also defines development as "the means to carry out a nation's development goals and of promoting economic growth, equity and national self reliance" (ibid: 3), thus embracing both the economic dimension of development and the recognition of human beings as equal in focus. Generally speaking development is a multi-dimensional concept whose meaning varies along a continuum of disciplines (see Cowen and Shenton, 1996 for detailed definitions of development). However, whatever the discipline, this study recognizes that development encompasses ideological values such as sustainability, empowerment, capacity building, and expanded roles of women, participation, transparency, accountability and equity (Coetzee, 2001; Pieterson, 2001; Cypher & Diethz, 1997; UNDP, 1993). Furthermore, while recognizing these values, the study appreciates the fact that development is perceived variously by scholars in different disciplines. In this thesis, development is perceived and interpreted as "a form of social change that will lead to progress, the process of enlarging people's choices, acquiring

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knowledge and having access to resources for a decent standard of living, and a condition of moving from worse to better" (Coetzee, 2001: 120).

According to Cowen and Shenton (1996), the development era was launched by President Truman of the USA in 1949 when, on the day of his inauguration, he proclaimed:

> We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. The old imperialism is dead-exploitation for foreign profit-has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing (Cowen and Shenton, 1996: 7).

Undeniably, this is the period that saw the establishment of most of the specialized UN agencies. The underlying meeting point of all these agencies was to legitimize a process that aimed at the improvement of human conditions that had been devastated by exploitation through slavery and colonization. Thus, the appalling state and degradation of the human life became a great concern in the Third World countries for the leading organizations. Improving the living standards of the 'poor' nations became an enormous task that required great effort in the form of investments from both the governments of the said nations and foreign aid agencies.

This process of improving the living standards of the poor living in the Third World countries proceeded in two distinct but related dimensions. First, is where people desired to change their state and they were 'helped' to do so by an outside agent, and the second is where people were not given a free choice to develop themselves in their own desired way. In this case they were 'guided' to accept the development agents' view of a desirable change. For a long period of time, the second dimension dominated development design and campaigns in the Third World countries, although with very little impact. It soon dawned on development workers that no one could claim to have ability to develop another person, however much one tried.

Inevitably, this realization affirmed the fact that development is meaningless if it does not stem from the people's own desire for change (Sachs, 2005; Savage, 1997). The realization that development must be people driven re-oriented development practice to focus on efforts geared towards empowering people to take control of their own development destiny.

Many governments, world organizations, Non-governmental organizations, communities and individuals turned to investing enormous amount of time and resources to initiate, support and sustain the process of changing the living conditions of human beings in the Third World from the state of undesirability to a condition of human dignity (UNDP, 2005, 1997; World Bank Report, 1999, 1998). Development adopted the new capitalist ideology passed on to the rest of the world through the hegemonic process of making people believe and accept the values promulgated in the new development drive as universal and normal for everyone (Fairclough, 2004; 1996). This aspect has complicated the concept of change particularly in the modern world where market principles and competition are the guiding cannons driving change.

It did not take long before the leading world agencies and development stakeholders realized that the path to development had remained painstakingly slow in Africa. The goal of achieving development in the Third World is still a piped dream in spite of the enormous resources invested in development. Even the many approaches and methodologies borrowed from other parts of the world, notably South America and South East Asia have not produced the 'magical bullet' that successfully characterized their application in countries where they were lifted. In fact, there is a general growing recognition that neither African governments nor foreign agencies have made significant impact on the quality of life for the rural people (Mackenzie and Taylor, 1992). The deadlines set for realization of development goals by leading organizations like UNDP have been shifting, a case at point being the shift of millennium development goals from 2015 to 2025 (Sachs, 2005).

Slowly but surely it has dawned on development workers that development, perceived from whichever sense, is indeed human centred and as such it involves all the faculties and sectors of the human life. For this reason, it should effectively be aimed at changing the human being (his social, economic, political, environmental, and cultural life) so that he can live an improved life of dignity as spelt out in the many charters of human rights. It is now evident that all the bases of the establishment of world organizations (UN, UNDP, UNESCO, World Bank) implicitly echo the fact that an individual's 'development' defined as "increasing and enhancing human capabilities, affording people access not only to material benefits...but to such intangible benefits as knowledge, and to play a full part in the life of the community" (Wolff, quoted in Musau, 2004: 7) is of great concern. To this end, the organizations work assiduously towards achieving the objectives spelt out in the Millennium Development Goals, which are all human centred. Living a life of dignity has become a right rather than a favour and poverty, and in all its senses (including lack of development), has even been declared a social evil (Mandela, 2005)[1] that must be fought collectively.

But while such proclamations are made and people engage with the idea of realizing development dreams spelt out in the Millennium Development Goals, it must be borne in mind that development is a multifaceted concept that encompasses many nuances of meanings and as such any attempts to define it on purely quantitative terms or from a Eurocentric perspective would be too restrictive. Since people's idea of change differs over time and space, development is best defined in terms of the aspirations and values of people in their own social context, and more specifically at the sub-national scale. As a social act, development is both a process and a product and whichever way one takes it; development presupposes access to knowledge and skills, the capacity with which to combat undesirable human conditions. The process to reaching this desired end is a social one and is, therefore,

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[1] Paraphrased from the speech by Nelson Mandela in Trafalgar Square in London challenging world leaders to "make poverty history" in February 2005.

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of paramount interest to a linguist since it involves human interaction which is mediated by a communication channel and which heavily relies on language.

Language has not featured prominently in development strategies. This could be attributed to the fact that, being so part and parcel of our lives, there is a traditional lack of cognizance that language plays an important role in social change. In fact, the tendency is to take language for granted or dismiss it as commonplace, and see it as transparent, if not irrelevant to social processes. Thus, people tend to ignore the role language plays in carrying information, making meanings, communicating values, attitudes, feelings, ideologies and expressing power and dominion in the field of development. Indeed, this connection has been elusive to many people. The tendency is partly a conceptual problem related to the term development which has hitherto focused more on the product such as improved infrastructure rather than the skills and knowledge that are a prerequisite to achieving the desired change. But, in the last twenty years or so, individuals working in a variety of disciplines have come to recognize the way in which changes in language use are linked to wider social and cultural processes (Christie, 2005; Eggins, 2004; Halliday, 1994; Fairclough, 2004, 1992).
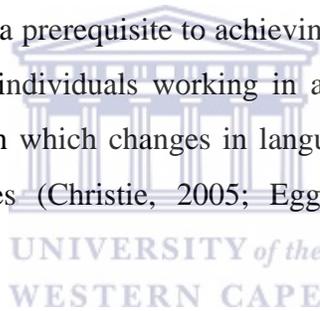
Scholars and development workers are coming to appreciate the importance of using language analysis as a method for studying social change. Language is a basic resource we require to negotiate social relationships with others, to construct our sense of our world by shaping values, meanings and understandings (Christie, 2005). Development involves interactants interacting with concepts to create meanings and messages, construct and reconstruct meanings and values in order to arrive at a common understanding usually witnessed by a common social action. Language is vital to social change because it is the process 'by which persons share information, meanings, and feelings through the exchange of verbal and non-verbal messages" (Klopf, 1998). It is therefore a basic resource that makes this communicative interaction possible, but as stated earlier it is only beginning to get recognition as a significant resource in development.

In the recent past, there emerged great concern from language scholars and indeed other scholars in the social sciences, regarding the role of language in development. These scholars argue that language is at the root of the capacity to be innovative and to participate fully in social activities (Djite, 2005; Ridge, 2005; Prah, 2000, 1998, 1995; Robinson, 1996; Bamgbose, 1991; Ngugi, 1986). By and by it is emerging that it is impossible to "consider uses of language of any kind without addressing the social purposes for which language is used, as well as the social processes that control language facilitates" (Christie, 2005:5).

Inevitably, language is key to social processes and interactions which form the basis of human survival. A destruction of language or the denial of a people's language amounts to denying them the freedom to express themselves. In addition to this, language also plays an important role in maintaining the social order particularly when one considers its communicative function (Omondi, 2000). In recognition of the importance of language to human survival, a number of scholars have argued for the upholding of linguistic rights (Heugh, 2005; Phillipson, 2000; Prah, 2000; 1998; Mazrui and Mazrui, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummings, 1988). The idea of linguistic rights fits in well with the current agenda in development where emphasis is on participatory empowerment and ownership of the process of development by the targeted community. It is a fact that one can only participate actively in a social change if one has the right to, individually and collectively, voice their experiences, using discourse choices and patterns that they are familiar with. Hence, there are strong arguments for the use of local languages as a panacea to achieving a people-oriented development in areas where the majority do not have equal access to the major world languages like English and French. People therefore have a right to use languages of their choice.

This linguistic need has been recognized and eloquently articulated in various charters and declarations. Two cases are worth pointing in this regard: First, the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights of Barcelona (UNESCO, 1996), which states that "overall principles must be found so as to guarantee the promotion and

respect of all languages and their social use in public and private" (cited in Musau, 2004). Secondly, and more relevant to Africa, is The Asmara Declaration on African Languages and Literatures, which articulates many things relating to languages and literature, but of interest to this study is the linking of the use of African languages to effective and rapid development of science and technology (Asmara Declaration, 2000).

As these debates rage on, it is paramount that decisions regarding development processes are guided not just by the theoretical underpinnings of the approach used, but also by practical evidence based on researched cases and findings. As such, a study on the role of language use and modes of communication in the development process is paramount as it establishes the role language plays in the social process of change envisioned in this study as development. Such a study contributes towards sound and proper knowledge of how language and modes of communication impact on social processes such as development.

Since development is perceived as human centred, a study on development process should involve a study of human relations in the process of change. Language, which is basic to human communication and social understanding, is crucial here. A number of scholars (e.g. Wodak and Meyer, 2001; van Dijk, 1998; Fairclough, 1996) have advanced the argument that language is socially situated and as such the texts that we encounter everyday are socially constructed, constituted and determined through language and by language. For this reason, if we want to understand social structures and social processes, then we must turn to language since it is language which constitutes such phenomenon.

This study sets out to critically examine the role language plays in development by analyzing the discourse in development communication. The analysis also delves into the aspects of context such as culture and situation, since language is the embodiment of culture. This study examines the role and the impact of context of culture and context of situation on this discourse in the multilingual context of the

Kenyan society. This study was motivated by the understanding that if development, as suggested by the world organizations, should involve more human participation, then language and communication holds the key to its success. This is because language and development are so interrelated that it is impossible to talk of development without mentioning language and vice versa.

1.2: Background to the development practice in Kenya

Many African governments have failed to transfer their independence pledges and values into positive influence in their governance particularly taking development to the citizens. As a result people are faced with the need to find alternative ways of organizing themselves for the purpose of meeting their everyday socio-economic needs and to think of a long-term and sustainable development. These development challenges lead to the emergence of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and civil societies. The NGOs have been actors on the development stage for several decades now. According to Nyang'oro (1993), NGOs have been involved in development initiatives longer than even the World Bank, the United Nations and any other official aid agency that were established in the period around the Second World War.
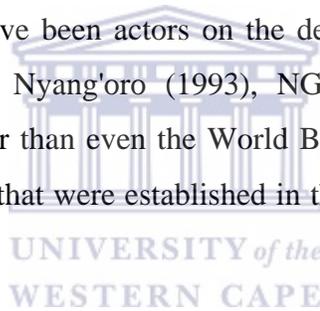
In Kenya, NGOs are best known for their provision of services such as health care, education, poverty alleviation (through establishing income generating activities - IGAs), environmental conservation, water and sanitation. In the recent years, NGOs have covered diverse issues affecting the lives of people especially in the rural and peri-urban settlements in Kenya. The pet concern currently is with "community empowerment through capacity building". This entails equipping the people with skills, knowledge and information that would enable them to make informed choices that, in the long run, aim at improving their living conditions. In this context, there are many organizations ranging from religious to government-sponsored organizations, and even individual driven organizations that are carrying out activities to assist in some aspect of human life in Kenya.

According to the Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA) working paper (2001), there are many programmes aimed at alleviating poverty in Kenya ranging from micro-finance to development projects. However, most of the projects "seem to have problems at the implementation stage, constantly leading to failure to alleviate poverty as envisaged" (p.23). This study hypothesizes that the problem could be lying with the manner in which messages are packaged and communicated in the development programmes.

This study was carried out in Nyanza province, which is one of the eight provinces situated in western Kenya and covers a bigger percentage of the Kenyan shore of Lake Victoria. With a rural population of 2.4 million, the province has high poverty rates across most divisions and locations *(Cf.* UNDP, 2002; Krishna *et al.,* 2003). The province is the poorest in the country (UNDP report 2005) and over 54% of the population has no access to improved water supply facility and yet it has the highest concentration of NGOs and Community Based Organizations (CBOs). According to the NGO Council of Kenya established in 1991, there are over 450 registered NGOs working in various parts of the region, carrying out development initiatives.

With such a high concentration of NGOs and CBOs, one wonders why the area has not achieved much in development. Thus, the study is motivated by, among other concerns, the need to find out why the province lags behind in development. As such, this study sets out to investigate the situation in Nyanza by asking questions such as: Why are the development agents not creating any substantial impact in the area in changing people's living conditions in spite of the amount of time NGOs and CBOs have spent in the region and the amount of resources they claim to have spent and continue to spend? What problems do these organizations face regarding communicating development messages? Do people judge them harshly by labelling them "Nothing Going On" (for the acronym NGO)? Has community development become a source of living for some people hence a calculated move to ensure that the province does not come out from the quagmire of poverty and diseases? What can be done to salvage this situation?

While discussing these questions with some of the development workers in the area it became apparent that, among other factors, there was a language and communication challenge, as we shall see in Chapter Six, Seven and Eight of this thesis.

1.3: Sociolinguistic background

At independence Kenya adopted English as the only official language. This was driven by among other things, the need to link the country with its former colonial masters, the British, the need to keep pace with the fast changing technological and industrial innovations of the modern world, and the need for diplomatic connections and communication with the international community (Musau, 2004). As such, English was to be used in all government offices, in parliament, schools, and courts of law. While English would take care of Kenya's official and external interests, Kiswahili was adopted as the national language, a decision that was founded on the need to have a neutral indigenous language (*Cf.* Nurse and Spencer, 1985). Such a language would be used to consolidate and preserve national unity, act as a vehicle for transformation of Kenyan national culture and history, and to be used during national celebrations and in parliament. Kiswahili was deemed as the right choice since it was already having a sizeable number of speakers and therefore standardizing and teaching it would not pose much of a problem (King'ei, 2004). Further, it was envisaged that the choice of any one of the indigenous languages would provoke social unrest from other ethnic groups whose languages would have been left out. This would be a threat to the young nation's peace and security. Of all the other indigenous languages, Kiswahili provided neutrality beyond reproach at that time.

It is worth noting that the Kenyan language policy dates back to the colonial times (*Cf.* Kenya government Reports, Beecher, 1949 and Binns, 1953). This policy was further strengthened after independence, by the subsequent commissions (Ominde, 1964; Gachathi, 1976; Mackay, 1984; Kamunge, 1988; Koech, 2000) which maintained similar trifocal language policy with minimal adjustments from the

colonial one, notably the introduction of Kiswahili as an examinable subject in schools curriculum in 1984. Every subsequent commission maintained that mother tongue be taught in the first three years of schooling. Kiswahili was to be taught as a subject from grade four, and English was to be taught throughout the schooling system, from class one to the university as a subject, and also used as a medium of instruction.

The status and social functions of the languages in Kenya were thus cast during the colonial era. With a higher status, English provided the best chance to social and economic mobility, Kiswahili would assist one to deal with national issues, while mother tongues was left for use at parochial and domestic domains. As a result mother tongues never gained any social status and recognition apart from being languages of home usage (*Cf*. Webb and Kembo-Sure, 2002). Besides, the political concern with nationalism inhibited the use of mother tongue in public offices or national functions and anyone who spoke his mother tongue in offices was quickly branded a 'tribalist', a term that has acquired a negative connotation in the Kenyan society (Kembo-Sure, 2001). While those who speak mother tongues are frowned at, those who speak English are admired and are even regarded as role models especially for the children in schools.

Through the commissions of education a situation in which everyone wanted to speak English was created, if not for all the advantages that came with it, then for social status and recognition. This raised the clamour in favour of English which was further reinforced in the education system through the infamous disk[2] system that rewarded those who spoke English properly, but severely punished 'linguistic culprits', those who spoke mother tongue in school (Muthwii and Kioko, 2004).

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[2] Disk system refers to the practice of identifying students who spoke their mother tongues within the school premises and punishing them for not speaking English. This involved the use of some ugly bone or wood that the culprits would hang around their necks till they hear someone else speak in mother tongue then they would transfer the bone to him. In the evening the teacher would trace the culprits and publicly punish them before the entire school assembly.

The result of this is a trifocal language situation (Owino, 2002) in which English enjoys higher social prestige, functioning as language of official business, international communication and formal education. Kiswahili comes second as a medium of national communication while the rest of the indigenous languages are vehicles for the less prestigious interaction in the rural and ethnic communities (King'ei, 2004). Mother tongues were thus associated with negative reinforcement and the interest in using it was pushed to the home domain. In fact as this study was going on there was a move by the Kenyan Government to elevate the status of Kiswahili to an official language. It remains to be seen what impact this move will have in the linguistic practice in Kenya now that Kiswahili had grown to force its usage in official circles. While declaring Kiswahili as an official language in Kenya will change the status of Kiswahili and make it even more marketable, this study wonders why such a move was not taken earlier when it has been obvious that Kiswahili has served many Kenyans as a linguistic capital in official function and transactions.

The disturbing situation is that while these two languages are enjoying a higher social status, the vernaculars are suffering a great deal and remain closely associated with ethnic identities and especially ethnic jingoism. While Kiswahili was meant to serve as a language of national unity, the politicians over emphasized this function to the detriment of the development of other indigenous languages. So much is the emphasis on imaginary unity that when one speaks vernacular in public offices or gatherings one is viewed as perpetrating tribal interests hence going against national interests. Schisms are so profound at the political level that even a suggestion by the 2004 Nobel peace prize winner Prof. Wangari Mathaai during the CRCK plenary sessions in Bomas of Kenya, that besides English, Kiswahili and one's vernacular, Kenyans should learn two or three other languages was met by harsh criticisms. It was branded tribalist and dismissed without much debate. Ironically, from the mood of the general public who made calls to the different radio stations on the matter, it was clear that the suggestion was not taken politely. In fact the callers felt the implementation of such a suggestion would take Kenya

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back "to the stone age" at a time when the country is "making progress towards fitting in the new millennium". Of great concern also is the fact that no Kenyan leadership has ever passed any language-related legislation and even the constitution is silent on the subject (King'ei, 2004).

Be that as it may, the dominant languages spoken in the study area are English and Dholuo. Kiswahili is spoken but with very little interest and even where it is spoken, it is often limited to less important social functions like informal chats, talking to the shopkeeper, taxi touts or water vendors. As a language, Kiswahili is rarely spoken among and between Luos, a fact that can be attributed to the following factors:

i.   Kiswahili is Bantu in origin and the Luos are Nilotes, a factor which makes learning Kiswahili a challenge.

ii.   The Luos are more fluent in English and take a lot of pride in speaking English.

iii.   The Luos have negative attitude towards Kiswahili. They associate it with the low and less intellectually demanding duties like working as a houseboy or grounds man, and with the belief that those who speak Kiswahili are conmen.

iv.   The emergence of Sheng[3] especially among the younger generation has also affected the acquisition and use of Kiswahili.

Besides Dholuo, Ekegusii and Kikuria are also spoken in the province (see language map on page 16 of this thesis). Olusuba was once spoken in the islands of Mfangano and Rusinga, and parts of the present day Suba district. But, with a total population of less than 60, 000 people who are basically assimilated by the dominant Luo culture, the language has been listed as one of the endangered or

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[3] This is a mixed code with lexical items from English, Kiswahili and other Kenyan languages (mainly Dholuo and Kikuyu) superimposed on to the Kiswahili way of building sentences or English way of building sentences loosely called 'Engish' (Webb and Kembo-Sure, 2002). Though originally spoken by the youths, it is currently spoken by a large percentage of the adult population.

extinct languages (Ogechi, 2003; UNESCO, 2002). Kembo-Sure (2001) reports that only a few old people speak the language and indeed the field experience reveal that the people in the district largely speak Dholuo and subscribe to the dominant Luo culture. However, in the recent past the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Kenya Institute of Education (K.I.E) embarked on efforts aimed at 'resurrecting' it through writing of documents such as bibles and developing of Olusuba primers and orthography. But even such efforts are doomed to fail especially bearing in mind that K.I.E has not trained teachers who are expected to use the books written on Olusuba.

1.4: Geographical and demographic details

As mentioned earlier, this study was carried out in Nyanza province in Kenya. The province borders Lake Victoria and is situated in the Western part of Kenya with its headquarters in Kisumu city. The city is the third largest in Kenya and was named the first millennium city[4] in 2006. The province covers almost the entire shoreline on the Kenyan side of Lake Victoria and is administratively divided into twelve districts namely, Siaya, Bondo, Kisumu, Nyando, Homa Bay, Rachuonyo, Migori, Suba, Kuria, Kisii, Gucha and Nyamira. The dominant cultural group is the Luo who occupy Siaya, Bondo, Kisumu, Nyando, Homa Bay, Rachuonyo, Migori and Suba districts (see map on districts on page 16). The Abagusii and the Kuria occupy the other districts that is, Kisii, Gucha, Nyamira and Kuria respectively. The 1999 census puts the Luo community at the total of 4,392,196 people. This ranks them the fourth largest ethnic group in Kenya after Gikuyu, Kamba, and Kalenjin ethnicities.

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[4] Kisumu city was declared the millennium city on the 24th January 2006 by the special advisor to the UN Secretary General, Jeffrey Sachs who challenged the city to work towards meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). http://www.unhabitat.org/kisumu_millennium_city.asp
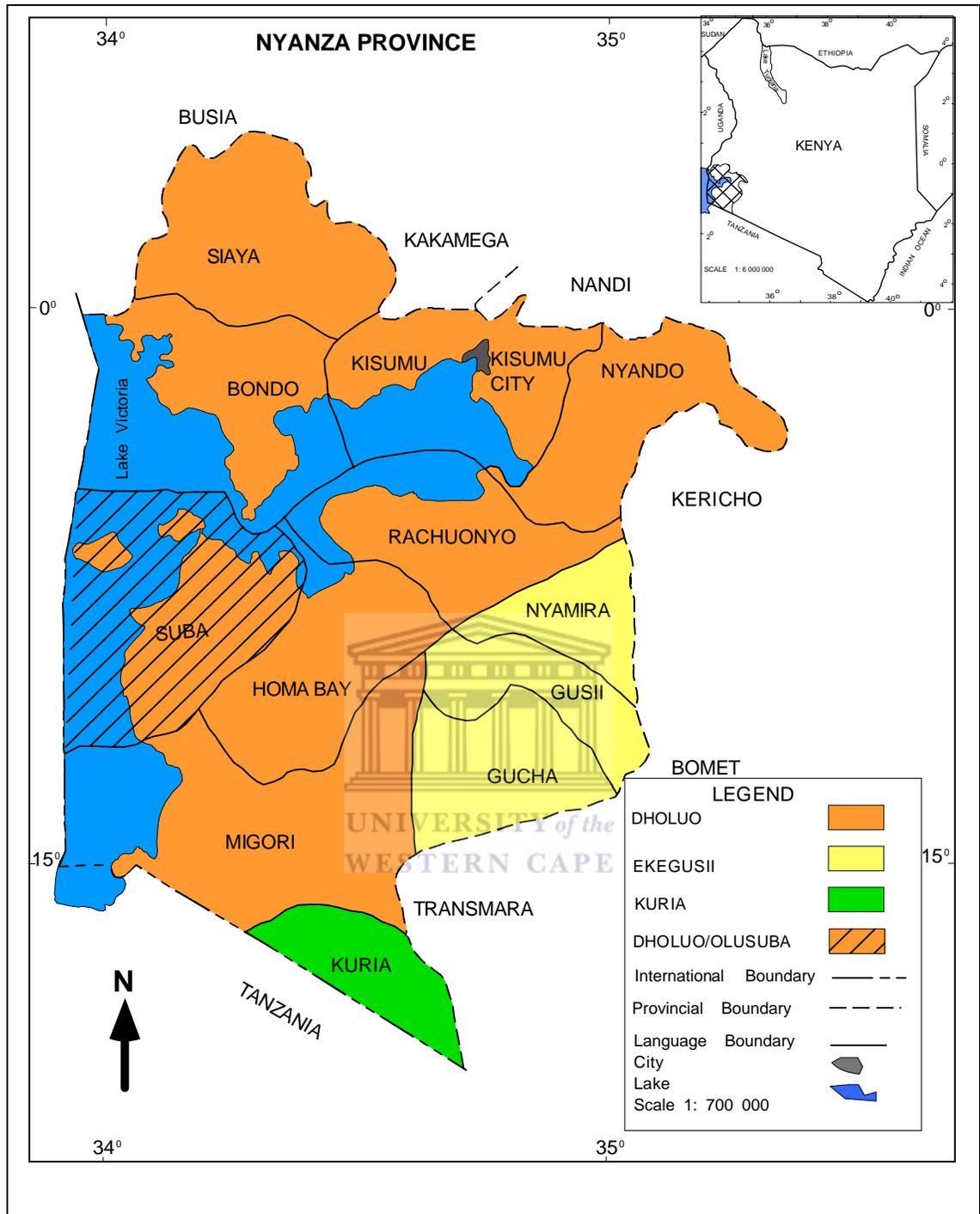
Map 1: The dialectical map of the study area (Survey of Kenya, 2005)

This province experiences many challenges ranging from environmental degradation, as a result of air and water pollution, to poor crop yields as a result of poor weather, which is also responsible for flooding or soil erosion and, in some

areas, dry spells of draught. Other challenges include water borne diseases, livestock infections, socio-cultural challenges, the devastating effects of HIV/AIDS and poor infrastructure. The Kenyan geopolitics has also played a major role in economic and infrastructural state of the province. This can be traced to ideological differences between leading nationalists in Kenya particularly between the first president of Kenya, the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and the then Vice President, the Late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. The differences culminated in the formation of Kenya People's Union (KPU) as an opposition to the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU).

The sympathizers of KPU, mainly Luo who supported Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, were harassed through politically orchestrated violence while at the same time the KANU government discriminated KPU strongholds economically (wa Mutisya, 1997; Ajulu, 1995). The decamping of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga from KANU to KPU slammed an economical and development embargo for the province. As a result the region has lagged behind in all sectors of national development. And even though fishing in Lake Victoria and Sugar cane farming are some of the main economic activities in the province, they do not yield enough to support the demands of the growing population. The long political marginalization and complete government neglect has had negative development impact in the growth of industries. Kisumu Cotton Mills (KICOMI), Miwani Sugar Factory and Kisumu Breweries stand out as white elephants that dot the poverty landscape.

1.5: The Socio-historical bio-data of the target group

According to Greenberg (1963) Dholuo is a language spoken by the Luos. They belong to the Western Nilotic sub-branch of the Nilotic branch of the Eastern Sudanic division of the Chari-Nile sub-family of the Nilo-Saharan language family. Kokwaro and Johns (1998) grouped the Luo with the Dinka, the Nuer, the Atwot, the Shilluk, the Anyuak, the Jur (Lwo), the Barun, the Thui, the Bor Bellanda, the Acholi, the Jo-Paluo, the Alur, the Langó, the Jo-Padhola, the Peri, and the Kenya-Tanzanian Luo. The Kenyan Luo are said to have arrived in Nyanza in four broad

clan groups namely, Joka-Jok, Joka Owiny, Joka-Omolo and Joka-Suba (Ogot, 2004). Many clans and sub-clans inhabiting a large part of Nyanza province have come from the four main groups and some have even spilled over to settlements in Musoma, Tanzania.

Traditionally, the Luo are a pastoral community and their settlement around Lake Victoria (originally Nam Lolwe) was driven by the need for pastoral ground and fishing space. The Luo are very proud of their culture and strongly identify with a sense of belonging to their clans. Among the Luo, a clan is a broad group of people sharing the same lineage and can identify with one ancestor in whose name the clan is referred. Where the lineage is more than ten generations there are sub-clans that are basically consisting of several families, but who have strong bonds that prohibit close inter-clan marriages. Traditions, beliefs, taboos and norms are deeply engrained in the Luo cultural practices. Previously, all activities revolved around clan and sub-clans, however this is beginning to shift slowly to the family unit mainly consisting of brothers, cousins and their immediate families (Ochola *et al*., 2004). The Luo culture is therefore a collectivist culture emphasizing group success and communal assistance as virtues to be upheld.

The Luo customs and traditions (*Luo Kitgi gi Timbegi*) cover virtually all aspects of life. The Luo have a solid structure and plan in almost everything such as ownership of property (e.g. land), the control of natural resources (e.g. forests and water sources) or even in the construction of a homestead (*ibid*.). The Luo community is a highly patriarchal society where men have absolute control over property and are the final decisions makers in the community. The women may access property such as land or even animals, but have no control over such resources. This gender socialization disadvantage women as far as control of property and decision making in the home and community is concerned.

1.6: Development intervention and practice in the area

The challenges discussed above have attracted a number of development agencies in the form of Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and numerous community development consultants actively involved in various forms of development. According to 2004 NGO-Network for western Kenya database, there are 342 registered NGOs and over 300 CBOs working in the province. This number represents only those development agents registered with the network. There are however, many other organizations working in the province from other parts of the country notably Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya. These development agents are engaged in various community development projects spanning a wide array of social, political, environmental and economic issues such us gender sensitization, poverty alleviation, HIV/AIDS, agro-forestry, environmental sensitization, water and sanitation, reproductive health, and civic education.

A good number of these development projects are headed by non-Dholuo speaking Project officers who rely on their junior colleagues and the educated consultants to translate the ready made materials from English into Dholuo for "easy access" by the communities (Alumasa, 2003). This has not been fruitful because such junior colleagues and consultants are mainly town-bred elites who are seldom competent in the target language or the communicative practices of the people they interact with. The observed practice is that of using Dholuo-English code switching and Kiswahili as a way of communicating with the communities. The assumption is that many people in the province are educated and will understand such code switching.

According to *The Link*, a local newspaper, (January, 2005 edition), a lot of NGOs are locally perceived as dubious. The paper reports of the Provincial Commissioner, Nyanza province, expressing outrage over the bogus NGOs who have 'mushroomed in the area in recent years but who lack physical addresses and viable contacts'. The paper reports further that the government will keenly monitor such NGOs, which 'exist only on elaborate proposals, but do no real work on the ground'.

Apart from linguistic barrier there is also the issue of cultural discord between the development agents and the targeted communities that affect the way the agents package the messages. Most of the development workers are elite urbanites and they unconsciously carry their urban and elite sub-culture into the communities. As a result, some communities have resisted their (agents) well-intentioned activities citing arrogance and show offs as reasons for the resistance. For instance, the development agents go into the communities driving big project vehicles, carrying expensive cell phones, and bottled water, while in some cases the female development workers wear trousers and other modern body-revealing clothes that are culturally and customarily unaccepted by the targeted rural communities.

This is a typical urban fashion that is interpreted differently in the rural villages. To make matters worse, some of the agents do not understand neither do they appreciate the communities' cultural practices such as greetings. For example, greetings in the communities in Nyanza involve shaking hands and preparation of the way before one can embark on the issue under focus. So if, as many urbanites are orientated, one does not pay attention to such details, communication may not be smooth. Many communities in the rural Nyanza do not appreciate women who wear long trousers and they associate females who wear trousers with loose morals. Such association impacts on the way they relate to the agents and how they interpret and interact with the information in the communicative event. Still, some of the agents are from the community, but they cannot speak Dholuo. This is often interpreted as a sign of arrogance, and disrespect to the community especially if they are aware that the agent is from the community. Such factors present communication barriers to development information dissemination as discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.

In sub-Saharan Africa formal education is still a domain of the privileged few who reside mainly in urban centres and speak the languages of their country's former colonial masters such as English and French. Such foreign languages are often the language of instruction in schools. The majority of the rural populations do not

speak these foreign languages because many of them have not had the chance to acquire formal education. It has been argued that the use of indigenous languages can fulfil the role of opening up people's capabilities through allowing them to openly express their experiences in the manner they find natural and easy (Prah, 1995). On this argument Bamgbose (1994:42) wrote:

> Foreign ideas, concepts and technology will undoubtedly be imported in a foreign language, but such concepts must be transmitted to the masses in a language that they can understand. The economic miracle achieved by countries such as Japan is not based on a widespread dissemination of English; rather it is a result of the domestication of foreign technology in Japanese, and the translation of the productive processes into terms that the ordinary factory hand can understand.

The implied suggestion here is that communication between two groups of people should be interactive so as to allow the participants to challenge, agree or come up with new meanings that are understood by all. This is similar to the participatory approach to development which is premised on the practice of consultation and involvement of the local communities in the decision-making processes on issues that affect their daily lives. In addition the participatory approach also incorporates any emerging concepts in a framework of multiplicity of views. It stresses the importance of cultural identity of local communities and of democratization and participation at all levels. Freire (1983) one of the founders of this approach refers to it as "the right for people to individually and collectively speak their world" (p.7).

The development workers or change agents have thus increasingly incorporated the use of different methodologies such as theatre for development (TfD), participatory rural appraisal (PRA), participatory learning and action (PLA), which aim at transactional interaction with the community, hence participation. The application of these methodologies seek to promote more understanding of the diversity of people's living conditions and to help in creating avenues for improving the dignity and quality of people's living conditions. Such interventions are viewed as the

panacea to forestalling and improving the infinitely cyclical snare of poverty and limited capabilities of people living in the Third World communities. PRA is specifically seen as the 'magic bullet' with which to combat development agenda (Cornwall, 2000).

These approaches focus on people, who are recognized as the ultimate beneficiaries of real 'development,' a term conceptualized in this study as the expansion of human capabilities. True development is therefore perceived as being people centred and often involves activities directed at the fulfilment of human potential and improvement of their social and economic well being (UNDP, 2005). The bridging link in this process of consultation and involvement of the communities in making decisions regarding their destiny is effective communication between the development workers (in most cases the educated change agents) and the targeted rural populations (mostly less educated). Invariably, the visualized communicative model is the social interactive communication in which people are allowed to voice their own views using linguistic resources that are best applicable in the people's own setting. Such progress relies on proper understanding of the project goals and mutual intelligibility between parties involved. This then places language and communication squarely at the centre of development process.

Another dimension to development practice perceives development as something that comes from 'outside' into the community. Development here is equated with 'taking' progress to the poor rural communities using 'tried and approved' tools and methodologies from other parts of the world notably Europe, South America and South East Asia (Burkey, 1993). The direct transfer of foreign/eccentric methodologies and manuals in foreign languages to the rural community presents communicative and linguistic dilemma for the agents who are neither proficient in the indigenous languages nor conversant with the communicative traditions and cultural practices of the rural communities. They, therefore, insist on using English because the development messages are written in English. Secondly, English is the language they are comfortable in. Essentially, this approach weakens systems of

traditional knowledge resources and power structures, and becomes an attempt at transferring new culture to the targeted rural people. This aspect poses a cultural conflict. The community feels that they are being used to further courses and activities which do not benefit them. Furthermore, it has been argued lately that the actors of change remain the people themselves, and their local languages help them to contextualize knowledge and bring up ways of engaging with the knowledge (Djite, 2005; 1993), thus increasing participation (Robinson, 1996; Cornwall, 2000).

Also, part of the dilemma is due to the fact that the target communities in the rural and peri-urban areas are not proficient in the English language. This calls for translation/mediation of the concepts from English to a language that the target communities can relate to and understand. The inability of the agents to bring development knowledge to the communities in a language that the communities understand has resulted into miscommunication and misrepresentation of vital messages, which in turn, has resulted into delays, failure and even withdrawals of some projects from certain areas in western Kenya.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that there is a gap in these two approaches with regard to communication and language use and even the understanding of development concepts and processes. Whereas the participatory approach to development advocates the use of local resources, the agents do not treat the people's local languages as a resource and this raises the question as to whether one can participate in any social interaction if one lacks proper command of the language and communication skills used in the interaction. Secondly, the other approach that views development as a foreign notion that must be "taken to" the poor communities does not involve the people in the process of change, let alone appreciating their languages as a resource needed in effecting change.

This study explores language use and modes of communication in development projects among the Dholuo speaking communities in Nyanza Province, with the aim

of identifying areas that pose communication difficulty and suggesting ways of easing such difficulties. It examines the intended development related message in both oral communication and mediated communication, and how the selection of signs constructs reality and position participants in the interaction. By so doing, the study targets the process of meaning making, meaning negotiation and interpretation between the communicators in development project in Nyanza Province in Kenya. However, since we "cannot not communicate" serendipitous or accidental communication, that is, the unintentional message which communicators stimulate in the minds of others without having any intension (Klopf, 1998) is also examined insofar as it impacts on the intentional message.

1.7: Statement of the problem

Language, communication modes and materials used by development agents in development projects in Nyanza province are not only incomprehensible, but also foreign to the target Luo community. This leads to misunderstanding, non-understanding, misrepresentation and misinterpretation of development messages which in turn causes delays in project implementation, distortion of the intended message, withdrawals of planned projects, shifts in development goals and lack of development in the area. Attempts to transform the texts in the foreign language into a local language for common meaning making are not successful due to lack of translation experts. This study investigates language use and modes of communication that are commonly used by development agencies in the target area in meaning making and dissemination of development information. The focus of this investigation is to identify the challenges experienced by the communicators and to suggest a locally appropriate communication model that can be applied to bridge the gaps and challenges in meaning making and disseminating development information.

1.8: Aims and objectives

The aim of this study is to critically examine language use and modes of communication in community development projects in Nyanza province, Kenya. In

order to achieve this broad goal, the study specifically focused on the following objectives:

i. Identifying various modes of communication used in disseminating development information and evaluating their impacts on development information dissemination in the target area;

ii. Identifying and describing linguistic and communication gaps in the identified modes of communication;

iii. Identifying and analyzing solutions applied to address the gaps;

iv. Analyzing the role of culture in development information dissemination;

v. Determining the extent to which expert knowledge given by the development workers can be disseminated in the local language; and

vi. Suggest a locally appropriate communication model for interaction and information dissemination in community development projects.

1.9: Assumptions

This study is premised on the following assumptions:

i. That language plays an important role in communicating development information.

ii. Effective communication can enhance the grasp and of development concepts.

iii. Linguistic and communication disparity hamper effective dissemination of information in development projects in communities in Nyanza province.

iv.   The technical words and foreign languages present semantic noise (lack of comprehension of the terminology) to the target communities.

v.   A proper understanding of a people's culture is crucial to initiating changes in their lives.

vi.   There is no established literacy practice in the target communities to support the use of some of the modes applied extensively in disseminating development information.

vii.   There are no Dholuo translated versions of the information materials used in disseminating development messages and attempts to translate material have not been fruitful because;

    a.   Development agents are not compound bilinguals thus lack expert knowledge in translation.

    b.   The target community cannot comprehend the spoken and written English language used in disseminating development information.

1.10: Justification/Significance of the Study

The UNDP Reports (2000, 1996, 1990) are awash with examples of countries that have recommended the building of local capacity for poverty alleviation with a sharp focus on a more participatory and cost-effective approach as a capacity development for poverty alleviation model. The capacity of provincial, district and local communities have been set up to implement governments' strategies to provide the 'poor' with quality need-based social and economic services. Accomplishing this goal entails empowering the poor to participate more in the development of their communities. Since the poor are, in most cases, illiterate and speak none of the languages in which development concepts are expressed, it is only logical that they should use their languages to participate in these development

endevours. Participation encompasses physical, social and intellectual involvement, which is mediated by language. This study is a strong case for the re-focusing on the role of language in meeting this objective.

In the recent years, there has emerged a belated recognition that language issues can no longer be ignored in the development equation if for no other reasons than that the world's poorest countries are amongst the most plurilingual (Robinson, 1996b: Grimes, 1996; Watson, 1998). And from Bamgbose's (1991) observation that there is a correlation between illiteracy and poverty, and literacy and economic growth, this study will provoke the need to refocus on the role of local languages in reinforcing information flow and easy access to expert knowledge required in development. This will also press for the need for 'scientificating' local languages that is equipping the local languages to be able to meet the demand of technological advancement, and address the challenges of the modern world.

Given that a big percentage of the 'poor' and marginalized people in the world are in the regions of the world where there is a diversity of languages and where knowledge, let alone use, of international language is often non-existent (Robinson, 1996a; Blake, 1993; Mackey, 1993), there is a need to develop the local languages if grassroots development aimed at improving the lot of the poor is to have a chance of rapid success. Moreover, it has been argued that a country can achieve faster development if it uses its own language, as is the case with developed countries, such as Russia and Japan (Robinson, 1996; Bamgbose, 1994; Fishman, 1968). This must not fail to recognize the fact that such countries have strong economies and can support the development of such languages.

In recognition of the fact that language use is linked to wider social and cultural processes (Fairclough, 2004, 1992; Thompson, 2003; Wodak, 1996; van Dijk, 1989) this study appreciates the importance of using language analysis as a method of studying social and economic phenomenon such as development. The study becomes the first of its kind, in the area, in absolving language as a mere

transparent thing that is used to transmit ideas about social content. The analysis of language goes beyond the social content and provides a clear picture of how the society operates. In addition, this study will contribute to the understanding that good development practice must be based on an understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of the approaches used.

The study is cognizant of the fact that development can only occur if there is mutual intelligibility between the development agents and the targeted community, and as such the study hopes to offer suggestions on appropriate development communication model. The current study differs from other studies done within this field in the sense of being the first of its kind to link development communication to contextual and cultural aspects of language using SFL and CDA as theoretical underpinnings.

Furthermore this study hopes to provoke the need to engage linguistic expertise in community development by highlighting the best discourse practices applicable to development practice.
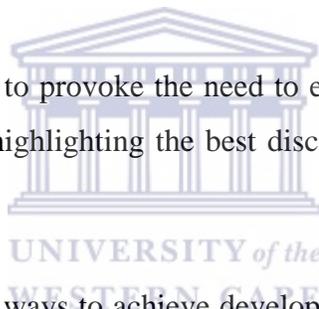
Lastly, as debates on the best ways to achieve development rage on, it is important that development practitioners are guided in their decisions by properly researched experiences. In this regard the study will contribute towards having proper and appropriate tools that can be used to disseminate development information; otherwise the 'poor' emerging economies especially in Africa will continue to lag behind insofar as development is concerned.

1.11: Scope and Limitations

The study was carried out in Nyanza province among the Dholuo speaking communities, where there were ongoing development projects. The study focused on four ongoing projects in the province relating to poverty alleviation, HIV/AIDS, environmental conservation and agro forestry and Water and Sanitation.

The study examined two forms of communication, the oral communication and the mediated communication hence focusing on three modes of communication: The phonic (spoken), the graphic (written) and the visual semiotic texts (multimodal texts) as used within the cultural context of the communities in the study area. The study specifically analyzed language use at the level of ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions, and how power and ideology are embedded in the texts used in information dissemination in the study area.

A study of this magnitude will seldom lack limitations. First I will note that the biggest limitation in this study relates to the limited finances that threatened to undermine the exhaustive and sound undertaking of the gritty details of the anticipated data. However, even though financial constrains hampered the planned and exhaustive gathering of data relating to the variables in the study, sufficient data was gathered over a long discontinuous period of time and used to advance the arguments in this study.

Secondly, some NGOs were reluctant to avail documents for analysis and as such the researcher relied on the use of questionnaire, interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation to gather data. Nevertheless, restricted access to such documents did not undermine the focus and objective of this study since, where applicable, some of the reports were found in NGO network library and the Action Aid library.

Thirdly, accessing permission to carry out research in some of the NGOs proved too expensive time-wise due to institutional red tape. In such instances, the researcher abandoned them and used other NGOs who met the criteria of selection.

Fourthly, due to the continued practice by NGOs of giving handouts as incentives to the communities, the researcher was often asked to provide handouts in exchange for information. This proved to be a big challenge taking into consideration the limited funds and ethical considerations as stated in the ethic statement (see

Appendix 1). As a way out of this, the researcher accompanied the development workers during their field trips and used interactive participant observation to gather data and establish links with the target people who were later engaged in the study.

Lastly, even though the researcher had set out to study the ongoing development projects in Kisumu district, at that time, it turned out that the identified organizations did not restrict their projects to the confines of administrative boundaries and as such the researcher went further a field to get informants and gather data in areas where the organizations worked. It also turned out that Kisumu city, being the main urban centre in western Kenya, only houses many NGO offices and many of them are not necessarily implementing development projects within the district. This proved expensive since my budget was based on the locale of Kisumu district.

1.12: Research design and methodology
This section highlights the methodological procedure, tools and techniques that were used in the study. It also highlights the sample population.

1.12.1: Sample size
This study conducted purposive sampling of the target community in order to determine the sample population of the targeted development agencies and agents in Nyanza Province. The sampling considered:

i.   Two categories of NGOs carrying out development initiatives in the province; those that work in the rural areas and those that work in the peri-urban (slums) in the outskirts of towns in the province. The researcher intended to find out if there existed any difference in their discourse practices in the two areas.

ii.   Projects that have used participatory methodologies in the last five years.

iii. Projects run by international NGOs. This was mainly because such organizations' employment policy is not limited to people from a specific area hence are likely to employ non-native speakers and they are the most heavily funded organizations.

iv. Development consultants who have worked in the area with at least three projects.

A total of six organizations were identified. The researcher then embarked on setting dates with the various projects directors/coordinators for self-introduction and explaining the purpose of the study and also to seek permission to be allowed to carry out research within the organization and in their project areas. Upon being granted permission, the researcher embarked on the visits to NGO offices and in the fields with the aim of interviewing key informants, holding discussions with groups of informants and observing communication and language practice in these different settings. A great deal of time was spent in the various NGO office libraries doing document analysis of relevant literature and also in workshops where community trainings took place.
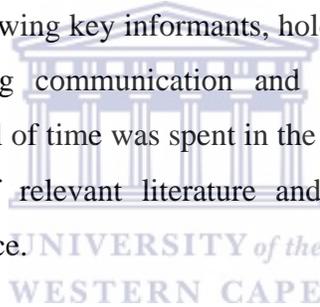
The researcher first administered a total of 60 questionnaires to the opinion leaders (CBO leaders, religious, teachers, women groups, youths and administrators) and implementing agents in order to gather information regarding language choice, strategies of meaning transfers, role of culture in message delivery, language preference and modes of communication. The preliminary data gathered from the questionnaires provided some leading clues as well as some grey areas in the data gathered. These were then followed up using Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) (see Appendix 1 for tools and Appendix 5 for sample data from selected sessions).

A series of key informant interviews were conducted as a way of triangulating the data, especially the ones gathered using questionnaire and the field notes taken

during field visits. The key informants provided information on project objectives and message receivership by the targeted community. They also defined and elaborated concepts that came up in the questionnaire. Information on the different modes of communication used in information delivery, availability of translators', and the role of cultural knowledge in interethnic communication was also explained. All the discussions were audio recorded using a digital voice recorder and later transcribed.

I also organized focus group discussions to verify the information gathered from the key informants as well as those from the questionnaires. This tool provided information on modes of communication, development objectives, medium of implementation and strategies, understanding of the project goals, harmonization of development concepts, and assessment of the impact of modes of communication and the information disseminated. The discussions were audio recorded and later transcribed. In cases where the interviews were conducted in Dholuo the data was first translated into English before preliminary analysis was done.

Within eight months in the field, a total of 20 key informant interviews were conducted, 6 focus group discussions were held, 60 questionnaires were administered and 20 different posters, brochures, pictures of billboards and notices were collected. The brochures and posters are written in the three main languages namely English, Kiswahili and Dholuo while some are also written in Sheng (see Appendix 2 and 3).

1.12.2: Data Analysis

The experience in the field was not a unidirectional process that followed a straight line of inquiry, rather the data collection was sometimes gathered informally through talks, and in a number of occasions, there was a back and forth method of re-visits and sometimes even re-interviewing people that had already been interviewed. This "pendulum" methodology comprehensively assisted in clarifying, verifying and validating the data collected.

This being a qualitative study, qualitative analysis technique was applied when analyzing informants' responses. Data analysis began in the field where it was subjected to critical evaluation and examination. The data was rationalized through a systematic and logical examination hence avoidance of prejudice and precipitancy. Even at this early stage the data gathered was analyzed based on the objectives of the study. When field work was completed data was organised into categories based on commonalities and emerging themes and explained descriptively using the analytical framework developed for this study. This is discussed in detail in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

1.13: Structure of the Thesis

Chapter One introduces the general background information regarding the topic and the geographical area of the study. General introduction on language use, communication and community development debates are broadly explored while the social-linguistic situation in Kenya is presented with specific emphasis on policy and practice. The chapter provides a description of the activities of development agents (NGO and consultants). This is followed by the statement of problem, objectives of the study, research questions, the rationale and the scope and limitations. The research design and instruments of data collection are briefly highlighted, followed by chapter layout in the thesis. The chapter ends with a conclusion which highlights key issues covered in Chapter One.

Chapter Two critically reviews literature on operational concepts notably development, community development, and development communication.

Chapter Three reviews literature on participation and participatory methodologies, communication and debates on language in development.

Chapter Four discusses the theoretical and analytical framework that informs this study. The chapter explains two theories viz., SFL and CDA, then summarises the relevance of the theories to this study. The chapter ends with the analytical framework used in this thesis.

Chapter Five describes in detail the fieldwork experience, recounting the process of data collection and data coding. It examines the data collection tools and reports on each of the tools used as well as the type of data gathered and the methods of data analysis applied in the interpretation and analysis of the data. Lastly, the chapter points out the research limitations and problems encountered in the field.

Chapter Six presents a detailed summary and discussion of the findings in the field. It also provides answers to the research questions and objectives as stated in Chapter One. It specifically discusses the sample type and the interpersonal relations between the participants with regard to power and ideology.

Chapters Seven provides the analysis of the phonic and the graphic modes used in disseminating development information.

Chapter Eight discusses the multimodal channels used in disseminating development by focusing on the genre mixing and how the link between the modes is interpreted.

Chapter Nine presents the conclusions of this study based on the analysis discussed in Chapter Six, Seven, and Eight and provides the implications of the conclusions in the context of community development. This chapter also explains the proposed model of communication in development projects and outlines recommendations of the study.

Lastly, set of appendices is presented at the end after the bibliography section.

1.14: Conclusion to Chapter One

This chapter has presented background information to the study by highlighting the picture of development and activities aimed at achieving development goals in the study area. It has pointed to the fact that there is no synergetic meaning to the term development. Further to this, the chapter provides a working definition of the term development as is used in this thesis. The sociolinguistic practice, health concerns, economic and geographical conditions have been discussed as well as the difficult conditions of poverty and environmental degradation. These conditions, as we have seen, are responsible for the emergence of NGOs and civil societies in the area. All these change agents have spent enormous resources and time in attempting to reverse the situation and improve the living conditions of the residents.

An assessment of the number of NGOs, the amount of time and resources that have gone into the area in comparison with the development indices, has been shown that there is a disjuncture in the expectations of the community and the so called empowered NGOs particularly insofar as the development information is communicated. Development means different things to different people and each group is driven by divergent interests. Furthermore, we have seen that the language, materials and strategies used by development agents in the area are not tailored to encourage interactive communication critical to the needs of the target communities. For this reason, I argue that there is a need to examine the mode, the tenor and the field of discourse in the study area against the background of historical experiences, socio-cultural milieu and ideological interplay, in order to find out the possible cause of lack of development in the area. This, I have suggested, would lead to appropriate framework for dissemination development information in the study area. The chapter has also highlighted the research plan (see Chapter Five for details) for fulfilling the set objectives.

However, all the issues raised in this chapter need situating within the existing literature in order to ascertain the existing gap between development practice and

language use and mode of communication. In Chapters Two and Three, I review literature related to the concerns of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1: Introduction

As indicated in Chapter One, this chapter reviews literature that informed this study. Since the study is about information dissemination in development projects, this chapter mainly reviews literature relating to the concept of development. It traces the origin of the practice of development and some of the theories that have emerged in the field of development so far. Further, the chapter explores the concept of community and community development and places it within the perspective of the study. Lastly, the chapter reviews literature on development communication and draws conclusions.

2.2: Development

The field of Development is a veritable jungle inhabited by theories and counter theories, approaches, paradigms and programmes of all sorts (Hettne, 1982; Burkey, 1993). Development is a broad concept applied variously by different people from different disciplines to mean different things (Shenton and Cowen, 1996). Thus, any attempt at a concise definition of development risks being a narrow fallacy in view of the diverse conceptualization of the term. Be that as it may, scholars from a cross-section of disciplines appear to agree on certain basic tenets that underlie the conceptualization of the term development.

The UNDP Report (2005) highlights pivotal constructs of development anchored on key issues such as social progress (including greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services), growth with equity participation, and freedom (particularly empowerment, democratic governance, gender equality, civil and political rights and cultural liberty). Other issues include, sustainability (for future generations in ecological, economic and social terms), and human security (security in daily life, against chronic threats like hunger and abrupt disruptions such as

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joblessness, famine, conflict). These tenets are currently considered central to human development. From these, it is evident that development involves a multidimensional process of structural transformation which implies acceleration of economic growth, improvement of quality of life and reduction of inequalities (Kishe, 2004). Development thus implies a collective experience in which there is equal access to quality life driven by access to knowledge and available resources.

The centrifugal force motivating the drive for development is the recognition that change is a constant phenomenon in the lives of human beings and that it follows a trajectory of linear progression from undesirable state of affairs to a desirable state of affairs across all spheres of human life (Coetzee, 2001; World Bank, 2002, 2003, 2004; UNDP, 1997, 2001). Development is thus conceived as an irreversible change for the better in human condition, in other words, development is conceptualized as being people-centred and indeed the UNDP, an international organization in the forefront for championing development, conceptualizes it as human development. Undeniably, this is a shift of paradigm from the early Western conceptualization of development that advocated for values such as universalism, centralization, scientific knowledge and technological process, and economic growth (Ferrinho, 1980; Fishman, 1989) all associated with the modernization theory of development.

The concept of development has undergone numerous changes over the years as evidenced by the number of theories that have emerged to explain the different points of view and methodological applications in relation to development. Historically, the conditions surrounding the post-Second World War period ushered in a new wave of political agitation and social reconstruction across Asia, the Caribbean Islands and Africa. This period saw the advent of freedom movements and subsequent independence in many countries in the regions mentioned. The former protectorates and colonies became sovereign states. This period also saw the emergence of the major world development agencies such as the World Bank, UN, UNESCO and UNDP, who have been instrumental in shaping the modern

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conception of development. From developmental studies, this period is identified as the beginning of great concern with the idea of development in the world (Burkey, 1993; Coetzee, 2001). In the following sections, I discuss some of the theories that have emerged in the field of development so far.

2.2.1: Modernization theory

The idea of transition and social change is central to the dominant thoughts in the theory of modernization. Modernization as a theory of development dominated the period between the Second World War and the end of the 1960s, as the most popular theory of social interaction. This theory is rooted in the experiences of the Western economic histories emanating from the emergence of capitalism and the advent of industrial revolution. These two factors were seen as the logical paths that would impel societies towards a particular direction of change. Capitalism and industrialization were seen as the yardstick with which modern societies were measured. They distinctively formed the basis on which the West construe development.

The theory postulated a polarized juxtaposition of a traditional and a modern society each with its own attributive characteristics. In this case, states could become modernized through a linear progression or transition from a traditional society to a modern society by introducing variables such as industrialization, democratization and secularization. Modernization was seen as a 'transformation which takes place when a traditional or pre-modern society changes to such an extent that new forms of technological, organizational, or social characteristics of "advanced" society appear,' (Coetzee, 2001: 27).

Thus modernization involved societies striving to become like the industrialized nations or drastically undergoing a transformation that would make them modern. Development became synonymous with economic growth (see *ibid*) and was associated with progress and higher levels of civilization such as liberalization, justice, equality and communality. Development was further envisaged as growth, a

concept that was seen as 'a natural process which would be nourished through the application of correct and timely inputs' (Burkey, 1993:27), while at the same time it could be impeded by bad conditions. It was argued that if such constrains were removed, the process would continue smoothly (*ibid*).

Modernization was also characterized by increased social complexity, control of environment, increased specialized adaptation, production and absorption of knowledge, rational understanding and flexibility and social maturation (Coetzee, *Op. cit*). This implied that for a society to be modernized, it would 'totally transform itself from a traditional or pre-modern state and embrace new technological, organizational and socially to reflect the characteristics of constituting an advanced society' (*ibid*: 30). Literally, modernization meant a process of 'bringing–up-to-date' the older things so that they can stand the test of modern times (see Chodak, 1973). This implies, insinuating a replacement of old things with the new ones, a trend which has been carried on to contemporary perception of development as we shall see later in Chapter Six.

The application of this theory thus involved the gradual replication of this process in the less developed countries to an extent where they could increase levels of savings and investments and individually reach a take-off point into self-sustaining development (*ibid*). Development was thus, envisaged as a mere assumption of qualities of the industrialized nations through a mathematical calculation of the population growth, the available capital and the output ratio of the desired rate of growth. This was to be achieved through a combination of domestic savings, international investment and international Aid, a process that was seen as enabling growth through stages and ultimately bringing benefits of modernization to the entire population.

Before long, however, it became apparent that the developing nations had unique traditional structures that failed to coexist with the relatively advanced and modern techniques that were being transferred from the West. The proponents of the theory

blamed underdevelopment in the developing countries on traditional and what they referred to as 'backward' sectors. This argument has been carried on to contemporary times where as Sachs (2005) points out some people see traditions as a hindrance to the implementation of development in the emerging economies especially in Africa. The proponents of modernization instead proposed reduction of population growth in the developing nations, improvement of health facilities, introduction of new seed varieties as a panacea to growth and development in the emerging economies. But even such proposition failed to redeem the Third World countries from the snare of underdevelopment and the optimism of the 1950s and 1960s fell apart. Instead the world was faced with empirical realities of growing poverty, marginalization of some communities, mass unemployment and recurrent starvation crises (Coetzee, *Op. cit*.).

The so-called 'green revolution' confirmed that even though growth was taking place in many countries during this period, there was no development; instead poverty escalated in the 1980s resulting into negative growth and debt for the developing countries became a crisis. The modernization theory to development therefore failed to account for development in the Third World countries and instead plunged African countries into the 'aping' culture of trying to be what they are not. Traces of these consequences are evident in many African countries where anything foreign is deemed as advancement and blindly adopted as a sign of development (Coetzee, *ibid*; Burkey, 1993).

2.2.2: Dependency theory and World System theory
In response to the failures of modernization theory, two closely related theories emerged from the Marxist tradition to explain development. Andre Gunder Frank propounded Dependency Theory in his famous work, *Capitalism and underdevelopment in Latin American* in 1969 and Immanuel Wallerstein proposed the World System theory in a book titled *The modern world system* in 1974. Luminaries associated with these theories include Raul Prebisch, Paul Baran, Paul

Sweezy, Oswaldo Sunkel, Fernando Cardoso for Dependency theory and Samir Amin and Ernst Mandel for World System theory.

These two theories were influenced by Systems Theory which advances the notion that there exist various relationships between parts and wholes. Coetzee discusses the implication of the term system using the analogies of a body and its parts, and family and its members. He observes that a system is "a regular pattern of interrelated parts" (2001: 81) and goes on to discuss five principles which are critical to the nature of Systems thinking. First is that parts are interconnected and interdependent. Secondly the systems include powerful nodes. Thirdly, the systems emerge out of ways in which parts are integrated. Fourth, this systemness has a certain force and logic of its own and that this unconscious system power is not the same as that exercised by powerful individuals. And fifth, that the systems can be seen to have sub-systems and it is often difficult to decide when two or more parts become integrated into one encompassing system (*ibid*). It is against the backdrop of these principles of systems thinking that the theories are judged.

Dependency and World System theories stood in bold opposition to modernization theory in emphasizing the fact that the world is the basic unit of analyzing development rather than the individual countries or economies promulgated by modernization theory. Frank stresses that capitalism as a practice has a destructive effect on the development of the Third World countries. The theory posits that the transfer of and emphasis on the use of Western practices and ideologies such as capitalism are actively responsible for the underdevelopment in the Third World countries. Development in the 'core' countries and underdevelopment in the 'peripheral' countries was seen as two sides of the same coin, and one was responsible for the other. For instance, the unequal trade conditions favoured the 'core' countries that got the raw materials from the 'peripheral' countries cheaply, but sold the manufactured goods to the same countries expensively. Thus, over time, "the prices of primary goods fell while those of finished goods rose leading to the chronic imbalance of payment problems for peripheral countries" (*ibid*: 82).

This is exploitation which was possible due to the distortion of peripheral economies crafted to serve the interests of the Western systems.

Dependency theory, in particular, questioned the assumed mutual benefits of international trade and development asserted by the European and America proponents of the modernization and growth theories. The proponents of dependency theory argued that the unstructured free markets were definitely dominated by the industrialized nations, who benefited from the international trade, while the peripheral nations did not. They went ahead to show that it was not possible to have an equal opportunity to trade in the free markets because there exist power dimensions which hold the systems of economies in specific places, thus a country would not just develop 'at will'. The market pitched unequal dealers in an exploitative relationship where one side's advantage was the other's disadvantage and with this scenario capital was continually transferred from the periphery to the core (*ibid*: 82). This system turned out to be exploitative while the perceived interdependence between states was a one-way traffic that affected the Third World countries while benefiting the core countries. The unequal power between the developed and the developing countries has a great impact on the general direction that development takes. It is one of the concerns of this study to find out how this power imbalance impacts on language use and interpersonal relations in the development interactions in the study area.

Developing nations in Latin America are an example of conflict of paradigms. Their feudal traditional agrarian societies did not merge proportionally with the new capitalistic paradigms transferred from Europe and America. This trend created dependency on the industrialized nations by the developing countries. The unequal trade opportunity led to the affirmation that the social economic dependency (a form of neo-colonialism) intensified underdevelopment in the developing nations. The proponents strongly argued that the root cause of this situation lay in the imbalance between the centre (industrialized nations) and those in the periphery (developing nations) insofar as economic and political power was wielded. The

suggested way out of this was through 'industrialization by import substitution, planning and state interventionism in general and regional integration' (Burkey, 1993:28). They also suggest that a revolution is also a possible way out of this exploitative snare. In spite of these efforts, the theory proved inadequate even to some of its earlier proponents and failed to construct a working theory of development. Hettne in Burkey (*ibid*: 29), points out that:

> So much stress was put on the external obstacles to development that the problem of how to initiate a development process, once those obstacles were removed, was rather neglected. In fact one gets the impression that development perspective implied in Dependency theory was the modernization applied to isolated national economy.

Once again the suggested solutions to the Dependency quagmire failed to yield any tangible effects, instead 'industrialization through import substitution' proved difficult for the developing nations given that the existing internal markets were too small to yield any tangible profits that would jump-start the overburdened economies. Besides, the need to import technology and other factors of foreign exchange proved elusive and unaffordable to many developing nations. The dream of proper planning and state intervention was not successful either, instead it "created paralyzing bottlenecks and inefficiencies" while regional integration was agonizingly slow or non-existent (*ibid*). By this time the realization that no one can develop the other had began showing. But, despite this realization, many NGOs working in the Third World countries still embraced the 'relief intervention' attitude of providing help to the poor communities. This became the genesis of a dependency syndrome among the rural communities in Third World countries and the belief that development must come from outside or must be done to a people.

Wallerstein, the leading authority in the World Systems theory, explained development and underdevelopment using the world as a system bound together by the logic of capitalism. Development could therefore be achieved through increased trade linkages between countries. He connected his theory to the more recent

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globalization and world polity theories which are seen to have an advantage over the dependency theory in explaining development and underdevelopment. While retaining the notion of interdependence, he came up with a threefold stratification of the system which included the core, the periphery and the semi-periphery. He argued that the semi-periphery occupied the intermediate position between the core and the extreme peripheral, both politically and economically.

This notion does not absolve the core countries from exploiting the peripheral countries; instead the core exploits the 'semi-peripheral' while the semi-peripheral exploit the peripheral. The semi-peripheral states also act as a buffer for the core countries thereby playing a crucial stabilizing political role in the world system (Wallerstein, 1981). However, the role that the semi-peripheral countries are playing is not clearly defined in this theory and it is just another form of exploitation except in this case, the semi-peripheral is doing the 'dirty' job for the core countries. It is a case of each part fulfilling its interest rather than benefiting the whole. Semi-peripheral countries are fulfilling certain needs, a phenomenon which does not occur in proper systems.
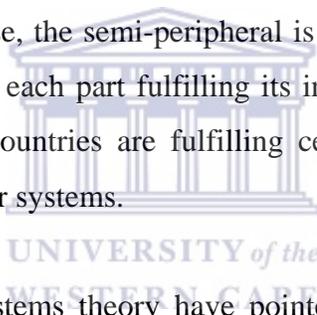
The critics of the World Systems theory have pointed three areas in which the theory fall short of explaining development and underdevelopment. First that, the theory does not allow sufficient space for development to occur especially given the mechanisms of exploitation and development. Secondly, the theory presents the boundaries between systems as being too easy and simplistic, while in reality system integration is not that simple. Lastly, the theory is criticized for emphasizing economy at the expense of other dimensions such as cultural, military, information and politics (Coetzee, 2001).

2.2.3: World polity and Globalization

Two attempts emerged to conceptualize development as encompassing the areas left out by the theories I have discussed above. The first one is the world polity theory which proposes that a set of influential norms operate at a global level and that

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explains why there are similarities in institutional practice across the world. The theorists here assert further that there exist global norms that prescribe to individual and state actors on how to think and behave. This is ideological hegemony that seeks a universal status in the way people should live (Butler *et al*., 2000; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). The second one is the globalization theory which contrasts the former theory by stating that "despite the existence of a global culture there are distinct differences between nations" (Coetzee, *Op.cit*: 93; also see Savage *et al*., 2005 and Ekins, 1995). This contradiction is however answered by the existence of a vibrant global cultural difference that is nurtured and promoted by the global culture.

Whereas the world polity theorists advance the fact that 'global norms provide the ground rules for the structure and behaviour of all social units' in which equity and progress are institutionalized, globalization theory, by contrast, asserts that the "unit of analysis is the entire globe, perceived as a single social system with distinct properties, which constrain and enable all other social forms as politics and cultures" (*ibid*: 93). Globalization thus explains the existence of differences between cultures and polities despite the influence of global systems (Beyer, in Coetzee, *Op. cit*: 94).

Robertson (1995) discusses globalization as a process concerned with globally understood forms of meaning. To him therefore people are aware of the global culture through a subjective consciousness of the interpenetrative global system, which is not a hegemonic extension of one particular culture. Globalization extends to all cultures through relativizing identities such that we can only define our identities by using the global system of societies while individual identities must refer to 'humankind' (ibid). Accordingly, therefore, globalization universalizes the particular and particularizes the universal (Beyer in Coetzee, *Op cit*). In the context of this study it implies that development refers to some target practice that every society must strive to achieve in their localities, but in line with what goes on in the

rest of the globe. This study examines whether this is achieved through the various participatory methodologies.

From the foregoing discussion we can see that although globalization is primarily about market unification there is a trend towards cultural uniformity which threatens the existing cultural practices in emerging economies. And it is no better than the modernization theory in pushing for one hegemonic culture based on western ideals and practices like democracy, new capitalism, equity and good governance. In this regard, globalization theory differs from the global interdependence theory which incorporates a universal approach to development where the centre and the periphery are viewed as having a symbiotic relationship. This was precipitated by major economic crisis in the 1970s notably, the oil crisis that saw an increase in prices of goods and services, droughts in sub-Saharan Africa, American debacle in South East Asia, and the wave of right wing military coups in Latin America (see Burkey, 1993). It became evident that even western industrialism was vulnerable to unstable natural resources, especially cheap energy. The backlash of this was the emergence of deplorable economies of the Third World oil-importing countries, unemployment and inflation in the industrialized countries (see *ibid*).

This situation nurtured the advocacy of global interdependency. New development strategies emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Two strategies are worth noting in this regard. New International Economic Order (NIEO) was formed to favour, support and encourage the developing nations in world trade, and the Brandt Commission report *North-South: A Programme for Survival*, proposing a massive transfer of financial resources to the poor countries (ibid.). Like the other two theories, even the Global interdependence theory failed to realise development in the Third World, instead the proposed strategies only sunk the dream of economic growth in the Third World nations as the West continued to exploit their powerful trade position (Sachs, 2005).

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2.2.4: Alternative theories of development

The concern with theoretical debates of the 1970s led to a refocus on the process of development and focus on how development should take place rather than how it actually takes place. This was termed the normative approach and it stood in contrast with the positivist approaches elaborated above. There emerged a paradigm shift in the concept of development with the normative focusing more on the content of development, hence the purpose and meaning of development, rather than the form of development relating to the mobilization of the productive forces of development such as labour capital and trade.

This approach narrowed development to the attainment of basic human needs; Burkey (1993:30) observes that:

> …the Cocoyoc Declaration adopted at symposium in Cocoyoc, Mexico, in 1974 is an important example of this normative approach…it was declared that a process of growth that did not lead to fulfilment of basic human needs was a travesty of development.
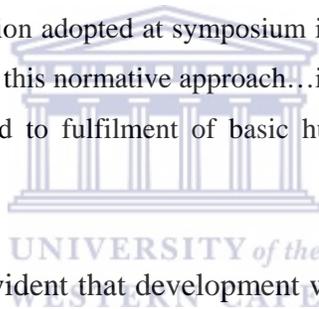
By this time it had become evident that development was not only about economic advancement, instead a shift in focus sought to place human beings at the centre of it. Further, the meaning of 'basic needs' extended to include freedom of expression and self-realization in a work place. In addition, there was need for the rich to reconsider over-consumptive modes of living that violate the 'inner-limits' of man and the 'outer-limits' of nature.

Aletrnative approach to development theorizes that development should be need-oriented and focused on meeting both the material and non-material human needs. It should be endogenous that is, it should stem from the heart of each society; be self-reliant; be ecologically friendly and based on structural transformation as an integrated whole. Accordingly therefore, there can never be a universal path to development and every society must find its own strategy. However, in as much as

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the above suggestions contributed to the understanding of the debates on the process of development, the existence of power inequalities has grossly hampered the process of achieving development goals. In many communities, the powerful elite still prescribed development initiatives to the poor community who are caught in a catch 22 situation. They must accept the ways proposed by the elite and be exploited or refuse and continue to wallow in poverty and gross inhabitable human conditions. The tenets of this theory have been used by elites to exploit the poor uneducated masses in the name of people-driven development (Ekins, 1995).

2.2.5: People-Centered approach

The concern with development and particularly the human development approach arose as a result of growing criticism of the leading development approach of the 1980s, which presumed an automatic link between economic growth and human advancement and saw human activity as only important in the production of wealth (Coetzee, 2001). It became apparent during this period that certain prevailing factors were militating on the leading and accepted approach to development with such great impact that could no longer be assumed. Factors such as the belief in the power of market forces to spread their benefits and end poverty, predominant since the Second World War, proved to have limits and the human cost of Structural Adjustment Programmes were increasingly becoming apparent. Moreover, social ills (crime, weakening of social fabric, pollution, etc.) were still spreading even in cases of strong and consistent economic growth (Burkey, 1993). A renewed wave of democratization in many parts of the world raised new aspirations for people-centred development models. As a result of this recognition, an alternative development model arose to define human development as

> a process of enlarging people's choices and building human capabilities (the range of things people can be and do), enabling them to: live a long and healthy life, have access to knowledge, have a decent standard of living and participate in the life of their community and the decisions that affect their lives (UNDP, 2005).

This is a human-focused and people-centred conceptualization of development and its uniqueness is in the fact that it does not impose strict adherence on specific dimensions to human development. Instead, this conceptualization, as UNDP contends, allows defining dimensions of development to evolve over time and to vary from country to country. Moreover, UNDP visualizes Human development as different from other forms of development approaches that equated development to economic gains. This departure is credited to Mahbub al Haq, the Pakistan economist who founded Human Development Reports in the 1980s, when he said, "Today, it's widely accepted that the real purpose of development is to enlarge people's choices in all fields: economic, political, and cultural. Seeking increases in income is one of the many choices people make, but it's not the only one" (Brown, 2005).[5]

UNDP proposes an action-oriented development approach that is more holistic and integrated in striving to find a close connection between efficiency, equity and freedom. This implies that constant effort be directed towards the building of human capacity by strengthening their unique abilities, increasing their knowledge, skills and awareness in order for them to organize themselves, identify and use their capacities to determine their own values and priorities and institute collective action (Eade and William, 1995). At best, it recognizes that there is no automatic link between economic growth and human progress and that development is more than economic growth and income. This approach to development emphasizes the expansion of people's capacities so that they are aware of their resources and can utilize them to make informed decisions on issues affecting their lives in their own unique circumstances. How this dream is achieved is the focus of this study, hence an investigation and examination of the modes of communication and language use in the dissemination of the development information and knowledge.

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[5] Quoted in a statement by Mark Malloch Brown, UNDP Administrator, Paris, France, 17 January 2005

It follows therefore, that development is about people and how they come together to instigate positive changes in their lives and their societies. As such, the equation of development with tangible material structures or with economic evaluation based on per capita, gross national product (GNP) and per capita domestic product (GDP) as we have seen in modernization theory, dependency theory and the world systems theory is intolerant to other important dimensions of life such as politics, culture and information (Coetzee, 2001; Bamgbose, 1991). In addition, no one can determine what development is for a group of people, since each community is unique in both its needs and resources (Sachs, 2005; Hall, 1997). Seth in Burkey (1993) captures this in the following lines:

> The problems of the rural poor, in the final instance, cannot be solved by anyone but themselves, and all solidarity efforts must be aimed at strengthening their own capacity for independent action (Seth cited in Burkey, 1993: 40).

It must be noted however, that people cannot just wake up one morning and decide to change their lifestyle. They need to have the capacity to identify problematic areas in their lives and initiate a sustainable change. A lot of time this instigation is initiated from outside the community usually by the educated members of the community working in collaboration with development agents, such as non-governmental organizations, churches, or even the government. Development in the sense described by UNDP above, presupposes some level of literacy since it implies acquisition of skills and specific knowledge. However, whether this can only be done by personnel trained in formal education remains to be investigated.

Nonetheless, in recent times, the World Bank (1990; 1995) has argued that, from the evidence of the most economically developed nations in the world, there is a close link between economic development and literacy. As such, a lot of development initiatives tend to focus on the knowledge and skills development of the communities. Since most of the rural poor have not had formal education, the elite trained in the Western tradition and sometimes even in Western countries have

hijacked the process of development in many rural communities (Alumasa, 2003). But how genuine these elites are in targeting changes in the living conditions of the people in the rural communities is highly questionable. This aspect is examined in Chapter Six of this thesis.

2.3: Community and Community development

2.3.1: What is it?

Literature in the social science discipline attests to the chimerical task of attempting a concrete definition of the term 'community'. There are as many definitions of the term as there are disciplines. For instance, economists emphasize work and markets, sociologists emphasize social interactions and networks, while geographers emphasize spatial aspects in their definitions of communities (Kumar, 2005). The diversity of definitions is well captured in Hillery (1955) who as early as the 1950s came up with ninety-four different definitions of 'community' as applied in scientific literature. He points out though, that all the definitions used social interactions, people and space as defining characteristics of a 'community'.

Even though the last three decades has witnessed a budding number of development projects in various parts of the Third World tagged with a prefix 'community', the term 'community' still remains elusive and difficult to clearly explain. Agrawal (1999) explains this paradox astutely in his observation that the complexity and heterogeneity inherent in the term present acute concretizing challenges. He argues that even though such challenges make it difficult to define or measure the term 'community', its centrality to everyday life means it cannot be disregarded. Young (1990) attests to the same argument when he points out that there is no mutually universal concept of the term, instead different definitions can only complement one another.

However, that capturing the fundamental nature of the term has proved unsuccessful (see Gauld, 2000) does not imply lack of interest in the concept. Bell and Newby (1974) document the many attempts at defining the concept and the

failures therein. Kumar (*Op. cit*) even suggests that focus should be more on the use of the term rather than on actual lexical meaning. It is clear from the above that the term encompasses numerous meaning nuances that are not easily captured in a single definition. This is an avenue through which many communities have been exploited in the name of development.

Burkey (1993) draws attention to the fact that most westerners and development workers are urban dwellers who have no experience at all of what rural community means. He attributes this to education and the urban culture of openness and relative freedom to pursue individual interests. Such people, he says, perceive rural communities as a homogeneous group of 'friendly, warm hearted natives living together in harmony, oppressed by their poverty, and perhaps also their ignorance, but working together and trying to make the best out of the situation' (ibid: 40). This mental image of the village has, to a large degree, determined the approach to development work in rural areas. Burkey calls this approach the harmonic model of community development.

The model visualizes a 'community' as a unified, organic whole, using locally evolved norms and rules to manage resources sustainably and equitably. Some scholars have pointed to the fact that this perception to community fails to recognize that communities are in fact heterogeneous entities with various competing and conflicting interests spanning multiple levels of interaction, such as economics, social interactions, cultural practices and politics (Burkey, 1993; Agrawal and Gibson, 1998). Such conflicting interests play acute role in equitable resource distribution and prevent the poor from benefiting genuinely from the projects. Community development Project initiators often take these details for granted, yet they are critical to the success of development initiatives in the rural areas.

Although much of the current writings on community-based initiatives assert the central role of 'community' in the success of community projects, they hardly

explain precisely what role community plays in the process of development. It is assumed that readers will infer what 'community' means and work out the role it plays in development. However, Agrawal and Gibson (*ibid*) observe that in the field of conservation studies a bundle of concepts associated with space, size, composition, interactions, interests and objectives have been used to refer to the 'community'. These are further grouped into three defining concepts namely, spatial unit, social structure and a set of social norms that are then used as the basis of policy in community development. It is evident from the studies, that these parameters are merely listed without articulating their effects on community project success and resource utilization. This offers a weak foundation upon which to base policy (*ibid*).

The basic sense of 'community' assumes a homogeneous group, bound by common territory and interested in common goals. Thus, development agents and donors have taken for granted that 'with a little training and sufficient funding, the villagers will come together, work together and everyone will benefit' (Burkey, 1993). The resultant practice has been lack of exploration of the relevance of such harmonic models to communities. This failure to specify the conceptualization of 'community' has rendered many community development projects ambiguous with regard to whether 'community' is meant to be a means or an end to a development programme (Cooke and Kothari, 2001).

Since the thrust of my investigation is on the modes of information dissemination in community development, I take the term community to refer to people who live in a specified geographical area, sharing common norms within a socially acceptable structure and to whom development initiative was directed. I am cognizant of the nuances of meanings inherent in the term 'community' as I have discussed above. However, for the purposes of tracing a development initiative from the NGO to the recipients my working definition here suffices.

2.3.2: Some views on the origins and development of community development

The current conceptualization of 'community' has roots in the community development movement that emerged in many Third World countries in the 1950s and 1960s. Midgley (1986a) in Swanepoel and De Beer (1998) traces the practice of community development to the history of early civilizations when mankind initiated actions in which groups or parts of groups benefited in some way or another. This is very similar to the merry-go-round practice in some rural communities in Kenya where a group of people, usually women, contribute a certain amount of money weekly or monthly, and give to one of them to use in meeting her felt needs. In this sense, the idea of community, as a group of people living in the same locality with shared values and needs, is applicable. This communal practice is not unique to the western tradition, as it has been practiced widely in all communities in the world.

Swanepoel and De Beer (1998) discuss the history of community development by pointing out the different authors who have attempted to trace the origin of community development. For instance, Swanepoel and De Beer point out that some American authors have attributed the origin of community development to the practice of agricultural extension, instituted in 1870 in the United States (see Cornwell, 1986; Mayo, 1975). Similarly, Phifer *et al.* (1980) trace the origin of community to the United States with the Country Life Commission report in the 1908 and the 1914 Smith-Lever Act. The authors allude to the fact that this was the origin of Cooperative Extension Service that aimed at establishing community organization to promote better living, better farming, more education, more happiness and better citizenship. This study finds such traces important to the understanding of the history of community development in other parts of the world, but disagrees with any attempt to interpret 'community development' as having originated in one part of the world. Each community can trace its own development without using the western historical experience and documentation as the starting point.

The early history of community development, as documented in Swanepoel and De Beer (*Op.cit*), emphasized thematic concerns such as the use of local resources, the need for an integrated approach, focus self-sufficiency and attitude change. This development reached its peak in the 1950s and 1960s (p, 3). Similarly, Cornwell (1986) documents the perception of community development in the British colonial Africa and observes that 'community development' denoted government programmes aimed at the stimulation of local initiative for community self-development efforts. Swanepoel and De Beer point out that such definitions failed to say what 'community' is besides failing to recognize the diversity of people in a social setting. For this reason such colonial initiatives failed to impact positively in the living conditions of people living in the rural Third World.

Korten (1980) gives the example of the Ford-Foundation funded project in Ettawah district of Uttar Pradesh in India in 1948, as the project that brought community development into international prominence in the late post-colonial era. This project embraced a problem-oriented framework which identified people's needs, emphasized strong personality of the project leader, and worked with carefully selected and well-trained officials who were responsible for the project implementation. It is from this time that development initiatives recognized the need to engage trained development agents. The role of such change agent was to stimulate the participation of the community in development projects most of which were designed and planned from 'outside' the community by outsiders who thought they knew the needs of the community (Swanepoel, and De Beers, 1998).

These scholars argue that whereas some proponents saw community development as a method to bring about "desired change", others (Roberts, 1979) saw it as a process in which local (or community) groups could take the initiative to formulate objectives involving changes in their conditions. The latter position supports an earlier comment by Brokensha and Hodge (1969: 48) that community development "is the educational process by which people change themselves and their behaviour, and acquire new skills and confidence through working in cooperation". This

debate on process and method lost its vigour as concerns shifted towards the question of whether the community is the master or the client in development (Swanepoel and De Beer, 1998).

In the mid-1970s the World Bank and the International Labour Organization (ILO) developed another approach to community development that focused on eradicating poverty. The basic needs approach (BNA) emphasized a shift from a preoccupation with means to a renewed awareness of ends (Ruttan, 1984). However, as Swanepoel and De Beers underscore, "while focusing on the what (basic needs), the BNA never really developed a methodology of how to achieve the satisfaction of the basic needs" (1998: 5). As a consequence this approach lost its appeal in the 1980s. Nonetheless it is accredited with contributing to the idea of participatory development in which the poor are allowed to define and control their own struggle (Wisner in Swanepoel and De Beer, 1989).

This study concurs with the scholars who argue that 'community development' did not generate the frenzied levels of worldwide interest that exists today until the 1980s when participatory methods came into prominence (Kumar, 2005; Guijt and Shah, 1998; Chambers, 1994). It is after the late 1980s that the term 'community' began featuring outstandingly in the discourse of development.

Development projects are conceived in this study as those social initiatives involving the 'community' (see working definition above) in a skills and knowledge based exercise aimed at empowering them to improve their living conditions. The practice draws people from diverse backgrounds and different social status such as, the academia, civic leaders, activists, professionals, the non-educated members of the communities in the rural areas. These people are involved in activities that seek to empower individuals and groups of people, with the skills they need to voice their own concerns, improve their lives, and provide communities with access to resources.

Community development practitioners are often involved in organizing meetings and conducting searches to identify problems, locate resources, analyse local power structures, human needs, and other concerns that comprise the community's character. 'Community development' as conceived in this study refers to the long-term process whereby people who are marginalised or living in poverty work together to identify their needs, exert more influence in the decisions which affect their lives and work to improve the quality of their lives, the communities in which they live, and the society of which they are a part. It also entails a variety of activities done within or on behalf of a community to add to or enhance it in some way (Burkey, 1998).

2.4: Information and Communication for Development

This section reviews literature on information and communication for development. This section is important to this study given the growing emphasis put on knowledge, innovation, and new information and communication technologies in the broad discourse of development. The review here considers the various approaches, practices and dimensions associated with information and communication for development.

The application of the process of communication to the development process has been referred to variously as development communication (Moemeka, 1996), or communication for development (Burton, 2001). However,both these terms refer to the same thing, that is, the use of the principles of exchange of ideas to development objectives. Therefore this study uses the terms interchangeably. Oliveria (1993) attributes lack of significant strides in development in the Third World countries to ignoring effective communication between the development agencies and the targeted poor communities. He emphasizes the importance of communication by pointing out that it "transfers ideas and knowledge in ways that enable the recipient to act upon the information received" (1993:103). Oliveria thus envisions development as knowledge oriented phenomenon, a position adopted by this study as it endeavours to explain the role language plays in the transfer of knowledge.

The application of information and knowledge to work has become the world's new form of wealth (Wriston in Burton, 2001), which people strive to acquire in order to create a desired value in human life. But what exactly do we mean by information, knowledge, and communication? Simon Burton explores the concepts of information, communication and knowledge and the different approaches to communication in development. He first points to the fact that,

> We live in the 'information age' or 'information society'. The current fascination with communication, information, knowledge, discourse, the media, computers… provides new ways of thinking about some of the central sociological questions of the last century (Burton, 2001: 434).

Essentially, this points to the current world concern with the generation and dissemination of information, which Burton considers 'something that can be damped into the heads of individuals' or a meaningful thing which people experience through some medium such as voice, word, television or computer. This is similar to Feather's view that sees information as 'a sub-set of knowledge which is recorded in some symbolic form' (1998:118). If we take a word as a symbolic form, the above assertions then imply that words have specific meanings which users attempt to pass across. These meanings, we know from discourse linguistics, are subject to variations in interpretations, with some words widely conventionally interpreted in a similar way and others contested.

Burton also defines knowledge as 'an asset or a capability of human mind (although sometimes it only seems to exist in its practical manifestation: how to do something' (2001:436) and points to the untenable assumption of the perfect duplication of information with regard to transferring knowledge. He attributes this to the fact that communication is a socially mediated phenomenon and, as such, knowledge is bound to vary. Besides, he warns that we should be wary of 'knowledge society' which has more to do with an economic structure than with ensuring equal level of knowledge in the society. Knowledge, as conceived by

Burton, is a source of social inequality in the study area as is discussed in the section on tenor in Chapter Six. This study finds Burton's ideas practical and applicable to the study of information dissemination in the study area, and indeed my study gained from these ideas in terms of understanding and defining information, knowledge and communication.

Burton defines communication as "a process involving some means of conveying information (voice, image or other technology) and understanding it (decoding it)" and suggests that "without the appropriate interpretative skills (which are personal and cultural), some information is not information at all" (2001: 435). He suggests further, that communication is both a means of sharing information and a complex cultural and personal interpretation of that information (*ibid*). This departs from the classical conception of communication as 'the mechanic-vertical model' that sees communication as talking at people or a "process of transmission of modes of thinking, feeling, behaving from one or more persons to another person or persons" (Moemeka, 1996:4). Communication is indeed perceived as an interactive process that works in a circular, dynamic and ongoing way (Hiebert *et al*., 1985) in which there is neither permanent sender nor receiver and roles keep changing hands depending on who is talking and who is listening.

The advocates of this model of communication, place emphasis on how people use communication or messages and stress genuine dialogue, free and proportioned opportunity to exert mutual influences. The model rejects the idea that persuasion is the chief role of communication, instead emphasizes the circular interactive model which allows for feedback. According to Moemeka "feedback is imperative; its importance lies in the opportunity it creates for understanding the other person's point of view and, therefore, for ensuring co-orientational influences" (Moemeka, 1996:5). The emphasis is on human beings as the main generators and implementers of exchange of ideas in a democratic and interactive way. The works cited above informed the conceptualization of communication as used in this study, that is, communication as a participatory exercise similar to a game of tennis in which the

ball keeps moving from one player to the other. In communication therefore, information flows from sender to receiver and back to sender continuously until the communicative purpose is fulfilled. Like the authors in the cited works, this study also rejects the linear and behaviourist model of communication that stresses the uni-directional flow of messages from a sender to a receiver and the near perfect match between senders' meaning and the receivers' meaning that was popular with the proponents of modernization approach to development.

Mundy and Compton (1995) draw a distinction between knowledge and information by pointing out that whereas knowledge is a cognitive experience which is gained through interaction with environment or through communication with others, information is knowledge encoded in some form of channel for transmission. Burton (*Op. cit*) interprets knowledge and information as products of human activity and thus inseparable from human interest. Such interests have led to studies on how the powerful groups are positioned and represented in the social structure (Fairclough, 2004; Davies, 1994).

Mundy and Compton also discuss the distinction between exogenous (from outside) and indigenous (local or community-based) communication channels and knowledge. They identify three characteristics of indigenous communication channels as: "developed locally; they are under local control; they use low level of technology and include folk media, indigenous organizations, deliberate instruction, unorganized channels (informal conversation) and observation" (Burton, 2001:437). Mundy and Compton (*Op. cit*) observe that information and communication for development begin with information carried by an outside source using non-indigenous channels such as the mass media, before it is picked up and circulated through indigenous channels. This point essentially underscores the critical role that indigenous communication plays in disseminating exogenous information and improving true participation by the local people and outsiders.

This is similar to Blake's (1993) observation that what has mainly gone wrong in development communication is its absolute rooting in Eurocentric approaches. Blake proposes that one of the ways out of this present situation is to rethink what development means to poor people and to critically examine the various strategies used in implementing development objectives because this could lead to a radical move to social organization and visions of the desired society. The distinction between exogenous and indigenous modes of communication as expressed by Mundy and Compton, and Blake provided this study with a launching pad for identifying the commonly used modes of communication in the study area and how they impact on the acquisition and use of development information. Mundy and Compton's distinction between knowledge and information is also important to this study since the study investigated the content and process of information dissemination. This is discussed in detail under the section on modes of communication is Chapter Seven and Eight.

When we apply the principles of communication to development objectives we are in essence dealing with development communication, a process that Moemeka describes as,

> the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country (economic growth, modernization, industrialization) and the mass of its people (self actualization, fulfilment of human potentials …through identification and utilization of appropriate expertise in the development process that will assist in increasing participation of intended beneficiaries at the grassroots levels (1996:5).

The utilization of this 'appropriate expertise' is crucial to participation at the grassroots and this study attempts to unmask the so-called 'appropriate expertise' as applied to community development in the study area. The study examines how appropriate expertise is applied to information dissemination in community development and suggests ways in which it can be used to enhance participation, (which as we shall see in Chapter Three) holds the key to any successful development project. Development communication is thus human oriented and

Moemeka sees it as playing two broad roles, first, is a transformational role through which it seeks justice and secondly, is the socialization role through which it strives to maintain some of the established values of society that are consonant with development (*ibid*). This is in line with the participatory approach to development where communication creates an enhanced atmosphere for the exchange of ideas that are aimed at producing an accepted balance between physical outputs and human relationships in social and economic advancement. The views of Moemeka are instrumental in situating the focus of development communication in this study.

Moemeka (1996) discusses approaches to development communication by stating that the starting point of development communication is the 'felt needs' of the community and the 'action needs' as identified by planners. These two sets of needs follow four stages: the first is the diffusion stage, involving identification and analysis of the innovations sought by communities in order to determine to whom, when and with what material means development agents want to introduce them. The second stage is the social process stage, which involves determining how existing social, cultural, psychological and indigenous communication factors, as well as government organizational factors may help or hinder the adoption of new practices among the group of people concerned. And the third stage is the identification of existing media and how they relate to people. The concern here is with the possibilities of combining existing communication channels. For instance, the traditional and interpersonal channels and the modern print and electronic media and finally coming up with locally tailored communication programmes, which are then implemented in phases with real action potential in the communities taking into account the available supplementary inputs from outside the community.

Moemeka further identifies three different approaches, to putting the above into operation namely, interpersonal approach, usually implemented through extension and community development method or through ideological and mass mobilization; the mass media approach, which could be through centralized media approach or the localized media approach; and the integrated approach which combines all the

approaches and methods in appropriate rating, depending upon the identified needs and socio-cultural situation in each community (see Moemeka, 1985; 1996 for details). The author also points to the fact that,

> …in rural Africa, no communication strategy is likely to succeed unless it takes into account the five basic principles the system of traditional communication-supremacy of the community, respect for old age, utility of the individual, sanctity of authority and religion as a way of life (Moemeka, 1985 in Moemeka, 1996:18).

The contributions of Moemeka are significant to this study with regard to designing a locally appropriate information dissemination model in community development, which is objective six of this study.

Burton (2001) also discusses a brief history of communication and development and observes that the commonly held earliest proponents of using communication for development were David Lerner and Wilbur Schramm, American social scientists writing in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The two scholars advanced a linear and behaviourist model of communication that emphasized uni-directional flow of information influenced by the diffusionist approach. Burton criticizes the dominant paradigm to communication for development that emerged from their works for dismissing traditional forms of communication as supporting and sustaining traditional structures and thus constituting a barrier to change. This view, he says was strengthened by the incorporation of the 'two-step flow' of communication which suggested that certain individuals or opinion leaders mediated messages between sender and the mass of the population. Burton's work is beneficial to this study in highlighting the historical progression of communication for development and in understanding the crucial role played by the opinion leaders on dissemination of development information.

Mercado defines communication as "a process of sharing messages between source and receiver either directly or through a channel" (1992:15). The author revisits the traditional elements of communication and lists them as the information source, the

receiver and the channel of transmission, in this case, language. This treatment of communication underscores the premise of mutual understanding and linguistic comprehensibility between and among the interlocutors. Whereas this is true and relevant to this study, further investigation, examination and explanation of how language constructs that information and how the community receives it is pursued. The study finds Mercado's thoughts applicable to the analysis of modes of communication in the target area; however it is too general and not grounded in any tangible linguistic theory. This study endeavours to explain communication using grounded linguistic theories.

Rahim (1993) reports on a study he carried out on factors that influence development communication. The study relied on empirical data and used a grounded social theory to analyze the data. He used the theory of Communicative Action developed by Jurgen Habermas as a basis for explaining empirical evidence and examined the impact of technological infrastructure and socio-cultural symbolic or signifying system on development communication. From his study it emerged that cultural perspectives are fundamental in all kinds of development communication aiming at mutual understanding, agreement and coordination of activities. He also examines the trends in communication and development, culture and communicative action and concludes that communicative action is a socio-cultural force of integration, organization of differences, and coordination of diverse and autonomous activities that constitute the complex system of development and change.

Rahim perceives communicative action as derived from democratic argumentation in social discourse aimed at mutual understanding and not by calculations of optimal means to an end. This observation is relevant to a study that seeks to find out how communities are prepared for collective social action using different modes of communication and languages. He identifies four cultural dimensions of development communication- *knowledge and information, subjective intention and motivation, social contextuality and legitimization* and *linguistic comprehensibility*

(my own emphasis) as standing out in bold relief. These factors are similar to what this study is investigating and particularly linguistic comprehensibility and the interpretation of knowledge and information by the interlocutors except my study uses two theories to analyse data, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), both with roots in the social theory advanced by Jurgen Habermas.

Mundy (1993) analyses current approaches to indigenous knowledge and examines the interface between indigenous knowledge and indigenous communication. He suggests that the two could be used to promote participatory development. The current study is similar to Mundy's in pursuing the modes of communication used in disseminating development information, especially participatory modes, within a socio-cultural context. However, my study goes further to examine the impact of these modes of communication in effectively disseminating development message. In the light of this, the existence of traditional modes and the emerging popularity of these modes are of great interest to this study. This is because communication modes are part of the resources that participants in development exploit for communication. This study unlike Mundy's looks at all the modes (both indigenous and modern) used in communicating development information (which encompasses foreign concepts) and not just indigenous knowledge alone.

In acknowledging the important place of background knowledge in interpreting new concepts, Gumperz (1982) investigated "gate-keeping encounters", (situations where one person has the authority to make decisions that will control the social or economic mobility of the others) between Anglo and South Asia speakers of English in Britain. He claims that for communication to take place effectively, participants need to draw on their background knowledge and assumptions in order to interpret the social meanings of other speakers. He shows in his study that the perceived dissimilarity of speech conventions and mismatching interpretations contribute to cross-cultural misunderstanding. He uses spontaneous and naturally occurring data for his analysis.

Gumperz's study reveals that those in higher authority exerted power on those below and this determines the politeness strategies they would use in communication. His study raises pertinent points crucial in this study. The idea of 'gate-keeping' and dissimilarity of speech conventions and mismatching interpretations are prominent in this study. Participants in development initiatives interact at various levels with different people, for instance, opinion leaders versus elite consultants or non-native speaking project officer or consultants and the local communities. Gumperz's work guided this study on how to analyse gate-keeping and also provided important clues on cross-cultural communication. This study is also similar to Gumperz's with regard to dealing with power and dominance among interactants in the field of development, but differs in using CDA theoretical basis for analysis. This study also goes further than just analyzing naturally occurring data and delves into the analysis of predetermined texts as found in posters, brochures, murals and wrappers.

2.5: Conclusion to Chapter Two

From the reviewed literature on development and community it is clear that there is no common and agreed definition of the terms since each group of people has their own interpretation of the concepts. This has a direct impact on the strategies and modes used to disseminate development information.

Secondly, arising from communication problems experienced between the communities and the development agents, development communication has emerged as a strategy in disseminating development information, except the modes used have not been exhaustively examined to evaluate their impact in information dissemination.

It has also emerged from the review that the success of development initiatives depends on the active participation of the community members. This is an attempt at the transactional model of communication after the realization that the linear model does not work when targeting changes in human behaviour. In the next

chapter I review literature on participation and how it is practiced in development interactions, and also look at the role language and communication plays in ensuring a common social action.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0: PARTICIPATION, COMMUNICATION AND LANGUAGE DEBATES

3.1: Introduction

Arising from the review in the last chapter, this chapter reviews the concept of participation, communication and discusses language debates in the field of development. The chapter aims at defining these concepts and linking them to this study.

3.2: The concept of participation and participatory methods

The success or failure of development initiatives has been closely linked to how actively the targeted community participates in the initiatives (Oakley, 1997). Over the years practitioners have observed that development initiatives require genuine community involvement from the onset if the undesirable conditions affecting their daily livelihood are to be changed (Cohen and Uphoff in Burkey, 1993). It has emerged that if people are left out from the crucial starting stages of the development programmes, they are less likely to appreciate the initiative. Therefore, participation, as envisaged in the current development discourse, involves allowing people the freedom to chart their destiny by harnessing the existing physical, economic and social resources available to them in order to attain the objective of community development programmes and projects (Oakley, 1997; Paul, 1987). Participation therefore offers the community a strong means of legitimately articulating their needs and satisfying these needs through self-reliance and mass mobilization (Ghai *et al.*, 1977). Community participation provides space to the community to reject authoritarian and paternalistic alternatives advanced by the elite members of the society and the development agents. More often than not such authoritarian proposals never favour the poor people's opinion, in which case participation encompasses a process of awaking and raising levels of consciousness among the poor.

Participation in this sense, where the people have freedom to express their minds without fear or inhibition, can be equated with Plato's conceptualization of participation in the *Republic* in which the ideas of freedom of speech, assembly, voting and equal representation are guiding factors. Participation in this sense is essential to democratic practice and when applied to community development it denotes the involvement of the community in identifying, planning, and implementing of development programmes (Maser, 1997). This is synonymous with Plato's basic tenets of democracy described as a form of government of the people, for the people, by the people.

Participation has since emerged as a key factor in the success of the projects. Over the past three decades participation has gained recognition as an essential part of human growth concerned directly with the "the development of self-confidence, pride, initiative, creativity, responsibility, and cooperation" (Burkey, 1993:56). Burkey argues that without such a development within people any efforts directed at alleviating poverty or changing their living conditions will be absolutely difficult. He adds that the process whereby people learn to take charge of their own lives and solve their own problems is the essence of development. Whereas this study agrees in principle with the views put forth by these scholars, it seeks to establish how this participation is achieved. For that reason, the study seeks to establish the role of language and communication in enhancing or hindering active community participation in development initiatives in the study area.

Like the concept of 'community' discussed in the previous chapter, participation has also become a catchword in the discourse of development communication. It is part of the catch phrases that have invaded development discourse and is peddled around by everyone seeking approval as a development expert, without understanding its meaning and application. As Burkey observes, "Participation is 'in'- you can't be an approved member of the development jet set these days without dropping a reference to participation into your speeches, scholarly papers and conversation in development theory and policy" (*ibid*: 57). In reality

participation is interpreted and applied variously to serve different interests. For example, Burkey reports that in some cases the community is considered to have participated by attending large community meetings where they are addressed by a team of agents regarding some planned activity in their village or by providing free unskilled labour for the construction of water wells. This is referred to as the cost sharing approach to development.

In cases such as mentioned above, small local elite and the development experts from outside the community do the thinking part involving surveying, planning, designing and monitoring of the programmes. It is evident from the reviewed literature and the field experience that such conceptualization of participation has failed in many Third World rural communities. This is attributed to lack of a genuine process involving the community in becoming aware of their own situation, social-economic realities, real problems and their causes, and the kind of resources are available for them to solve the problems. The outcome of this practice is over dependence on the NGOs by the communities who are denied the opportunity to build their capacity to take an active role in their own development.

Roodt (2001) discusses a number of approaches to participation within the different approaches to development. He points to the fact that modernization approach employed a top-down approach to participation which was aimed at satisfying the needs of the powerful at global, national and local levels. Rahnema (1992) points to the fact that this type of participation was often forced and the recipients very rarely had any choice in the matter:

> …for, more often than not, people are asked or dragged into operations of no particular interest to them (Sachs in Roodt, 2001: 471).

In this sense it is in the best interest of the agents to destroy the existing social structures since therein lays their source of income and employment.

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The second approach he discusses is the conscientization approach to participation which he sees as a process of transforming the participating person or group. He elaborates that this approach helps to transform the awareness of the participating group so that they become sentient of who they are and subsequently leads them to a process of self-actualization. He argues that this process is crucial because "it enables oppressed people to take control of their lives, simultaneously challenging the dominating classes and their political regime" (Roodt, 2001: 472). On paper this would be the best way of involving the community in genuine participation, but in reality experiences across many Third World countries reveal that such well-defined people-oriented participation are never practiced. More often than not, the language used to conscientize the people is not the language of the majority and the poor are so dis-empowered that they never challenge the authority of the project implementers. This study investigates how this interpersonal metafunction is achieved by examining how the relation of dominance between the interlocutors impact on the conscientization process.

The conscientization approach is borrowed from the Freirian paradigm to participation explained in his much-publicized book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972), in which he argues that the poor people need to be made aware of the conditions of their lives so that they can resist such conditions. He says that the poor live in appalling conditions because of exploitation from the rich elites who have made them believe that such a situation is natural. Freire postulated that once people are aware of such contradictions they will change from being passive objects to being active subjects, critically aware and able to transform their environment in a militant and creative way. Part of this realization involves working with other people in an organized way so as to achieve power through popular participation. Fals-Borda defines the concept of conscientization as,

> …a special kind of power-people's power- which belongs to the oppressed and exploited classes and groups and organizations, and the defence of their just

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interest to enable them to advance towards shared goals of social change within a participatory system (Fals-Borda in Roodt, 2001:473).

While such observations are true regarding genuine participation at the grass roots, it begs for questioning on how the transformation and awareness creation is done or achieved. This is because it is taken for granted that the elite's agents will do the awareness creation and the target people will participate in the development initiatives. It is such assumptions that have led to negative development results even in cases where the agents creating awareness are members of the same community (*Cf.* Cameron, 2001).

One criticism against this approach to participation is the danger of exposing the community's susceptibility to exploitative schemes by development agents. Rahnema explains this susceptibility as follows:

> When A considers it essential for B to be empowered, A assumes not only that B has no power- or does not have the right kind of power- but also that A has a secret formula of a power to which B has to be initiated. In the current participatory ideology, this formula is, in fact, nothing but revised version of state power, or what could be called fear-power (cited in Roodt, 2001:473).

This study concurs with Rahnema's observations and goes ahead to explain how the assumed power over the community, values and biases, taken into the community by the development agents affect participation and impact on information dissemination.

The humanism approach also rejects the conscientization approach in two ways. First, on the ground that the development agents foist in the community their biases and values and secondly, the process simply replaces one system with another (Berger, 1976). To borrow the words of Roodt, "this process leads to a glorification of the new society and a replacement of one set of rigid formulae in people's consciousness with another" (2001:473). What this means is that the Freirian

technique may be a vehicle for disseminating propaganda if it is left in the wrong hands. While criticizing Berger for overplaying his criticism on the approach, Roodt points out that the Freirian technique are inherent with checks and balances that guard against misuse, particularly by constantly stressing dialogue between teacher and learner and developing a critical consciousness that is able to evaluate the glorified new society (*ibid*). It is this aspect of dialogue between the development agents and the targeted communities that this study seeks to examine.

The humanist approach has roots in the manifesto of the *Manila Declaration on People's Participation and Sustainable Development* drawn by 31 NGO leaders in June 1989 (Korten, 1990). It emphasizes the empowerment of people at the grassroots so that they can control the local resources and actively participate in local governance, hence calling on the communities,
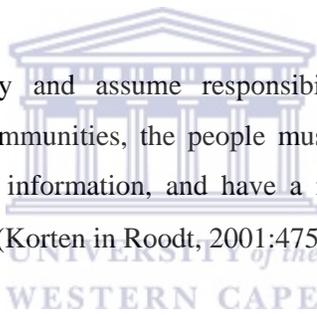
> To exercise sovereignty and assume responsibility for the development of themselves and their communities, the people must control their own resources, have access to relevant information, and have a means to hold the officials of government responsible (Korten in Roodt, 2001:475).

Roodt (*Op. cit*.) says that this participatory democracy aims at creating a strong civil society which will, in the long run, resist government excesses. This approach is a reaction to the growth-centred development or modernization that was top-down and exploitative in nature. Korten refers to the growth-centred development as the 'cowboy economy' and goes on to enumerate the development ethos valued by the approach as economic growth through industrialization; utilization of the earths resources as if they were limitless; showing little concern for the side effects (pollution, waste-disposal); and employing a top-down technicist approach with regard to implementation (*ibid*: 475).

The central concern of humanists approach is with the meaning-making processes within a social interaction and according to Roodt, the task of development agents

should be to find out what meanings the communities attach to their actions while the actors themselves should strive for a meaningful life-world, through active interaction (*Cf.* Habermas, 1987, 1984). Coetzee (2001) expresses a similar view by stressing the importance of people living in a life-world that is meaningful to them and which they have a right to contribute in constituting. The humanists argue that when people are not involved in constructing their life-world then they become dehumanized and alienated, in which case they are not empowered to engage in meaningful social action. The arguments advanced by the humanist approach to participation link well with the theoretical frames in this study, which seeks to explain development as a social process which must be governed by understanding of the people's context (Fairclough, 2004; Halliday, 1985).

However, the approach is criticized in two ways, first for placing too much emphasis on the ability of individuals to create a meaningful world that can bring about change and secondly, for ignoring the role social structures and institutions play in limiting human behaviour and choice (Roodt, 2001). This study investigates how meaning making is constructed by people's life-world and how extra-linguistic factors like power relations, culture and social structures impact on the interpretation of such meanings. In this sense therefore, the study seeks to explain the role of such factors in constructing and interpreting the new life-world in the field of development (Fairclough, 2004; Wodak and Meyer, 2001).

3.3: Participatory methodologies

Arising from the need to give the community a free hand in their transformation process, a lot of emphasis has been put on participation as discussed in the previous section. As a result, a number of participatory methodologies have developed in an attempt to bridge the gap between the agents and the communities and ensure that the community genuinely participates in development initiatives. In this section, I discuss two predominant participatory methods that is, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Theatre for Development (TfD) as applied to community development programmes in the study area.

3.3.1: Participatory rural appraisal (PRA)

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) refers to a practical set of approaches that are used to mobilize and engage the communities in critically looking at their own resources and development needs. The main objective of PRA is to prioritize the needs and through a plan of action tackle the needs. PRA coalesced, evolved and spread in the early 1990s and it has been described as a "growing family of approaches and methods to enable (rural and urban) people to express, enhance, share and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and act" (Chambers, 1994: 1253). As a development methodology, PRA has many sources and the most direct source is the rapid rural appraisal (RRA) from which it evolved in 1970s and 1980s. RRA itself, having developed from the biased perceptions, derived from rural development tourism (Chambers, 1994).

Although PRA has much in common with RRA, the two approaches differ with regard to ownership of information and the nature of their processes. In RRA, 'information is more elicited and extracted by outsiders as part of data gathering' while in PRA it is 'generated, analyzed, owned and shared by local people as part of a process of their empowerment' (*ibid*: 1253). RRA is thus not participatory as it is unidirectional and tends to give the community members very little chance to express themselves in an interactive way. On the other hand, PRA is mainly participatory and empowers the community to do things they deem fit for their survival, while also allowing them the opportunity to engage in a learning experience without guidance from some defined experts as is found in formal schools.

PRA first emerged in Kenya in 1988, as a direct outgrowth of rapid rural appraisal RRA. As a tool, PRA builds on the principle that the community is a reservoir of local knowledge, experience, and skills which can be harnessed for positive change in the communities' lives. In this methodology, people are viewed as key agents to change rather than empty vessels to be filled with new information. PRA makes use

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of local graphic representations created by the community, hence legitimizes local knowledge and promotes empowerment**.**

Chambers (1994) discusses the basic principles of PRA that should form the guiding pattern for practitioners and facilitators in participatory development. He recommends that only the best practices that have come as a result of best practices should be applied, while those that do not work should be discarded, but after determining why they do not work. In other words, the practices are induced rather than deduced. According to him, PRA and RRA share some basic principles which he identifies as:

i. Offsetting biases by being relaxed and not rushing, listening not lecturing, probing instead of passing on to the next topic, being unimposing instead of important, and seeking out the poorer people and women, and learning their concerns and priorities.

ii. Learning rapidly and progressively, this involves being flexible with the use of methods, consciously exploring, iteration and crosschecking, not following a blueprint program, but being adaptable in a learning process.

iii. Reversal of learning: Learning from, with and by rural people, eliciting and using their criteria and categories and findings, understanding and appreciating rural people's knowledge.

iv. Optimising tradeoffs, relating the cost of learning to the usefulness of information, with tradeoffs between quantity, relevance, accuracy and timeliness.

v.   Triangulating, meaning using different methods, sources and disciplines, a range of informants in a range of places, and cross checking to get closer to the truth through successive approximations.

vi.   Seeking diversity, meaning looking for and learning from exceptions, oddities, dissenters, and outliers in any distribution (*ibid*: 1254).

Besides the above, Chambers lists four further principles that are unique to and stressed by PRA as:

i.   They do it: That the local people facilitate investigation, analysis, presentation and learning by the people, thus they generate and own the outcomes and also learn.

ii.   Self-critical awareness: This means the facilitators continuously and critically examine their own behaviour such as embracing error and correcting dominant behaviour.

iii.   Personal responsibility: PRA practitioners tend to take personal responsibility for what is done rather than relying on authority of manuals or of a rigid set of rules.

iv.   Sharing of information and ideas between local people and the outsider facilitators, and between different practitioners, and sharing field camps, training and experiences between different organizations, regions and countries.
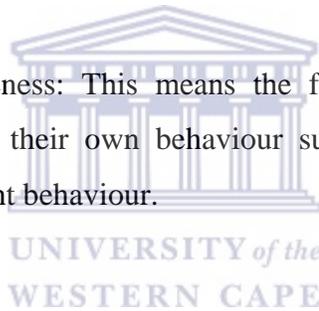
As a method, PRA makes use of tools such as: Semi structured interviewing; focus group discussions; mapping and modelling; preference ranking; seasonal and historical diagramming. Such tools are to be used in accordance with the best

discretion of the agent rather than as a cooking recipe as has been observed in many PRA exercises in the rural communities in the study area. The tools are best applied to triangulate information particularly where there is doubt rather than being used wholesome. If properly used, PRA tools provide both the community and the agents with an enjoyable learning experience.

However, Chambers warns against potential misuse of the methodology particularly owing to the differences in social economic factors between the participants and the community. The agents must guard against 'the big brother all-knowing outsider syndrome' in which they behave like schoolteachers out to teach pupils to pass examination. This will definitely deny the community an opportunity to meaningfully engage in genuine participation (Cornwall, 2000). Besides, even though the methodology is designed to ensure active participation by the community, there is still the danger of consultants foisting their values and ideas (Rahnema, 1992).

Participatory development experiences in Kenya are shrouded with many challenges such as lack of a culture and a tradition thus PRA has been singled out as not helping in developing institutions that can ensure sustainable development (Alumasa, 2003). Instead as Alumasa states, participation has become commercialized "with many NGO staff resigning to launch consultancies" hence "many programmes on participation are now well beyond the common man" (2003:16). Participation, he affirms enriches, the middlemen who control the process and take care of the quality of standards at the expense of the community.

The effectiveness of PRA is dependant on how skilled a facilitator is and how well he allows the community to participate without rushing them through the appraisal or dominating the sessions and making them more of strict formal classroom type of interaction (Alumasa, 2003). The biblical adherence to the manuals and efforts to dominate the discussions with a ready mindset has proved to be counterproductive. As an exercise in communication and knowledge sharing, PRA provided this study

with an opportunity to participate in the actual interaction between the agents and the community. This opportunity revealed the different methods used in disseminating development information, and the power relations and attitudes of the participants involved in the PRA exercise as discussed in Chapters Six and Seven of this study.

There are two main schools of PRA in Kenya, the British school that is imported and promoted through Participatory Methodologies Forum of Kenya (PAMFORK) and networks with the International Development Society (IDS), and the American school accessed through Egerton University that has strong links with Clark University in the United States (Alumasa, 2003). At the moment Egerton University is the only institution that offers training on PRA methodology while a lot of agents acquire the skills by mere observation of others during appraisals. This means the majority of the development agents are not trained in PRA although they purport to know how to facilitate in a PRA exercise. Inevitably there exist various versions of PRA methodologies that are competing in practice causing confusion in the communities and these calls for harmonization (*ibid*), since they are a potential pointer to sluggish process of development in many Kenyan rural communities.

Furthermore, there has been an outcry on the falling standards in the practice which is attributed to commercialization of participation by what Alumasa refers to as 'merchants of participation'. Such dubious consultants are certainly interested in anything but genuine empowerment of the communities they work with. .As Alumasa observes,

> My experience at PAMFORK has introduced me to the world of participation consultants who care less about standards, but are interested in participatory development in as much as it empowers them economically (*ibid*.17).

From such observations, participatory development has become an end rather than a means through which change can be realized in the rural communities. The elite

development consultants have increasingly turned to participatory development as a means to economic gains. For this reason, they care less about the PRA procedures and outcomes. For instance, Alumasa notes that PRA can generate 'tons of information whose end product is abridged report that ignores most of the rich data from the field' and questions whether the abridged reports really voice the people's aspirations and frustrations:

> In the name of participation we need to let people's 'voice' their struggles and experiences of academic, social and political poverty. What I am seeing are processes where the poor participate in generating the information, which is then owned by scholars and researchers, while little credit going to those who generated the information' (2003:13).

It is evident from the observations above that there exist power imbalances among the participants involved in the field of development. The elite agents take advantage of the dis-empowered community to advance their own agenda and individual economic and academic goals in the name of participatory development. And, for this agendum to be realized, the power imbalance must be maintained and the community continue relying on the elite to provide solutions to their needs. Essentially this practice perpetuates the notion that development is something that needs to be 'done' (economically and/or ideologically) to someone. This undermines the underlying basis of true development which heavily relies on active participation. The dilemma in the rural communities is that active participation threatens the existing power bases be they political, developmental or religious (Boon *et al*., 2004). Genuine participation from those whom development agencies claim to serve means 'that all those involved in development programmes must be open, flexible and willing to continually learn', a process which fundamentally undermines the so called development experts and authoritative institutions (*ibid*).

This study investigated how power imbalance affects communication and language use in the study area, as discussed in detail in Chapter Six and Seven. Alumasa's observation are not only true but also provide justification for studying the

motivation behind sudden increase in the numbers of the development consultants and development organizations in the study area vis-à-vis the low ranking state of development in the province. Likewise the views expressed by Boon *et al* (2004) are relevant to this study insofar as understanding competing power relations are contested in the study area.

Boon *et al* (2004) working from multi-cultural perspective, explores the value of performance as an agent of social change, and argument through the close examination of the success of specific projects in their practical and cultural contexts. Through the work practitioners and commentators inquire as to how performance in its broadest context can play a part in community activism by helping communities find their own creative voices.

3.3.2: Theatre for development (TfD)

Theatre for development refers to the use of performed arts in initiating and promoting active and collective communal participation in addressing societal concerns. It has progressively become a more popular medium of addressing a plethora of issues such as justice, prejudice, health, environment, cultural, and economic poverty in the field of development (Boon *et al.*, 2004; Abah, 2002). Other terms that have been used to refer to the use of theatre in development include participatory theatre, popular theatre, community theatre, political theatre, theatre for integrated development, people's theatre, theatre for integrated rural development, legislative theatre, education theatre, theatre in health, and edutainment (Mavrocordatos, 2004; Abah, 2002; Mumma, 1995; Frank, 1995; Boal, 1995).

Be that as it may, some scholars like Frank (1995) find such terms too general and insufficient in describing what theatre does in the communities and prefer to use 'theatre for development' since it implies the notion that its primary concern is the promotion of development in a specific community-albeit through popular theatre. The function of TfD goes beyond the theatrical event to raise issues, find solutions

and spark-off collective action. This capacity accounts for its popularity among development workers who are currently engrossed in pet phrase in development discourse-'collective participation' by the communities.

Still other scholars define TfD variously, for instance, Abah (2002) sees it as "a theatre of ordinary people used to address their own problems, in their own terms, from their own perspectives and from within their own art" (p. 159). Accordingly, TfD uses the indigenous performative forms of the people to define the aesthetics of its operation, thereby investing heavily on people, who are at the same time the protagonists, generating the themes and infusing the drama with the conflicts from their daily lives (Abah, 2002, 1990; Mumma, 1995; Mda, 1993; Kidd, 1980). The main aim here is to realize attitudinal change and behavioural change, and changes in life style of the community that uses the genre (Mavrocordatos, 2004).

TfD departs from traditional Western and elitist theatre that resides in academic institutions and the bourgeois class. Since TfD "frequently occurs outside 'legitimate' arts milieux, they have consequently tended to escape the attention of cultural theorists and theatre scholars" (Van Erven, 2001:2). TfD is unique in its ability to talk with the community rather than for the community; allows a process of collective creation as opposed to preoccupation with the finished product characteristic of elite theatre meant for bourgeois class consumption in restricted theatre halls (Abah, 2002). Indeed TfD derives its strength from participation by the community thus rendering everyone a participant or a 'spect-actor' (Boal, 1995).

Since acting is a skill that is seldom readily available in the communities or even among development workers, TfD is often led by a team of theatre experts who work with different development workers to help to create theatrical performances that will carry messages in different sectors and concerns (Kamlongera, 1989; Mumma, 1995). Such performances vary from straight drama, dance, puppetry and songs that are usually simple, catchy tunes with a clear message, while others are popular tunes infused with words carrying specific target messages (Mda, 1993). In

other words, the theatrical event simply serves as a means that enables the entertainment value to be interjected with didactic intention, thus making it a pedagogical method that is all-inclusive hence participatory (Eyoh, 1991).

The terms 'theatre' and 'drama' are often used interchangeably in the field of drama and theatre although the terms refer to two different types of dramatic expression. For the purpose of clarity this study adopts the distinction by Mda (2001:203) thus:

> …theatre refers to the production and communication of meaning in the performance itself, in other words a transaction or negotiation of meaning in a performer-spectator situation while drama refers to literature on which performances are sometimes based, the mode of fiction designed along certain dramatic conventions for stage representation.

In a narrow sense 'theatre' also refers to a building or a place where plays are performed and watched by a live audience, while 'drama' denotes the written text consisting of the playwrights imagined characters and their actions. Theatre involves a performance which may or may not emanate from a literary composition and "it is when a team of actors impersonate the playwrights' characters on stage, by performing in dialogue and action before a live audience, that we make reference to theatre" (Mumma, 1995: 11). In this sense Mumma does not limit theatre to a place of performance, but he extends it to encompass a collective social enterprise involving people, space and use of instruments or props. This distinction is crucial because it helps to delineate the kind of theatre that this study examined, that is, theatre for development.

In discussing theatre for development as a communication tool, Mda (1993) points out that the current theatre research suffers from an inadequacy of terminology a situation that has forced scholars to use literary terminology in discussing theatre. He supports an earlier position by Elam (1980) that prior to 1931, scholars discussed theatre under literary studies and that much of the studies in drama and theatre arts were dominated by scholars outside its discipline:

That the drama had become (and largely remains) an annexe of the property of literary critics, while the stage spectacle considered too ephemeral a phenomenon for a systematic study had been effectively staked of as the happy hunting ground of reviewers reminiscing actors, historians and prescriptive theorists (1980:5).

He argues that 1931 is significant in the study of theatre because it saw the publication of two pioneering studies that laid the foundation for theatre and dramatic theories using semiotics and semiology. Mda's study appropriates some concepts and terminology of semiotics in explicating the phenomena of theatre for development. He recognizes that semiology offers the best method of examining how meaning is negotiated between performers and spectators in theatre. The fact that semiotics recognizes the existence of performer–spectator bond, as a communication relationship, is important to a study that attempts to place theatre in the context of development communication and examining how the semiotic resources of lexemes are utilized to achieve effective dissemination of messages.

Community theatre practitioners point to the fact that performance is a common feature of human behaviour and is naturally stemming from the human desire to imitate others (Omotoso, 2004; Boal, 1998; Kamlongera, 1989). This could be for such reasons as entertainment, education or ritualistic sacrifices such as an act of appeasing the gods. The desire to imitate others is deeply rooted in the human society that it is a universal language performed to express humanness. In support of the universality of the form, Boal noted that "the being becomes human when it discovers theatre" (1998:7). This makes theatre part and parcel of human life just like the language that they use.

TfD relies on the use of local and familiar resources to realize its full functionality. One of the key resources in a community is language. Therefore, the choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to people's definition of themselves in relation to the entire universe. Likewise, Ngugi wa Thiong'o asserts

that while working with the Kamiriithu community theatre, the people were concerned about not just language, but appropriate language that suited the characters (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986). This study examined language use in theatre as a multimodal channel of communication community development projects.

A number of scholars trace the emergence of theatre for development in African traditional and cultural practices from where it recognizes the characteristics of indigenous African performances and incorporates such resources into its repertoire (Chesaina and Mwangi, 2004; Van Erven, 2001; Kamlongera, 1989). Van Erven *(Op. cit)* argues that it is such connections that make TfD easily acceptable in developing countries since it stems from people's own practice and continually carries their local culture, cultural action, and represents a people's process of change. Indeed, TfD stems from the peoples desire to use the cultural forms at their disposal to create drama that they enjoy and that truly carries their needs and depicts their concerns (Kamlongera, 1989). In this way, TfD continues with the functional nature of indigenous theatre into our modern age.

In Kenya, Chesaina and Mwangi trace the beginning of drama to the "beliefs and worldview of the people about the relationship between the human world and the supernatural" (2004: 206). They recount different instances across Kenyan communities in which drama was used as a tool for survival, for instance, in taming the 'untamed geographical environment' such as a forest or a river, where it was believed that evil spirits lurked. Still other scholars have traced the roots of TfD to two sources. The first source is tied to the colonial tradition of theatre as propaganda which Van Erven calls a "more radical tradition of community theatre" (Van Erven, 2001: 167). Secondly, the propaganda theatre created by anti-imperial Mau Mau guerrillas in the 1950s as well as the pre-colonial theatricalized expressions of people's ancestors (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986).

Scholars across Africa have experimented and patterned modern theatre on traditional modes, and copying from traditional artists, they have come up with the

concept of 'travelling theatre' or taking theatre to the people (van Erven, 2001; Mumma, 1995; Mda 1993; Mlama, 1991; Kamlongera 1989). The practice of 'taking theatre to the people' was popularized by the "university travelling theatre movement and their interaction with non academic theatre campaigns aimed at community renewal, particularly in the rural areas of Africa" (Kerr, 1995: 149). Cook and Kayanja (in Van Erven, 2001:170) concur that the current community theatre practice across Kenyan owes its development to Free Travelling Theatre "formed in 1974 when John Ruganda brought the ...concept to Kenya from Uganda where it had existed since 1966". The influence of the University of Nairobi Free Travelling Theatre (FTT) and the subsequent formation of FTTs in other universities impacted positively in reviving theatre in the communities in Kenya, as Mumma (in Van Erven, 2001: 172) points out,

> The question of orality and written material was essential to its development. It is fair to say that because of FTT community theatre started being re-activated. As an age-old African tradition, community theatre had never really died; it had just gone underground.
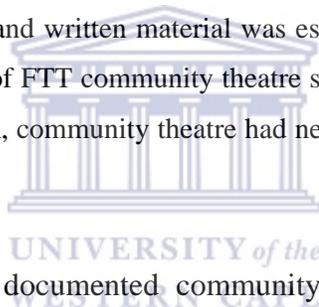
The earliest and most well documented community theatre in Kenya was the Kamiriithu community theatre group formed in 1977 (Chesaina and Mwangi, 2004; Mumma, 1995; Bjorkman, 1989). Under the guidance of Ngugi wa Thiongo and Ngugi wa Mirii, both lecturers at the University of Nairobi at that time, the group performed an improvised play titled *Ngaahika Ndeeda* (I will marry when I want), a production that marked a paradigm change in theatre practice in Kenya. The two directors followed the style of two Brazilians, educationist, Paolo Freire and theatre artist, Augusto Boal in creating a truly people's theatre (Chesaina and Mwangi 2004). Van Erven points out that even though "Ngugi wa Thiongo and Ngugi wa Mirii are listed as the nominal authors on the cover of the published version, the play is arguably one of the first scripts generated through a genuine participatory theatre process to become canonized as a major literary work" (Van Erven 2001: 173). From this time onwards many theatre groups which were formed in the

country exploited the style to depict problems affecting society. According to Mumma (1995), the introduction of schools drama competition in Kenya from 1959, has provided a training ground for students on theatre skills which have, in turn, been useful for both professional actors and TfD animators.

Kamlongera (in Mda 1993) clarifies the mistaken conception that Freire and Boal originated the idea of using theatre to serve a particular function in society. He points out that TfD as a movement owes its roots to the adult educators such as Augusto Boal, Ross Kidd and Michael Etherton who saw that theatre can provide a method of implementing Freire's ideas on raising the critical awareness of the disadvantaged people in society (see Mda, 1993). Kamlongera also points out that Freire's work does not deal with theatre at all. Kamlongera's observation is important to this study particularly by clearly pointing to the origin of TfD which has been blindly linked to Freire and Boal especially by theatre practitioners in the study area.

Augusto Boal lays the foundation for participatory theatre in his much publicized book *Theatre of the Oppressed* (1989) when he applies the ideas of Paulo Freire to theatre. The author describes theatre as an efficient weapon for liberation noting that it is a popular form of communication and expression. He points out that theatre was originally created by people for people and entailed 'people singing in the air' until the aristocracy created some divisions in which some people became actors while others became watchers constrained to remain seated, receptive and passive. He demonstrates how theatre has come to reflect ruling-class control by drawing upon Aristotle's coercive system of tragedy, Machiavelli's poetics and Hegelian absolute subject. Boal then shows how the process is overturned in Brechtian/Marxist poetics through the deconstruction of barriers created by the ruling classes and the revolutionary potential of transforming the spectators into actors. In the forward to *Theatre of the Oppressed* he says that "the barrier between actors and spectators is destroyed: all must act, all must be protagonists in the necessary transformations of society" (*ibid*). This ensures a complete circle of

communication between actors and spectators. Boal lays the foundation of his theory based on practical experiences in Latin America. He illustrates this with two experiments, one in Peru and the other in Sao Paulo. This book forms the basis of participatory theatre for development. The current study finds Boal's work very essential in understanding the true roots of participatory theatre and theatre as an effective tool and popular form of communication and expression.

Mukaronda (2001) discusses the role of theatre for development in stimulating community participation in the 'Making Sense Project', a development programme initiated by Radio for Development (RFD), a radio production unit based in the United Kingdom. 'Making Sense Project' aimed at equipping rural women in Southern Africa with entrepreneurial and business skills. The project was set up in response to requests by Small Business Network Organizations in Southern Africa who felt that they were unable to reach many rural areas which were inaccessible due to poor infrastructure. He points out that:

> …in this project, theatre is being used to stimulate community participation at several stages with the aim of making the programme a genuine people's project with RFD and its team of development workers mere facilitators (2001:181-190).

Mukaronda reports that theatre was used as a research tool to determine what the content of the curriculum should be and also to assess the needs of the community, after the target groups, one in South Africa and one in Zimbabwe, had been selected for the pilot schemes.

As a procedure, the projects used two techniques common in TfD, that is, the 'homestead technique' and the 'performance method'. The homestead technique involves the animators living with a family and trying to pick up as much information as possible. This is then used in the performance method to improvise a performance from which both the animators and the villagers obtain deeper understanding of issues (see Eyoh, 1987). Mukaronda also reports that the 'open

up' technique which allows the audience to participate in a performance and as well as 'in character' discussions (actors engage the audience in a discussions while the performance is progressing) were also used with great success. He suggests that these techniques were important because the animators were not from the villages thus they needed time to experience and appreciate the lives of the rural women. This pilot projects thus, went beyond discussion and observation. This is in contrast with the case reported by Mlama (1991) in Tanzania, where the animators were members of the village, hence there is no need for the "homestead technique". Mukaronda concludes that the project owes its success to the use of TfD and the fact that participatory projects were community specific. Theatre was first used 'for research and curriculum development purposes, for implementation of the training programme, and for follow-up action…aimed at encouraging maximum participation of the target communities and maximum involvement in determining their destinies' (Mukaronda, 2001:183). This study gained a lot from Mukaronda's work especially with regard to understanding the operational terminology as used in Theatre for development and theatre as a research tool.

In another project on AIDS education through theatre in Uganda, Frank (1995) points out that TfD in Uganda serves as a government instrument of change. This is unlike in countries such as Botswana, Nigeria, Lesotho, Kenya, and Zimbabwe where theatre is used as a media for people to articulate criticism of the respective governments. He identifies two types of plays, those concerned with certain problems and their solutions- the project-oriented plays performed to implement concrete improvement in the life of the community- and those that call for change of attitude within a specific target community. Frank specifically focuses on a sub-category of TfD which he calls Campaign Theatre (CT), a "form of TfD which is concerned with raising the consciousness of people on such topics as child care, environmental issues, health care etc" (*ibid*:13). This category of TfD has become very popular with Government Organizations (GOs), NGOs and International Organizations (IOs).

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The popularity of theatre as a communication tool stems from the belief that with the help of theatre, messages reach a larger number of people and that theatre, through its inherent entertainment value, is better suited to convey sensitive messages, than say, a series of lectures. Secondly, theatre also provides an opportunity to instigate a direct interaction between communicators and the audience in which developmental processes can be re-emphasized through discussions after the performance. This is the kind of theatre that this study examined, particularly how effective TfD as a mode of communication is in realizing behaviour change rather than its popularity. Thus the current study gained a lot of insights from Frank (1995) especially on how the structure and techniques of TfD can be used to effectively understand the socio-political and cultural background of the community.

The origin and practice of TfD is often linked to adult education programme in Botswana in 1974 especially to the model fashioned by the *Laedza Batanani Popular Theatre Programme* in Botswana in 1974 (Mda, 1993; Frank, 1995). This model was accredited with the introduction of the two-way communication into development projects in which people were made aware of their situation, encouraged to look at their problems and to take action to solve them instead of merely receiving messages from government employees. However, it failed to make theatre a people's own communication medium because the workshops were instigated by officials and the villagers were not involved in the making of the plays (Frank, 1995).

A more improved model was developed in one of the rural theatre workshops in Bomo by the Ahmadou Bello University (ABU) theatre group in Nigeria in 1981. The Bomo model applied Augusto Boal's 'forum theatre methodology' so as to allow for more involvement by the community members. In forum theatre, "the actors present a problem of the community that needs to be solved. Just before the solution… they interrupt the play and ask the audience to suggest possible solutions" (Frank, *Op. cit*: 22). This model encouraged the audience to critically

analyse what was presented before them. The model was quite successful and was replicated by Maratholi Travelling Theatre from Lesotho and Liwande Primary Health Care Unit in Malawi with a resounding success (Mda, 1993; Frank, 1995).

But the model soon ran into problems despite the initial success. Mlama (1991) singles out the approach developed in 1983 in a workshop in Murewa, Zimbabwe as a case at point. The Murewa workshop developed performances based on the Bomo model using Augusto Boal techniques. Even though the initial response to the workshop was good and particularly successful owing to the active and deeply rooted artistic tradition in Zimbabwean popular culture, it did not have a lasting impact on the use of TfD in Zimbabwe. Two possible reasons could explain this failure, one, pointed out by Mlama, is that the "neo-colonial attitudes, where the expatriates deliberately ignored the indigenous theatre forms because they believed in the superiority of European theatrical forms" (Mlama, 1991:85-6) can certainly lead to failure. And secondly, the failure could also be attributed to insufficient knowledge of theatrical techniques on the side of the organizers (Frank, 1995). It is evident from this, that TfD practitioners should always strive to understand the socio-cultural context of the target people, otherwise, all their efforts will not yield the desired outcome. Frank points that this was the case with the Murewa conference where the organizers, who were largely European expatriates, over-emphasized on drama at the expense of other art forms such as dance and music, thus killing active and effective participation from the community. This is a clear pointer that TfD derives from the people's practice and must be rooted in those very practices if it is to be effective in meeting the communicative and participatory needs of the people.

The Murewa model was the opposite of the Kamiriithu project in Kenya which involved only Kenyans and is dubbed by a number of scholars as the most widely known popular theatre event (cf. Frank, 1995; Mumma, 1995; Mlama, 1991; Mda, 1993; Bjorkman, 1989; Kamlongera, 1989; Kidd, 1983). The most memorable contribution of this event was its power in organizing people to develop critical

consciousness and to mobilize people for collective action. And indeed, a large number of theatre for development projects in Kenya are currently modelled on the Kamiriithu project. The use of familiar cultural idioms and the local language contributed a great deal to the success of the project.

These two elements prominently featured as key to a theatrical development model in a research done in Nyanza, the study area, in 1983. Mumma (1995:15) notes that the following featured as the main elements:

i.   Language – what is the appropriate language?

ii.   Environment- How immediate is the environment in terms of venue; is the problem being addressed, etc.?

iii.   Participation- Who is doing what? This is a key question for the project coordinator himself.

iv.   Culture- Here attention is drawn to the latent expressions of culture, which are never apparent in a casual impatient contact with a community. The adaptation of appropriate indigenous art form can be included here.

v.   Time –What is the appropriate time for working with the community?

This model invests heavily on time which is often taken for granted by practitioners in the field of development. Essentially this model provides room for creating a rapport with the community and allows the animators to gain the confidence of the community. This may take up to three weeks before a play can be staged. The model recommends that people should use their own language since that is the language that invokes their humanity. The model dismissed English and standard Kiswahili as inappropriate and recommended that special stress be given on accents which served to foreground the multi-lingual character especially in urban areas. The observations made by Mumma and the findings of the study carried out in 1983 are critical to this study since they refer to the same study area and touch on similar concerns in this study. While accepting the observations, this study tests them along

the lines of language preference and language effectiveness in disseminating development information.

A survey of TfD activities across Africa reveals that TfD cannot be divorced from current development politics since there is a connection between the economic, political and social crises facing most African states and the consolidation of the popular theatre tradition. The goal of theatre is to make people aware of their living conditions and to draw them as active participants into the development process by furthering the expression of their viewpoints and actions to improve their conditions (Mlama, 1991). Theatre has been realised as a useful tool in the struggle against the forces, which undermine the people's welfare, namely the ruling classes (Frank, 1995).

To sum up this section we have seen that TfD is no doubt a popular mode of communication that involves people and motivate them to take action regarding their improvement, thus achieving its main objective. However, we have seen that there are different models to the TfD practice and that the mode of communication may be rendered ineffective if it is led by practitioners who are interested more in its financial gain rather than its inherent objective. Lastly, the people's culture and language holds key to the success of TfD as a participatory tool.

3.4: Communication and debates on use of African languages in development

Scholars are in agreement that human society as it is relies a lot on communication and language. Communication is a core ingredient of social life and language is a major component of it (Thompson, 2003; Fairclough, 1992; Halliday and Hasan, 1985). Good (2001:76) argues that "human language and the ways in which we use it lie at the very heart of our social lives". The author emphasizes that it is through communication with one another that personal relationships, communities and societies are made and maintained. Indeed, it is through social networks and relationships that we are who we are in our different social set ups.

This study is premised on the argument that an improved understanding of the complexities and subtleties of communication and language can be of great assistance to people involved in the social process of changing the quality of lives that people live in the Third World countries. Effective communication can therefore make a big difference between success and failure in development projects. This position is augmented by an understanding that community development is a service activity involving selling of ideas that are aimed at influencing other people's way of lives so that they can change to a better life of dignity and less human suffering. This influence relies on appropriate communication and language use which form the building blocks for any meaningful interaction. Therefore, the clearer one understands them the likelihood of better results.

The word 'communication' has a very broad application and is interpreted variously by scholars from across disciplines. This study is cognizant of the other applications even as it narrows the operational meaning of communication to what Fiske (1990) defines as 'the social interaction through messages'. This definition is important in this study because it recognizes three important elements that are crucial to this study. The first element is the fact that communication takes place in a social context hence places emphasis on the crucial role that context plays in communication. Secondly, that within the social context, communication involves not mere transmitting of information, but also an interaction which implies communicating relationships between people. And lastly, the element involving messages is important to this study and particularly in line with Thompson's (2003) point that, "a meaning can be sent and received even if the person communicating had no intention to do so" (p. 11).

This implies that communication is a multilevel event that carries messages encoded and superimposed upon the basic object and, which indicates how we want someone to take the basic message. Bateson (1972) called this *metamessage* and argued that ignoring this often leads to breakdown in communication between

interactants in a communicative event. Rosengren explains this rather philosophically by pointing out that, "as human beings we cannot not communicate" (2000:38) meaning that even in silence we still communicate various messages whether we wish those communications to take place or not. Communication is therefore a core social fact.

The earliest and best known communication model is the Shannon and Weaver's (1949), simple model based on three elements that is, the sender/transmitter, the receiver and noise (seen as any factor that interferes with or undermines communication). Although this model was quite influential, it is criticized for being too simplistic and failing to account for other communication factors such as social contexts and the importance of meaning (Thompson, 2003). The alternative approach to this is the semiotics approach, which emphasizes signs and the powerful symbolism associated with them. Cobley (2001a) argues that in the semiotics approach the focus is on how signs are used and combined in systems to form the basis of communication:
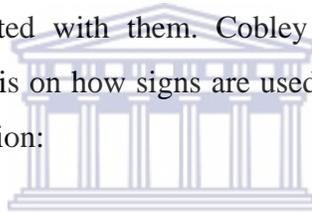
> Communication is a form of semiosis which is concerned with the exchange of any messages whatsoever: from the molecular code and the immunological properties of cells all the way through to vocal sentences. Signification is that part of semiotics which is concerned with the value or outcome of message exchange and sometimes is given the name 'meaning' (2001a: 7).

This approach is significant to this study because it emphasizes semiotic signs as building blocks in a system of meaning making thereby providing theoretical basis for understanding how meanings are made in different semiotic systems using signs such as visual images and lexemes. This is linking well with the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis that this study uses as the framework for analyzing data.

However, as Thompson (2003) warns, signs are not universal resources applicable to all people in the same way, instead they are governed by people's way of life

hence culturally specific and must be interpreted so. While pointing to some of the defining characteristics of culture, Guirdham (1999) defines culture as a 'historically transmitted system of symbols, meanings and norms', which implies it is engrained in people's social wellbeing and thus it is fundamental to the idea of communication. This argument is followed up by Kendall and Wickham (2001) when they emphasize that culture refers to "the different ways people go about ordering things and the different ways the world goes about ordering people" (p. 24). Indeed, culture gives us the framework for making sense of our experiences through "providing us with an interconnected set of shared ideas, assumptions, beliefs, values and unwritten rules" (Thompson, 2003:15). Thompson goes on to recognize that even such conception of culture is too broad and may refer to many sets of different shared meanings which may not be relevant to a particular communicative event. However, he singles out two ways in which culture is important to communication: first that it is through cultural signs and symbols that we are able to communicate with one another, and second, that each communication has to be understood within the context of the particular culture or intercultural network in which it occurs.
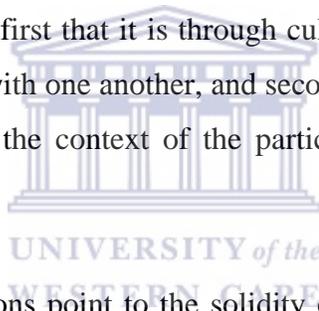
Whereas the above observations point to the solidity of culture in communication and language usage, Berger and Luckmann (in Thompson, *ibid*) point out that there are ideas that influence people's thoughts and actions. They refer to such ideas as "ideology" and go ahead to define the term as "ideas serving as weapons of social interest" (Thompson, 2003: 16). In other words, those who remain in positions of power do so not as a result of physical force, but through subtle means embedded in such powerful ideas. Thompson sees ideology as the set of ideas which help to maintain the status quo in terms of the existing power relations. The interpretation of such ideas are important in this study because they have an impact on how development information is disseminated in the study area and I discuss them in Chapter Four on the conceptual framework used in this study.

Other scholars (e.g. Foucault, 1977, 1979; Fairclough, 1996; Kress and Hodge, 1979) have linked the concept of ideology to discourse and pointed out how languages in use carry with them power relations and how such relations are embedded in the discourses that ensue. In this way, we see that communication is very closely linked to power through the medium of discourse. In addition, we realise that differences in discourse are signalled by differences in language since discourses are maintained through language. This leads further to the appreciation that language does not only reflect reality, but also in many senses constructs that reality (see Fairclough, 2004; Halliday, 1994, 1978; Wodak, 1996, 2001; Van Dijk, 1997). Shotter (1993) contributes to the same appreciation by noting that:

> Language is no longer seen as serving solely a representative function, but also being formative, that is, rather than being of use merely to refer to circumstances within a situation, it functions to formulate the functions in which we are involved as situations, as states of affairs (p. 33).

In this sense, by using the term 'poor' we are not just reflecting the state of affairs in the Third World countries, but also in effect we are reinforcing and constituting the reality in the Third World as being so. Although this is very similar to the analysis of the functions of language and particularly what people do with language, which is well elaborated in the works of Austin (1955), Searle (1969), and Bates (1976), it is indeed related to the role of language in constructing and construing reality as explained by Halliday (1978) in the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics.

What is apparent in the foregoing discussion is that it is not possible to have a single and clear approach to communication because as Thompson (*Op. cit*) notes, communication accounts for such a wide- ranging and intricate subject matter. But we can now say with certainty that communication is so linked to social interaction that when we communicate we actually communicate ourselves thereby transcending mere passing of information and delves into a process that centres on

the constitution of the individuals' identity. And since development interaction brings together participants from different cultural frameworks there is high potential for difficulties in communication given that participants will always make assumptions based on their unwritten rules.

This brings the discussion to the area of intercultural communication, in which speakers from different cultural backgrounds interact, particularly in disseminating development information. Thompson (*Op. cit*) lists three potential areas of difficulties in intercultural communication as:

i. Incompatibility of assumptions each speaker from a different culture will be drawing upon in framing the basis of their communication;
ii. Different cultures have different approaches to communication; and
iii. Discrimination of one's culture by another person based on one looking down upon someone from a different cultural background.

These factors often lead to stereotyping, a practice based on day-to-day 'typification' in which people see things as typical, they "become rigid and resistant to change, amendment or renegotiation" (*ibid*: 31). The danger with stereotyping is in the fact that it has an effect in distorting communication because they are inherently based on derogatory and unfounded evidence. Scollon and Scollon (2001) argue that stereotyping is a kind of overgeneralization that carries an ideological position and applies characteristics of one group to another group usually through exaggerated negative and positive value. These values form the basis for arguments in support of social or political relationships in regard to members of those groups. They underscore the need for awareness of the dangers of stereotyping and a commitment to ensure that these are not allowed to influence people's actions and interactions because stereotyping:

> Limits our understanding of human behaviour…our view of human activity just to one or two salient dimensions and consider those to be the whole picture…they go

on ideologically to use that limited view of individuals and of groups to justify preferential or discriminatory treatment by others who hold greater political power (*ibid*:169).

From the aforementioned discussions, it cab be said that communication entails more than just the use of words to disseminate information and development interaction is certainly a wide and delicate interface that encompasses communication, language, culture, ideology, power, attitudes and interpretations of both unsaid and the said, the seen and the unseen. And all these come to the interactants through mode of communication. In the next section I link the discussion to communication mode and language debates in development.

3.4.1: Communication mode

One of the key concepts that this study sets out to investigate is that of mode of communication. Development involves interaction between two parties be they individuals versus community or individuals among themselves. Such social interaction is mediated upon by language. In a way mode can be seen narrowly as referring to the 'role language is playing in an interaction' (see Martin, 1984), thus it is an important aspect of context. As conceptualized in this study, mode shall refer to the planned use of language in accompanying the social process of development hence language as action and language as constituting the social process of development, and consequently, language as a reflection of the social process. This study therefore, interprets mode as a largely message/information passing strategy or process involving the interactive use of semiotics - language and image-in the context of development.

Eggins (2004) highlights two types of distance in the relation between language and situation. These are the spatial or interpersonal distance and experiential distance. The spatial or interpersonal relations illustrate a distance continuum that exists and provides possibilities of feedback between the interactants. This could be face-to-face interactions which allow for immediate feedback, or no visual or aural contact

between the writer and reader as in the case of a book. The second relation, the experiential relation, ranges situations according to distance between language and the social process occurring at the time of interaction. In this continuum, language is used to accompany a social activity the interactants are involved in, hence it is part of the action, but a verbal one. This is contrasted with the polar extreme where there is no social activity underway instead language constitutes the social process (*ibid*).

Eggins also discusses typical characteristics of spoken and written language and the linguistic implications of mode. Her discussions are relevant to this study in a number of ways. First, they provide this study with theoretical foundations for identification of mode as used in disseminating community development messages. Secondly, the discussions provide a sound explanation and clarity of the identifying characteristics of modes of communication. This thesis uses her characterisations to identify and classify the modes used in information dissemination in development. Lastly, Eggin's study provides valuable tenets for the analysis of linguistic implications of mode in development discourse and context.

3.4.2: Debates on the use of indigenous languages in development

Given, the arguments put forward for investment in education as an essential ingredient in development, and given that the majority of developing countries are multilingual, it is perhaps surprising that so little concern has been shown by donor agencies for language issues, especially those related to the languages of the development target group. The debates on language use in national identity and development have raged on ever since Africa came into contact with the Western powers and languages. There is always a strong argument for the use of indigenous languages in education and development particularly from African scholars. Such scholars point out that since development is carried in foreign languages the only way people in the Third World countries can benefit from the process is through the languages they know best. These are in many cases the indigenous languages.

While noting that the role of language in development cannot be ignored, Bamgbose (1991) points out that one area where attention has been focused lately is the relation between linguistic heterogeneity and development. He cites an early work by Banks and Textor (1965) that linked linguistically heterogeneous states to low and very low per capita GNP, and linguistically homogeneous states with a high or medium per capita GNP and describes development in terms of growth, attainment of economic targets, growth rate, increase in Gross National Product (GNP) or Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and rise in per capita income, among others. Whereas this study acknowledges the contribution made by Bamgbose's study, it finds the arguments advanced by Banks and Textor selective in applicability. For instance, they are silent on the process of language planning which does give status and function to languages in a society. In this case therefore, it is not the fact of homogeneity that will enhance development since even some of the developed countries are linguistically heterogeneous. What is important is the function that the society gives to language(s) in a community. A heterogeneous community which embraces its multilinguality can still achieve development in spite of the many languages.
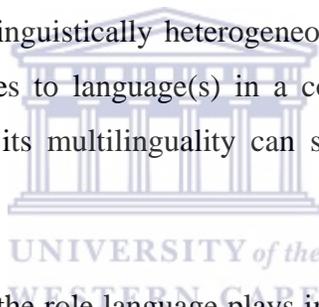
This study is concerned with the role language plays in disseminating development information and particularly on how local languages can be expanded so as to facilitate easy acquisition of expert knowledge needed in development a point which is ably advanced by Prah (1995). Therefore, the current study differs with Bamgbose's definition of development by conceiving it as change for better, be it in human conditions or socio-economic growth. In this sense then, development constitutes the software or ideas, knowledge and skills that people need in order to improve themselves, rather than the hardware or tangibles measured through GNP and GDP which narrows the whole idea of development to economics.

Muthwii and Kioko (2004) discuss five major issues that they deem essential to an understanding of present day development in the use of languages in Africa. They list these as: (1) the effects of language policies adopted since independence, (2)

language attitudes, (3) literacy dilemmas, (4) challenges in the language classroom, and (5) the relationship between language and economic development, and the continents response to globalization. They feel that these factors, in one way or another, shape not only the language practice in each nation in Africa, but also the nature of the complex multilingual situation that they help to create.

On language policy, they argue, and rightly so, that the language policies adopted at the end of colonial rule is the genesis of the good or bad language practices as observed today. For instance, the observation that colonial education prepared the Africans for clerical works and manual labour through the use of the local indigenous languages, a point which Kembo-Sure (2002) also attest is the genesis of the negative attitude and lack of enthusiasm towards local languages.

Nevertheless, this study is not blind to the fact that colonial education had some positive implications, such as preparing some Africans for 'white collar' jobs. The beneficiaries of this education system became the managers and successful clerks at independence. Moreover, those who could speak English automatically got employed and their destinies are changed. One gets a feeling that the colonial language policy and practice created a craving for the language of colonial masters, in the case of Kenya English, since it is the language of 'liberation from the social and economic yolk'. This further explains the array of attitudinal disposition especially negatives towards African languages and positive towards foreign languages (English) due to their association with socio-economic power. But while that is case, this study refuses to mourn the 'perceived evil deeds' of the colonial linguistic policy and practice and instead advances arguments in favour of giving status to the indigenous languages and developing them without casting blame on English hegemony.

On language teaching, Muthwii and Kioko elaborate and support the point on the social advantage status that English enjoys in Kenya by discussing the practical difficulties faced by many African states in implementing indigenous languages as a

medium of instruction. Such difficulties often leave the countries with no option but to adopt a foreign language if one takes into account the need to keep abreast with globalization trends and economic development. Citing examples from studies in Kenya and Uganda, Muthwii and Kioko acknowledge the fact that "there is an enormous pressure exerted by social and economic indicators for youngsters to learn an international language" (2004: 8). It is such pressures that perpetuate the hegemony of foreign languages such as English and French in Africa.

Muthwii and Kioko, provide sufficient background information regarding the language situation in Kenya, but more so they delineate the socio-cultural and historical factors that explain the prevailing language situation. Their study also highlights the need to do more research on how language as a resource can be exploited in speeding community development. For instance, in Kenya, there is no linguistic democracy allowing one to use a language of his choice anywhere and the situation is worsened by the socio-economic pressures and the desire for upward mobility which silently dictate that one uses English in all formal situations. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that job opportunities across the country demand people with some level of education. This gives advantage to people who speak English, a language that is learned in school hence only those who have a chance to go to school may get any meaningful employment opportunities. Such people often acquire a new culture different from that of the communities where they originate. It is such people who are deemed competent to handle development issues in the communities yet they are practically illiterate as far as the community cultural dynamics and linguistic resources are negotiated and applied. They are thus not best placed to deal with development issues in the communities.

Kishe (2004) explains how language can facilitate development and shows that there is a close relationship between language and development and that meaningful development cannot take place where linguistic barriers exist. She proposes that Kiswahili, which she refers to as "a de facto lingua franca" in the Great Lakes region, be adopted as a medium of communication in the region. She argues further,

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that "for development to take place and the desired objectives to be realised in the Great Lakes region, there is need to unite people through the use of a common language" (2004: 122). Her paper addresses what she refers to as a "logical basis" for considering Kiswahili as an appropriate tool for facilitating unity and fostering political and socioeconomic integration which she argues, "will lead to the development of the region". She cites the following reasons among others for advocating for Kiswahili; its widespread status across Great Lakes region, the fact that it is a medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools in Tanzania, its international status, its neutrality, efficiency in mass media and highly developed grammar and vocabulary.

Whereas the above observations are true regarding the use of Kiswahili, there is the danger of killing or smothering other African languages that have potential for growth. Besides, such suggestions must be backed by practical evidence that the people of the Great Lakes region are themselves willing to adopt Kiswahili for such functions. Otherwise the suggestions will risk being treated as just another contribution to the debate on language politics. Furthermore, it is not clear how she arrived at the observation that Kiswahili is widespread in the Great lakes region since there are pockets within the said region where Kiswahili is not spoken or even if it is spoken it is certainly not a popular language. This suggestion, if taken up by the relevant authorities, would go against the linguistic right of the people living within the Great Lakes region especially those whose languages are already threatened by English and Kiswahili. In addition, the non-Bantu speaking linguistic groups like the Luo of Kenya, the Acholi and Lang'o of Uganda would certainly loose their linguistic identity. Lastly, despite the implementation of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in Tanzanian primary schools and a taught subject in secondary schools, evidence from world development agencies still rank Tanzania lower than her neighbours who use English as a medium of instruction, as far as development is concerned.

This study supports her argument for the development of indigenous languages to promote development in the region, but does not agree with the choice of one specific language given the multicultural diversity of the area in question. Moreover, it would not be prudent to replace the hegemony of one language (English) with another (Kiswahili). Just like English has not given the other languages room to grow, Kiswahili if adopted as suggested by Kishe, would kill the development of other African languages thus denying the region its right to exerciseing linguistic choice. The current study differs with Kishe's position on the advancement of one common language for the entire Great lakes region. The position taken in this study is that there should be a liberal linguistic space in matters pertaining to development after all languages should not just be developed because of their inherent potential for growth, but to serve the needs of its users. In this case it must facilitate a change in people's living conditions.

Ekkehard Wolff discusses the social cultural dimensions of language in Africa pointing out the functional rivalry between African languages and the imported languages 'usually those of former colonial masters'. He acknowledges that language is a social behaviour and as such it reflects social stratification usually demonstrated by status and functions of each and every language in a given African society or state (2000). This social stratification implies a hierarchical relationship of 'higher' and 'lower' in terms of prestige, power and privileges attached to each language. This is sociologically referred to under status and roles. The differences between status and roles are reflected and reinforced in human social behaviour even in what appears to be a homogeneous state, a fact that counteracts the idea that cultural and linguistic homogeneity, as perceived by politicians, intellectuals and educational elites in Africa, is a prerequisite to successful nation building. The recent historical experiences in Rwanda and Somalia stand out in bold opposition.

Other factors associated with social stratification are identified as age, sex, ethnic/clan/lineage/family background, kinship relations within clan/lineage/family, religion, occupation, economic status, migrant verses permanent residence status

and 'race' which are often being reflected in language behaviour (Wolff, 2000). Therefore language behaviour is also affected by social changes in other words as people grow old or acquire new status their language also change.

Language use is influenced by the prevailing cultural practice and contextual factors. This means that different cultures have specific patterns of language use and as such there is a scale of social cultural acceptance at a given instance of speaking (see *ibid*). These cultural habits determine factors such as political correctness in verbal behaviour, language taboos, use of euphemism and neologisms as replacements of words with negative connotations. These observations are relevant in the analysis of the impact of culture in dissemination of development messages as discussed in Chapter Six of this thesis.

The prevailing cultural dimensions determine domains of language use. Domain of language use is defined as:
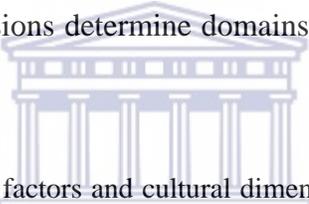
> a situation where several factors and cultural dimensions of language use typically coincide, that is when the same set of participants typically use the same linguistic variety when they speak in a particular setting or socio-cultural context on a topic which is typical for that occasion (Wolff, 2000:307).

The domains, the participants and settings are important to a study such as this which focuses on a collective activity bringing together participants from different backgrounds engaging in interactive speech in different settings. Even more critical is the distinction between monolingual and multilingual speech communities and how they treat different domains of language use. Wolff argues that in monolingual societies speakers tend to use different varieties such as codes and register of their mother tongues, while in multilingual speech communities there is a tendency to use different languages altogether. This study did not just find this applicable, but used the information to exemplify how three languages, English, Kiswahili and Dholuo are used in the study area and how each language encodes its own register.

Closely linked to the above is the idea of language varieties and attitudes which are inevitable in multilingual societies. In fact such linguistic prejudices are acknowledged as universal human characteristics and can be viewed as positive or negative depending on who is involved (ibid). These attitudes are often associated with the functions that those languages serve in the society and Wolff warns that any attempt by planners to change the functions and use of language in society should not ignore the attitudes since such a move may jeopardize the implementation of new language policies.

Planners must thus be cognizant of the existence of language barriers at both international and local level communication. Wolff notes further that barriers in 'dissemination of information and knowledge' are a common human problem which either enhance or restrict geographical or social mobility. He suggests two basic strategies for overcoming language barriers:
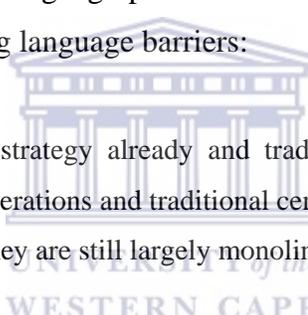
i. Bi-and multilingual –a strategy already and traditionally widespread in Africa, more so in urban agglomerations and traditional centres of economic exchange than in rural areas of which they are still largely monolingual.

ii. Linguistic assimilation and language shift, usually a more prestigious lingua franca or language of a wider communication- also widely practiced in African societies.

While these strategies are true, this study notes that they are limited in dealing with intra-linguistic barriers involving registers and codes, for instance, in cases where participants speak the same language, but fail to communicate as a result of register, neologisms or euphemism. These are elaborated using data from the study area in Chapter Six.

Related to language barriers are horizontal and vertical media of communication. Heine (cited in Wolff, 2000) points out that languages in Africa are either vertical or horizontal media of communication. Horizontal barriers impede geographical

mobility and stress solidarity and social equality characteristic of African mother tongues. This in turn has a blocking effect on social mobility. On the other hand, Heine argues that vertical barriers impede social mobility by stressing divergence and inequality, separate the elite from the masses and thereby serve for upward social mobility; this is characteristically associated with the imported languages of wider communication in Africa. Wolff argues that, while horizontal media are handed down without access to formal education system and are acquired at home, vertical media are characteristically taught in schools and tend to have a tradition of writing and standardization. The horizontal are confined to oral communication with little or no standardization behind them.

Furthermore, Wolff suggests the possibility of shifts in the status of a language from horizontal to vertical function particularly in cases where an African language becomes a national language or even an official language, replacing or acting beside a vertical medium of European provenance. In the case of Kenya, Kiswahili is an example of such shift of function, having moved from a mother tongue to a national language and now recently upgraded to an official language.

These are factors which affect the politics of language in a state and are concerned with the status of language within nation states. Language policies can promote, prescribe, discourage or prevent the use of languages thereby disempower or empower speakers of languages by giving higher or lower status to their languages. Wolff builds on the work of Cobarrubias (1983) to argue that language policies are guided by the following particular ideologies or ultimate goals (2000:341):

i. *linguistic assimilation* in most clearly seen in Portuguese, Spanish and French colonial policies in Africa: every person was supposed to assimilate to the monolingual and monocultural behavioural patterns considered to be the norm in colonial motherland.

ii. *linguistic pluralism* would accept non-monolingualism in its multifold manifestations as individual and/or institutional multilingualism, di-or triglossia, multi-monolingualism etc.

iii. *vernacularism* embracing endoglossic language policy, and

iv. *internationalism* embracing exoglossic language policy.

From Cobarrubias classification this study notes that as a former colony of the British, Kenya embraced the exoglossic language policy by adopting English as an official language and a language for international communication.

Language policies thus establish functional hierarchy of official language(s), national language(s), and other languages spoken within the state, and indicate their roles and institutional support. This provided points that support my argument regarding colonial language policies as casting the language status in Kenya.

3.5: Conclusion to Chapter Three

Having reviewed participation, communication and language debates in the field of development, it has emerged that language is key to active interactive participation and effective communication. The review of debates regarding language use in development has shown that most development initiatives are led by the elite who speak foreign languages acquired through long period of schooling. As a result, they acquire a new culture that is different from those of the people they purport to want to develop. Furthermore, since language is essentially a discourse of the locale, once one is out of touch with it for a long time one is bound to loose the strategies of its functionality. This is typified in the linguistic choices and discourse practices in communicating development information.

The aim of this study, as stated in Chapter One, is to investigate language use and modes of communication in development projects in Nyanza province. To be able to do this, the study needs to apply the use of some grounded theory to analyse data

and draw conclusions. In the next chapter I will and discuss the two theoretical approaches applied in analysing data in this thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0: THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1: Introduction

This chapter explains the analytical framework that is used in this thesis. As mentioned in Chapter One, this study focuses on analyzing language use and modes of communication as forms of social practice. The investigation is approached from a perspective that takes communication as an interactive social construct involving people engaged in the production of texts aiming at achieving some form of social action. In this sense, the study explores what people do with language, examining how language constitutes and constructs social reality. More specifically this study investigates the purpose for which modes of communication and language is used in the different contexts of community development and how such language usage is interpreted within the field of development. A closer examination of aspects of context- culture and situation- and particularly register and genre are analysed with the aim of unearthing the underlying hidden attitudes, values, ideological and power relations and how these aspects impact on dissemination of development information. An analysis of this kind will provide a deeper understanding of development as social practice in the study area.

To be able to analyse the language use and modes of communication exhaustively and elaborately in the study area, thee study applies two theoretical approaches namely, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). SFL is very effectively organized as a tool for the analysis and interpretation of texts, spoken or written (Martin *et al*: 1997:2) and as such it proved very effective in analyzing the metafunctions arising from the interaction between participants in the field of development. As a theory, SFL is concerned with the relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life. The approach of SFL to linguistic analysis is oriented to the social character of texts (Fairclough, 2004) and this makes it particularly relevant to this study.

However, since language also signals power relations and ideological positions, SFL is further supplemented by CDA. This approach is unique in systematically exploring opaque relationships of causality and determines the discursive practices, events and texts and the wider social cultural structures. The aim of such exploration is to see how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggle over power (Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 2001) and how this affect the type of communication that sees meaning making as an interactive social encounter. I consider each of the theories in detail below.

4.2: Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

The insights and publications of M.A.K Halliday form the basis of the theory of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL). Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) is centred on the notion of functional semiotic systems (Halliday, 1985, 1994; Chapelle, 1998). The important claim in Functional Grammar is that language, which is a verbalized semiotics, is structured to communicate meanings which arise out of context of use. In this sense SFL is also described as a functional-semantic approach to semiotic analysis. This means that SFL explores how people use language in different contexts to perform social functions and how language is structured as a semiotic system (Eggins, 1994; 2004).

Halliday was greatly influenced by his teacher JR Firth (a British linguists who himself was influenced by Malinowsky). Historically, this was the period after the Second World War and the ideas of formal linguists such as Ferdinand de Saussure and Noam Chomsky were dominating the field of linguistic studies. The development of SFL and the continued quest to establish it as a theory of language can be attributed to two factors. First, it was a reaction to the revolutionary ideas of Chomsky's grammar, which focused on internal aspects of language rules at the expense of social and cultural dimensions. Secondly, linguists who paid attention to real-life discourse at this time were dismissed as 'data-oriented' and language as a

social process was also dismissed as merely 'performance' and hence of no serious interest (Webster, *Op. cit*).

Besides, scholars working outside linguistics like Basil Bernstein were questioning the power of the existing linguistic theories in handling meaning. The challenge from educators, sociologists, computer scientists and others, to whom language mattered, encouraged Halliday to continue his study of language as text. His work developed to stress the idea that language cannot be disassociated from meaning and as the name suggests SFL, considers function and semantics as the basis of human language and communicative activity. Unlike structural approaches that privilege syntax (see Chomsky, 1957; 1965) SFL-oriented linguists begin linguistic analysis with the social context and then look at how language acts upon, and is constrained and influenced by, this social context (Eggins, 1994).

4.2.1: The metafunctions

SFL advance the premise that there is a complete interconnectedness between linguistic and social context and that the main focus of linguistic study is 'on how people use language to make meanings with each other as they carry out the activities of their lives' (Christie and Unsworth, 2000:3). The theory recognizes that "any language use serves simultaneously to construct some aspect of experience, to negotiate relationships and to organize the language successfully so that it realises a satisfactory message" (Christie, 2005:11). In this regard, SFL theory is idiosyncratic in three ways: first, in the claim that all natural languages have three types of meanings; secondly, in attaching significance to the notion of 'system'; and thirdly, in asserting that there is a relationship between language and context. In other words SFL claims that all natural languages have metafunctions which relates to the theory's principal concern, that of function and that every grammatical organization of language reflects the functions for which language has evolved in the human species. Halliday and others in the SFL approach have named them metafunctions, that is, "functions that extend across any pattern of language use" (*ibid*: 11-12) and these include the ideational metafunctions, interpersonal metafunctions and textual

metafunctions. This implies that any use of language serves the three specific semantic functions.

While SFL also accounts for the syntactic structure of language, it places the function of language as central (what language does, and how it does it) in its analysis. This is a departure from formal and structural theories, which place the elements of language and their combinations as central. The application of this theory is aimed at understanding the quality of the texts produced in development discourse by finding out what they mean and why they are valued as they are.

SFL asserts in the first idiosyncratic way that language manages three major functions, that is, to represent experience which it refers to as either the 'ideational' or the 'experiential' function. Halliday (1977; 2002) refers to them as the semantic system and explains further that ideational metafunctions denotes aspects of the grammar that represent the world and its experiences. Ideational metafunctions has two components, the experiential (basically concerned with the representing experience and include resources of transitivity and lexis), and the logical metafunctions (concerned with building the connectedness between clauses).

The second metafunction relates to how people set and sustain interaction using language; this is referred to as the 'interpersonal' function. The interpersonal metafunctions refers to the grammatical resources that signal the realization of relationships between interlocutors in terms of mood, modality, person, key, intensity, evaluation and comment all of which determine the role relationships in a situation. Here language is used to establish and maintain social relationships and to express viewpoints and attitudes about the world and possibly change the viewpoints and attitudes of others.

And lastly, to create connected and coherent discourse, SFL uses the term textual metafunctions. Textual metafunctions accredit features of grammar that organize language as a message drawing from the resources of theme, information and

cohesion, so that the text 'hangs together' as a complete whole to fit the context in which it is produced (Halliday, 1976; 1985; 1994; 2004; van Dijk, 1997; Christie, 2005; Christie and Unsworth, 2000; Eggins, 2004). Figure 1 illustrates the three types of meanings/purposes or 'metafunctions' that make up the internal organization of all languages as discussed above.
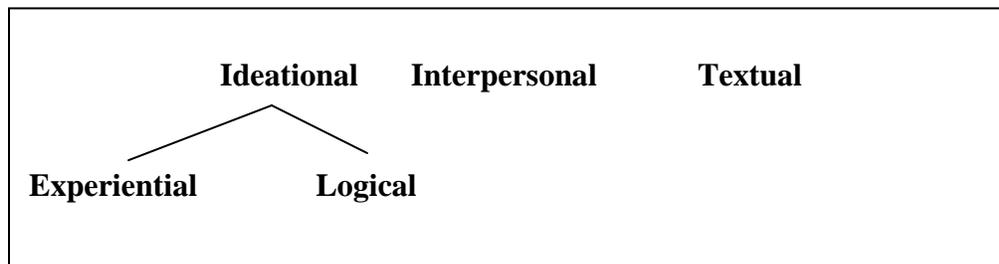
Figure 1: The three metafunctions of language (adopted from Halliday, 1979:57)

4.2.2: The notion of system

The second idiosyncratic way relates to the inimitable focus it places on describing language as a set of choices of meanings within a system. The theory views language as a system of meanings, that is, "a set of options with an entry condition" (Halliday in Christie, 2005:13). The linguistic system is made up of many clusters of options or choices, which carry meaning in terms of the potential choices not made. Furthermore, every choice embodied in an utterance or a text carries the three metafunctions discussed above. For instance, a set of options such as clause in English language can be either finite or non-finite; a group can be nominal, adjectival, adverbial or a prepositional phrase. Any grammatical choice can be represented as a system with two or more alternative options or choices, for instance the grammatical category clause can be represented as shown in figure 2 below:
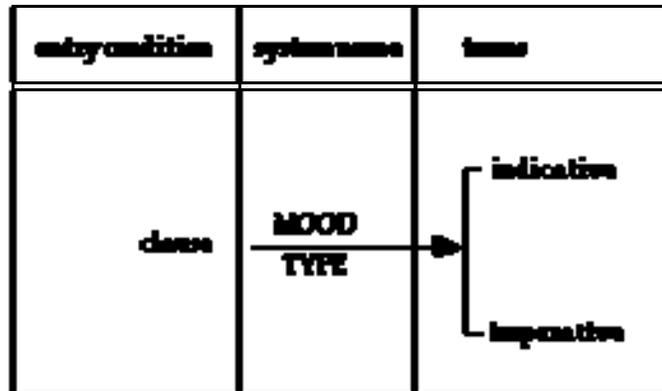
Figure 2: A system

This graphic representation shows that a clause (entry condition) can express mood (system name) which is either indicative or imperative. It is from this idea of system that the theory derived its name, 'systemic' linguistics. Furthermore, SFL theory view language as comprising of levels explained in the notion of 'stratification'. There are four levels of strata from which language can be analysed and these are; level of semantics (involving metafunctions as we have seen above); level of lexico-grammar; level of context and lastly, the phonological/graphological level.

The Lexico-grammatical level is concerned with the syntactic organization of words into utterances. Even here, a functional approach is applied to analyse utterances in terms of roles such as Actor, Agent/Medium, Theme, Mood, etc. (see Halliday 1994 for full description). The choices on each stratum are constrained by those on others. Thus, the decision to use a nominal-group (= noun-phrase), rather than a clause, to express a semantic 'process' will be determined by both the textual structure of the text as a whole, and also by the social context (e.g., nominalization is more functional in a science text than in casual conversation).

Each feature is also associated with the structural consequences of that choice, for instance, the feature 'finite' might have realizations: +Subject; +Finite; Subject: [nominal-group]; Finite: [finite-verb], meaning a Subject and Finite element are required. The Subject is filled by a nominal group and the Finite by a finite-verb. Further selections in the clause network will more tightly constrain the fillers of

these roles, and specify the presence, fillers, and ordering of these elements. The choice of these lexico-grammatical elements will show the type of processes and participants involved in the processes, thus revealing the metafunctions.

4.2.3: Exploring context

The third idiosyncratic feature of this theory is the central concern with complete 'text' (i.e. meaningful passage of language) as a basis of linguistic study. This means that SFL is concerned with the analysis of authentic products of social interaction called 'texts' (Christie, 2005) considered in relation to the cultural and social contexts in which they are negotiated rather than a decontextualized sentence or utterance. SFL is therefore, concerned with describing the linguistic options or choices that are available in constructing meanings in particular contexts. This is important in understanding the link between social contexts and language use, a concern that this study set forth to investigate. SFL thus provides methodological apparatus for examining the link between language use and the social contexts in which it occurs, that is, the interconnectedness of the linguistic and the social.

The three aspects of SFL that is, functions, choices and complete text discussed above "characterize the theory as having strong commitment to the view that language study should focus on meaning and on the way in which people exercise choices in order to make meaning" (Christie and Unsworth, 2000:2). According to Chapelle (1998), the unit of analysis for SF linguists is the 'text' because the functional meaning potential of language is realized in units no smaller than 'texts'. The study of texts is typically performed by examining elements of the lexico-grammar and phonology. However such small units must be viewed from the perspective of their contribution to the semantic sense expressed by the entire text within a context. On this issue, Halliday says, "for a linguist, to describe language without accounting for text is sterile; to describe text without relating it to language is vacuous" (1985a: 10).

The meaning potential or the linguistic choices that people make are constrained by two factors, context of situation and context of culture. These two concepts are borrowed from the anthropologist Malinowsky (1923, 1935), to explain the fact that texts must be understood as features of context of situation and the larger context of culture. Halliday explains that the concept of "context of situation" obtains "through a systematic relationship between the social environment on the one hand, and the functional organization of language on the other" (Halliday, 1985:11). Since meanings are constructed within a context of situation and since situations are culture specific, context limits the range of meanings that can be selected. The context of culture is the bigger picture that embodies a full range of systems of situational contexts. That these two concepts are constructed in texts is important to note because the comprehension of text depends on ones' knowledge of these two concepts. Likewise, in order to understand a specific social action or contexts, a linguistic analysis is essential given that the two (social and linguistic) factors construct and constrain each other. This makes SFL appropriate for the examination of linguistic "texts" as a way of understanding and explaining a social phenomenon i.e. dissemination of development information as a social activity.
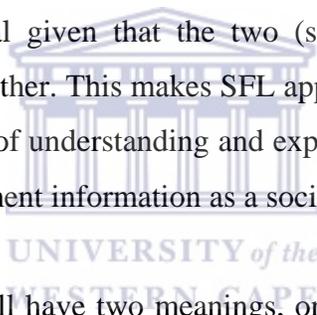
SFL recognizes that a text will have two meanings, one is the immediate meaning deriving from context of situation, the second one is the wider meaning deriving from the meaning of context of culture, and these may differ. Whereas the text is part of context of situation, it is also part of context of culture. The different text types are generally referred to as genres (Christie, 2005). The genre theory expounds on the concepts of 'context of situation' and 'context of culture' which are crucial in analyzing and interpreting the different text types. Any context of situation is described in terms of three variables that influence the way in which language is used and these are identified as the field of discourse, tenor of discourse and mode of discourse and are related to the three metafunctions of meaning that I have discussed earlier in this section. The primary construct for explaining this linguistic variation is the "register". Register is important in systemic linguistics

because it is seen as the linguistic consequence of interacting aspects of context, namely field of discourse, tenor of discourse, and mode of communication.

The context of situation motivates the meanings of texts in three main areas (Butt *et al.*, 2000). Thus, we can deduce ideational meanings from participants (people or objects) involved in some process or social activity, and the relevant circumstances such as place and time. And examine the role which language plays in positioning the participants in the processes. In the case of this study, social activities include the interaction between the community members and the development agents during capacity building, empowerment, mobilization and sensitization of the community. Halliday refers to this aspect of context of situation as the **field** and explains that,

> **The field of discourse** refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what is it that the participants are engaged in, in the language figures as some important component? (Halliday and Hasan, 1985: 12).

In other words, field refers to what is being spoken about, that is, the topic.

The other aspect of context of situation is concerned with the people involved in a speech/verbal interaction and the relationships between them. SFL explains that we can infer interpersonal meanings and the nature and purpose of the relationships by investigating the participants involved in the interaction. We can tell the attitudes and feelings of the participants from what they say and "such meanings relate to the relative power or status of the participants, the extent of their contact and effects" (Christie and Unsworth, 2000:5). This aspect of context of situation is referred to as **tenor** and according to Halliday**,**

> **The tenor of discourse** refers to who is taking part, to the nature of participants, their statuses and roles: what kind of role relationships obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the

whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved (Halliday and Hasan, 1985:12).

The interaction between participants engaging in social action is carried out through a medium so as to convey experiential meaning. The role language plays in creating textual meanings in context of situation is called **mode** and on this Halliday says,

> **The mode of the discourse** refers to what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting language to do for them in that situation, the symbolic organization of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, that is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, didactic and the like (Halliday and Hasan, 1985:12).

These three contextual variables are intended to help the linguist tie linguistic analysis to the relevant contextual variables (Halliday, 1985; Eggins, 2004; Christie, 2005) and thereby understand the meanings involved in a text. By understanding the semiotic properties of a situation (i.e., the values for field, tenor, and mode), language users can predict the meanings that are likely to be exchanged and the language likely to be used (Chapelle, 1998; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). Halliday notes that while people are communicating they make predictions by using the values of field, tenor and mode to understand register and that their assessment facilitates their own participation. This is a fundamental point to this study considering that the field of discourse involves participants who may not have a shared history and thus have to rely on contextual factors to interpret meanings and negotiate the meaning-making processes.

The three contextual variables discussed above correlate with the tri-functional domains of language or the metafunctions in various ways. Martin (1991a) and Iedema *et al* (1994) 'hook-up' the dimensions by linking ideational meaning with 'reality', interpersonal meaning with 'social reality' and textual meaning with the 'semiotic reality' that manifests themselves as texts when meaning is made. The bi-

directional relationship between language and context of situation is indicated in figure 3.
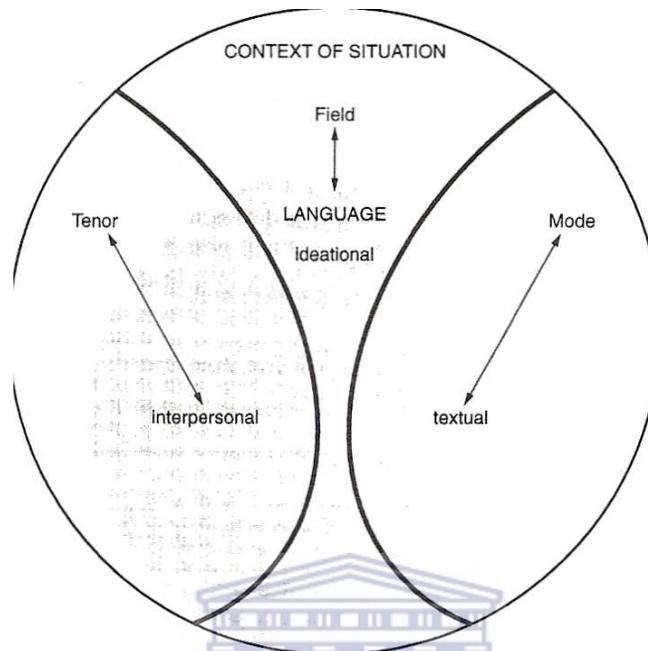
Figure 3: Field, tenor and mode realised as ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions in language (adopted from Martin, 1992a in Christie and Unsworth (2000:7)

This study applied these three aspects of context to examine how "texts" are constructed and interpreted by participants involved in development discourse in situations such as community meetings, workshops, field trips, theatre performances and written texts. These "texts" get their true meanings from, and must be interpreted within the wider context of the culture of the community and the 'new culture' being transferred in the development messages. In addition, the study also applied the concept of register to analyse how participants in development initiatives reduce indeterminacies of meaning.

Communication in the field of development is not limited to linguistics signs only, but it also includes other forms of semiotic usage other than language-in- use such as image, film and gesture, which are also of interest to this study. SFL framework

aptly offers an excellent analytical tool for explaining such modes. Working from a functional approach Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) provide analytical methodology in what they call the "grammar of visual design" that can be applied to visual communication. It is this visual communication that I now proceed to explain in the next section.

4.3: Visual communication and multimodality

Historical experiences in Europe and particularly the industrial and technological revolution saw the advent of new forms of meaning making and message dissemination modes. In the recent years visual communication has developed as an alternative to linguistic communication hitherto favoured as the main meaning-making mode. Communication has experienced change in semiotic landscape and human beings are getting more and more predisposed towards multimodal meaning making and "our own multi-semiotic development or ontogenesis, requires attention to more than one semiotic than just language-in-use" (Iedema, 2003:37). Our semiotic landscape is becoming more and more populated with social and cultural discourse practices and "we are faced with sound and image taking over tasks associated with the role of language since the invention of the printing press, and thus to some extent *displacing* language" (*ibid*: 37).

The new realities in the semiotic landscape are brought about by social and cultural factors such as

> intensification of linguistic and cultural diversity within the boundaries of nation-states, and by the weakening of these boundaries, due to multiculturalism, electronic media of communication, technologies of transport and global economic developments. Global flows of capital dissolve not only cultural and political boundaries but also semiotic boundaries (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996:34).

As a result, a new recognition of the alternative semiotics making use of a combination of modes (multimodality) to disseminate information has emerged.

This requires that we expand our conception of mode to embrace "multimodal discourse analysis" (MDA) operating on the same principles of Hallidayan social semiotics. Multimodality entails "going beyond linguistics into social semiotics and taking into account as many modalities of communication as we can systematically describe" (Martin and Rose, 2003:255). In SFL, we have creative accounts of extra-linguistic semiotics as testified by the works of Kress and van Leeuwen (1990, 1996, and 2001), Martin and Rose (2004), O'Toole (1994) and Jewitt and Oyama (2001).

In particular, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) have shown how SFL can be applied in analyzing visual semiotics using Halliday's tri-functional conceptualization of meaning. The two scholars have extended the metafunctions to images using slightly new terminology thus "representational" instead of "ideational"; "interactive" instead of "inter-personal"; and "compositional" instead of "textual" (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001). Like linguistic sign, images not only represent the world, but also play a part in some interaction, this it does with or without accompanying texts. Below I explain how the tri-functional conceptualization in SFL as advanced by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) is applied to visual communication.

4.3.1: Representational (Experiential) meaning

Language has a representational function – we use it to encode our experience of the world thus it conveys a picture of reality-things, events and circumstances. In this case it encodes meanings of human experience which is realised in the field of discourse (Butt *et al*., 2000) or the "topic" of communication, that is, what the discourse is "about" (Eggins, 2004). This representation is carried out by a system of Transitivity which is itself realised by the concept of Process representing "action" and "relations". Transitivity is important in this metafunction because it determines the necessary participant roles as represented by clauses (Halliday, 1994).

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) describe visual syntactic patterns as having the function of relating participants to each other in meaningful ways and identify two kinds of patterns. First, are the Narrative representations which "relate participants in terms of 'doings' and 'happenings' of the unfolding of actions, events or processes of change" (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001: 141). This is realised through "vectors" which "are formed by depicted elements that form an oblique line, often a quite strong, diagonal line…vectors may be formed by bodies or limbs or tools in action" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996: 57). These lines connect participants hence expresses a dynamic "doing" or "happening" kind of relation (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). Participants from whom the vector emanates or who are themselves vectors are taken as the "actors" while those to whom the action is done or directed are referred to as the "goal". Visual images in which participants are engaged in some action or happenings are said to be in a transactive relationship, meaning there is action directed at some goal, while in images where there is only an actor, such images are said to be non-transactive. According to Jewitt and Oyama (2001:143),
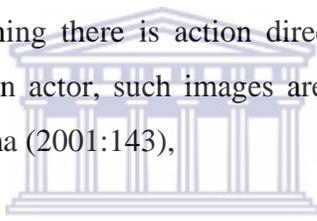
> …the concept of narrative visual analysis can help 'interrogate' a visual text, help to frame questions such as who are playing the active roles of doing and/or looking and who the passive roles of being acted upon and/or being looked at in a visual texts with certain kinds of participants.

The second pattern relates to conceptual structures, which refer to images which do not contain vectors. Conceptual visual processes visually "define", "analyse", or "classify" people, places and things. Under this, we have the classification structure that brings "different people, places or things together in one picture, distributing them symmetrically across the picture space to show that they have something in common, that they belong to the same class" (*ibid*). Likewise symbolic structures define the meaning or identity of a participant. Hence, in symbolic attributive structure, the identity or meaning of one participant (referred to as Carrier) is established by another (referred to as symbolic attributive). Symbolic attributes are

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characterized by salience such as size, position, colour, use of lighting, "they are pointed out by means of gesture", and such images tend to look out of place in the whole and are conventionally associated with symbolic values (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001:144). Participants can also be represented in a part-whole structure hence analytical structure containing two participants: the carrier (the whole) and any number of possessive attributes (the parts). In this way, we can be able to define a concept by showing how it is made up of other parts. Lastly, within the classification structures we have the setting. This refers to participants in a picture, who are not related to the main participants by means of vectors. This connection is similar to circumstances in functional grammatical terms. This will include participants in the background or foreground who have no direct connection with the main participants (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). With this kind of information, I set out to investigate whether the people in the projects area were able to link this connection in visual images to the meanings that the designers set forth to communicate. This metafunction is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

4.3.2: Interactive (Interpersonal) meaning

Interactive meaning is similar to Halliday's interpersonal meanings which are realised through the tenor of discourse or text. They basically deal with relationships and the nature of participants, their status and roles and socially significant relationships in which they are involved (Halliday, 1985). The relationships can be between speaker and hearer or reader and writer. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) maintain that visual communication has resources for 'constituting and maintaining' the interaction between the producer and viewer of the image. They say that images involve two kinds of participants, "*represented participants* (the people, the places and things depicted in the images), and the *interactive participants* (people who communicate with each other through images, the producers and the viewers of the images)" all of which are linked together by three kinds of relations:

(1) relations between represented participants; (2) relations between interactive and represented participants (the interactive participants' attitudes towards the represented participants); and (3) relations between interactive participants (the things interactive participants *do* to or for each other through images) (1996:119).

Images thus, interact with viewers suggesting the attitudes the viewers should take towards what is represented. Kress and Van Leeuwen also identify three factors that are key to realization of these meanings as, contact, distance, and point of view, all creating a complex and subtle relation between the represented and the viewer. I look at each of these factors below.

4.3.2.1: Contact

Interactants in a speech situation assume two roles: that of "giving" or "demanding" information and which are related closely to speech functions of "initiating" and "responding" in a turn (Eggins, 1994). Kress and Van Leeuwen borrow from Halliday's (1985) distinction between different classes of speech act, such as, questions and commands which "demand" information or goods and services, and statements and offers which "offer" information and goods and services. They use the terms "demand" and "offer" to refer to pictures of human beings who look directly at the viewer from the picture frame (thus making contact with the viewers and establish an imaginary relation with them) and pictures without this kind of imaginary contact (which readers observe in a detached way and impersonally as though they are specimens on display) respectively.

This study investigates whether the viewers are able to interpret the meanings encoded in the multimodal texts such as posters and brochures. This is because posters and brochures are meant to initiate some form of interaction with the viewers. This is discussed in detail in Chapter Eight.

4.3.2.2: Distance

In every day interaction the norms of social relations determine the distance we keep from each other. Depending on the position of the image in the picture frame, images can bring people, places or things close to the viewer or "keep them at an arm's length" (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). This relates to the 'size of frame shots' hence close up shots tend to present people as being more or less intimately acquainted, thus revealing their individuality and personality, as opposed to seeing them from a distance, which signals impartiality similar to that of strangers, people whose lives do not touch us. Jewitt and Oyama (ibid) warn that this does not mean that people we see represented in close up are actually close to us and vice versa, instead they are simply presented as though they should belong to 'our group' hence addressing viewers as a certain kind of person.

This study examines how such features are exploited in disseminating meanings in the various forms of visual communication from the posters and brochure.

4.3.2.3: Point of view

Point of view is yet another way in which images bring out the relationship between the represented participants and the viewer. Point of view has to do with perspective, the selection of an angle (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). This implies the possibility of expressing subjective attitudes towards represented participants, human or otherwise. 'Subjective' here does not mean 'individual and unique' since they are socially determined, hence they must not be interpreted as such even though they are encoded as subjective, individual and unique (*ibid*). Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) identify two angles in a picture, the vertical and the horizontal angles, and equate them with the "demand" and "offer" respectively, as we have seen earlier. The horizontal angle encodes "involvement" between the image producer and the represented participants and the frontal angles invite the audience/ viewer to identify with the participants in the picture. On the other hand, the oblique angles signal detachment, something that is not 'part of the viewers' world' (*ibid*). The two terminologies are used to explain participants' attitudes towards the images

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in visual semiotics. Involvement is said to be closer to the grammatical category of possessive pronouns, although they differ in many ways. Involvement signals plurality and distinguishes between what belongs to 'us' and what belongs to 'them' (ibid: 145).

The horizontal angle is contrasted with the vertical angle which signals power relations between the participants in the interactive situation. The authors explain this by pointing out that,

> If a represented participants is seen from a high angle, the relation between the interactive participant (the producer of the image, and hence also the viewer) and the represented participants is depicted as one in which the interactive participant has power over the represented participant- then represented participant is seen from the point of view of power (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996:146).

Likewise if the represented participant is viewed from a low angle, then the relationship between the two participants is that which the represented participant has power over the interactive participant. Pictures that are at eye level are said to signal the point of view of equality in which there is no power difference between the participants (*ibid*).

This study used these tenets to analyse the communicative interaction between the visual images in poster, murals, and brochures and the targeted communities. Visual social semiotics helps in illuminating how structures of the image contribute to the representation of the different concepts in the multimodal texts. This is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

4.3.3: Compositional (Textual) meaning

This is the last of the social semiotic visual analysis resource and deals with resources similar to the textual metafunction features of grammar and how it helps to organize any text into a coherent whole. Just like writers and speakers need to keep their readers and listeners well informed about where they are going and

where they are (Butt *et al*., 2000), visual communication also makes use of three resources of compositional meaning to ensure that the images hang together as a complete whole. Compositional resources here include: Information value; framing; salience; and modality, to signpost the reader on the compositional organization of the text. Let us look at each one of these briefly.

4.3.3.1: Information value

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) suggest two forms of textual organization for images, the "polarized" and the "centred" and there is polarization along the vertical and the horizontal axes (Martin and Rose, 2004). This means that the role of any particular element will depend on whether it is placed on the right or on the left, in the centre or the margin or in the upper or lower part of the picture space or page (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001) and the information value will be realised by the placement of elements of a composition. For images that are polarized on the horizontal axis, the left position is occupied by "Given" information, meaning it is information that the reader or the viewer already knows and this forms the point of departure for the message. The information on the right is considered as "New", meaning it is presented as something not yet known to the reader or the viewer hence calling upon the reader or viewer to pay special attention. For that matter it is problematic and contestable (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996).

The vertical axis presents the top-bottom polarity tagged as the "ideal" and the "real" by Kress and Van Leeuwen (*ibid*). The "ideal" is characterized by generalized information and is usually ideologically the most salient part, while the "real" is characterized by more specific, down to earth or practical information or more real information. And finally, images may be organized around a centre or margin principle, with the centre forming the nucleus information that holds the marginal elements (Martin and Rose, 2004). The marginal elements are thus said to be subservient to the centre and belong to it.

This kind of visual analysis is important in analyzing the understanding of the compositional information on the multimodal texts by the target community. This study seeks to find out whether they are able to interpret and understand the 'new', the 'real and the 'centre' information which form the core focus of multimodal texts.

4.3.3.2: Framing

Elements in a composition can either be given separate identities of represented as belonging together. This is known as "framing" and it is what 'connects' or 'disconnects' elements in a composition (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). This implies that elements or groups of elements are either disconnected, marked off from each other, or connected, joined together. Disconnection can be achieved through contrasts of colour schemes or forms, empty spaces between elements or through any form of visually significant discontinuity (ibid). On the contrary, connection can be achieved through similarities and rhymes of colour and form, through vectors that connect elements and through the absence of frame lines or empty space between elements. This is very similar to the grammatical resources that signal Theme and Rheme and hold the text together as one whole.

4.3.3.3: Salience

In pictures and visual texts, some elements are more eye-catching than others in many different ways, through aspects such as size, colour contrasts, tonal contrasts, or anything that can make a given element stand out from its surrounding (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). This is referred to as "salience" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). Salience is an element that is extensively exploited by producers of the multimodal texts in development communication in the study area. This study examines the impact of this element in ensuring effective dissemination of information.

4.3.3.4: Modality

Lastly, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) point to the reliability of messages as a crucial issue in communication. This has to do with 'reality value' of what we see or hear. The authors say that people attach more credibility to messages that are closer to reality than those that are not. The question of truth and reality is often subject to contestation and struggle, and as such, people make decisions on the basis of information that they receive or produce. The modality markers in a message are therefore significant in aiding the interpretation and acceptance of the message. Modality markers are "established by the groups within which we interact as relatively reliable guides to the truth or factuality of messages, they have developed out of the central values, beliefs and social needs of a group" (*ibid*: 159).

Kress and Van Leeuwen (*ibid*) draw a distinction between naturalistic modality (in which modality is seen as equal to reality) and scientific modality which is based on what things are in general, and point out that naturalistic modality ensure higher modality while scientific modality is considered low modality. The distinction of modality is thus based on reality value of a visual text and certainly those that are low in modality will be contested and not taken seriously as opposed to those with high modality. However, it is worth noting that 'reality' itself is based on convention which is culturally and contextually bound. Thus, what may appear as natural to one person may not be necessarily so to another.

4.4: Relevance of SFL to this study

Development process involves interactants engaging in discourse within a socio-cultural context using linguistic resources in order to arrive at meaning consensus. The meanings arrived at greatly impact on the social action to be undertaken. Through the interaction in the project areas the participants continually and consistently construct their social world. Using the three variables of field, tenor and mode of discourse as explained above, SFL provides a good analytical tool to explain the metafunctions of language within the study area and how it impacts on the dissemination and acquisition of development information.

SFL comes from the theoretical foundation that views language as a meaning-making system hence focuses on the functions of language in social interactions. Language users must select from the possible range of meaning-making choices available to them so as to create and interpret texts in contexts of use. This study dealt with an interdisciplinary field bringing together varying concepts and concerns, and participants who relate in different roles, and who communicate using various channels. SFL was particularly strong in examining the choices that people make within the context that they operate.

SFL as stated earlier, provided a useful descriptive and interpretative framework for viewing language as a strategic meaning-making resource. The study found this theory appropriate for the analysis of development discourse and used it to explain which people make meanings, in what context and with what purpose. This is crucial to the understanding of the development processes which rely on meaning negotiations and mutual understanding. SFL was also instrumental in analyzing the relationships such as between 'developmental' texts and the context of usage, (e.g. the use of posters developed outside the community), interpersonal relations of development agents and the people they interact with, and lastly the relationship between the field of discourse and the content of the messages.

In conclusion, SFL, as applied to both linguistic and social visual semiotics, has proved useful and relevant to the kind of data that this study sets out to examine and analyse. SFL offers a descriptive and interpretative framework for explaining language and visual semiotics as strategic meaning making resource. However, as I mentioned in the introduction, SFL alone could not explain all the variables in this study and as such it is supplemented by CDA to explain the important variables like attitudes of the participants towards each other, the values they uphold, power relations, dominion and ideology.

4.5: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has a common root with Critical Linguistics (CL) in sharing perspective on doing linguistic, semiotics and discourse analysis. They are both critical and their origin could be traced to the influence of Frankfurt School or Jurgen Habermas (Thompson, 1988; Anthonissen, 2001). Critical Discourse Analysis emerged in the 1970s as a form of discourse and text analysis that recognized the role of language in structuring power relations in society. At this time, the thoughts of Noam Chomsky were the dominant approach of doing linguistic studies. The Chomskyan approach emphasized formal linguistics and was concerned with the ideal speaker competence which could be isolated from specific instances of linguistic performance (Chomsky, 1957). Even though the relationship between language and context was considered (Levinson, 1983), the basic units of analysis were restricted to the speaker's sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence and more specifically to sentences or components of sentences. Studies in sociolinguistics were also limited to describing and explaining language variation, language change and structures of communicative interaction (Wodak, 2001).

CDA developed from this kind of scholarly linguistic environment to focus attention to social hierarchy and power, text and their production and interpretation, their relation to societal impulses and structures. This signalled the beginning of a different kind of linguistic methodological and analytical interest that broadened the analysis of language to include the social and political engagement with a sociologically informed construction of society (Krings *et al*., in Wodak and Meyer, 2001). It also recognizes the need to make visible the interconnectedness of things in human matters (Fairclough, 1995).

Being a multidisciplinary approach CDA has several histories, even though as stated above, it emerged from a conjunction of different kinds of discursive activities traced in the Critical theory. Critical Linguistics was developed by a group of scholars based at the University of East Anglia in the 1970s (Fowler, 1981; Fowler/Kress/Hodge/Trew, 1979 in Threadgold, 2003). This particular group was

strongly influenced by the work of Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday and his Systemic Functional Grammar (which I discussed in the preceding section) as well as approaches borrowed from Chomskyan transformational linguistics. Fowler in particular was influenced by the work of Barthes and early French semiotics. Threadgold (2003) identifies other approaches that influenced CDA as the Prague School linguistics and semiotics, British structuralist-functionalist anthropology, the work of Bernstein on pedagogic discourse, work of Sapir (1921) and Whorf (1956) as used in the work of Halliday (1985).

From these different schools there has emerged different approaches to CDA namely; French discourse analysis, critical linguistics, social semiotics, sociocultural change and change in discourse, socio-cognitive studies, discourse-historical method, reading analysis and the Duisburg School (see Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:260-268).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emerged as a distinct theory of language in the 1990s (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak and Fairclough, 1997; Wodak, 2001). The label CDA was first used by Fairclough (1995), when he produced a theory of discourse and social change drawing from the work of a number of neo-Marxist and social theorists. However, CDA is not a single approach to the study of discourse analysis; it is a multidisciplinary approach to discourse analysis drawing experiences from diverse backgrounds notably, interactional studies, text linguistics, cognitive linguistics, and semiotics and communication studies. The main scholars identified with this theory include Ruth Wodak, who has a background in interactional studies; Teun van Dijk comes from the text linguistics and cognitive linguistics background, while Paul Chilton comes from a background of linguistics, semiotics and communication studies (Bloommaert, 2005). Despite their unique backgrounds, these scholars agree on certain principles of analysis, they address similar issues and have developed some institutional tools for doing so. Other scholars such as Michael Billig, Christina Schaffer, Theo van Leeuwen, Gunther Kress and Margaret Witherell are also closely associated with the theory.

Norman Fairclough, who is widely associated with the theory, was heavily influenced by Michael Halliday's Systemic-Functional Linguistics (see section 3.2 above). The emergence of CDA brought together a version of Hallidayan Functional Grammar with sophisticated social and cultural theory (Threadgold 2003). Bloommaert (2005) contextualizes this emergence in the Post-Second World War development in social theorist which addressed language from a broadly social-semiotic viewpoint and offered alternative foundations for sociolinguistic and discourse analytic work. In the field of language, the revolutionary dominant Chomskyan theory of formal linguistics came under strong criticism especially for its exclusion of the social and cultural dimensions to language study. These strong criticisms saw the development of other approaches to the study of language. Hallidayan linguistics was inspired by the desire to incorporate social semiotic functions into the study of grammar (Butler, 1995), while in literary studies and analysis the thoughts of Mikhal Bakhtin redirected scholars to aspects of voice and social layering in communication. CDA is therefore:

> …founded on the premise that linguistic analysis can provide critical additional perspective for existing approaches to social critique, and it attempted to combine (at least a number of) these post-second world war developments (Bloommaert, 2005:22).

Fairclough regards his approach as 'critical' because it combines Marxist theory of discourse with linguistic methods of text analysis and indeed CDA regards language as a social practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997), and is specifically interested in the relationship between language and power. In contemporary usage, the term CDA refers particularly to "the critical linguistic approach of scholars who find the larger discursive units of text to the basic unit of communication" (see Wodak, 2001: 1-13).

CDA critically analyses linguistic forms as products of social interaction and recognizes context of language use as critical to the interpretation of the meaning of

that discourse (*Cf.* Benke, 2000; Wodak, 2000). Discourse- language use in speech and writing- is envisaged in this approach as a 'form of social practice' (Fairclough, 1989:20). This implies that there exists a dialectic relationship between discursive events and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it. Thus, a discursive event is shaped by the situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them. Fairclough and Wodak explain this assertion by pointing out that:

> Discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and produce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:258).

This social constitution of discourse reflects important issues of power and is inherently a fertile ground for ideological loading. This means that the discursive practices can help in producing and reproducing unequal power relations in the manner in which they represent things and position people. CDA takes very keen interest in the relation between language and power and attempts to

> unpack the ideological underpinnings of discourse' that have become so naturalized over time that we begin to treat them as common, acceptable and natural features of discourse (Teo, 2000).

As a method of analysis it aims at making these opaque aspects of discourse more visible as it intervenes to emancipate the interests of the dominated and oppressed groups against the dominating groups (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). This study applies this theory in analysing the existing relationship between the perceived 'powerful' participants such as NGO personnel, opinion leaders and the donors, and the perceived 'powerless' participants collectively referred to as 'the community' in the target area. The study hypothesizes that this relationship has strong impact on the effective dissemination of development information (see Chapter Six).

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Wodak interprets CDA as being fundamentally concerned with "analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (2001:2). This implies that CDA aims to investigate critically the social inequalities as they are "expressed, signalled, constituted, and legitimized by language use (or in discourse)" (ibid). This point builds on and endorses Jurgen Habermas' assertion that:

> …language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. Insofar as the legitimations of power relations...are not articulated,... language is also ideological (Habermas, 1977:259).

This study finds this assertion fundamental in terms of illuminating relationships of dominance, discrimination and unearthing the ideological currents. The current study also goes on to investigate the effect of these relationships on the dissemination of development information. Moreover a clear understanding of these relationships can be used to enhance proper grasp of the development concepts required for active participation and collective action towards the desired change.
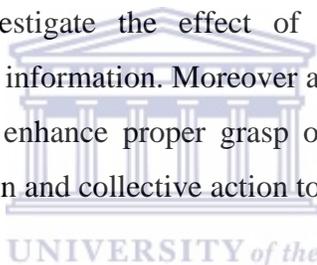
This theory aims at helping analysts decipher the social problems that are mediated by mainstream ideology and power relationships, all of which are continually fostered by the use of discourse in our daily lives. The underlying objective is to uncover the ideological assumptions that are hidden in the words of our written texts and oral speech in order to resist and overcome various forms of power 'over' (Fairclough, 1989). Thus, CDA may be seen as basically analyzing the opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language (Wodak, 2001). In essence, CDA aims at critically investigating social inequality as it is expressed constituted, legitimized by language use or in discourse. In the field of discourse of development, there exists a wide array of these opaque relationships and inequalities. Using CDA, this study analyses and explains how these relationships and inequalities have affected

development process in the study area, and the best methods that could be used to avert their negative impact.

In that regard, CDA is a systematic exploration of the relationships between discursive practices, texts and events, and the wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes. It strives to explore how these non-transparent relationships are a factor in securing power and hegemony, by drawing attention to power imbalances, social inequalities and non-democratic practices, and other injustices in the hope of spurring people to corrective actions (Fairclough, 1993).

4.5.1: Central tenets of CDA

Fairclough (2000) identifies three central tenets of CDA and points out that discourse is shaped and constrained by (a) social structure (this includes class, status, age, ethnic identity, and gender), and by (b) culture and (c) discourse (i.e. the words and language we use). This means that the discourse we use helps to shape and constrain our identities, relationships, and systems of knowledge and beliefs. In other words, the texts become more than just words-it becomes about how those words are used in a particular social context (Huckin in McGregor, 2003).

These tenets are crucially relevant to this study in two ways. First, this study aims at understanding the role culture plays in disseminating development information hence these tenets provided a solid basis from which to examine the impact of culture on development information. Secondly, development brings together people of diverse cultural origins and backgrounds and these impacts on how development information is disseminated and interpreted. The social interactions produced different texts, genres and discourses which were then analysed in order to get the communities' understanding of development and how they relate to the idea of community development. This point is closely related to the aspects of context of situation and context of culture that I have already discussed above (see discussion on SFL). This study also seeks to find the identities, values and beliefs of the participants involved in the development.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) provide the following eight points as the principles for defining CDA:

i. CDA addresses social problems (e.g. communication hindrances among participants in development).

ii. Power relations are discursive ('power in discourse' and 'power over discourse') (e.g. language use between elite development workers as opposed to the perceived poor communities).

iii. Discourse constitutes society and culture (e.g. the way the ensuing discourse in the study area is reflective of the people's cultural demands and is shaped by it).

iv. Discourse does ideological work (e.g. through a people's language one can get to understand what values they uphold).

v. Discourse is historical (understood in terms of changing context over time) (e.g. every development intervention can be situated historically for instance all texts have some roots in the communal history).

vi. The link between text and society is mediated (e.g. this study examined how this link is mediated by the social semiotic such as language and multimodal channels)

vii. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory (e.g. one can explain and interpret the products of social interaction-the "texts").

viii. Discourse is a form of social action (e.g. through language communities can agree to implement an action plan, say empowering women to take up active role in decision making in the community or establishing committees to oversee the running of water projects).

All these principles provided theoretical clarity and practical directions in the analysis of discourse as a social practice. Based on the above principles, CDA developed an analytical framework (see discussion below). Fairclough (1992a) also provides an analysis of a three-dimensional framework of conceiving and analysing discourse. These are discourse-as-text, discourse-as discursive-practice and

discourse-as-social practice. From these three dimensions he proposes a threefold distinction in research methodology progressing from description, to interpretation and to explanation (cf. Fairclough, 1989; 1992a; Bloommaert, 2005 for details).

4.5.2: CDA Analytical Framework

According to Fairclough (2004) CDA models its analytical framework upon the concept of 'explanatory critique' by the critical theorist Roy Bhaskar (Bhaskar, 1986; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; 2001) which is represented schematically as following certain steps:

i. Focus upon social problem which has semiotic aspect (For instance this study investigates communication and language use barriers to effective dissemination of development information)

ii. Identify obstacles to it being tackled, through analysis of

    a.   The network of practices it is located within (e.g. discourse order and linguistic choices used in social interactions).

    b.   The relationship of semiosis to other elements within the particular practice(s) concerned (for instance investing the link between the different modes as applied in multimodal texts).

    c.   The discourse (the semiosis itself).

- Structural analysis: the order of discourse (for instance the textual composition of the messages or what aspects take precedence in a discursive event).

- Interactional analysis (in this case how do the participants interact by use of the different semiotics).

- Interdiscursive analysis (analysis of discursive practices among participants)

- Linguistic and semiotic analysis (e.g. the analysis of actual linguistic texts and the analysis of the social visual semiotics).

iii. Consider whether the social order (network of practices) in a sense 'needs' the problem (the study hypothesizes that network of practice is affected by the problem hence does not need it).

iv. Identify possible ways past the obstacles (for example the critical investigation and analysis of the modes of communication and language use so as to find the most appropriate framework to off set the obstacles).

v. Reflect critically on the analysis (1-4).

<div align="center">Source: Fairclough cited in Wodak and Meyer (2001:125).</div>

This framework is suitable for this study in the following ways. First it highlights the fact that CDA is about problem-based meaning: it is oriented to identifying problems which people are confronted with in their social setups (in the case of this study inappropriate communication, language and cultural barriers, and underdevelopment as discussed in chapter two of this work) and contributes in identifying resources which people may draw upon to confront their problems. Secondly, the second stage draws upon SFL notion of being 'functional', in other words it sees and analyses language as shaped by social functions it serves (Fairclough in Wodak and Meyer, 2001). This stage is dealt with in the section on Systemic Functional Linguistics (section 4.2 at the beginning of this chapter). Thirdly, the consideration of whether the social order 'needs' the problem is contingent to the analysis of network of practices, such as cultural or social, which are critical to social change. This level of analysis is prudent to dealing with issues of ideology and how it signals the relations of power and dominance as shall be demonstrated during the analysis of data. The fourth stage of analytical framework aims at providing solutions or suggestions to overcoming the obstacles. This was one of the aims of this study, to propose a model for effective information dissemination in development projects in the study area. Lastly, the reflexive stage provided this study with a tool to countercheck the stages with the aim of being critical to both the tools used and the procedures followed.

4.5.3: Relevance of CDA to this study

Development work draws together participants from diverse social and ideological backgrounds engaging in discourse. From this theory, we have seen that there is an intrinsic link between language and social structures, and language and ideology. First, language indexes power, secondly, it expresses power, and lastly, in contesting or challenging power language plays a key role. Through CDA this study analyzes the existing pressures in the development projects especially insofar as ideology and domination, conflicting values and attitudes are concerned in the study area. CDA is used in this study to understand and explain the role that differing attitudes, values, and power relations play in the dissemination of development information.

Critical science approach holds that people need to think about improving their living standards rather than accepting and coping with their present conditions. This improvement (development/progress/change) is contingent upon people being conscious of the social realities that exploit or dominate them and then demanding liberation from those forces. The application of this is theory helps to explain how the powerless poor can gain: (a) personal freedom from internal constraints such as biases or lack of a skill or point of view, and (b) social freedom from external constraints such as oppression, exclusion and abuse of power relations (Gentzler cited in McGregor, 2003), factors which are critical to community participation and empowerment as put forth in the agenda of many NGOs and examined in Chapter Two and Chapter Six of this study.

Even though CDA does not provide answers to the problems, it is used in this study to understand the conditions behind the reasons why there is slow progress in achieving the development plans in the study area despite the enormous input in time, personnel and resources (see discussion in Chapter Five).

4.6: Analytical Framework adopted in this study

The analytical framework used in this study is derived from a combination of tow theories namely, SFL and CDA. SFL is profoundly concerned with the relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life, hence the social character of texts (Halliday, 2004, 1994; Van Leeuwen, 1993, 1995, 1996; Martin, 1992; Halliday and Hasan, 1976, 1989). CDA, on the other hand, is oriented towards the ideological dimensions of texts, that is, how texts represent and construct society and how they reproduce unequal relations of power, domination and exploitation (Wodak, 1996). In this sense, my analytical framework aims at highlighting the substantively linguistic and discursive nature of social relations of power in development practice, and how power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourses that ensue from such social processes. While examining the multi-functionality of the texts (the three metafunctions), the analytical framework will help in explaining the dialectical relationship between discourse and the society. That is, how language constitutes the society and it is constituted by the society. This study also examines how this dialectical relationship impacts on the social process of change in development interaction. Figure 4 below illustrates this dialectical relationship between language and society and how elements of contexts of culture and contexts of situation are realised in the texts that result from the social events.

Features of context of culture and context of situation:	(Realised by) Signals	Text: Functional component of semantic system, power relations and ideological positions
Mode of discourse (the role of language in organizing meanings e.g. the discourse practices and how they allow paths to meaning negotiation)		Textual meanings e.g. thematic focus, information, language choice, order of discourse, modes of communication (spoken, written or multimodal)
Field of discourse (what is going on or 'content' e.g. what is included in the trainings?)		Experiential meanings (transitivity choices, processes, participants and circumstances they are in, naming, etc)
Tenor of discourse (the relations of people taking part e.g. how do the development agents relate with the community members, what are the evident attitudes or values and assumptions)		Interpersonal meanings (mood, modality, person attitudes, class, status, education)
		Ideology, Power, Assumptions, attitudes and values
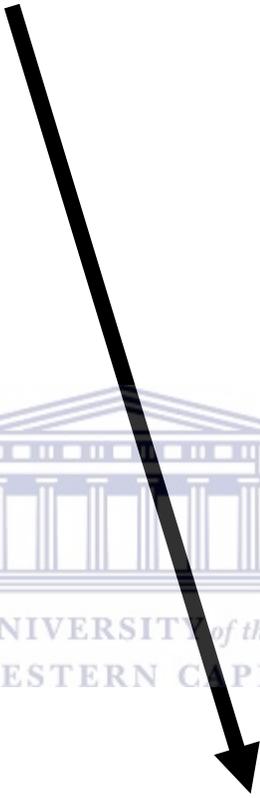
Figure 4: Analytical framework for the study (adapted from Halliday and Hasan, 1985 but modified to suit this study)

This framework takes into account factors such as power, assumptions, attitudes and values that are opaquely enshrined in the products of social events, that is, the texts. Furthermore, the framework also allows for appropriate interpretation of the discourses and texts guided by the ideology of development. For that reason, I have put all the textual metafunctions and meanings inside the bigger box of power, values and attitudes, because this study interprets the impact of these factors in the

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texts, genres and discourses on dissemination of development information. This framework is also applicable to the analysis of social visual semiotics as found in multimodal texts used in disseminating development information in the study area.

4.7: Conclusion to Chapter Four

This chapter has discussed two theories, SFL and CDA, which form the analytical basis in this thesis. I have pointed out by way of discussion, the origin and development of each theory and also explained the basic tenets in each theory. From the discussion it is evident that each of these theories is a powerful tool for analysing discourse as a social practice. For this reason, this thesis uses the two theories as the analytical framework to unpack the hidden forces and the multiplicity of meanings in the texts that are produced in development interaction. Having explained my analytical framework I proceed to discuss the research methods that I used to gather data used in this thesis.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1: Introduction

This chapter provides a blue print and an explanation of the actual execution of this study. It details the research paradigm, sample design and sample size, instruments of data collection, the data collection process and the problems encountered. The coding and editing procedures, the rationale behind the selection and process of data analysis is also presented. Finally, the chapter ends with a conclusion.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, this study set out to investigate the role of language and modes of communication in development. Development is conceptualized in this study as a social process which involves two groups (the development agents and the targeted community members) coming together to make meanings and share information. To understand this social process the researcher needed to spend time observing the discourse behaviour and interactional modes used by the target population. This entailed observing the actual participants interacting in a natural environment/setting (Creswell, 1998; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994) with the researcher as an instrument of data collection. This kind of investigation falls under the qualitative research paradigm and is characterized by research in a natural set up involving gathering of words or pictures, analyzing such data inductively, focusing on the meanings of the participants and describing a process that is expressive and persuasive in language (Punch, 1998; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Creswell, 1994).

Qualitative research implies a "priori approach to research grounded in philosophical assumptions, mainly interpretative and naturalistic approach, and on the multiple sources of information and narrative approaches available to the researcher" (Creswell, 1998:14). Denzin and Lincoln define this approach to research as follows:

Qualitative research is multi method in focus involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense or interpret phenomena in terms of meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials-case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts-that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives (1994: 2).

When applied to research, this approach enables a researcher to capture a complex and holistic picture of natural phenomena under investigation (Creswell, 1998) by relying on a few cases and many variables to produce a wealth of detailed data (Patton, 1987). It provides depth and detail through direct quotation and careful description of situations, events, people, interactions and observed behaviour, precisely what this study set out to examine. In order to clearly understand the nature of language use and modes of communication in community development projects in Nyanza province, Kenya, the researcher committed extensive time in the field engaging in the complex time-consuming process of data collection and analysis. This went hand in hand with writing long passages showing multiple perspectives and substantiating claims, and participating in a form of social and human science without any fixed guidelines or specific procedures (*Cf*. Patton, 1987). Qualitative research therefore provides the best design for this kind of study.

Moreover, the research questions in this study sought to find out the "what" and "how" of the topic rather than the "why", hence calling for a thorough exploration in order to provide a detailed view of the situation. This could only be achieved if the researcher took on the role of an active learner able to tell the story from a participant's point of view rather than the expert who passes judgment on the participants (Patton, 1987). But since the researcher could not consult and observe every body in the province given the sheer size of Nyanza province and the number of development organizations implementing numerous development projects in the

province, this study carefully sampled the target population in order to limit the number of respondents and exhaustively investigate the phenomenon.

5.2: Sampling procedure

The researcher sampled the population in order to come up with a sizable and controlled number of respondents, projects, and relevant information that would make the work manageable and practical within the time frame and resource allocated for this study. In this regard, this study applied purposive sampling to identify respondents who according to the researcher would provide the best information that would achieve the objectives set out in this study (*Cf*. Kumar, 1999).

The power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information thus enabling researchers to target and engage only those respondents who are likely to have the required information and are willing to share it (*ibid*). This is important in this study because not everyone in the field of development was willing to provide information therefore the identification of a "few "rich cases"… those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of evaluation thus the term "purposeful" sampling" (Patton, 1987: 52). In this sampling technique the "researcher uses knowledge of the population to locate the best informants" (Kane, 2004:133). Having been involved in development projects in the province, the researcher found this technique appropriate and convenient in selecting the informants thus reducing the task to proportion that could be managed within the time frame of the research period. Of course, it would be fallacious to imagine that the researcher knew all the participants before going to the field or that he picked only those informants that he was familiar with. This would be unethical, unscientific and prejudicial, and therefore a second technique, snowball sampling was also used during the fieldwork.

Snowball sampling identifies cases of interest from people who know people who know people who know what cases are information-rich, that is, good examples for

study, good interview subjects (Patton, 1990, 1987). Hence, the researcher identified key informants and asked them to identify other informants who were interviewed and asked to identify others and so on (*Cf.* Schutt and Engel, 2005). This technique was very useful in identifying consultants and community members especially in the rural areas where the leaders of community based organizations are not easily found in one place.

In addition to the above sampling techniques, opportunistic sampling was also used. This involved on-the-spot sampling taking advantage of the new opportunities while in the field long after fieldwork had begun (*Cf.* Patton, 1990). Opportunistic sampling allowed the researcher to follow new leads during fieldwork, taking advantage of the unexpected, and unforeseen opportunities thus being flexible even after fieldwork has begun. For instance, while having an appointment with the NGO Network coordinator for Western Kenya, the researcher chanced to meet three project officers, two consultants and a field officer, and with the help of the co-coordinator, the researcher engaged in an impromptu informal group discussion and later did a follow up with some of the informants. This proved very productive as it did provide different perspectives by development workers at the same time and place. Another instance of on-the-spot-sampling occurred when while visiting expectant mothers in Siaya district hospital for an organized FGD, the researcher serendipitously met a team of thespians who were working in the same project (YIER NG'IMA) but using theatre for development. The researcher organized a discussion and a subsequent follow up in the field to observe the actual TfD in practice. These two instances stood out from the field experience.

But before even going out into the field a predetermined criterion was drawn and used for identifying the sample. The criterion sought the following characteristics:

i. NGOs carrying out development initiatives in the province.

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ii. Projects that have used participatory methodologies in the last three years. This is more or less the project life for many development projects, and secondly the study specifically targeted participatory interactions for their richness in eliciting diverse discourse practices.

iii. Projects run by international NGOs and the reason being that such organizations' employment policy is not limited to people from a specific area. Hence they are likely to employ non-native speakers and they are the most heavily funded organizations. The researcher was interested on how they communicate with the local people.

iv. Development consultants who have worked in the area with at least three projects. This period is long enough for them to see through project implementations.

v. CBO leaders and community members in project areas.

Getting organizations to accept to be part of the sample was not easy and after repeated communication and in some cases official correspondences with the country director (see appendix 1) a total six Non-governmental organizations were identified (here referred to as NGO 1, NGO 2, NGO 3, NGO 4, NGO 5 and NGO 6 for research ethics and confidentiality). The NGOs are carrying out various development programmes/projects in the study area. Below is a summary of what each organization is dealing with:

NGO 1: Implementing improved farming methods, environmental conservation and agro forestry

NGO 2: Deals with initiatives that target Water and Sanitation

NGO 3: Deals with a wide range of issues such as Water and Sanitation, food security, prevention of HIV/AIDS transmission, and small scale business

NGO 4: Deals with Orphan-school support and HIV/AIDs

NGO 5: Deals with food security and women empowerment

NGO 6: Deals with poverty alleviation through supporting communittees in small scale businesses, conflict resolution and capacity building through trainings

However, as time went by it became difficult to continue working with some of the organizations as logistical difficulties and red tape stood in the way of the research objectives. In such organizations, it was not easy to get access to some of the records and the organizations' employees were very apprehensive even after explaining clearly what the study aimed at. For these reasons, two organizations (NGO 5 and NGO 6) were dropped and the data was subsequently gathered from four organizations (NGO 1, NGO 2, NGO 3, and NGO 4).

After getting consent to carry out research within the organization and in areas where they were implementing development initiatives, the researcher embarked on setting dates with key informants who were identified by the sampling techniques discussed above. Interviews and discussions were held in the respective NGO offices or with the community members in their respective communities. Part of date setting involved knowing the dates when a specific organization would be having a workshop or a seminar or an appraisal. This was diarized and time was set aside to attend such interactive sessions. Where possible and with the permission of the participants, the sessions were audio recorded using a digital voice recorder, however where recording was not permitted, the researcher engaged personally in the activities hence getting first hand information through observation and extensive note taking (Patton, 1990).

5.3: Instruments of data collection

The objectives and research questions in this study sought data on a wide array of variables and this necessitated application of several methods in data collection. This practice is not new in qualitative traditions. In fact it is argued by scholars of qualitative research that multiple methodologies provide the researcher with a better

understanding of the topic under examination (Denzin, 1978b; Patton, 1987; Creswell, 1998). Guided by this understanding the researcher used the following instruments to gather data that is used in this study.

5.3.1: Questionnaires

As part of gathering information regarding perceptions, cultural beliefs and attitudes toward language use, the study made use of a questionnaire (see Appendix 1 b). The questionnaire comprised of both open ended questions and closed ended questions. This mixture had the advantage of permitting unlimited response to the questions, allowing the respondents to qualify and clarify responses, producing the unexpected and revealing the respondents thinking process in the case of open ended questions. On the other hand the closed ended questions made administering the instrument quicker and less time consuming. In addition, the closed ended questions have the advantage of presenting easy analysis of the responses hence allows the analyst to compare and even to replicate the data (see Kumar, 1999).

However, prior to administering the questionnaire, the tool was piloted using a sample size of twenty respondents across all levels of education in order to determine its validity and reliability. It turned out that the tool was too demanding cognitively and it took a long time to complete the questionnaire. This meant that the tool was not friendly to the informants and therefore could not exhaustively capture what the study set out to investigate. The researcher then reorganized the tool by leaving out what was perceived to be difficult or confusing so as to make it user friendly but without compromising its intended purpose. This does not mean the study left out some of the variables it set out to investigate instead what was perceived as cognitively demanding was reworked and used in KIIs and FGDs.

Secondly, the piloting revealed that respondents avoided indicating their professions, for example three quarters of the respondents used in the piloting felt that the slot for respondents' profession was not necessary and that it would affect the way people would respond to the questionnaire. This was a significant response

in this study bearing in mind the majority of those involved in community development are professionals from other fields turning to development field for economic gains (*Cf.* Alumasa, 2003; Hall, 1997). In response to this concern, the specific question regarding the respondents' profession was omitted from the revised questionnaire that was later used to gather data for this study. However, this information about profession was obtained through other tools namely, KIIs and FGDs.

The design of the questionnaire provided the respondents with space for filling in their bio-data. The questionnaire composed of questions that sought to obtain information regarding the participants' bio-data, their understanding of the concept of development, the language(s) they use and their preferences, modes of communication, whether they used translation, and the impact of culture, socio-economic status and politics on dissemination of development messages. The questionnaire was self administered that is, the respondents filled in the information on their own but a great deal of time and care were then taken to go through the questions and explain the intention of the study before administering the tool to the respondents. Besides the explanation, there was an introductory section that sought the respondents' consent, explained confidentiality, anonymity and as well as the purpose for the research. The researcher left the questionnaires with the respondents and arranged a later time to pick the questionnaire after they had completed filling the questions.

The preliminary analysis of the data gathered by the questionnaire revealed that some respondents had detailed responses while others had unique perceptions to some of the questions. A careful identification of such cases was done and a follow up meeting was arranged with the respondents concerned for further sessions. Such cases were engaged in either KIIs or FGDs. As a whole, the respondents felt the questionnaire was well balanced though it demanded time for thinking and recalling some of the phrases or words that they had encountered difficulty in during

development interaction. This pointed to the fact that language concerns are often taken for granted until one comes face to face with it.

In the end a total of sixty questionnaires were sent out to consultants, opinion leaders, NGO personnel (especially project officers and directors), theatre practitioners and community based organization leaders. Out of these fifty-two questionnaires were returned, and this accounted for 86.6% of the completed questionnaires.

5.3.2: Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

This study extensively used key informant interviews as a tool for gathering data on special insights and people's experiences in their own voices. This tool comprised of a loose interview schedule mainly consisting of open-ended questions that allowed the interviewee to talk freely without constant interruptions. The interview schedule targeted broad themes and as such did not use specific uniform questions for all the interviewees (see Appendix 1 c). According to Seale *et al*, (2004:18) this is a "central rationale of qualitative interviewing that enables you to gather contrasting and complementary talk on the same thing or issue" while at the same time allowing the researcher the chance not to ask the questions in the same way in each interaction. Practical experience in the field revealed that some respondents were more comfortable talking about issues broadly rather than taking one question at a time. In this case, they ended up covering some questions thus rendering what they have covered in their exposition redundant. In such cases, the researcher allowed them the room to talk broadly about the key concerns. However, this does not mean the interviewees had a free hand in the sessions. They were guided to specific areas of thematic concerns and special interest to the study and where a new perception arose then it was pursued on the spot (*Cf.* Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

In many cases this tool proved handy when dealing with the locals who could not speak English. The sessions were carried out in Dholuo and later translated into English for analysis. It was also applicable to the opinion and perceptions of the

non-English speaking informants. All sessions, except one where the interviewee asked not to be audio recorded, were audio recorded using a digital voice recorder and later transcribed and translated into English. In the case where the respondent asked not to be audio recorded the researcher repeated or rephrased the questions in order to understand the interviewee clearly and make room for extensive note taking (Punch, 1998; Dey, 1995).

This research did not apply KIIs as a one-stop experience instead the researcher organized interviews and even re-visited the respondents for further interviews in cases where further information was required. Like a pendulum, the process moved back and forth clearing hazy ideas and expounding on minute details as part of the holistic qualitative experience (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). The KIIs were also used to precede field observation as a form of concept building, deepening insights and understanding. A total of twenty KIIs were conducted in this study.

The tool provided humongous data on specific case studies, language attitudes, and role of culture in development information dissemination and perceptions of development. However, it still provided conflicting information and perceptions regarding certain key practices and views on language use and modes of communication in the study area. It became necessary to use another tool to iron out the disparities and test the divergent opinions and perceptions that emerged from KIIs, thus Focus Group Discussions were organized.

5.3.3: Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Whereas KIIs are more likely to allow for extended narratives, open talks especially where one wants to justify his perception or opinion (*Cf*. Macnaghten and Myers, 2004) FGDs provide a forum for discussing topics that one would like to talk about, but rarely get the chance to do so. FGD, therefore, takes place in the context of several layers of argument, where people have conflicting views or beliefs. In this study, FGDs were very useful in ironing out perceptions and disparities among the

interviewees. The groups discussed in detail and argued over opinions and attitudes towards language and even role of culture in development communication.

Using preliminary analysis from questionnaires and KIIs, the researcher identified special respondents for the FGDs. A meeting of a small group of five to eight people was arranged. These groups were engaged in discussion sessions lasting between one to one and a half hours, with the researcher playing the role of an "interventionist moderator, raising topics directly, calling on some participants and holding off others, cutting off lines that seem unproductive, challenging some apparent contradiction and vagueness" (see *ibid*: 71). At some other times the researcher rephrased questions or paraphrased statements to ignite more discussions.

The FGDs revealed complex, contradictory and shifting definitions, and different senses of words as applied in the target area. It also provided an opportunity for people to prompt each other to talk, correct perceptions and respond to each other thus revealing differences in perceptions and understanding of concepts such as "development" and "participation". A total of six different such sessions were organized. The researcher recruited groups based on a particular aspect of the study thus groups that were homogenous or very closely related such as consultants, thespians or women groups were identified for the discussions. The researcher tried as much as possible to balance the gender, age and even level of education, where applicable, so as to capture the different perceptions and subject them to resolute discussion. This being a research on language and communication process, care was also taken to use a language that every participant was competent and proficient in (*Cf*. Macnaghten and Myers, 2004). Qualitative research deals with meanings which are mediated mainly through language and action and allows informants to interact effectively (cf. Dey, 1993; Sayer, 1992).

This tool was also used to verify and validate the reliability of the data collected by the other two instruments already mentioned above. The tool enabled the researcher to capture the participants as they create their own structure and meaning (Denzin,

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1989b) thereby clarifying arguments and diverse opinions. Such discussions were audio recorded and later replayed during transcription. The replaying and transcribing of the recorded data allowed the researcher to listen to the discussions again and do further analysis during transcription and translation.

5.3.4: Participant observation

One way of understanding people and their behaviour in the field is to observe them over a period of time. While the term "participant observation" may mean mere "looking at or watching closely", as used in qualitative research, it does actually mean "spending long periods watching people, coupled with talking to them about what they are doing, thinking and saying, designed to see how they understand their world" (see Delamont, 2004: 218) hence the term "participant". This study notes that the term "participant" does not necessarily mean doing what the people are doing, instead it means interacting with the people as they do their activities. In some cases, the researcher may do what they are doing, but it is not a condition (*ibid*).

During the fieldwork, the researcher interacted with different communities and people in different set-ups and situations in observing their activities. For instance, the researcher visited farmers on their farms, patients in hospitals, community members during seminars, participated in theatre for development activities with some theatre groups, held discussions and interviews with participants as indicated in the previous sections. All these provided an opportunity to see and record peoples attitudes, behaviour, beliefs, interpretations, opinion, jot down catchy statements etc. and later describe in detail the circumstances and reasons behind certain language or communication preferences.

As an instrument of data collection it allowed the researcher to:

    a) Understand the context of activities,

    b) See things that were hidden in the questionnaires,

    c) Be inductive in approach,

d) Move beyond selective perception of others, and

e) Access personal knowledge and direct experience as resources to aid in understanding and interpreting the projects under observation.

This is the only tool that was used throughout the fieldwork cutting across all the other tools thus providing the researcher with first hand occasion to capture language in use and communication methods in practice. A lot of words, phrases and sentences were captured and used in the KIIs, FGDs and during analysis.

The researcher also attended a total of twelve interactive sessions between the development workers and the community both in the rural areas and in workshops and trainings in urban centres. During these interactions, extensive data was collected using a digital voice recorder or note taking, especially the utterances that were found relevant to the arguments being advanced in this study. It is during these interactions that I observed and recorded the discourses practices, order of discourse, and interpersonal relations

5.3.5: Document Analysis

Lastly, this study also got direction and further sources of data from document analysis in the various libraries and NGO offices notably NGO-Network for Western Kenya, SANA international and Action Aid. The researcher sought a wider understanding of the development activities by examining documents such as progress reports, evaluation reports, training reports, programme objectives and achievements, and even books on community development. Where the researcher got access to such reports leading hints on language use and modes of communication were noted and pursued with the relevant people during KIIs and FGDs. However, as pointed out by Hall (1997) and realised in this study, documentation on project failure is fairly hard to come by and most evaluation reports have restricted circulation. In almost all the organizations visited, all parties to a project have vested interests in presenting a public façade of success. We shall see in Chapter Six how this practice brands development organizations and

development agents as doers of action and not failures. In fact, one of the main challenges of this study was the inability to access data in the form of written documents such as reports. In some cases, the researcher did not get access to any written documentation.

This was not only frustrating, but also worrying especially bearing in the mind that such reports would have provided a picture of how organizations communicate with each other or with the donors or what they have reported about the communities and the projects. For this reason, the researcher relied on data collected by the other tools as well as data from the libraries mentioned above. In the absence and/or limited access to written documents, the research relied on data from the questionnaire, the KIIs, the FGDs and participant observation; hence the study did not adversely suffer owing to this hitch. In fact, where documents were accessed, it was rather disturbing that they all read the same way as if they had been done for one area by one person. In a number of the reports, there was evidence of "cutting and pasting" that is made easy with computer programme, Microsoft word. For this reason report writing appears to follow a strict pattern or at worst an existing blue print on which all development reports must adhere to.

Be that as it may, the written reports revealed a more complex issue in the hierarchy of power in the development field. In the social, political and cultural organization of dominance, it is the powerful elites who dictate events and make decision regarding order of discourses. Hence, in this cultural practice, reports need not have different formats because they serve certain hegemonic interests. The written reports revealed that in the context of development practice there is a hierarchy of power and some people in this hierarchy are not allowed to think, but to serve the interests of those above them by simply fitting within the designed frame of order of discourse and social behaviour (*Cf.* Van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 2004). This is part of the dependency syndrome that I discuss in detail in Chapter Six.

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Document analysis also included analysis of posters, billboards, brochures, calendars, video recordings of programmes (which were mainly used for data gathering), writings on T-shirts, caps, rocks and murals. To capture some of the data especially on billboards, rocks, murals and T-shirts, a camera was used to take photographs of such writings. The exposures were later developed and the data was included in the analysis. A total of 20 multimodal texts in the form of posters, brochures, and calendars, photographs of Billboards and T-shirts with various messages were collected (see Chapter Seven and Eight and Appendix 2, 3 and 4).

5.4: Triangulation

Cognizant of the traditional practice of using multiple data collection strategies in qualitative research, the researcher designed and used several tools in gathering data as discussed above. As soon as fieldwork begun it was evident that no single data collection strategy was sufficient. In making use of the multiple strategies, already designed in the study, the researcher combined the strengths and deficiencies of some of the single source tools. This helped to build checks and balances through triangulation and ensure the data was validated and verified while still in the field. Denzin (1978) accurately spells out the logic of triangulation as being premised on the fact that:

> No single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors...Because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods must be employed. I now offer as a final methodological rule the principle that multiple methods should be used in every investigation (p. 28).

This study employed the logic above in verifying and validating data thereby eliminating possibility of undermining the validity and reliability of the data collected.

5.5: Data Analysis

Qualitative approach scholars attest to the fact that there is no single methodological framework or prescription for the analysis of qualitative data

(Miles, 1979; Huberman and Miles, 1994; Fieldman, 1995; Punch, 1998) and that much of the methodology depends on the purpose of the research. Patton (1987: 44) warns that it is fallacious to imagine that there is "a precise point at which data collection ends and analysis begins' or 'in practice are analysis and interpretation neatly separated". This appears to paint a grim picture of data analysis within the qualitative paradigm and points to a feeling that qualitative researcher don't seem to have a clear method of analyzing qualitative data. This feeling is captured by Dey (1995) who observes that qualitative researchers "learn by doing". Such sentiments have led critics to claim that qualitative data is largely intuitive. On the contrary, qualitative data is gathered from a natural set up and thus is bound to be unique to every situation. Moreover, qualitative researchers actually preserve the "unusual and serendipitous as they craft each study differently using analytical procedures that evolve in the field" (Creswell, 1998: 142).

However, the above not withstanding, it is generally agreed that methods for analysis of qualitative data should be systematic, disciplined and able to be seen (and to be seen through as in transparent) and described (Punch, 1998). Moreover, qualitative research has analytical processes that conform to a general contour (Bagdan & Biklen, 1992; Huberman & Miles, 1994; Wolcott, 1994b) that one can follow in the analytical phase of qualitative data analysis. Creswell (1998) discusses different approaches into what he refers to as a "data analysis spiral" and recommends that:

> To analyze data the researcher engages in the process of moving in analytical circles rather than using a fixed linear approach. One enters with data of text or images (e.g. photographs, videotapes) and exits with an account or a narrative, in between, the researcher touches on several facets of analysis and circles round and round (1998:142).

Data analysis in this study began in the field when the researcher realized that in the process of gathering data ideas about analysis and interpretation were constantly popping out. Such analytical interpretations of data were jotted down on the field

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notebook and refined later after coming from the field. When data collection was over and it was time to begin formal analysis, this study relied on the research questions generated during the design of the study and the analytical insights that popped up while in the field.

Needless to say that the data generated by the tools was so humongous that the researcher actually needed a lot of time to make sense of it. This called for reading and re-reading the data several times in order to recognize concepts and patterns. Through further reading and re-reading of the data, certain stories began emerging and the more reading the researcher did, the more the data was scrutinized in detail and the more stories it revealed. These further revealed themes and sub-themes. The themes were then coded and filled into categories based on similarities and differences. The analysis then went further to define and describe the themes in detail through narration and explanation.

The final stages involved swinging back and forth and organizing the data in ways that helped formulate final themes, refine concepts and link them together to create a clear description and explanation of language use and modes of communication in development projects in the study area. This was then interpreted in accordance with the existing literature, and the theoretical and analytical framework as discussed in Chapters Two, Four and Five. Conclusions are then drawn based on such interpretations and suggestions for further research provided.

This study is not entirely qualitative. Elementary quantitative methods were also applied especially at the preliminary level of data analysis, categorization and presentation. Using Epi Info 2002, a computer analysis programme, the researcher was able to run and get information on the ages of the respondents and their levels of education, pick out respondents on specific questions, collapse the similar ones and generate tables. The use of quantitative methods enabled convenient and easy presentation of summaries and categories as used in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

5.6: Limitations

As I have pointed in the a foregoing discussion this study had hoped to gather data on written material but this was not exhaustively done due to red tape in some organizations and inaccessibility of the materials in other organizations. This was a limitation to the data, however in the absence of written materials data was gathered from natural set up using various materials and this makes the data used in this study original. From the few materials that the researcher accessed, it was evident that people do not write what they practice and as such relying on secondary data such as data from reports would not have given a true picture of the situation.

5.7: Conclusion to Chapter Five

In this chapter I have presented the research design, process and the methodological tools that I used in gathering data for this study. I have discussed the sample size and sampling procedures used pointing out the challenges and shortcomings and providing solution to such limitation. I now proceed to analyze the data gathered in the next three chapters.
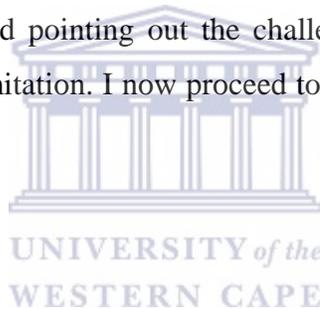
CHAPTER SIX

6.0: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

6.1: Introduction

Led by the objectives and research questions as stated in Chapter One, and the successive data gathered by the instruments discussed in Chapter Five, this chapter presents a summary of research findings and the discussion therein. The intent of this chapter is to elucidate the interactional challenges arising from the use of language and modes of communication as discussed in Chapter One. This aims at providing a link between the data gathered and the existing literature on development practice as discussed in Chapters Two and Three. The chapter also sets out to discuss the implications of the data elicited by tools discussed in Chapter Five via the conceptual framework as presented in Chapter Four of this study.

This chapter discusses the findings from the field by describing and explaining the data gathered from the questionnaire, KIIs, FGDs and participant observation. In order to understand the social effects of discourse in development interaction, this chapter will examines the products of the interaction between people. Hence the chapter looks closely at what happens when people use language, that is, when people talk or write. I use Fairclough's (2004:3) definition of texts as "written and printed texts …but also transcripts of (spoken) conversation and interviews" to refer to the data that I present and discuss in this chapter. I am aware that this is a limiting definition of the word "text" however, I reserve the broader sense of the word, which encompasses visual images and sound effects, for discussions in Chapter Seven. This chapter is interested in texts as elements of social events and also as interactive-processes of meaning making (*ibid*). The purpose of this analysis is to show how discourse, in the sense of language in use, also functions as a form of social practice that "constructs the objects of which it purports to speak' (Cameron, 2001). The analysis takes texts as constituting a reality understood as constructed and shaped by various social forces and reflected in language both

implicitly and explicitly. In this sense, the chapter examines the ideological dimensions of the texts and how they manifest "representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation" (Fairclough, 2004: 9).

The chapter is divided into six sections: Section one discusses the respondents' bio-data and their identities in the social process; Section two looks at the participants' interpretation of the field of discourse; Section three deals with communicative practice and order of discourses as observed during fieldwork; Section four discusses the language attitudes and preferences; Section five looks at the role of translation/ mediation in disseminating development information, and lastly, section six explores the context of culture and context of situation in which meanings are made and disseminated. By so doing, this chapter fulfils objectives 3, 4 and 5 of this study viz., Identifying and analyzing solutions applied to address the gaps; Analyzing the role of culture in development information dissemination; and determining the extent to which expert knowledge given by the development workers can be disseminated in the local language.

The chapter ends with a conclusion of the discussions.

6.2: The Respondents bio-data and identities

The core focus of this study is the investigation of the social interaction through language and other modes of communication between two groups of people: the development agents and the target communities. Guided by the criteria of sampling, the sample size and data gathering tools as discussed in Chapter Five, this study identified and used more than 100 respondents. From the questionnaires and the interviews, the research obtained information on the respondents' bio-data, specifically information of their age, sex and educational background. As indicated in Chapter Five section 5.3.1, additional information regarding the respondents' profession was also obtained through the other tools especially KIIs and FGDs. This is where the interviewees revealed the professions of the people who are involved in

development work, while in some cases the professions of some of the respondents were already known before the interviews.

The information on the respondents bio-data is important to this study insofar as analysis of tenor of discourse is concerned and as we shall see in a short while, it confirms the much held view that development agenda is driven by a cartel of professional elites (Alumasa, 2003; Savage, 1997) who turn to development works with personal interests or seek individual professional kudos for material gain (Hall, 1997). We shall see in the discussions how this variable is important in sustaining hegemonic ideology of the new capitalism. New capitalism seeks to transform the global community using the market principles of survival based on heightened competition, and how education is a criterion for entering the cycle of social change agents (Fairclough, 2004; 1996). Table 6.1 presents a summary of the bio-data of the respondents as gathered by the research tools discussed in Chapter Five.

Table 6.1: Respondents Bio-data

Capacity	Level of education	Profession	Sex	Age	Number
NGO Staff	Diploma, Bachelors	Social work, teaching, nursing	8 Females 12 Male	26-55 years	20
Consultants	Bachelors, MA, PhD	Lecturers, Government workers	14 Female 20 Male	24-48 years	34
Target beneficiaries (Community)	Highest level was diploma, Others are mainly retired workers and	In some cases primary school teachers otherwise largely none	23-70 years	23-70 years	46

	general community with elementary education				
Total					**100**

From the table above, it is evident that development projects have attracted a high percentage (54%) of the educated and particularly the so-called consultants[6] who pass off as experts or some kind of special activitist in community development. These categories of people are actually professionals from institutions of higher learning, government employees or former NGO workers who have since formed their own consultancy firms (Alumasa, 2003). It is worth noting that of all the change agents interviewed, less than a quarter of the total number is trained in developmental issues or social work, which is an area associated with community development. Only one person working as a project officer had a bachelor degree in Developmental studies; the rest are graduates seeking employment or professionals moonlighters from other fields who as Savage (1997) points out, turn to development work as a supplement to their income.

It is somehow taken for granted that development agenda is best driven by those who have attained some high level of academic qualification. This is on the assumption that these people have acquired the capacity to comprehend the 'new information' and interactive social demands of development process such as baseline surveys, carrying out appraisals, writing proposals, monitoring and evaluating progress and writing progress reports. The mastery and use of these skills in social practice is 'naturalized' as a prerequisite for entry into the development consultancy. In a way development seems to be a docket of only those who have attained formal (teaching and learning in schools based on the Western traditions) education hence meaning that those who do not have formal (Western)

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[6] Someone who is supposed to know everything prior to arriving at an assignment (Savage, 1997)

education have no room even though they are knowledgeable about the needs of the local communities as well as the social conditions. This establishes and sustains power inequality between the educated consultants and the uneducated masses and in a way contributes to active extension of the new capitalist and developmentalism ideology in the rural Third World countries. This social selection forms part of "enacting" the ways of acting socially and inculcating the donor ideologies in the identities of the social agents (Fairclough, 2004). Invariably, the practice of employing educated people is driven by the core perception of education-with-production as a cornerstone of community development (Ekins, 1995). This of course creates competition and demand for the educated or the professional.

The effect of this is the identity construction and an increase in demand for the "new special activist" as a fairly unusual human being: someone with a clear intellectual grasp of social trends and forces, an understanding of commercial and local and national bureaucratic processes, an empathy with and sensitivity to the poor" (Ekins, 1995:201). It is this new activist trained in western culture and education that is entrusted with the job of instigating changes in the lives of the rural communities and in so doing imbues with it the powerful ideological attitudes and values in the name of development. In the new capitalism, contemporary social change is driven by market principles and people are expected to be highly competitive in order to survive (Held *et al*., 1999; Ekins, 1995). From this ideological perspective education is seen as a powerful resource for enacting, inculcating and sustaining or changing the existing power relations. In this sense, having attained education, which is basically western oriented, the change agents are seen as best suited to champion the western ideological position which seeks to melt global boundaries and consolidate neo-colonialism (Fairclough, 2004; Van Dijk, 1998; Eagleton, 1991). What this has done is to sow seeds of cultural imperialism and block any valuable indigenous initiatives in the so-called Third World communities thus establishing and maintaining unequal power relations, and subsequently affecting interpersonal relations in social interactions.

With high academic qualifications, the agents are considered the best 'mouthpieces' of the 'principle' authors of the developmentalism ideology, that is, "the belief that economic and, indeed, human progress as a whole depends on an expanding consumer society" (Ekins, 1995:207). Western education prepares the development agents to become familiar with social changes taking place in the world. Thus, they are best suited in marketing new attitudes, values and ideological positions of the powerful nations and donors. As mouthpieces of the unseen donors they wield a lot of authority and power in the social interactions as evidenced by their choice of discourse elements. For instance, the data gathered during the fieldwork reveal attitudes and hidden meanings of the agents' (and by extension the donors) about the target local communities. While they explicitly identify themselves as the movers of social change, they construct the communities as consumers of their services. When asked what they do, the development agents responded variously. Below is a summary of of some of the answers:
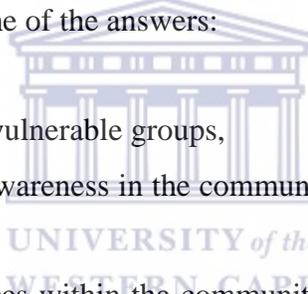
i. Working with the vulnerable groups,
ii. Initiating critical awareness in the communities through conscientization and sensitization,
iii. Mobilizing resources within the community for the positive gain of the community,
iv. Building people's capacities,
v. Empowering the communities,
vi. Assisting the community forming interest groups that can then embark on an initiative,
vii. Networking them with other stake holders,
viii. Facilitating change in their livelihoods.

From the above answers, the desired social change (development) is constructed as an inevitable thing which communities must learn to embrace whether they like it or not. The answers above "naturalize" communities as powerless, ignorant people whose life is the concern of development agents. Further, the community are

constructed as lacking the capacity to initiate changes to improve their living conditions. Furthermore, the constructions identify the communities as a vulnerable group who must perpetually be "helped" out of their predicament, thereby contributing to shaping the people's identities as "consumers". The effect of the sustained use of such words or phrases in reference to the communities and development agents themselves, represent the reality as if it must not be questioned or challenged but must be taken "the way things are" (Cameron, 2001). However, close scrutiny reveals that such construction of identities result from particular actions and serve particular interests (see Chapter Seven for further discussion).

The word choices above, "working with vulnerable groups", "initiating critical awareness", "through conscientization and sensitization", "mobilizing resources", "building people's capacity", "empowering people", "assisting the community", "facilitating change" and "networking them with other stakeholders", are not random but ideologically patterned. The consistent use and repetition of such phrases (we shall encounter more in Chapter Seven) carry the undertones of prolonged powerlessness, ignorance and poverty on the side of the local communities and power, knowledge, riches on the side of the development agents as implied in the progressive aspect, "-ing" in the above grammatical construction. In short, they devalue the ideas, experience and accumulated wisdom of the majority of the people they target and their capacities and creative nature is subjected to relentless onslaught by the guiding ideological principles of the modern world (Ekins, 1995). Furthermore, the need for the communities to develop is seen as arising from the conscious thoughts of people who identify themselves as "genuinely concerned" about the plight of the rural communities thereby constructing change as an externally initiated phenomenon rather than a natural social process emanating from the people themselves. In the texts above the development agents' foreground their willingness to help in developing the communities, but this is a guise to exploiting and imposing values which communities must adopt. This move has witnessed a restructuring of existing social patterns and practices in the Third World countries using the new imperialist

ideology financed by the donors (Fairclough, 2004) and establishing a long term market for the ideological values of the donors and powerful nations.

The grammatical resources exploited in the above texts position development agents as the initiators of action, hence the active actors in development, while the communities are positioned as the recipients or goal of the action initiated by the development agents. Not only do these grammatical structures indicate dependency on the side of the community, but also emphasize the construed reality as natural. These grammatical choices are significant in this discourse because community development thrives on the "buying in factor" that is, development projects can only be implemented successfully in an area if the community accepts it. Therefore in order 'to be accepted' in an area, they construct their identities as doers of action that will benefit the communities and construe themselves as championing or voicing the people's felt needs. This foregrounding seeks to control social action and maintain the already existing unequal power relation brought about by acquisition of knowledge and information gained through success in education. Essentially by changing the way the communities think, the development agents succeed in controlling them and creating a knowledge demand vacuum which they then move in to supply, hence creating and sustaining the dependency syndrome.

But through CDA the analysis of texts can reveal the implicit ideological meanings, the hidden agenda in the development field (Cameron, 2001). One respondent alludes to this hidden agenda in the following:

> There is also the class factor, you are from an urban setting and you go into the community they see you as a moonlighter, someone who is just looking for easy money, you go, you use them, you disappear, and you get most of the money anyway. Sometimes they accuse us openly that we are from Kisumu city 'so you are just using us to earn money' and sometimes it is true. You are actually looking for money because of the tough circumstances we are in. So class factors are also different and important.

While the agents' foreground their ability in carrying out genuine development activities some communities can 'read through the hidden agenda' and in fact question their sincerity. This provides a good ground for genuine contestation of the ideological position and interpersonal meanings. As stated above, many development agents are perceived as self-seekers exploiting communities and the development agenda for their own gains rather than targeting change in the living conditions of the poor and marginalised communities. Community development has become a way of living for some selected people rather than a true development of the majority of the poor masses (Alumasa, 2003). In spite of development agents' proclamations of success, aggressive presence and appearance in the communities in Nyanza province, the Kenya Poverty Report (2005) which ranks Nyanza province as among the poorest province in the nation, corroborates the fact that the work by development agents is anything, but genuine community development.

Indeed even the local media reports on the perceived insincerity of development agents. For instance, a local newspaper, *The Link*, of January 2005, reported the alarming situation and the warning by the government of Kenya to the many dubious NGOs, who 'exist only on elaborate proposals, but do no real work on the ground'. The newspaper, quotes the provincial commissioner, of Nyanza, province as cautioning the organizations against misuse of the many millions of shillings they received from the donor and the government which ends up not reaching the targeted projects (*The Link*, January 2005). It is now an open secret that the many NGOs that have mushroomed are just economic outfits that benefit a small group of people. Indeed as Alumasa (2004) points out, a lot of them are family businesses and one would be really hard put to justify the reasons for their existence. Besides, it is rather obvious that if development projects are constructed and construed as individual businesses, then the target is not to change the lifestyle of the communities', but to change the life of the few individuals who use the community to advance economically. For this reason, there is a calculated effort to ensure the state of the poor and marginalised communities remain the same or become worse so that there is constant need for intervention as pointed out by one respondent:

…and what we have created is a dependent community based on the way we communicate with them in whatever development language, so that everywhere you go, when you finish a workshop, 'I want to talk to you', 'I have problem and I was wondering how you can help me' its always, you know, and its all based on how you look. I think we need to change the way we communicate and have a lot more of the local people involved.

The result is a chain of dependency. The community has learnt the psychology of the development agents so well and even though they are aware the development agents are exploiting them, they accept to be exploited as long as they get little favours in return. Unknowingly they perpetuate the imbalance of power by accepting to be exploited. This is promoted as the 'natural' process of development and by accepting the situation as such, the participants sustain the unequal power relations.

6.3: The participants' interpretation of the field of discourse

Due to the naturalization of the dependency syndrome the communities view development as something done to them from outside by the government, church or NGO. It is evident that they have been 'naturalized' to accept their identities as recipients or beneficiaries of some tangle hardware and they hardly view themselves as actors in the process of social change. Based on this study, Table 6.2 provides a summary of how the two categories of respondents conceptualized development.

Table 6.2: Some definitions of development by agents and the community members

| Community	Agents
• Any initiative that uplifts standards of living at the grass-roots	• Activities initiated towards improvement of community's standard of living
• Implementation of a project that affects the general community e.g. roads, school, health.	• A process of working with communities to address their needs while focusing on their capacity
	• An activity that mobilize and sensitizing a group of

• People within a given area coming together to bring positive changes in their lives • Planting trees and agro forestry and improve soil fertility and food security • Process of initiating people based growth process of moving from one situation to a better higher situation in all aspects of life • Process of identifying and optimizing community resources to improve community livelihoods • Uplifting of community status through various projects in the sense of acquiring what it didn't have before • When the community merges new ideas with their own ideas to fit with their way of living for the better	people in an area to posses a collective outfit • Awareness creation of what a people have that can be used to improve their lives • Efforts undertaken by development agencies/governments directed at the community as stakeholders • Involves building capacity of the community member and empowering them to undertake their owe initiatives • It is mobilizing members of the community to address a social problem affecting them. • Participatory empowerment of socio-economically marginalised both in rural and urban areas • Responding to 'felt needs' of community through active participation and involvement at all • The activities done by the community without pay for there own benefits • Using technology to improve the way people are doing things or just sharing information to encourage people to participate in certain ways er…trying to mobilize people to churn out resources in a more effective way in relation to more economic ways.

Likewise while examining what the respondents gave as indicators of development (see table 6.3 below) it emerged that the communities see development in terms of tangibles, the physical things that help to fulfil their basic needs, whereas the agents view development as a process and a product realised as behaviour change in the community. This change is a product of skills and knowledge acquired through capacity building and empowerment. This is a mismatch in experiential meaning which more often than not leads to communication breakdown. But since development organizations have provided some of these tangibles like building latrines, sinking bore holes, or building classrooms, the community always looks up to them for some provisions. Essentially, they still equate development to the hardware (tangibles or physical things) and not the software (ability and capacity to do things) encoded in the knowledge and skills of achieving the hardware. Table 6.3

below shows what is considered as indicators of development among the change agents and the community.

Table 6.3: Indicators of development

Change agents	The communities
• Active community participation on decisions affecting them • Improved soil fertility, agro forestry and food security • Behaviour change and improved standard of living in a self sustaining society • Recognition of gender and community rights • Creating awareness through participatory learning and action • Recognizing children and girl rights • Improved literacy • Communities' resolving conflicts amicably	• When you get and eat enough food every day • Having latrines and clean water • Owning a permanent house • Self employment with a steady income • When you employ others • Having vehicles • Employed by NGOs and parastatals • Living in self contained houses fitted with water and electricity • Enhanced financial status • Improved infrastructure • Improved technologies • Caring for others • Access to safe water and sanitation • Access to proper health care

It is worth noting that the communities see employment by an NGO as development. This is based on the way NGO personnel and development agents present themselves to the communities. Two examples stand out in bold support of this perception. The first one regards the initial practice of providing handouts as incentives to the community to attend workshops, a culture which some organizations perfected with noticeable excesses and what was communicated to the communities was that NGO personnel have money after all. They could "give huge allowances without feeling any pain" as one interviewee confirms: (*the name of the organization is withheld for ethic considerations*).

> …you know like when organization X first came here in Kisumu, they would communicate their message but the communication package entailed paying people to sit down and listen…they destroyed communities, so that the other people who

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came and couldn't pay had to be forced to start paying people …and ultimately what happened is that we had people coming to workshops, not because of what they were going to learn but because of what they were going to earn. And they went back and told others that look those people give huge allowances without feeling any pain! So people came and they were paid to listen, and …and we continue to pay them and people start finding it as just a joke. So now when you walk into a workshop, they ask, is there anything? Have you heard any *dalili* (signs of getting paid)? And if you don't get rid of that on day one, that's it. Nothing is going to succeed.

The second example pertains to the physical appearance of the development agents when they go into the communities. Because of their social status, they are healthy smartly dressed, car-driving experts who appear to be happy and carry expensive mobile phones and mineral water which they keep sipping from time to time as they chat among themselves, as they "provide a forum to the community to discuss their issues in groups". From time to time they walk to the group discussions with hands folded behind their backs, like a boss or some all knowing teacher in a rural school, to see whether the communities are doing the right thing. This modus operandi presents a picture of rich and comfortable group of people who get money so easily by not doing too much work. To the communities this is perceived as a sign of development as pointed out by one respondent:

…we have talked about the capacity building and we use language to build capacity, but I think somewhere we create a status…a difference of status and therefore whatever message we give, we communicate the messages but in a wrong way, because the way we package ourselves, the way we go there, the way we dress, the way we carry ourselves driving and all…it immediately give impression in a community that is probably poor, that we have brought, so when we talk to people, they will tell us what we want to hear. They have learnt our psychology so well, and they know we want to give, so I guess we need to package the information well.

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Communication involves inferences where meaning is produced by placing new information in the context of existing background knowledge and established frameworks for interpretation. Since the NGOs and development agents pass around as having money and have provided tangibles in the past, the communities have learnt to construct experiential meanings which fit the established cultural frameworks of interpretation (Cameron, 2001) in the development arena. For instance, guided by historical behaviour of the NGOs who have worked in the area for so long providing, people with tangibles and handouts, the community has also learnt to present a desperate picture of their situation so that they can benefit from the initiatives brought by the organizations. They have learnt the NGO psychology so well that they always present to the organizations what they would like to hear, as one development agent points out below:

> …we communicate the messages but in a wrong way, because the way we package ourselves, the way we go there, the way we dress, the way we carry ourselves driving and all…it immediately give impression in a community that is probably poor, that we have brought, so when we talk to people, they will tell us what we want to hear or they have learnt our psychology so well, and they know we want to give, but they have got to then package their information well, and what we have created is a dependent community based on the way we communicate with them in whatever development language, so that everywhere you go, when you finish a workshop they follow you saying, 'I want to talk to you', 'I have problem and I was wondering how you can help me' its always, you know, and its all based on how you look. I think we need to change the way we communicate and have a lot more local people.

Therefore in a way they also take advantage of the NGOs and get value for being exploited. In this ingenuity development benefits only a few quick thinking locals hence perpetuating the capitalistic ideology of survival for the most competitive (Fairclough, 2001; Ekins, 1995). It is evident that the experiential meanings of the development experts and that of the marginalised communities are not in tandem. Genuine development cries for genuine participants and the first step towards

letting people deal with their development issues is to demystify the idea of "experts" as someone who knows everything prior to arriving at an assignment (Savage, 1997). This calls for synchrony of experiential meanings which should involve repackaging the identities of the so called "experts" as people having the "ability to seek out areas where additional professional contribution can be usefully made, particularly in contexts and needs change" (Cannon, 1991:461).

Indeed, the observed practice from the field reveal that this need not be a foreigner or a professional, as it turned out that an average local person can do the job of facilitating development pretty well, for example the use of farmer for farmer training in agricultural developments. One farmer confirms this in the following lines:

> …we don't need educated people to explain how to dig gullies …they are full of academics and they just end up confusing the illiterate farmers so we prefer our own here…one who has gone up to form four will just do.

While this may sound appropriate, there is the risk of creating a new layer of hierarchy of power in the village, thereby replacing the powerful elites with powerful local groups because of the knowledge of local culture. This thesis argues that such suggestions must be treated with caution particularly since the communities are fraught with clan differences and personal differences that may not allow a local to facilitate an initiative. Furthermore, caution must be taken to provide checks and balances that will protect the vulnerable majority from being exploited by one of their own in the name of development.

On the contrary, studies have also shown that local colleagues posses relevant linguistic and cultural resources that can appropriately be harnessed for the organization and implementation of development projects with less antagonism (Markee, 1993). Furthermore, people are not interested in experts, people want to

hear their own voices, and after all there is no better expert on poverty than the poor themselves (Brock, 2003).

This attitude is often revealed in the communities' perception to external projects in the community trainings. For instance, in one PRA in the study area during the study period, it was revealed that out of the fifty projects that had been initiated by government and NGOs in the area in the last twenty years, thirty eight had either died or were moribund, whereas twelve projects started by the community are still operational. This shows that where the community initiates a project they have a sense of ownership and they strive to keep the project going. On the other hand, a lot of projects that come from outside without involving the community are abandoned to those who initiated them. The water projects implemented by Kenya Finland Company (KEFINCO) and Lake Basin Development Authority are a case in point. When interviewed about these projects the respondents said, 'that is Lake Basin water project' or 'that is KEFINCO water which failed long time ago and they have refused to repair it' thus distancing themselves from the project which has since been abandoned. This can be attributed to the fact that there was no common understanding of the goals of the projects in the first place. As a result, when the project life is over, the initiative also dies with it, as it is associated with the organization rather than the community. In contrast, projects that are internally initiated like cattle dips, *Harambee* schools (community supported schools), churches, bridges, and markets are still operational and even though some are dwindling, the communities are always committed to seeing them succeed.

We can argue that since the idea of development is often initiated by the NGOs in the rural areas, the communities equate development with that which is brought by NGOs. In order to 'receive' this development, they strategically position themselves as helpless people in need of urgent intervention, thereby, working into the expected plan of the development organizations and agents. This discourse serves to "brand" and "package" communities as consumers or commodities in a global market available to competing consumers. The following utterances show clearly

how the community construct themselves as poor and vulnerable thus requiring support from outside:

i. Nobody is helping us we are like orphans,
ii. We lack capital to begin any IGA,
iii. We have not been taught so we don't know what to do,
iv. If we can get some help then we can prosper,
v. If you brought something that can process the fish for us (fish processing plant) we can say we have been helped.

The grammatical choice in the above sentences makes use of an absent agent who ought to fulfil the action indicated by the verb. Such statements not only construe them as recipients but also construct them as being in dire need for assistance and naturalize their reality as gloomy. On the other hand, the organizations are happy with this construction of the material world because they use this picture to intensify competition in the market by "upping the price of the commodities" and justifying the need for more funding from the donors in their budget. This contributes to and maintains the chain of dependency syndrome between the communities and the organizations and the organizations on the donors.

In an attempt to understand the experiential world the development agents pretend to consult the communities about their felt needs even when they have a clear plan on what they intend to implement. This is done variously through the use of participatory tools; these are methods that are aimed at getting the people to voice their genuine concerns and plan how to tackle them. Even though by design the tools are aimed at empowering the people, it has emerged that the "experts" have used them to empower themselves instead, thus extending the hidden hegemonic ideologies of developmentalism (Ekins, 1995). Participation as Brock (2003) points out, has acquired a different meaning and focus has shifted to the agencies who are actually participating in the development initiatives and not the communities. But since community participation is the catchword, the organizations engage

consultants to help initiate the so-called "participatory" process in the community so as to be seen to be driven by the needs of the people. This vicious cycle of community dependency on NGOs has impacted negatively on development as perceived and measured by western yardstick:

> …so come community participation …PRA/PUA/TFD/ PL&A are just some of them and when this phase came it did not break away from the ropes of imposition, because the foreigner still had the money and would still have pretensions of consulting the community, but still do the same thing under the guise of consulting the community. We are actually just coming out of that phase where development agents come to a country like Kenya, they consult the community, work with a few locals, keep the little money that has been left, because most of the money is kept by the foreigners anyway. The little money that is left is given to the so-called local consultants and by the time these get to the community there is nothing left.

Participatory methodologies have instead emphasized the existing power inequalities on the ground and have become a capital through which the powerful and the smart get money while the poor and the helpless continue to wallow in their undesirable conditions. The communities genuinely voice the need to be assisted out of their situation, while the change agents take advantage of this to gain financially as pointed above by one respondent. This further perpetuates the relations of inequality in the social status between the change agents and the community. This is due to possession of valuable knowledge by the former hence economic gains as opposed to the later. The majority of the development workers reside in urban centres far from the communities they seek to change. This further alienates them from the communities who in turn perceive them as 'field workers out to make money'. Indeed they carry with them their urban communication and social values albeit unconsciously into the communities (Thompson, 2003) making their interaction with the community a delicate inter-class communication.

Thus, while the community appraisals aim at understanding the three metafunctions (experiential, interpersonal and textual) thereby "acting on the basis of what people

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are, what they *know*, how they *live*, what they *do*, what they *know how to do* and what they *want*" (Ekins, 1995:114) they have failed to realise this objective. In many ways they have destroyed the existing social structures and disrupted the stable power relations which the communities have relied on for their growth over the years as one respondent pointed out below:

> Sometimes we do what we know best and what we know best can be very destructive. We go into the community and disregard the existing structures and impose what we want to do, in some case we even ignore the already existing structures and form ours…come to think of it what we and other organizations do is disempowering rather than empowering. But we must do it that way because we are paid to consult on how to implement that project.

The hegemonic goals of the development donors drive development agents to disregard the creative capacities of the communities to the detriment of interactive and participatory communication.

6.4: The communicative practice and order of discourse

A truly participatory development process cannot be generated spontaneously at the grass root levels given the deep-rooted dependency relationship between the rich and poor countries. A true participatory development thus requires an external catalyst to facilitate the start of the process and to support the growth of the initiative in its early stages (Ekins, 1995; Mda, 1993). For this reason, development organizations invest heavily on providing training and support to the agents who will in turn engage the communities in development initiatives. Burkey (1993) underscores the role of change agents as that of releasing the creative energies in the people, working within the organizational structures, which in many cases, claim to be people-directed. Ordinarily, the change agents have a daunting task of helping people think about their problems, provide information that is useful to them without imposing their own values or deciding for the people what is best for them.

This means they should also be willing to learn even as they facilitate the process of change and this calls for an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust without which there is imminent danger of failure (Freire, 1972). The success of this kind of social interaction can be realized if the development agents trust in the ability of the oppressed to reason, reflect and dialogue. We have seen that many organizations in the study area make extensive use of the elite agents who construct themselves as the experts in different fields of development. Due to this they carry their 'expertise' into the communities and disregard the people's knowledge sources by subtly 'imposing' their own ideas on people. Since they are educated and extensively travelled they have developed a stronger sense of social awareness. Therefore, they are in a stronger position to influence the decision of the communities who are in a much weaker position thus with little say in decision-making (Fairclough, 2004; Wodak, 1996). Thus using their position of power and extensive knowledge they cleverly use language to hide their true intensions and positioned themselves as the people's 'saviour'. Consequently fulfilling the observation that those who posses linguistic and institutional power will always dominate the social interactions (Wodak, 2001, 1996).
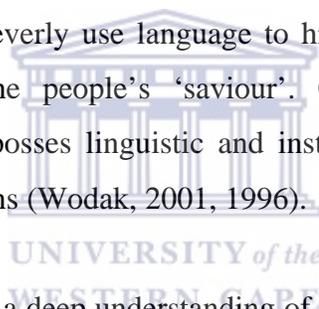
Development projects require a deep understanding of the project goals, contents of the specific focus as well as interactive communication skills on the part of the change agents since they are the ones who feel obliged to initiate changes in the living conditions of the communities in which they work. The practice as observed during the field experience is that change agents interact with the communities at various social gatherings such as seminars, workshops, and appraisals and during field visits. On such occasions only a few selected members of the community are invited to workshop where they are trained on the basics of the project and it is believed that they will go back and disseminate the information they have learnt to the rest of the communities.

This is not always the case as unforeseen factors such as language barriers, physical distances back in the village, and personal drives have deeply undermined the

assumption that community is a homogenous outfit that will think and do things together (Burkey, 1993). The assumption that such a communicative strategy – training of a small group who would in turn train others in the community- will have a positive impact on the dissemination of information has not yielded any significant successes. The information gained in such interaction has not been used for the purpose for which it is set as one respondent confirms:

> … that is a very bad assumption that we have been making for a very long time, that you are working with a community that is openly going to share information. So you get those representatives and you assume that they will go back, not understanding the dynamics involved. This person might be coming from this location and there is no way he is going to be able to share with the whole constituency[7] so that information is also then left to self who will use it for his own gain.

What this has created is a clique of professional 'workshop attendees' who are always present in every community workshop and seminar in the city hotels, but who do not disseminate the information to the people-the target audience. Through the workshops they have developed formal schemata of discursive practice in the workshops, that is, they are "acquainted with the particular text types and their conventional forms…they have a knowledge of the degree to which texts of a given type are normally structured" (Wodak, 1996:111). By acquiring this culture and through constant selection and attendance of seminars and workshops, they emphasize the market and consumerism principles of competition and survival for the most competitive hence creating a power clout based on the acquired knowledge. This social practice dismantles the existing social structures in the various communities and creates power over the "underprivileged" masses who never get the opportunity to attend such social gatherings. This practice affects the social interactions because when such people go back to disseminate acquired information they use the knowledge to exploit the communities by controlling development activities. Indeed the community interpret workshops as empowering

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[7] A political boundary used in Kenya represented in parliament by a member of Parliament

opportunities and in one community appraisal it featured as a serious need as expressed in this statement: "we also want to be taken to the workshops in town so that we can learn and be like the rest". On the ground, such people have become lieutenants of the change agents ensuring that the interests of the agents are taken care of in the community. It is evident that the social practice of training a section of the community especially in workshops outside the community is creating disorders in discourse of development communication (Wodak, 1996) and bringing forth a new hierarchy of power in the community. This new hierarchy fits well in the ideological agenda of having link persons in the communities who are used to control the communities on behalf of the funding organizations. The community is therefore, drawn into what activities that will not benefit them. However, the development agents can not be blamed for this since the community helps in creating and sustaining these relation of inequality through seeking individual interests.
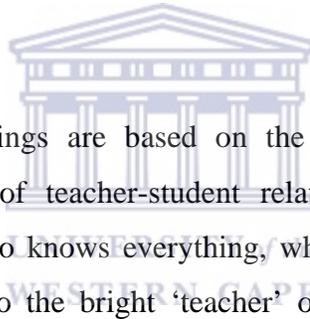
Communication during trainings are based on the traditional linear model of communication reminiscent of teacher-student relationship, where the teacher (facilitators) is the expert who knows everything, while the students (community members) listen attentively to the bright 'teacher' oozing complex development concepts. Customarily, English, the language used in all official meetings in Kenya (Muthwii and Kioko, 2004; Mugambi, 2001) and also the medium of instruction in schools is preferred. This has the effect of dis-empowering the participants who do not speak English thus denying them 'individual voice' which is critical in a participatory development. This perpetuates the linguistic hegemony of the English language and even where participation is invoked, the order of discourse and the modes applied restrict participants' freedom to engage with the discourse freely (Wodak, 2001, 1996; Freire, 1972). The discursive and social practices in the form of assignments, and plenary presentations depart from the participants' interactional schemata and in most cases, they are dragged into operations that are of no particular interest to them (Sachs, 1992). This practice alienates the shy participants

and those who cannot speak English or Kiswahili which are the dominant languages in such interactions.

Furthermore, some change agents constrain the communicative interaction by adhering strictly to project frameworks or difficult methodological tools like the Logical Framework Matrix or Logframe[8] which is very 'cumbersome and wordy' (Denham, 1997) without simplifying them to the communities, as such, not many people understand this framework. Moreover, this tool is very rigid once adopted and any changes must be justified by some rigorous bureaucratic process thus reducing project flexibility (ibid). This kills the spirit of people driven development and ownership of development initiatives which is key to project success, but over and above all, this practice does not match the already known mode of interaction and discursive schemata.

In some other cases the senior and more experienced consultants/facilitators leave their junior inexperienced 'hand men' to carry on with the trainings while they seek other jobs. Being learners themselves they lack experiential, interpersonal and even discourse practice in this field. But since they must hold their bosses brief, they resort to using technical terms and concepts to cover their inexperience and announce their legitimacy in development commitment. They rely on textbook training manuals without simplifying their purpose or explaining what they hope to achieve with the selected strategy. This plunges the trainings/appraisals into communicative chaos as "frame-conflicts" emerge, that is, the world of knowledge and interest of the participants collide (Wodak, 2001). In such conflicts those who posses linguistic and institutional power invariably prevail while the majority who are less educated are forced to accept the decisions made. They certainly ignore the active role played by the "receiver" in a communicative act (Thompson, 2003; Bakhtin, 1999) and go ahead to complete the assignment left behind by their bosses.

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[8] This is a technique, which is supposed to be used to introduce order and discipline in the project design process, and helps place the project into the larger context of a program or sector plan. It involves specifying project goals and purposes and relating these to project inputs and outputs as a way of monitoring and evaluating the projects performance (Denham, 1997: 204).

Indeed concerns from the participants regarding lack of communication was observed and recorded. The texts and order of discourse in many of the interactions remained structurally, cognitively and linguistically inaccessible as exemplified by the comments below:

i. This thing is too academic I wish you had some simpler way of doing it because many of us are now lost! *(Giruni ber to en too academic made iketnwago e yo mayot nikech jomoko kuomwa o lal chon).*

ii. We are just ignorant it is not that these things are difficult and our teachers have also not made them simple for us to grasp *(Puoj ema oremowa ok ni gigi tek to jopuojwa be ok tugnwa tiendgi madi mi wawinj gigi e yo mayot).*

iii. This thing is looking good but I wish you would put it in Dholuo or even some broken Kiswahili then we can benefit a bit.

It is evident here also that the reality constructed of development as a learning experience is reproduced in the discourse choices similar to the choices in the academic social practice. This constructs and establishes multiple relationships. For instance, in one of the trainings a consultant posed a question: "What would be the best way to eradicate mosquitoes which cause Malaria in this area?" The answer from one respondent was, "You tell us, you are the one who knows, for us we came to learn". The consultant is constructed as an all knowing expert hence establishes his authority and control the direction of discourse, a position from which the community relates to him as learners expecting knowledge. Using cognitive schemata deriving from learning experience in Kenya, the language use and discourse order is applied to community interactions.

I recall yet another occasion when a facilitator in some workshop wondered why some people were not participating in the discussions, only to be greeted with the response 'what can we say when English used has gone so high tech?' This is a clear example of insensitivity to the interactive communicative demands of such interactive contexts. Consequently, in order to feel that they have attended a learning session, the community demand writing materials such as pens and paper

and even certificates to confirm their attendance and participation in the trainings. This is aimed at legitimizing their new experience and knowledge thereby negotiating power and status in the new market-oriented capitalism. This market-orientation requires individuals who are competitive and one way of picking an individual who is competitive is through certification of the knowledge and experiences that one has attained. Hence, the demand by the workshop attendees for certificates.

The above scenario of course calls to question the communicative competency of some of the change agents and the organizations involved in community development in the area as conceded by one respondent below:

> …you must then understand that a lot of these organizations lack capacity and also…you know they have their own institutional weaknesses and these institutional weaknesses will transfer out when they go to work with the people… and because they do not know how to do it, they only do it the same way they know best and sometimes that best is really destructive.

In the quest to attain success in the capitalist competition, some development agents accept jobs that they cannot comprehensively handle. As a result, they sub-contract "cheap labour" from less informed personnel or even members of their own families. As clearly pointed out by Alumasa (2003), many of the organizations are family outfits run like family business and with total ignorance of the purpose of the "business" in the first place. This is part of the observed institutional weaknesses that impact negatively on the dissemination and interpretation of the experiential and interpersonal meaning making.

Another area in which communicative incompetence is evident is in the report writing. Most of reports in the NGO libraries read the same except for the different names of the project areas. Some of the reports show evidence of the use of 'cut and paste' technique, commonly used in computer word processing programmes, and in some reports names of participants and even project references are misreported. The

amazing thing is that a number of the project directors and project officers decry the dismal performance of some of the consultants and organizations yet such people are still engaged in community development despite their dismal performances. One respondent states the following with regard to training and competencies of the change agents:

> …sometimes some of them have (attended trainings on how to deal with the community), I know some consultants who are out there and have not been so much in any training, but trainings are always going on for consultants to update their knowledge about development issues, to give you new skills about how to deal with community and so on. Er… but not many consultants go for training. Some of them are very rusty I must admit…

It is clear from the above comments that some of the consultants are simply following a required template for report writing. This is also true with regard to the orders of discourse that they follow and the fixed programmes during appraisals. However, it must be pointed out that the consultants/development agents do not have a free hand in facilitating and reporting on development process and they seem to conform to donor requirements. Perhaps the reports are meant for the donors (see discussion in Chapter Seven on graphic mode).

The institutional and individual incompetence is camouflaged by contracting the educated "experts" with the assumption that the long years spent in education prepared them sufficiently to deal with developmental issues and writing "good reports" usually meant for the donors. It is expected that in a culture where people respect the educated, the community will not question their sincerity or knowledge thus justify the actions as legitimate and high prioritized. Many times the agents exploit their professions and social status to expurgate any form of mistrust from their audience and exercise power over the communities. One consultant points to this practice:

...like us we have to stress the fact that we are lecturing at X university [*the true name of the university is withheld for ethical purposes*]. Some of them are very good English speakers so they are testing you and the moment you *establish your own superiority*, in quotes, *then you can talk with them* (own emphasis).

Being educated and exposed, the change agents are empowered cognitively to come up with development initiatives, often based on structures borrowed from elsewhere, which they cleverly forced on to the people in the name of championing genuine people's development. This is articulated strongly using catchwords and phrases like "community sensitization", "mobilization", "participation", "empowerment" and "capacity building". Such words and phrases construct them as democratic, caring for the poor and marginalized, championing their needs and representing their voices. In the actual sense, the people never participate in designing the programmes, but trust that the educated cannot go wrong especially in a society where people adore titles that come with academic qualifications and organizational designations.
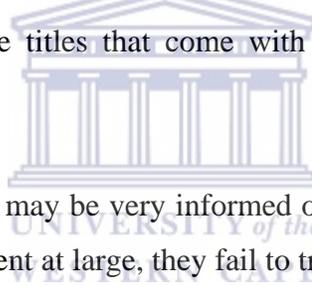
So while some change agents may be very informed on a cross-section of issues in the community and development at large, they fail to transfer their knowledge to the communities because they carry with them the social status and the wrong attitude that communities know nothing. Acting from their experience, they think they know what is best for the communities and like the response below notes, the community often resist their plans:

They have very good tools, they.... they know what they want to share and what they want the communities to share, but because of their attitudes and their behaviour, then the community puts a brick wall or a shield in front of the firm.

The rather obvious fact is that no matter how brilliant and excellent a project appears on paper, it is meaningless and useless to the communities if they do not understand it and if they are not involved in it from the beginning (Savage, 1997). Therefore, since development concepts are packaged in a foreign discourse, it must

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be unpacked for easy consumption and interaction by the rural populations. This discourse is shrouded with a lot of acronyms, stock phrases and buzzwords which the change agents take for granted that the every body knows, but which pose explanatory difficulty to both the development workers (themselves) and the targeted people thus, making the communication circle incomplete.

6.5: Language attitudes and preferences

Community development practice, as a social practice, conditions and determines discourse through a set of networks or order of discourse (Fairclough, 2004). In the case of this study, the selection of the available linguistics resources and use thereof is determined by the social conditions of discourses. In multilingual contexts such as Kenya, languages acquire functionalities which may be instructive or symbolic. Webb and Kembo-Sure (2002) identify two language problems relevant to this study and these are (a) the role of languages of power (English, French and Portuguese) and lack of proficiency of the majority of African people in these languages and (b) the low esteem in which speakers of African languages generally hold their own languages. These situations present "disorders in discourse" that is, barriers to effective meaning making and sharing among interlocutors with a shared social focus (Wodak, 1996). Furthermore, without appropriate linguistic capital, access to information is limited and so is participation in the process of decision making at all levels.

As stated in Chapter One Section 1.3, three languages Dholuo, English and Kiswahili, are spoken in the study area. Whereas Dholuo is spoken with native speaker fluency, English and Kiswahili are spoken with varying fluency and competency. Even though many of the native development agents claim to be competent in the three languages, they attest that they are more comfortable with using English and the local variety of Kiswahili. The claim to knowledge of the three languages is simply a justification for eligibility and competence in the ability to communicate effectively with the target communities in the social practice. As such it is one way of ensuring success in a competitive field that has lately learnt to

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consider the people's language as crucial to interaction aiming at influencing change in the social structure.

It is part of identity branding and packaging which is an added advantage in marketing one's self as the right person to handle the jobs after all "they speak the languages of the people". But this claim is just a ploy to gain entry into the social practice and exploit the situation for their gains because they never use the local language that they claim to posses. This is partly due to the ironical and indeed paradoxical situation on the ground in which participants themselves prefer to use English language rather than their mother tongues. It was observed from the field that while participants rated development facilitators who use the local language in trainings highly, they themselves insist on using English, the language which they are not quite proficient. This is a clear pointer to the underlying ideology of advancement being associated with English language. Over time, it appears survival in development social interaction is based on competing power and status indicators which are easily negotiated and expressed through language choice.

Of the fifty two respondents, twelve were non-native speakers of Dholuo and held key positions in different organizations and consultancy firms. Seven of them were either project directors or project officers, while five were lead consultants working with native colleagues. Like other people in the "business" their language preference favoured English because it is the language in which development messages are encoded and transmitted. Besides, they are the products of an ideologically domineering educational system that favours the use of English, and as one responded explained:

> …but don't forget that English is the official language in Kenya and because we have been having instructions in the language and using it as the language of instruction in schools, from nursery school to this level and because we are urban based and have gone through this urban education, it exposes us to English hence we are comfortable and conversant with English and in any case the concepts that we seek to transfer are mostly written in English anyway.

Since, as we have seen, educated people are the ones who champion development initiatives, knowledge acquired through education is power that they use to control the social interaction, and their language is consequently supported and legitimised by this position (Fairclough, 1996; Wodak, 2001, 1996). Historically, English signals power and status in Kenya and knowledge and usage of English is power itself. For this reason, English enjoys a prestigious status in the development interactions. This is evidenced by noticeable effort made towards using it. Moreover, much as the majority of the people in the communities' prefer Dholuo they feel that English is the 'in- language' and without using it they will not have participated effectively in development. After all, development is packaged in English. In this regard one consultant pointed out that:

> …What I have observed in Nyanza is that participants think they attract considerable attention when they speak English. This is partly our fault as consultants we tend to use a lot of English phrases and so they find it prestigious to use English. So you find every one attempting to speak English so much that if he can't speak it you notice his pride is hurt.

There is pressure on participants to communicate in English even though they may not be competent in the language. Since development is associated with advancement and better living standards, the use of English (the language in which development information is encoded and communicated) is equated with development. Every participant who desires to be identified as 'developed' signals this identity through the use of English language. In this sense, English possesses a huge symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1970) and those who do not speak or understand it are excluded from the social proceedings thus seen as not worth giving a turn chance in the discussion. This is because the local language that they speak is worth less in the symbolic market (Wodak, 1996). Speaking English, therefore, identifies one as belonging to the new trend of modernity as exemplified in the following text recorded in one appraisal. In this appraisal one facilitator thought that using Dholuo throughout the session would be the best way to communicate. However, he was

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confronted with complains as shown in the text below. The following is how the conversation ensued:

Male Participant:	Add a little English as you explain it so that we also know it in English and speak it like other do (Ket e Kisungu matin eka wan be wang'e gini mondo wadhume kak jomoko awinjo dhume cha)
Female Participant:	No we are old women just stick to Dholuo why do you want English? (Aa wan mon moti wach mana Dholuo kisungu manadi?)
Male Participant:	Mama the world has gone English and you must try and speak a bit of it too. Development must be put in English and not just in Dholuo (Development nyaka thum ok mong'e among'a gi Dholuo kamano!)
Facilitator:	So do you want me to speak in English or in Dholuo?
Male Participant:	No just mix a little of each so that we learn and where they don't understand we will explain to them.

This clearly shows the recognition of the status and importance attached to English language by the participants. However, as we have seen, it is a practice that has been encouraged by the development agents through their constant use of English. Evidence from the field strongly suggests the pervading values and ideologies in the interactions and the majority of participants seem to support the use of English rather than Dholuo and Kiswahili. This is exemplified by the following utterances:

i. *Soloson –soil erosion
ii. *Shol conshaveshon- soil conservation (first language interference. In Dholuo there is no voiceless palatal sound as found in shoe so they often use the voiceless alveolar sound /s/ whenever they encounter this sound).
iii. Ka pi in go to in gi garden kitchen- If you have water you can run a kitchen garden (Attempts at converging by mixing codes as used by the facilitators-old man in Manyatta) Here we notice that it is not quite the grammar that matters but the inherent facts of the statement in use.

iv. I have a question a bit- to mean may I ask a question (politeness strategy rather than outright dismissal).

v. I attended a PRA (workshop) as a representation of the community but the big shots used big English and I was there kwa matayani (a Kiswahili phrase literally translating as 'in the light' but meaning exposed).

vi. July there is good – to mean July is appropriate,

vii. What is there is that- to mean the situation on the ground is this.

viii. I am having a certain idea- to mean I have an idea.

The local communities have internalised the social attitude and practice of using English as a medium of instruction in all formal gatherings. Hence, the tendency to use English at the expense of the local language which doesn't seem to provide significant economic gains or change in one's social status. They prefer the language that will identify them as favourable competitors in the developmentalism market. And to do this, they have learnt to filter their values and experiences through a dominant culture (Devine, 1994) in this case the new capitalism encoded in English.
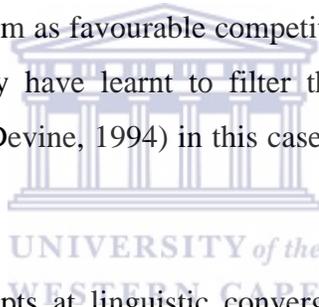
It is evident that such attempts at linguistic convergence by the participants to accommodate the facilitators are too demanding and discriminatory to those who do not speak English. This produces utterances that muddle up the intended information hence, there is no meaningful communication among the participants, as one respondent explains:

> …but the thing is that I think that in our endeavour to speak English we have left out a very important resource that can actually be used within the community because first of all, we are ostracizing people and we are making them feel, we make them feel inferior, you know, so you ….er…have people not able to come, or we insist on shifting people to suit us. It becomes easy for us to communicate in a language that is … they are not comfortable in.

This is not only an attempt at linguistic convergence with the facilitators, but also serves many purposes. For instance, participants use English to identify with and signal a class difference in a social interaction. English is used to announce one's level of education or to show that one is not as ignorant as he or she may be perceived. In some case, English is used as a politeness strategy to save face and avoid embarrassing the visiting facilitators who insist on using English. For instance, "I have a question a bit" is a strategy used to avoid outright expression of lack of communication between the participant and the facilitator. In this case, the speaker is saving face by focusing the blame to himself and the fact that the issue is not so grave, hence will not take too much time. This may not be the grammatical and indeed many of the utterances from the community members are never grammatical. However, since the discourse is carried out in English the participant has no option, but to demonstrate that he can use it. What this clearly demonstrates is the communities' desire to speak English language and conform to the discourse practice in development. This sustains the English hegemony orchestrated in the language policy dating back to the colonial days (Mugambi, 2001). Likewise the agents prefer English because it signals enlightenment and advancement associated with high social status, education and development.

While English enjoys a higher status and preference in the interactions, the other languages have very low symbolic capital and are relegated to provincial concerns that do not require status signalling. Kiswahili does not find great favour with the people in the study area. In fact, it can generally be observed that no two Luos use Kiswahili in any conversation unless there is a stranger or an outsider who is not conversant with English. Generally speaking, Kiswahili is not used in Nyanza province and this extends to Uganda where, as Kirunda (2006) points out, it is not received positively and is often associated with criminals, rogues or lawless soldiers. This negative attitude towards the language can be linked to the low functionality assigned to the language by the Luo community. The use of Kiswahili is limited to less formal interactions like talking to shopkeepers, water vendors and taxi touts. Even the agents who are proficient in it find it difficult to use the

language because for the large majority of the Luo community Kiswahili is associated with slyness, trickery and menial jobs. This explains the collective mistrust for those who use Kiswahili:

> The reason our people don't use it is because we associate it with wayward people or thugs or conmen, because it is said that the Swahili people are liars and conmen… the Luos have an automatic belief that a person who speaks a lot of Kiswahili is a conman.

Development agents attest to the fact that the community does not like the language even though they can speak it. They simply prefer English or Dholuo because they don't find Kiswahili challenging nor do they require it for any upward mobility. It is expected that development agents should know that as a community the Luo do not speak Kiswahili so even if they use ungrammatical forms it should be understood. However, some local variety of Kiswahili which is extensively simplified and which also borrows a lot from both English and Dholuo is spoken in the area. This variety is very simple, straightforward and is gaining popularity. Grammatical mistakes occurring in the use of Kiswahili are greeted with laughter and understanding, as opposed to those occurring in the use of English language. Mistakes in English language are taken as failure to demonstrate progress towards development and more often than not the 'culprits' tend to display pain of punctured pride.

Nevertheless, the rural communities speak their own variety of Kiswahili which has heavy influence of Dholuo phonology, morphology and syntactic features. On the other hand, people tend to avoid using Dholuo because it is the language used to 'put things in a simpler way'. There is a belief that learning involves some challenging tasks and therefore it must be the same with language, that is, that a foreign language conveys unique knowledge. This accentuates the belief that local languages can function best in explaining simple things. It is this belief that contributes to the negative attitudes towards the local language which is seen as

incapable of carrying and explaining more cognitive demanding tasks (Webb and Kembo-Sure, 2002).

Sheng, a variety of language that borrows from the syntax of Kiswahili and English and other African languages in Kenya, is also used in development discourse especially among the youths and those in peri-urban areas. It is developing so rapidly that there is a public out cry that most of the Kenyan youth cannot speak any of the three languages fluently. So the incompetence in Kiswahili, English and mother tongue is blamed on the emergence of Sheng. Some educators even argue that Sheng is responsible for the falling standards in English and Kiswahili among the Kenyan youth. For this reason, it has earned a negative connotation and it is association with the minnows and social misfits particularly by the older generation who link it to rowdy taxi-touts and rebellious youth. In some cases, people simply laugh at those who use it. Users of Sheng are never taken seriously.

Be that as it may, Sheng is developing to be associated with the young upper middle class residing in the cities. It signals a shift in culture from the traditional to the modern cultural values associated with a class of people seen as "advanced, exposed and successful". Successful celebrities especially in music and entertainment industry as well as in business and corporate firms are popularising this "new culture in transition". Slowly the rest of the people in the rural areas especially the youth are beginning to catch this ideological shift through the aggressive use of Sheng. Table 6.4 shows a summary of the languages attitudes and preferences.

Table 6.4: Language attitudes and preferences

Language Attitudes and preferences			
Dholuo	**English**	**Kiswahili**	**Sheng**
• Used by the less educated • Highly regarded if one speaks in fluent Dholuo • Earns one respect if he can speak Dholuo especially if he is from another community • Luo facilitators who can't not speak in Dholuo are frowned upon • Considered a true Luo and respected • Dholuo makes things simpler Signals identity and solidarity	• Preferred by the educated • Signals formality/officialdom and higher class • Signals enlightenment/class • Participants think they attract considerable attention when they speak English/prestigious thus if he can't speak it you notice his pride is hurt • It is seen as prestigious to speak English	• Even though they understand it they don't speak it • Have a conscious feeling that they are not good in it and thus the agents should understand and not use it • Considered common place and not worth too much pride • Linked to slyness and conmanship • Where spoken the localized variety is preferred	• Language of minnows and social misfits • Considered rebellious • People simply laugh at those who speak it • Signals a class or modern Kenyans • Not highly regarded by the elderly

Although some development agents follow the language policy as documented in the many government commissions on education (see Chapter One for details), many organizations did not have a language policy and simply indicated that they use the language that their interlocutors are comfortable in. But as we have seen, this is never the case as English and Kiswahili tend to dominate. Hence, there is a disjuncture between language policy and language practice. Some development agents even think that true development can only be passed down to the people through English because:

…the fact remains development packages are coming in English, whether you want it or not, whatever comes is in English, poverty reduction is in English…and the fact remains people have to understand development to mean knowing what is said in English, and bringing it down to our own levels.

While this is true with regard to development information and approaches to development, equating development with the use of English language defeats the development purpose which organizations set to achieve. Development in the sense of globalization encompasses empowering the masses to identify and use their own local resources to ensure sustainable change in their life styles, but which fit within the broader ideological practice in the global trends (Savage *et al*., 2005). If we take it that the targeted beneficiaries of development are the poor and marginalised masses, who reside in the rural areas, then development initiatives aiming at reaching them can only be met if they fully understand them. This is not the case in the study area as the discursive practices and choices of language serve a symbolic purpose and identify participants as belonging to a particular group guided by specific ideological values. Insofar as communication for information dissemination goes, the discursive practices and order of discourse are not in tandem with the mode of discourse schemata applicable to people in the targeted areas. Certainly, language choice and order of discourse remain a challenge to many organizations and change agents. In the next section I present and discuss some of the strategies organizations and agents employ to overcome the challenges of conflicts in language use.

6.6: The role of translation/ mediation in disseminating development information

The guiding ideology behind developmentalism is the belief that for progress to be achieved there must be transformation in people's way of life. This entails changing people's culture and behaviour through expanding the consumer society (Ekins, 1995). To be able to achieve this, a new set of values and attitudes must be packaged and sold to people using the language that best carries this ideology. The

dilemma is that most people targeted by development do not understand the language in which the values and attitudes are packaged, thus the inevitability of mediation of the texts into language(s) that is accessible to the masses. Development practitioners are aware of the risk and difficulties involved in transferring meanings encoded in English into the language that their target audiences can understand and relate to effectively. As we have seen in the section above, development messages are packaged in English language and, as pointed out by Webb and Kembo Sure (*Op. cit*) and observed in this study, those who can access the information in English have difficulties with the languages of the masses they are working with, which means they must devise ways of mediating this information. Besides, even if they are competent in the target language they must not merely replicate the texts and discourse practices constructed in English directly into the target language, since that would amount to nothing but ordinary translation rather than mediation of knowledge (Banda, 2003) which would not serve any meaningful communicative or meaning sharing purpose.

This situation calls for a clear and thorough understanding of the cultural, social and linguistic practices of the target people since it involves "the movement of meaning – from one social practice to another, from one event to another, from one text to another" (Fairclough, 2004; Silverstone, 1999). It is expected that mediation should lead to a clear and powerful relationship of developmental issues owing to the fact that the interactants are coming from different discursive and communicative schemata. Mediation in development discourse is left to those who can understand the two languages:

> …definitely I've faced a lot of language problems. So what I do is try and move on with people…assistants who know and speak the language very well. And of course it becomes a big problem, because sometimes I can feel and see that what I want is not coming out, as I would like to bring it out. I try to use Kiswahili which most of the people in Luo land don't understand. When I try to use English only a few might understand, so language has actually been a problem, and what I try to do is I try to get a group in the community that seem to understand easily. When

they capture the message I use them to you know, to replicate it into the other communities.

There is a definite mismatch of experiential and textual schemata here and a lot of translations are never successful because the translators lack the experiential and the discourse practice knowledge necessary for effective mediation. Due to this the translators simply treat translation as a mere transfer of textual meaning from one language to another. However, mediation is a socially constructed experience that entails "chains" or "networks" of texts from different social practices across different domains or fields and scales of social life (Fairclough, 2004) and not "ordinary translation" that is, mere substitution of labels between languages for the same concepts or words (Banda, 2003). Unfortunately, development practitioners have resorted to using the community members themselves to translate the messages. What the development agents forget is that this is fraught with risk owing to different ways of interpreting social practices and also the dilemmas and conflicts inherent in the texts/discourse as well as the individual interest in development interaction. In many cases, the community has a network of experiences and schemata that they apply in such social interactions and therefore the "translators" use these schemata to translate the texts in a manner that suits the interests of the community. As a social practice, mediation is used to bargain for more organizational input into the communities by committing the development agents to make promises as one respondent explains that,

…there is also distortion of information due to translation for instance I have been in areas where the translators say things which offer promises to the community e.g. translating facilitation or linking and someone says we will do this for you! And as a non-native speaker I don't get the big feel, there is no connection with the community and you feel you are being misrepresented.

With this knowledge one can conclude that the communities' understanding of the development information is not the main focus of these organizations and due to time and financial factors they will not engage the services of trained

translators/mediators. Instead, they hide under the guise of a people driven participatory development to perpetuate the problem and minimise competition from mediators who would demand payment. What has emerged is that the practice of using local mediators has also perpetuated dependency syndrome as they construct reality based on their experience and interests. This reality is part of the belief that NGOs "bring development" to the communities and for that reason the local mediators will always translate the texts with this kind of belief in mind as we have seen in the text above.

Some of the other numerous strategies employed in mediating the information to the people include:

  i. Using colleagues who speak Dholuo to translate the concepts from English to Dholuo as explained in the example above.
 ii. Using the educated community members who understand English and who can then translate to the rest of the members who do not understand English.
iii. Making concessions from the word go, that is, in case they do not speak the correct form then they should be assisted (even though this appears a good strategy, communicatively it signals fencing out from the social grouping and sends a message that one does not belong to the same social set up (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996).
 iv. Describing the concepts using analogies, stories (but even here people tend to perceive stories from their own interest).
  v. Using theatre for development to explain the concepts in Dholuo (see Chapter Seven for discussion).
 vi. Using drawings and pictorials to present the ultimate picture (pictures are particularly effective because participants can relate to the visual and interpret what they see as opposed to reading since they do not come from a culture of reading. Such visual aids are prepared to attract attention and welcome viewers to engage with the texts hence collectively participate in meaning making.

These strategies have had some positive results particularly with regard to community participation especially where the local language is used. Since participation encompasses active involvement in decision-making processes, which in itself requires confident expressions by people, and exchange of genuine ideas, sufficient language proficiency is critical (Roodt, 2001; Burkey, 1993). From the progress reports and observed practice, it is clear that the communities are able to participate actively in decision-making process when they use the local language. This allows them to explain the concepts to themselves in the manner that they understand best and arrive at an agreed consensus, which they have a right to contribute in constituting (Coetzee, 2001). Where the community is given room to use their language, the reports indicate ease of expression and active participation (ICRAF Report, 2004). So the agents who have learnt this often provide room for the community to use their own language as explained by one agent:

> …what I do also, if they are presenting their own plans of action and that kind of thing, I tell them not to present in English just present in mother tongue, *and they are able now to articulate their views and they are happy. I can see that…it's like a victory on their side when they are able to explain in mother tongue what seems so far removed from them yet they have been able to bring it down to their level in their own indigenous language* (own emphasis).

Besides active participation, the use of the local language also encourages and promotes group solidarity and trust. One respondent explains this phenomenon below:

> When they realize that you can speak their language they are so impressed that you quickly create a rapport with even the poor farmers are even able to open up and explain to you some of their problems which they don't know in English and they can communicate in the local language. There are things you also know in English, but don't know in the local language (Luo) so you really need to find someone to break it down to the language they can understand right, so to a large extent one who is in government and can speak the local language is well placed to do some

very good work but another problem is majority of people who come from around don't do a good job.

But where technical words are involved there is extensive use of analogies, explanations and descriptions. The words are broken down into constituent parts which are then explained. Even though it is time consuming, practitioners have realised it is the best practice particularly where there are no translation equivalents. The text below captures this practice:

…another example is a word like "agro biodiversity"…you have to break it down into components, explain each term, and then come up with one highly localized term, this is time consuming. We are also forced to use a lot of assimilations, modules and analogues. *I think it would be easier and faster to communicate if I understood Dholuo or Luhya[9]* (my own emphasis).

Building on the success of such practices, some organizations have embraced the use of Dholuo in their projects by providing an opportunity to the community to give local names to the projects in their areas. This has the advantage of allowing the community to name the project hence relate with it as their own initiative. The table below shows some of the local names used as project titles in the study area.

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[9] A language of a neighbouring ethnic group where the organization is also working

Table 6.5: Local Names for projects

Project Title	Meaning	Focus	Impact
Yier Ng'ima	Choose life	Prevention of mother to child transmission	People identify with the project as their own
Jamaa Wazima	Healthy People	Income Generating Activities	More of a slogan used to activate change in the community
Taang'	Take Care	HIV/AIDS	The word warns the community to be careful about the HIV/AIDS pandemic
Dak Achana	Planned living	Planned Household Livelihoods	Easily articulated and understood by all

The choice of the Kiswahili title in the *Jamaa Wazima* project is driven by inter ethnic considerations since the project is implemented in an area occupied by two ethnic groups, the Luo and the Luhya community, and in this case Kiswahili, which is a national language, is found appropriate. The use of local names has proved to be very effective in allowing the communities to identify with the projects and actively get involved in the activities even though the underlying project objective and ideology are clearly understood by the people. In this case, the local language is mainly used for ethnic identification and protection of ethnic sovereignty but not in active development discourse.

Through the strategy of description and explanation of concepts (see Roman iv in the strategies to mediate development information on page 204), Dholuo has broadened its vocabulary through coinages and formation of new terminologies to represent objects that were not there before. This involves for instance, the creation

of the phrase *Rabo Yunga* to refer to 'condoms' and the word *Ayaki* which refers to 'HIV/AIDS'. This is a positive contribution of development interaction to Dholuo language and it goes to strengthen the argument that local languages can indeed carry development information if people are allowed to use them. It must be noted that this does not absolve the development agents from exploiting the communities because the fact that people speak their language does not mean that they posses equal power in the social practice. In fact apart from the names, the ideals and social patterns advanced in these projects are still based on the donor plan and the community has no say on how they are run. The use of local names is therefore a mere cosmetic strategy for controlling the people and using their language to dominate them.

On the other hand, while some of the strategies are successful in mediating development messages, translation has created a new social practice by constructing a "dependent" (consumer society) and maintaining the dependency through gross misrepresentation of the intended messages. For instance, one project officer points to how poor translation has created a dependency syndrome in the communities:

> …you run in to challenges when you are working with people who do not speak English because we use a lot of technical terms and they have no match in the local languages. Sometimes you feel and see that what is being communicated is not what you actually intended to communicate but you are helpless because that is what they have heard and to undo that is really not easy.

In such a case, the agents are linguistically powerless and may not be able to effectively communicate their intended meaning. At other times, translation is seen as time consuming and counter productive to development objectives which are often time bound. The trainings or project activities are planned around a specific time period, for instance, trainings are set for five days and it is expected that at the end of this period the training objectives will have been achieved. The training programme is based on borrowed designs and packages from somewhere else usually from some donor countries or at least approved by the funding

organizations. The unforeseen factor in this case is the issue of language diversity in the Third World countries. So, whereas the programme design may have worked well in a homogenous community speaking one language, there is no guarantee that it will work in a different environment (Robinson, 1996). With such linguistic diversity, translation is seen as taking too much time. This concern is captured in the response below:

> …language remains a challenge, particularly where we have people who may not be, you know, conversant with the local language, …but there these difficulties because sometimes a staff may be coming who may be understanding the language, or may not be able to communicate in the language. So, that calls for sometimes translation, which again prolongs the duration of the trainings and so on and we don't have the time or translation experts. We rely on competencies of the local….of the local speakers which is not reliable sometimes.

The implied interpretation here is that attempts at transactional model of communication, which would level the ground for meaning making and negotiation by allowing a common understanding of signs and meanings, is seen as time wasting. Moreover, there is acknowledgement of the fact that in some cases the translated versions don't work as well:

> …these translations we get in the field don't quite work for example, you are in situation in the field and you are conducting TFD in Swahili and half of the audience don't even understand Swahili so somebody has to translate even you who is conducting the TFD and I can tell you, you will be surprised at the way what you are saying is being adulterated there and then. There is a lot that is lost in translation.

From the field experience, it is evident that language concerns were apparent and practitioners are aware of the risk and problems of mediation, yet they do give much thought to it as it is taken for granted that some report experts would iron out the language problems. As a result, linguistic challenges are glossed over casually

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as if they are not part of the discursive process. For example, in one workshop, the participants were busy trying to understand what "gender" means but a facilitator saw this as a waste of time by remarking the following, " Let us not dwell so much on semantics because we will not move an inch, lets us move on". And by this, the course of discourse shifted to what the facilitator wanted at the expense of the participants understanding of the concept. This can be well captured in the words of Wodak (1996:66), when she observes that,

> People with power determine the course of interaction, the issues discussed, the choice of words, and can determine verbal discourse by allowing, continuing or interrupting individual contribution.

The silent message here is that the development agents are not interested in whether the people understand the concepts and words used or not. But, in completing the set objective and for this reason they ignore the fact that the success of the project or the interaction depends on how well the people understand the concept.

Perhaps, of great concern here, is the assumption that communication takes place somehow because they share a common language and even if they do not they can occasionally throw in a few words here and there from the local language. What they do not realize is that communication can fail even where they use the same languages. And it can fail even more if it is based on the knowledge of a few words of the language of the majority. In workshops, the participants are often asked to decide what language they prefer to use, but their choice is hardly followed due to incompetency in the chosen language and the reality of language mixing that characterise the multilingual communities.

By consciously or unconsciously disrespecting the participants' choice of language, the agents unknowingly create disorders of discourse between them and the participants. One respondent confirms this by pointing that insensitive language

choice can ostracize participants in a workshop and make them appear as mere rubber stamps in the discursive practice:

> I attended a workshop for farmers in Mombasa and the big shots spoke big English throughout and I wondered why they had called us to the workshop in the first place yet they kept telling us the workshop was for us. But if you look you wonder where you come in.

In this particular case, we can see that both the experiential and the textual functions form frames of conflict which lead to discourse disorders hence incomplete communication as suggested by Eggins (1994). The observed practice reveals that there is a contradiction in linguistic choices and functions assigned to them by the participants involved. For instance, the use of English as a medium of instruction is not effective. But, since the social practice of seminars and workshops are actually modern ways of social communication, English is taken as the appropriate language. Therefore, while the choice of English language suits the experiential and discourse schemata of the conveners, it locks out the participants and quietly press the demand for English in such social gatherings at the expense of the local languages. Yet as we have seen, local languages are able to convey development information. This confirms the dialectical relationship that exists between language and social practice (Fairclough, 2004, 1996).

6.7: Role of context of culture and context of situation

Development interactions take place within a cultural context[10], which allows people to interpret their world and make meaning within an existing cultural framework (Eggins, 2004; van Dijk, 1998). Culture plays an important role in a social interaction by providing a framework through which meaning is made and interpreted. The three functions of language as proposed in SFL (Halliday, 1978, 1994) and CDA (Fairclough, 2004) can be best applied and understood from this framework. We have seen that where the participants are bereft of the existing

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[10] Interpreted here as a set of symbolic representations forming a framework from which meanings and actions are negotiated and interpreted.

schemata or frames, disorders of discourse do arise and these disorders communicate many silent messages. The observed experience from the field shows an overwhelming acknowledgment by the respondents that context of culture is critical to effective interpretation of meanings.

Successful development initiatives are singled out as those that connect the initiatives to the existing framework of social practice hence exploiting the target people's contexts of culture and situation in creating and sharing meanings. In this sense they use what people are familiar with to engage them in the new frames based on the concept of buying into the communities' resources. However, with such an ostensive acknowledgement of the role of context of culture in disseminating development information, it is rather incongruent that many development agents abhor the people's cultural practices and see them as standing in the way of realization of their development goals.

This is a paradox in the development practice as it contradicts the emphasis put on the use of local resources and indigenous modes of communication by many development organizations. Globalisation seeks to re-work social relationships and re-construct localism (Savage *et al.*, 2005) in such ways as to dismantle the existence between the globe and the community (Robertson, 1995). And the whole idea about empowering communities is just neo-colonialism guised as development. Part of the reason why development projects have failed in the Third World countries is that development ideology targets to destroy people's framing resources by presenting new frames that do not match the field of discourse, does not recognise the tenor as part of the new meaning making process and present a completely new mode of communication. Instead, as we saw in Chapter One, the communities have been blamed as lazy, uncooperative and resisting inevitable cultural change. But what development agents have failed to realise is that people don't resist changing their culture instead people prefer change to be part of their culture (Savage, 1997) and particularly when they understand why they must allow the culture to change.

For instance, the cultural belief among the Luo that a man cannot share a toilet with his daughter-in-law is seen as a hindrance to the implementation of sanitation initiative aiming at constructing one toilet per homestead in one project area. It was only after the project commenced that the organization found it expensive to build two toilets per homestead to accommodate the cultural practice. Likewise, polygamy is linked to the cause of HIV/AIDS, illiteracy and poverty in the area (see the discussion on posters in Chapter Seven for details). Furthermore, the assumption that communities are a homogenous entity that can be treated as a single entity has proved to be very destructive particularly in initiatives targeting sexual behaviour change and HIV/AIDS. Development agents attest to the difficulty in communicating matters such as use of condoms in the rural communities because such topics are treated as taboo topics and cannot be discussed in a public gathering. In each society, there exists certain relationships of respect which must not be ignored. For example, such matters are never discussed between father in-laws and their daughters and daughter in-laws or between mothers and their sons or son-in-laws. The cultural difference between the agents and the participants is also a critical factor in such topics:
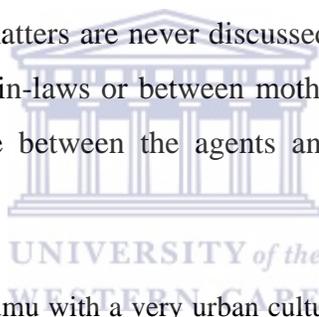
> … so you are from Kisumu with a very urban cultural nuance, you go into SUBA district, and things you take for granted are grave in SUBA. That can break communication down completely. For instance, you may be a lady or a youth and talking something about HIV/AIDs and sex, you have to find a way about that because there is a big cultural prejudice about it that dictates how it is to be communicated and those small cultural nuances are important.

In addition, due to differences in cultural orientation people interpret social practices differently and what appears simple or backward to an outsider can actually have far reaching repercussions as far as communication goes. For instance, communities' in the rural areas believe in elaborate greetings and introductions whenever they meet. This is critical to any social interaction as it is what prepares the path for dialogue. Therefore it forms a crucial part in the order of discourse and must be treated just as serious as the main discussion. However, some

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agents go into the communities with the business-type of socialization framework, popularly referred to as '*masaa*' (Kiswahili for time conscious or swift and precise) in which case they see the elaborate greetings as a waste of time. This is a major source of discourse disorders which impacts negatively on the subsequent discourse practice. For instance, a team of development agents got impatient by the elaborate greetings among the community members and decided to call on the participants to settle down so that they could start the day's programme. This was not taken kindly by the members as the following text reveals:

Development Agent: Lets us settle down and begin what brought us here we can continue with the greetings later

Participant: Why later? Greetings are always the first. I have not greeted you Mr (moves on to shake his hand) and you want us to talk? What are we going to talk about and I don't know you? Tell me who you are first before you tell us what brought you here.

From in this example, we can deduce that the order of discourse in this community comprises stages involving a chain of genres that are not separated in a discursive practice and therefore ignorance of such discursive practices will definitely affect the social interaction. In the above case, the development agents ended up not completing what they had set to do because they did not plan with the knowledge of the community's social and discursive practice. In all the subsequent interactions there was strained relationship between the participants owing to the mismatch of discursive practices. This is one instance in which communities are seen as backward or as one respondent pointed out "communities are very difficult to work with".

The way the agents view and carry themselves particularly as superior and more informed is also a major source of hindrance to communication. In one workshop for instance a lady facilitator who was busy writing points on a flipchart as the participants discussed did not realise that her manner of holding the marker and her swinging as a result of writing was interpreted negatively by the female participants

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who thought she was showing off. The resultant comment, "Who is she showing off to? She thinks we don't know how to write on a flipchart? Mmmh! we live whether she is there or not!" carried the attitude of a section of female participants who had not participated in that session at all and when asked to contribute they simply retorted 'what can we say you are the teacher just teach us'. Definitely, they had rejected her and no matter what she did, they simply declined to participate.

A clear understanding of the prevailing culture can provide one with the skills and strategies of communicating sensitive messages thereby avoiding confrontation with the target communities. For instance, among the Luo, women are not allowed to plant trees because trees signify ownership and women are not allowed to own any property in the Luo cultural belief. This is a hindrance to agro-forestry initiatives in the area. But rather than giving up one organization advocates for the planting of high value trees which they package as good fuel in the form of firewood. In this way, they go round the cultural restriction on women against planting trees, by packaging it as fuel wood, a domain traditionally left for women.

The culture of non-interference with people's love affairs has also been seen as a hindrance in the fight against HIV/AIDs especially where one of the two is infected with the HIV virus. In such a case, one respondent explains that,

> People tend to just look at them without intervening and that way the disease spreads. This is not made any better by the saying that 'Dhiang' tho gi lum e dhoge' (A bull dies with grass in its mouth) so even if they know particularly the men they say this and they end up dying.

In summary, the development agents involved in the different development initiatives are not interested in what the proplr want but in implementing what fits the donor priorities. Anything that does not fit within this priority is brandished as retrogressive and is discouraged. But, we have also seen that, ignorance of the

experiential, interpersonal and textual schemata creates irreparable disorders of discourse (Wodak, 1996; Scollon and Scollon, 2001).

6.8: Conclusion to Chapter Six

From the foregoing discussion we have seen that discourse is shaped by social practices that are ideologically driven by powerful participants. The powerful participants occupy a higher social status and institutional position in society and their linguistic choices and behaviour are supported and legitimized by the existing institutional power. Because of this social status they go into the communities with the hegemonic stereotype that what is best for them will be best for the communities. This is naturalized through discourse practices which position them as the community's saviours and providers of what the communities need in order to survive in the modern times hence the dependency syndrome.

However, we have seen that in these claims lies the hidden agenda of exploitation through disempowerment and restructuring of the existing social structures. This is carefully crafted using the new capitalist market principles of competition and creation of a consumer society which responds to a capitalist ideology. Development is but a move to change people's culture by replacing the existing structure and values with what is perceived as modernity (Fairclough, 2004; Savage et al, 1995).

There is a mismatch in the discourse as social practice which results into frames of conflict as a consequence of ignorance of the target people's discursive practices, their context of culture and context of situation, their mode of discourse as well as their experiential meanings. The mismatch creates disorder of discourse which advantages the development agents over the communities.

Linguistic choices have a pattern that corresponds to the purpose of discourse and reflects the trifocal Kenyan language policy, in which local languages serve the

local needs of the people while English serves the higher functions particularly associated with new knowledge and advances in modern world.

I proceed to Chapter Seven where I discuss the different modes used in detail.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0: MODES OF COMMUNICATION

7.1: Introduction

In this chapter, I present the analysis of data and discussions on the modes of disseminating development information as used in the study area. The chapter specifically focuses on how the three identified modes of communication are used to construct the reality of development and to express interpersonal relations in the field of development. The chapter also examines the semiotic meanings and the link between the images and the graphics used in multimodal texts. In order to do this, I have selected texts from the sample collected which I analyse guided by Halliday and Hassan (1976:1-2) definitions of text(s) as "any passage, spoken or written, of any length, that does form a unified whole …a text is a unit of language in use…a text is best regarded as a semantic unit".

The analysis in this chapter begins by identifying the lexico-grammatical constituents of the texts that is the clause(s), in modes that use verbal or written language. This is important since a clause expresses a semantic unit that applies to both the written and the spoken language and represents a happening or a state of affairs (Ravelli, 2004). This is contrasted with a sentence, which refers only to the written texts. Since this study educed both spoken and written data, the clausal analysis is more appropriate for analyzing the events that are taking place or the state of affairs in the study area as constructed and communicated by the identified modes through language. However, given that the clause itself is not a single undifferentiated unit, the component parts forming the rank scale are further isolated according to their class and functions.

Whereas classes are easily recognizable given their reference to formal characteristics of the unit, traditionally termed parts of speech, it is the functional labels of these units that are important to this study because they carry the meaning

interpretations anchored in the context of usage. These functional labels will be interpreted according to the three metafunctions of meanings propounded by SFL as discussed in Chapter Four. As I discuss participants and the processes in which they are located, I will also discuss how they are positioned in the clause and in the real world from the CDA perspective to uncover values, attitudes and power imbalances therein (Fairclough, 2004; Martin and Rose, 2004).

The main aim of this analysis is to examine language use in the identified modes of communication by highlighting the existing gaps and how the participants cope with such gaps. The analysis of multimodal texts takes into account Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) consideration of the functions of the different modes and how they combine together as an integrated whole in conveying meaning. The analysis therefore looks at how the different modes, particularly the link between written language and the visual images, anchor each other in information transformation. By so doing, the chapter fulfils the first of this study as stated in Chapter One, namely;
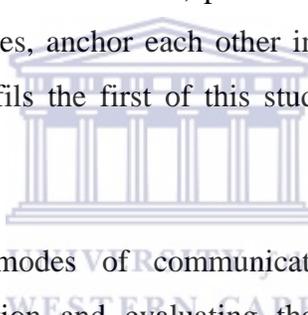
i. Identifying various modes of communication used in disseminating development information and evaluating their impacts on development information dissemination in the target area;

ii. Identifying and describing linguistic and communication gaps in the identified modes of communication;

iii. Identifying and analyzing solutions applied to address the gaps.

The chapter is divided into sections dealing with the different modes of communication as identified by the research tool during the fieldwork.

7.2: Modes of Communication in the study area

As projected and declared in the statement of the problem and the objectives, this study set out to investigate language use and modes of communication applied in disseminating development information in the study area. From the information gathered by the data collection instruments and observations made during fieldwork, this study identified three main modes of communication as the phonic mode (spoken/verbalized), the graphic mode (written) and the multimodal channel (the use of two or more modes or semiotic codes in a single communicative episode). Figure 7.1 shows a summary of the modes.
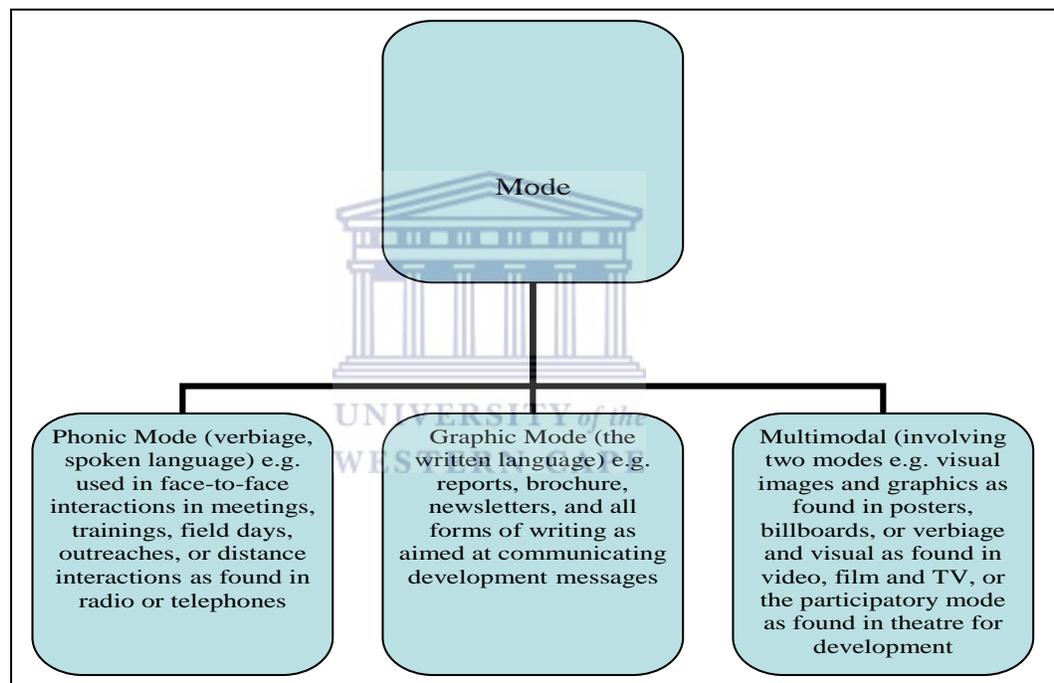
Figure 7.1: Modes of communication used in the study area

7.2.1: The Phonic Mode

The verbalized or spoken language is by far the most commonly used mode of communication in the social interactions in the study. This mode is manifested in both face-to-face communications as well as distanced verbal communication. By face-to-face interactions I refer to the direct verbal exchange such as found in dialogic interactions like discussions, deliberations, presentations etc or in

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monologues such as found in lectures or expositions. It also includes the participatory modes of communication often associated with indigenous/traditional channels of communication such as the use songs, narratives and drama variously referred to in this study as theatre for development.

On the other hand the distanced verbal communication refers to all the mediated verbal communication such as found in the use of radios, TVs and telephone communication (Eggins, 2004). The phonic mode is realised in all the three languages and the Sheng code discussed in Section 6.2.3 in the previous chapter. Figure 7.2 illustrates the phonic modes as discussed above.
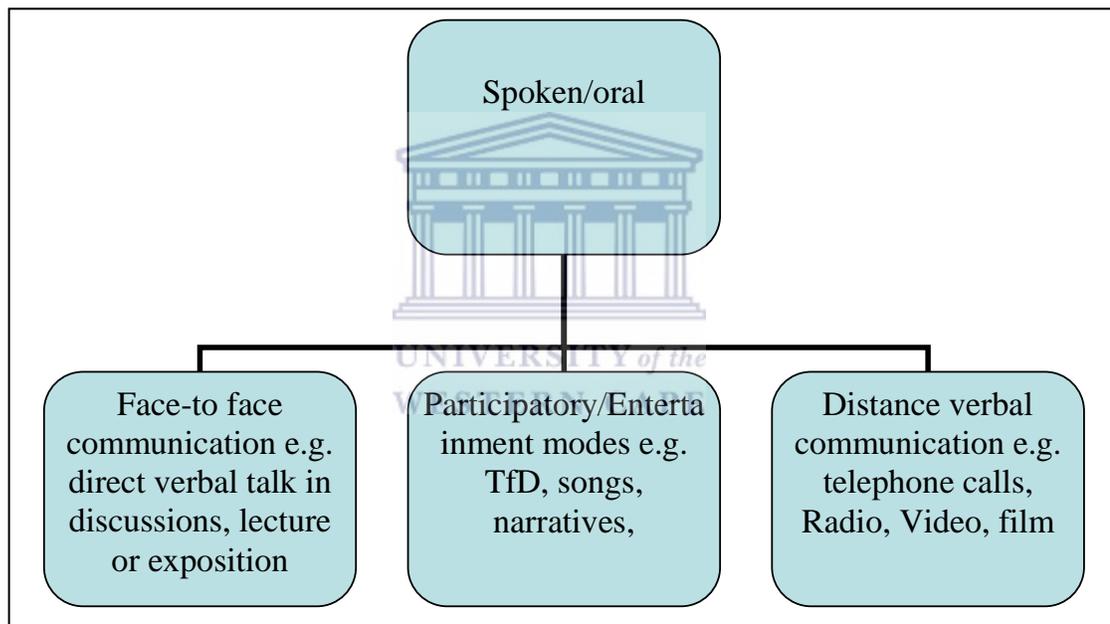
Figure 7.2: Phonic mode of communication

7.2.1.1: Face-to-face phonic communication

This is the most extensively used mode of communication in development interactions in the study area. It is used in contexts such as trainings, seminars, community meetings, field outreaches, introductory lectures to explain and elaborate project objectives, and in all other contexts where spoken language is applied. The dominance of this mode can be attributed to the fact that spoken

language naturally precedes all other forms of language and that all human beings except the deaf can speak at least one language (*Cf.* Atchison, 1992). It is the mode that human beings naturally use to maintain social relations and it is what distinguishes human beings as social beings (Fairclough, 2004; Wodak, 2002). Given its precedence over other forms of communication and its availability to all human beings except the deaf, it allows people to easily communicate a lot of information in a short duration. In addition, owing to low literacy levels resulting from low literacy promotion among the people living in the area, this mode remains the most popular. Moreover, development involves interpersonal interaction which is best achieved through the face-to-face phonic mode, thus allowing for immediate feedback which is crucial in the much sought for community interaction and participation.

However, despite this advantage over other modes of communication, it is also the arena in which misrepresentation, miscommunication and domination occur (see Section 6.2.4 in the previous chapter). As we have seen, the misrepresentations and miscommunication come as a result of many factors, some of which are linguistic arising from language differences such as English and Dholuo, or dialectical differences such as the Trans Yala and the Trans Kuja varieties of Dholuo or the use of technical words in either of the languages. Still, miscommunication can also arise from extra-linguistic factors such as context of culture and context of situation, facial expressions, dressing codes, proxemics, class, gender, age and unequal power relations all of which form part of the context of situation and play an important role in the interpretation of the messages. Since communication is not limited to words, such factors affect how messages are constructed, delivered, and interpreted by participants in an interaction (Fairclough, 2004, 1996; Wodak, 1996; Van Dijk, 1998).

7.2.1.2: Participatory Mode
Although theatre is a multimodal channel of communication that combines the phonic mode, gestures/pantomime and costuming to educate and entertain, I discuss

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theatre under face-to-face verbal interaction because it evokes reactions from participants (live audience) who are not necessarily actors but form part of the discursive process. Besides, this study is particularly focusing on the language use in this mode of communication and whether the tool allows for transactional communication. The other modes inherent in this tool are discussed insofar as they aid the message that is verbalized. As discussed in Chapter Two, TfD derives from entertainment genres such as songs, theatre, narratives and other forms of indigenous performance that have lately been used in disseminating development information (Mda, 1993). In practice, songs, narratives, skits, plays, poetry, and chants are all used to carry a wide array of messages relating to specific development concerns (Mumma, 1995).

Virtually, all the organizations implementing development projects in the area have used theatre and drama to disseminate development information. For instance, SANA-International, attest to the effectiveness of theatre in one of their pilot projects in Siaya district. Using music and dance modes to mobilize and attract people, this project records resounding success in audience participation and collective interactive action thereafter. The performances drew resources from the people themselves and used popular local and familiar tunes, such as beer party songs, known to the majority of the participating audience, infused with specific words to suit the intended message. The animators further exploited the resources inherent in such forms of entertainment like repetition of the chorus and key stanzas to involve the audience and engage them in the performance. In this way, the mode exploits the people's discourse patterns and practices using discourse order that is familiar and which people can relate with easily. For example, in one of the songs used, development is constructed as a purposeful learning experience in the following manner:

An ok aba oyuma ka ng'ato ok aba oyuma ka ng'ato puoj okela dalani x3
I don't visit people's homes aimlessly it is education that has brought me here.

In this song we can identify two clauses as follows:

Cl.1:   I /don't visit /people aimlessly //
N   V   NP   adv

Cl.2:   Education /has brought /me /here//
       N   V   N adv

If we consider the aspect of meaning at stake in the above clauses we can say that they are referring to some form of action taking place as represented by the verbal group 'don't visit' and 'has brought' signalling a transitivity system (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004).

Using SFL we can analyse the ideational and experiential metafunctions in the clauses as follows:

| I | don't visit | people | aimlessly// |
Education	has brought	me	here//
Participant	Process	Participant	Circumstance

The participants, in this case the performer (actors), education and the people (audience) are engaged in a social activity, a process of coming together to learn from each other. Considering that the subject in Cl.1 is the agent of the act of "visiting" while he is the goal of education in Cl.2, here seen as the *Range*, the domain in which action takes place (Ravelli, 2000). We can deduce that development involves an interaction between outsiders (foreigners) and insiders (locals) engaging in a social activity constructed in the song as education/learning. Unlike in the previous chapter where we saw learning constructed largely as a unidirectional activity in conferences and seminars, in this set up learning is two way, the outsider brings in new ideas, but also learns news things from the insiders. This is captured appropriately in the word *puonj*, which loosely translates as "teaching" but actually implies both the teaching and learning process. This capacity to exploit what people are familiar with is a feature of TfD that makes it

popular as a mode of communication in development projects because it allows the community to participate freely.

The two clauses, in the declarative mood, are statements that present a strong argument and a justification for the visit, the willingness to give information. We can deduce that in the context of this culture purposeless visits are not popular although they are frequent. Likewise, we can deduce that education is highly valued and therefore the 'visitor' starts by indicating that his visit is an educational one. This prepares the listeners for the next session where they look forward to learning. We can also deduce the outsiders' attitude towards the activity through the use of the word 'aimlessly' which implies they take development seriously thus constructing development as a purposeful learning activity. The message is organized in a manner that helps to build this reality by foregrounding the purpose for the visit and then justifying it as a worthwhile activity. This is typical of the business genres and promotional genres where the purpose and benefit of the commodity is foregrounded. Therefore even where participants exploit local and familiar modes of communication, the discourse order and patterning is crafted to fit the developmentalism ideology guided by market principles (Savage *et al*., 2005; Fairclough, 1996) thus reconstructing localism and local resources to suit the new ideological demands.

The mode makes use of simplified easy and straightforward messages, emphasized through repetition which is a technique that breaks the social barrier between the animators and the audience and helps to build trust and confidence between the two interlocutors. Once trust and confidence is built between the participants, the animators explain the objective of their visit and invite the audience to freely participate in the performances. This fits very well with the people's interactional schemata that can be said to follow three stages, the introductions, the main issue and ending. Such performances depict varying learning experiences presented through a juxtaposition of perceived good and bad practices. For instance, the following poem about safe water storage, used in the BKH pilot project

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implemented by SANA-International, presents two opposing practices, the desired positive practice and the undesired or negative practice:

Kano pi Maler (Keeping water safe and clean)

Wakete e rakan pi maler, Man gi raum maler Marito pi maber,	We keep water in a clean water container which has a cover to keep the water clean and safe
Jomoko to kete kamoro a mora e ot ma ng'ato ang'ata modonjo nyume lwete kaka oero	But some people keep it any where in the house, where any body entering the house can deep their hands as they wish
Jowadwa, wan in, un, gi ji duto tete te bed uru kod rieko gi teko kod nyiego mar kano pi maber, e i rakan pi maber man gi raum pi maber mondo pi obed ka ler	Friends, us, you, you and all the people ensure you have knowledge, and power, and zeal to keep water safely in a clean water container which has a good cover so that we have clean and safe water
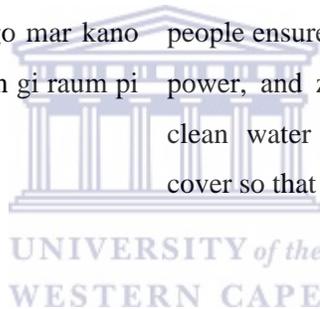
This technique is significant because it forms the basis of discussions at the end of the performance. Through the juxtaposition of the good and the bad practices the audience is invited to take sides and justify the reasons for their choice, thus opening a forum for discussion and exchange of ideas. The resolution of the problem is reached after a collective debate of the pros and cons of each method. Even though this is performance it relies more on the verbiage to carry the message powerfully and in a manner that allows the audience to join in and repeat the key words which carry the key messages. This method also encourages the transactional model of communication through allowing people to exchange views, come up with news ideas, discard negatives ideas and adopt a common ground, hence participatory collective action which is the target of people-driven development. By exploiting the familiar, the mode encourages collective meaning making based on

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relevant contextual factors and the more intensively the participants process the new meanings, the longer they are retained in the memory (Wodak, 1996).

Many of the TfD performances exploit the social implications of the messages because people generally react strongly to social implications of the messages than they do to straight lectures and warnings on health hazards or technical details. For instance, one successful case that exploits the social implications of messages is a common skit depicting a man who steps on human excretion and chastises his brother for not teaching his child how to use a toilet. The non-use of the toilet in this skit is depicted as embarrassing to both parents of the child and the person who steps on the excretion. The man in turn chastises his wife for putting him in an embarrassing situation by not taking care of the child. The skit depicts social realities that the community relates to everyday and this becomes the basis of effective modes of communication. Messages packaged around social embarrassments tend to be taken seriously since people often want to avoid embarrassing situations.

The power of drama therefore lies in its capacity to portray embarrassing situations in a non-offensive manner and sometimes in a curious way hence making the audience look at a familiar or even interesting situation in a new and different light. In the Water and Sanitation projects the use of embarrassments and humour is a hit which pull crowds. Many of the people who watch such performances remember the images and messages long after the performance. Theatre is not only a message carrier, but it is also a constant reminder of the implications of not practicing the message, making it appropriate for communicating messages on behaviour change. Furthermore, theatre exploits humour and packages information in simple and non-condemnatory way using the community as part of the meaning making resource and this makes TfD popular and very effective as an information dissemination tool.

However, it must be pointed out as a warning that participation is a complex task that requires a certain level of understanding of the people as well as how to

communicate with them. The animators must familiarize themselves with the people's living patterns and be sensitive to their special needs if the use of theatre is to achieve greater impact. Like the other change agents, theatre practitioners must understand that people are well versed in indigenous communication and must be allowed to do things in the ways that best suit them 'rather than the strict patronage of "I am the authority" type of attitude'. They must understand that the success of a project depends on the acceptance of the people and as such nothing can succeed until all the people concerned are consulted (Chambers, 2003; Burkey, 1993). This is an integral part of earning the community's trust and confidence, factors which form the basic foundation of a successful information dissemination tool and an interactive communication.

The absence of trust and confidence in the animators severely undermine the effectiveness of this mode as a dissemination and interactive tool. For instance, many of the animators using TfD are mainly youths out of school who are not very familiar with the target communities' culture, and history. Further, they some times lack sound grasp of the contents of the purpose of the performance. Given this limited experience in social, cultural and developmental issues, the youth are easily susceptible to dismissal by the elderly audience who never take them seriously particularly if they do not fit the roles assigned to them in the performance (Fairclough, 2004). This is the case with many performances on HIV/AIDs, polygamy, wife inheritance or domestic violence. The audience are never convinced if the cast is too young. The audience often feel that such animators are inexperienced and lack the necessary schemata to deal with such issues. In one TfD outreach, the audience questioned the cultural knowledge of the cast after they presented a culturally antagonistic skit on polygamy. It is obvious here that a cast comprising a few adults will get the audience' trust, confidence and acceptance. Such cast is considered as knowledgeable in the area.

The other technique that is popular with the youths and children is the use of puppetry for mobilizing people and disseminating information. Unfortunately, it is

not very popular with the adult-audience in the study area as many of them find puppetry childish and culturally unacceptable (Mda, 1993).

As already mentioned, the participatory modes of communication are a big resource in development communication particularly insofar as achieving community participation is concerned. This is because such modes of communication exploit resources that people are familiar with hence, using the people as the creators and receivers of information. Aside from their non-condemnatory edutainment, they provide space for community to express themselves through participation. They are also used variously as education resources, discussion prompters, and ice breaker. In this regard, TfD empowers participants by allowing them to carry out activities in the way they enjoy best and appreciate. For instance, in TfD the technique of 'stepping into the shoes of another character'[11] allows the participants to control the interaction and direct the process of emerging discourse and action. They become active actors in making-meanings and constructing reality through redirecting the script to create new messages which are appropriate and relevant to their context of culture and context of situation. In this case the participants are empowered to participate spontaneously guided by their rich reservoir of historical, contextual and cultural knowledge. These are resources which are within the community and not the "expert" change agents who purport to know the communities well (Coetzee, 2001; Ekins, 1995; Burkey, 1993).

TfD therefore offers a sound springboard for participatory interactive communication which allows collective ownership and possession of both the process of meaning making and the social action that follows. But it must be pointed out that theatre can only be effective as a tool for awareness creation if there are linkages with other extension agents otherwise it will have no impact on the programmes. Besides, the practitioners must be careful not to foreground theatre as a mere means of entertainment since there are people who may not want to be

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[11] Asking a member of the audience to go on stage and act any of the roles in manner that they find fitting

entertained. In addition, it is not easy to measure the impact of theatre even in cases where the audience gives full attention (Mukaronda, 2001). And people must be assisted to distinguish between acting and reality since some animators have pointed that they have acquired new identities as a result of using this mode. Such identities can destroy the social relations between people particularly if the audience interprets the acted roles as the reality.

7.2.1.3: The Distance phonic mode

The most common distant phonic mode of communicating development messages is the use of Radio. It remains a very effective channel for broadcasting information going by the number of people who trust and believe what the radio broadcasts in the study area. This trust and belief can be exploited for effective dissemination of development messages although caution must be taken in the packaging of the messages to avoid broadcasting destructive messages. This can be done through airing of Radio programmes that exploit local varieties of language (Musau, 2004; Mbaabu, 1996a), constant re-playing of messages and use of popular songs.

While a number of organizations are using Radio as a means of reaching the wide masses, the use of radio is still not as elaborate and effective as it should be. In Kenya, there is limited broadcasting time allocated to programmes in local languages (Mbaabu, 1996a). The national broadcasting station allocates only hourly slots for broadcast in the local languages, which cannot sufficiently serve the forty three ethnic communities let alone the many competing messages. This scenario is attributed to the fact that the government still owns the national broadcasting stations. There is also the fear by the government of liberating the air waves lest it fails to control the information that goes through to the people (Musau, 2004; Mussa, 2004). This means that sometimes very vital information is aired when the targeted audience is out in the fields working or information is aired late in the night when the target people are too tired to pay any attention to the radio broadcast.

This broadcasting policy does not satisfy the information needs and news demand of the majority of people who do not understand Kiswahili and English which are

the dominant media languages in Kenya (Musau, 2004). Still there are no educative programmes in the local languages and the few stations broadcasting in local languages play more music than they give news. For example, at the time of this study Ramogi FM was the only fulltime Radio station broadcasting in Dholuo, but even then it played Benga music three quarters of the time and promoted 'back to cultural roots' messages which are deemed as going against development messages (Sachs, 2005). For instance, one talk show in this broadcasting station discussed retrogressive cultural practices in a positive way and this is seen as causing a hindrance to the dissemination of development messages. Wife inheritance was singled out as one of the topics discussed in a positive light yet it has been one of the cultural practices linked to the spread of HIV/AIDS in cases where a spouse died of the disease.

Although radio can be effective in disseminating development information particularly given the capacity to broadcast information to many people repeatedly, organizations find it expensive to pay for programmes to be aired every now and again. Secondly, it does not mean that everything that goes to the radio is always properly packaged. Therefore, the programmes need scrutiny for clarity of messages before they are broadcast to avoid misinterpretation or miscommunication.

A case in point is a health programme aired at night by the national broadcasting station through a local channel concerning care given to people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHAs). In this radio play, one character, a caretaker, keeps repeating the sentence 'I am with you till the last minute' as a way of encouraging the other character, a patient infected with the HIV virus. This is meant to console the patient and assure him of support. However, to the listeners of this programme, especially those living with the HIV virus, this statement is interpreted as a warning and reminder of their impending death, particularly knowing that there is no cure for the disease. This Radio programme therefore, results into spreading fear rather than facts on the disease.

For this reason, people do not listen to the programme and miss out on important lessons on how to live a healthy life. Radio broadcast reaches so many people and the damage resulting from improper information packaging is enormous. Thus, the use of radio must take extra caution in packaging information to be aired because people form opinion about what they hear and form a particular attitude about it. And if the audience interprets what is aired negatively, like the case above, the radio programmers loose their target audience and communicate in vain. Although there are moments for feedback, the method used (calling the studio) is not only expensive but also unavailable to everyone.

7.2.2: The Graphic mode

The graphic mode involves written words and is mainly used by the NGOs and development consultants to keep records such as progress reports, correspondences, or to advertise themselves promote their activities through brochures, newsletters, posters, leaflets, writings on T-shirts, banners, caps, wrappers, murals and any other forms of writing. In this section, I focus my analysis mainly on selected graphics found in brochures, newsletters, mural and writings on clothes.
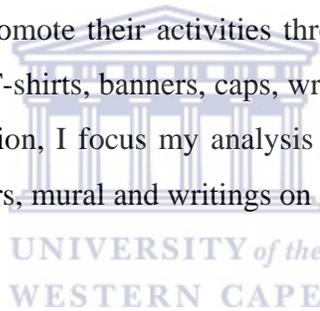
7.2.2.1: Brochures

Brochures fall under public relations writing and refer to promotional texts in the form of booklets, fliers, and leaflets which aim at persuading, informing or educating (Newson and Haynes, 2004). Brochures form a distinct sub-genre of public relations writing containing descriptive information seeking to market and promote an idea, a facility or an organization. Many brochures have a general structure containing the name of the organization, a brief history of the organization, vision and mission statements, objectives and others information regarding the organizational activities, partners, sponsors and contact details. Some brochures contain only graphic mode while other are multimodal, that is, they combine both graphics and visuals.

As information dissemination tools, brochures are developed from a clear communicative concept which link their broad purpose to an object or an application. In this regard, they tend to build credibility by offering what is considered as valid information, thereby giving shape to both the information and the organization that produce it. Brochures are advertisement or promotional tools serving as their own delivery systems hence they must attract and hold their own publics (*ibid*) and summarize the benefits of a programme and how to access them (see appendix for brochures collected from the field).

Below are some of the texts taken from the vision statements, mission statements and the objectives of some of the brochures.

Text 1: Vision Statements

- To see that communities in the lake region are self-organized to make choices towards improved quality of life that is socially and economically sustainable.
- To instil sustainable development that will improve the economic and social well being of the communities.
- Providing space for learning and sharing experiences for greater development impact in the region.
- To improve the quality of drinking water at household and reduce diarrhoea risk especially in children under five.

   (see Appendix 2)

These texts can be divided into clauses as follows:

CL.3: To see that communities in the lake region are self-organized//

CL.4: To make choices towards improved quality of life that is socially and economically sustainable//

CL.5: To instil sustainable development that will improve the economic and social well being of the communities//

CL.6: Providing space for learning and sharing experiences for greater development impact in the region//

CL.7:   To improve the quality of drinking water at household// and

CL. 8:   Reduce diarrhoea risk especially in children under five//

The clauses can further be analysed to establish what kind of experience they represent since we know from SFL that language is used to 'do' things and one such function is to talk about the world that is the experiential function. Essentially we can analyse the content of the clauses so as to determine "who does what to whom under what circumstances" (Butt *et al*., 2000) and how these are construed in the texts. For ease of analysis I group the lexical items so as to determine their processes.

Participants	Process	Circumstance
Organization, communities, children, household	See, make choices, instil, provide space, improve, reduce	In the lake region are self-organized, improved quality of life

These three elements, participants, processes and circumstances, are basic units of ideational meaning and looking at the processes above, we can say that they suggest that the participants are involved in *doing* something which is directed at certain participants in certain undesirable circumstances. Processes that encode 'doing' and 'happenings' in the material world are referred to as material processes (Martin and Rose, 2004). The act of 'doing' encoded in the words *to see, to instil, to improve, to make choices* and *to reduce* presupposes the existence of two participants, an actor and the goal. In the above clauses we can see that there are two sets of participants, those who initiate an action and those who receive an action and we can go further and classify those who occupy the subject position as the initiators of the action while those who occupy the object position as the goal/recipients of the action initiated by the subject. From the clauses, we understand the subject position to be occupied by the organizations and their agents while the recipients are the target communities.

The ability to perform specific acts is foregrounded and structured around the verbal group introduced by the infinitive *to*, nominalizations and finite verbs. In all the sentences, the organizations arrogate themselves to the agentive role with the power and skill to perform all the processes indicated by the verbal group. The texts place them in the influential subject position known for actors or initiators of the action that are aimed at benefiting the communities who are occupying the object position. The organizations thus function as the subjects hence the actors/doers/initiators of social action, while the communities' function as the objects hence the beneficiaries or goal of their action initiated by the organizations (Ravelli, 2003).

The texts construe the inhabitants in the field of discourse as a needy and desperate in an environmental reality that demands urgent intervention, which the development agents are more than willing to do, thereby championing the organizations as their 'saviour' (see Chapter Six section 6.4). It is the hope of the designers of these brochures that the juxtaposition of dire circumstances demanding urgent action, and the offering of information on who is best positioned to assist, will give them the advantage of being trusted for the job by both the communities and the donors. This genre borrows from the business genre particularly the marketing principles used in the business world to communicate information about the services provided by particular organizations. In this regard, the brochures used in communicating development information incorporates genre mixing (Fairclough, 2004). Genre mixing is increasingly becoming a dominant practice in service and consumer communication such as found in development field.

This is cleverly crafted in the arrangement of information in the brochure. In order to make the change option look attractive it is presented as a vision of the future in which the likely rewards outweigh the risks of not opting for it (Hollingworth and Spencer, 1997). This is followed by the mission statement that is crafted around action aimed at benefiting the community directly as seen in the mission statements in text 2 below:

Text 2: Mission statements

- To build capacity of member organizations and partners in the region to empower their local communities through participatory methodologies in decision making, human rights, democracy, governance and sustainable development

- To build capacity of the needy

The mission statements construct the circumstances of the target audience as appalling and offer to help them combat such circumstances by empowering the people with appropriate knowledge and skills needed to change their living conditions. This is very persuasive except what is not overtly expressed is how this is done and what the organizations gain by doing all these. By stating what they can do to the communities, they not only declare their legitimacy to power over the community but they also exercise it by going out in to the communities to initiate and control discourse processes (Wodak, 1996; Van Dijk, 1989).

This is then followed by specific objectives, activities which are going to be done in order to realise the vision and mission. Like the above two, the objectives are also stated around deficiencies in the target audience and the willingness and capacity of the organization to 'do' or 'help' them out of their dreadful condition. The processes are mainly material and the actors are largely the organizations who have the power and authority to initiate and direct action to fit the "new condition" that is detailed in the vision statements (see text 3 below). It is worth noting that the texts are often in declarative mood thus offer information and sometimes stating service or even goods to be offered.

Text 3: Objectives

- To strengthen and develop institutional framework and capacity of LARDNET to provide effective and efficient services to member organizations and partners.

- To generate and identify appropriate technologies with member organizations, partners and communities to enable them make appropriate and informed decisions on development issues.

- To advocate and campaign for favourable legislation that enable local communities to realize their full potential in ecological land use management.

- To build the capacity of programme holders in the design, implementation, management and monitoring of community based health financing schemes.

- To enhance co-ordination of and lobbying for community based health financing (CBHF).

- Help others feel that they are not isolated or alone with their problems.

- Make links between people from different backgrounds and increase understanding and tolerance.

- Lead change by creating a public voice (lobbying, advocacy).

- Behaviour change by multiple intervention approaches including community mobilization, social marketing and hygiene education.

Looking at the above sentences one can see that the texts are seeking to persuade the readers to look at the organizations as credible and as worth their trust. The assumption made in the above sentences is that the community lacks capacity, power, information, knowledge, public voice, confidence, ability to network with others, motivation for change and self organization. They are further constructed as having no control over their environment, having poor knowledge of health and facilities, having no space for learning and sharing experiences, being unable to institute sustainable development, having weak institutional frameworks, and incapable of mobilizing themselves or motivating themselves to introduce changes in their lives (Coetzee, 2001; Burkey, 1993).

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This deficiency in the communities is then used to justify the motivation for working to improve their appalling living conditions or to reverse the circumstances in which people live. This is very carefully communicated through the lexical choices that seek to picture the organizations as credible, reliable, concerned, caring, democratic, and committed to changing the communities' living conditions. Lexical sets such as *sharing, empowering, providing space, helping, strengthening, creating reliable linkages, giving priority to the poor and marginalised* suggest genuine commitment to the plight of the poor and the marginalised and invite the target audience (community) to trust them as such. In terms of grammar of ideational metafunctions, they communicate material processes since they form part of the verbal group and strongly suggest "actors doing something". However, in such grammatical resources reside the "hidden agenda" of the discourse as well as the driving ideological dimension (Cameron, 2001) as we saw in Chapter Six.

The lexical choices made in the construction of the organizational vision and mission statements and objectives, lead the readers into the field of discourse or the topic thereby introducing the experiential metafunctions of the text. The texts also offer information on "who does the helping" and where they can be found. It is such constructions that make the communities dependent on the NGOs in the area because they advertise themselves as the *helpers, the saviour, the doer* of things that the community cannot *do.* For this reason, the community will always wait on them *to do the things that they have said they will do.* The texts are actually designed to create a reality that demand an action from outside the community and this explains the existence of the NGOs, who claim to be involved in development projects in the area.

In terms of message organization, the texts in this genre foreground their capacity, the strong sense of doing or ability to turn the reality around as indicated by the material processes, indicating a doer of action occupying the sentence initial position. This becomes the message's point of departure (Ravelli, 2003). This is significant because the first position in the clause is usually occupied by elements

that signal the thematic status of the message and functions as topical theme. Even though the participant actor is not overtly included in the clauses, it is understood in the texts that it is the posting organization that is advertising itself through the graphic mode. This is important in a public relations and persuasion genre, particularly bearing in mind that the organizations are aware that the communities also conceive development as an action oriented social activity directed at them. For this reason, every organization wants to be judged by what they are capable of doing and they want this to come out clearly and quickly because this is the best way to persuade the readers to accept the offer of 'help'. The rest of the details that follow the action indicated by the processes comprise the *Rheme* indicating the beneficiaries, the goal and the circumstances (Ravelli, 2003), all of which are clearly interpreted as the community.

The message organization emphasizes the knowledge and expertise of the development agents which gives them leverage over the target masses, who are constructed as lacking the knowledge and expertise to instigate positive changes in their wellbeing. In this sense, the development agents are in a position to control and direct the process of change, a factor which is buttressed in reality by their social status and education qualification. On the ground, these educated professionals exercise power over the communities they work with since they have critical "knowledge and expertise required to change" the living standards of the poor and marginalised as explained in their brochures.

7.2.2.2: Graphics on fabrics and clothing

The use of graphics on clothing as a way of advertising and passing messages seems to borrow from the clothing business where designers append their labels and designer logos on the clothing. This shift appears to be driven by the changing forms of social life incorporating "hybridity" or the mixing of discursive social practices in such a way that social boundaries and traditional specialized forms of modes are constantly blurred. This is a feature of "postmodernity" (Fairclough, 2004; Jameson, 1991; Harvey, 1990) and it allows for interdiscursivity, a technique

that incorporates different chains of genres in one communicative mode. In the case of using graphics on clothing we have the incorporation of the corporate advertising genre into development information dissemination practice using materials that are not traditionally used for writing.

Written message on fabrics and clothing has gained currency as another popular channel of disseminating development information. The most common being messages written on T-shirts, Caps, Bags, Wrappers and scuffs. This channel is very popular with many participants in development and appears to serve them differently. To the development agents, it is an incentive to attract the communities and it is also used to advertise the organization and disseminate development information of their concern. However, to the communities, it is popular not because of the messages written on them but because they serve to fulfil one of the basic needs of the rural folk, that is, the need for clothing. Guided by this need, some development organizations have used this channel as a bait to lure the communities into accepting their programmes, thus extending the dependency syndrome and promoting power over the communities (Fairclough, 2004; Wodak, 1996). Whether the messages are read or understood is a different issue and certainly not of any concern to the communities, who are thrilled by appearing branded with the current trends and fashion. The trend appears to be actively involved in change, to appear different. And such T-shirts project this image and announce the presence of the organizations in an area. Due to this, the generosity and seriousness of an organization is sometimes measured by what they can offer as pointed out by one respondent:

> That organization is not a stakeholder here they are so mean they can't even give T-shirts. Even if they came here today I would not listen to them …even if they organize workshops what would I be going there for?

This comment confirms the observation that people see organizations as 'providers' of things, and are unwilling to work with organizations who are not providing any

tangible recourses. This attitude seriously casts doubts on whether the writings are meant to convey any serious developmental messages rather than to advertise the organization and imposing its presence in the area. Thus supporting the claim of dominance using incentives especially where there is a sense of powerlessness and unwillingness to negotiate freely with the consultants/organizations incentives like project logo-embossed clothing are provided (Fox, 1994). But such incentives reinforce the existing inequalities and dependency syndrome (Fairclough, 2004; Woods, 1988).

Indeed people have mixed reactions with regard to the use of this mode of communication on clothing. While some think it is a good idea and an effective tool of ensuring the message 'walks' around with people hence it is read widely, others are sceptical about its effectiveness as an interactive communication tool in a culture where people do not read and where people simply "want to appear branded". Moreover, the promoters of this channel in the different initiatives hardly wear the clothing a few hours after the launching of the initiative. What they communicate is that the cloths are not good enough for them but necessary for the communities' thus cashing on their dire situations to blackmail them into accepting development initiatives which may not be of their interest. This is a move which targets double exploitation of the community, first they are exploited by being involved in what they do not know and, secondly, they (the people) are projected as advertisement agents of the organizations. Inevitably, one sees the channel as existing for the purpose of enticing the community into the projects and to justify budgetary expenditure rather than as a communicative tool.

For instance the following message appears on one of the T-shirts used to pass messages in Yier Ngima project by Care-Kenya:

Picture 1: Graphics on clothing

Source: T- shirt printed by Care-Kenya for Yier Ngima project

Translated as "Choose life, accept help if you are infected by HIV virus"

Choose life//	you	
Accept help//	you	if you are infected by HIV virus
Process: behavioural	Participant	Circumstance

The actor in this case is understood as the reader addressed here as 'you' and is also the recipient of the action described by a behavioural process. Behavioural processes display some features of material processes and mental processes and tend to be associated with physiological processes (Ravelli, 2003; Eggins, 1994; Halliday, 1994). In this text the actor/initiator of the action in the Process is the receiver/reader of the message; in this case the community members. Since the process is behavioural, the recipient must demonstrate it, and for that matter it is foregrounded. Even in this example we can see that the writer of the message uses

the advantage of power of knowledge over the reader, thus extending the notion of the expert who is knowledgeable and who has the power to 'do' things for the community (Ekins, 1995; Freire, 1972).

It is not clear whether there is a link between the message, the readership and feedback. As pointed out earlier, the majority of the community member can not read, while there is no reading culture among the literate members in the target communities. During the fieldwork, this came out very clearly as none of the interviewees reported knowing about any organization through this medium of communication. Despite using short and straightforward messages, the method does not impact on the targeted audience significantly because such people lack resources for the interpretation of messages encoded in such a medium. This can be traced to the issue of literacy, which this study notes is very low in the study area despite the claim that the province produces the majority of the elites in Kenya. True, as it may be, the observed situation is that the majority of the elites do not stay in the communities where the projects take place. For this reason, writings on clothing as a medium of communication, does not engage the target audience in an interactive and transactional discourse. Its main purpose seems to be that of enticing people into development activities, rather than communication. Thus, the medium does not serve any information dissemination or discursive purpose.

7.2.2.3: Graphics on newsletters

Another medium of information dissemination is the newsletters, these are 'regularly-published, non-refereed, not lengthy, for a specific audience/purpose' (Kotlas, 1999) writing. The publications follow the same format as that found in mainstream newspapers or news magazines, but the newsletter differs from newspapers or magazines in the sense that the newsletters cover a specialized audience. They are usually printed on A4 or a folded A3 paper so as to come up with four pages of news.

The use of newsletters is one of the effective ways of reaching a wide audience and ensuring that all parties involved have the necessary information regarding a project. Newsletters contain messages about the organization's support for the local community and they help to fulfil the organizations mission to community responsibility. There are two types of newsletters: the external and the internal. External newsletters are directed at customers, clients and the general public and often take a 'news' approach. They exist to cultivate personal relationships and aim at making the 'target audience feel better about the organization so that they may want to buy its product, use its services or contribute funds' (Treadwell & Treadwell, 2005:274). In other words, they provide an opportunity for the organization to tell its story without external gatekeepers interfering with its content. Internal newsletters on the other hand, address the personnel within the organization providing information about the new policies, appointments, promotions, etc (*ibid*).
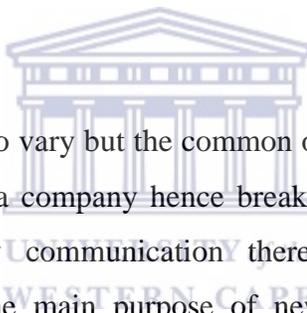
The purposes of newsletters do vary but the common one is to provide a channel of expression for employees of a company hence breaking the popular management form of top-down one-way communication thereby empowering people to participate in their work. The main purpose of newsletters is to communicate regularly with members of a special public sharing information that will sustain the unity of those bound together by the special interest (Newsom & Haynes, 2004). Some international NGOs in the study area use newsletters to keep in contact with donors, other similar organizations, and to try to reach a wider audience outside their target audience. A good example is *TransVic Voices*, a newsletter of the TransVic project comprising a set of closely related activities in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania implemented by ICRAF. *TransVic Voices* newsletter tells the success stories of ICRAF and disseminates information regarding their activities. It also serves as a performance indicator for the donors and an advertisement tool to motivate people, in the area, to join the programme and experience development as depicted by the "community voices" in the stories.

For this reason, the content is constructed predominantly with information about successful farmers who have achieved self reliance as a result of the organization's intervention thus creating a new realities and meanings about success in farming and agro forestry. Success in this case is constructed as a possibility equated with external or organizational intervention. Even though there is room for farmers' stories, it is not the main focus of the newsletter. Instead, the target is to give the farmers an opportunity to write from their own perspective about their experiences with the organization. Although this may be seen as a joint effort aimed at sharing information hence participatory interactive communication, it is clear that the farmers have very little choice in terms of genuine commentary. Besides, many of them cannot read or write and are guided on what to say for the purposes of public relations. This does not make the medium any transactive instead it sustains the hegemony of the development agents over the communities. This is achieved by using modes of communication that are not familiar to the community members.

For this matter, the newsletter largely remains a public relations tool that publishes narratives of an organization doing wonders, changing the communities from dependency to a self-reliant outfit that can initiate sustainable development curtsey of the organizations. This mode of communication fits well with the overall objective of development as an ideology of change and creation of sustainable markets (Ekins, 1995). This is done carefully by juxtaposing the situation before the organization intervened and the situation after their intervention. Consequently, this newsletter creates a new reality in which development is pictured as only possible through intervention by the organizations. Let us consider some of the statements used in the newsletter and how they construct the community, the organization and the effect of the interaction. In Table 7.1 below, I have selected some of the texts depicting the situation before the interaction and the situation after the interaction.

Table 7.1: Impact of Organizational intervention

Before intervention	After intervention
When we started working here it was difficult to convince people that they could grow trees for sale	Fodder is not a problem…seedlings originally supplied by ICRAF
By this time my wife and children were starving and I had come to realise that I had wasted three years of my life	He had been trained by ICRAF and NALEP…Mzee Kerasio has also refurbished and extended his house using proceeds from selling seedlings
When NALEP-ICRAF first started working in Ombaka in 2001, farmers were-at first- wary and unreceptive	The Local Research Committee (LRC) here is very active and fodder production has been a success Samuel Ongosi, 13, is already an agroforester in his own right while still in school
It was a bumpy rough ride initially: Eddie's first bananas were mercilessly mauled by free-ranging livestock, all too common menace in the sun scorched low lying planes of the Lake Victoria	Eventually, we not only closed the chapter on hunger in my home, I also managed to buy an additional 0.8 hectares adjacent to the family land)", says Eddie. "From the land, I provide for both my immediate family and my elderly parents".
'Who will we sell the trees to? Open your eyes and take a good look around you: every one here has trees!' they scoffed.	I have realised that I can make money from trees and selling I have used the money to pay fees for my daughter who started secondary this year, after her father died

The juxtaposition of the harsh reality before the intervention and the habitable reality after the intervention are convincing arguments for the community to trust and accept to work with the organization. Besides, this reassures the donors that their support is indeed reaching the intended target and effecting significant changes in their lives. One can see that the texts are engineered for the elites in the society-

since they are the dominant forces in the communities. The texts are also designed for the donors because they fund the projects. The use of English takes care of the interests of these elites and donors at the expense of the communities, who are not able to interact effectively through the channel and the language used (Phillipson, 2000). Both the language and the channel simply present semantic noise to the majority of the people in the project area. So, while the newsletter is a good public relations tool, it does not nurture transactive communication between the organization and the communities. It does however, fit well for the donors and the elites who understand English and can use the channel to dominate the communities and sustain unequal power relations (Fairclough 2004, 2001, 1995; Cornwall, 2000).

It is also evident that the sender of this message does not understand the linguistic behaviour of the local people. While it serves the interests of the elite and the donors to use a national language in this medium of communication, it is known from studies (Webb and Kembo-Sure, 2002) and confirmed in this study that people in that area do not like Kiswahili and prefer to use Dholuo or English and therefore the use of Kiswahili does not target them. In this case, the sender assumes that since Kiswahili is a national language, everyone will understand the information encoded through it. For instance, the newsletter translates some Kiswahili utterances into English, but this does not seem to be targeting the locals, who neither understand English nor speak Kiswahili. The translation targets the donors and other powerful elites who have an interest in the organization's activities in the area. (see texts below for the translations).

> *"Mwishowe, jambo la njaa kwangu sasa ni 'closed chapter'. Pia, nilinunua shamba ingine ya hektari 0.8 hapa tu karibu* (Eventually, we not only closed the chapter on hunger in my home, I also managed to buy an additional 0.8 hectares adjacent to the family land)", says Eddie. "From the land, I provide for both my immediate family and my elderly parents".
> **The secret**

But how does Eddie manage this? "The land is a silent bank. You only need to unlock the code," says Eddie. *"Sisi hapa hatujaribu. Twatenda kwa sababu tumeona matokeo mema* (For us here, we are not experimenting. We are fully implementing because we have seen the fruitful results)".

Newsletters serve numerous functions from valuable fundraising tools (Thompson, 2004) to keeping donors informed on the activities they fund as well as facilitating more donations. Besides, they help to create awareness about activities of the organization in the area to the wider readership and interested stakeholders. In this regard, it is a channel that benefits development organizations and the donors more than it does to the communities.

Since they target good public relations with the powerful donors, the language choice and order of discourse favour what the funders are familiar with and can access without difficulty. Furthermore, the newsletter lists the names of the funders at the bottom of the page, a place reserved for the "real" issues according to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), hence consciously or unconsciously extending the donor hegemony in a rather obvious way. The unsaid meaning is that the projects are not people driven after all, the communities are simply implementing what the funders want to see thereby giving a strong support for claims of neo-colonialism under the guise of development (Savage *et al*., 2005; Fairclough, 2004, 1996; Ekins, 1995).

Like the brochures we have discussed above, newsletters exemplify the new literacies that are interdiscursive, intertextual and encompassing a complex mix of chains of genres (Fairclough, 2004). In this sense, TransVic incorporates the use of pictures, direct speeches characteristic of spoken genres, and business marketing genres as well as the mass media reporting genres. These changes manifest themselves through mixing of chains of genres aimed at heightening competition and packaging organizations and services they offer as the best in the broader development market.

7.3: Conclusion to Chapter Seven

We have seen that the modes of communication in the study area are largely new to the target community and are constantly incorporating new discursive practices and communication methods from other fields notably business. The two modes discussed above aim at fulfilling the main objective of the development organizations, that is, of selling their services and ideas to the communities. While such ideas and services appear to be well thought and appropriately composed, some of them do not match the target people's communicative abilities. Thus, they do not benefit the intended audience. We have also seen that where the mode matches with the communities' discourse practices, they incorporate new discourse patterns and discourse orders that present interpretative difficulties.

On the contrary, we saw that where the mode exploits what the target communities are familiar with, there is always significant participation on the part of the target communities. But, even in such cases, we have seen that the animators or facilitators must fit within the participants experiential schemata of discourse practice otherwise disorders of discourse may arise with regard to their sincerity and competence in dealing with the field of discourse.

Lastly, some of the medium used in disseminating development information such as graphic on fabrics and clothing, encourage dependency among the target communities on the development organizations thus extending the donors' and developed countries' hegemonic influence over the communities in the rural Third World countries (Sachs, 2005). For this reason, the social transformations of "new capitalism" can be seen as changes in the networking in the social practices and so changes in the action and interaction methods. This is seen in the incorporation of chains of genres to create hybrid texts perceived as congruent with the transformations of the capitalism (Fairclough, 2004).

In the next chapter I discuss multimodal texts by specifically focusing on how genre and mode hybridity are combined to create meaning and to disseminate meaning.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8.0: MULTIMODALITY AS A MODE OF COMMUNICATION

8.1: Introduction

Communication in development is not limited to the verbalised or the written but as pointed in Chapter Seven, modes of communication are constantly mixing genres. This means that the mode of communication combines more than one modality in articulating what is going on (Martin and Rose, 2004). This chapter analyses how these modes, the visual mode and the graphic mode, articulate what happens in communication. I have also interpreted text according to Kress and van Leeuwen's (2001; 1996) multimodal discourse analysis (see Martin and Rose, 2004; Eggins, 2004) in which the definition of text is extended to encompass visual semiotics.

Communication in the field of development is not limited to language (spoken and written modes) alone. Overtime, other modes of communication have become inevitable, and the application of two or more modes in a single communicative act has increased (De Vito, 2001). Thus, linguistic modes are increasingly being used with other modes like gestures and visual semiotics in meaning making and dissemination of development information in the study area. The semiotic landscape has adopted the new realities brought about by "the intensification of linguistic and cultural diversity within the boundaries of nation-states and by the weakening of these boundaries due to multiculturalism" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996:34). As a result, language is slowly being de-centred as the favoured meaning making mode, and the semiotic landscape is becoming populated with complex social and cultural discourse practices (Iedema, 2003). By this recognition, meaning making includes a combination of various forms of semiotics, thus making communication multimodal. Multimodality recognizes that language is not the only form of communication, but other representational modes are essential and not merely incidental and interesting (Kress and Ogborn, 1998).

Multimodality acknowledges that in the new literacy practices and the new capitalist culture, language is slowly ceasing to occur on its own, instead it is integrated with and depends on other forms of meaning making. In this section, the study is interested in how language co-occurs with the other semiotic forms to communicate development information and how the multimodal texts carry the three metafunctions. The multimodal texts extensively used in the study include the visual and audio modes found on TV which this study recognizes but does not venture into analyzing them since they fall out of the scope set in this study. However, such multimodal forms are sometimes used to initiate discussions with the participants particularly in workshops, and also to document the transformation stages in the life of a development project. In this regard, they provided an opportunity to gather data required for the argument in this study and expanded the understanding of the researcher regarding how such forms are employed as meaning making processes. As such, the multimodal texts form part of the critical meaning making process aimed at re-construing a new social reality or warning the community against certain health hazards. However, video or films that thrive on fear factor, for example the presentation of worst scenarios of HIV/AIDS cases, are negatively appreciated and have no impact. They particularly kill the willingness for feedback which is an integral part of communication. Furthermore this mode of communication relies on electronic gadgets that depend on electric power, which is not easily available in all the parts of the province. It was observed that where a member of the community was part of the cast in the video or film, the audience responded very positively to discussions after the show. This is a pointer to the fact that people are comfortable with what they are familiar with, a fact that should be exploited in other modes of communication.

Apart from the participatory mode which we have seen there is also multimodal mode. Figure 8.1 illustrates the other identified multimodal forms used in meaning making and disseminating development information in the study area. This combination of more than two modes is seen by scholars like Jameson (1991) and Harvey (1990) as a feature of "postmodernity" which Fairclough (2004) views as a

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cultural facet and calls it "new capitalism". One of the key features of multimodal texts is "hybridity", a kind of assimilation of genres that blurs boundaries of genres (Fairclough, 2004; Silverstone, 1999). In this sense, multimodal text, particularly the one used in the study area, tends to exploit genre mixing through chains of genres incorporating business and promotional genres with what has been traditionally seen as mere information genres such as letters or speeches.
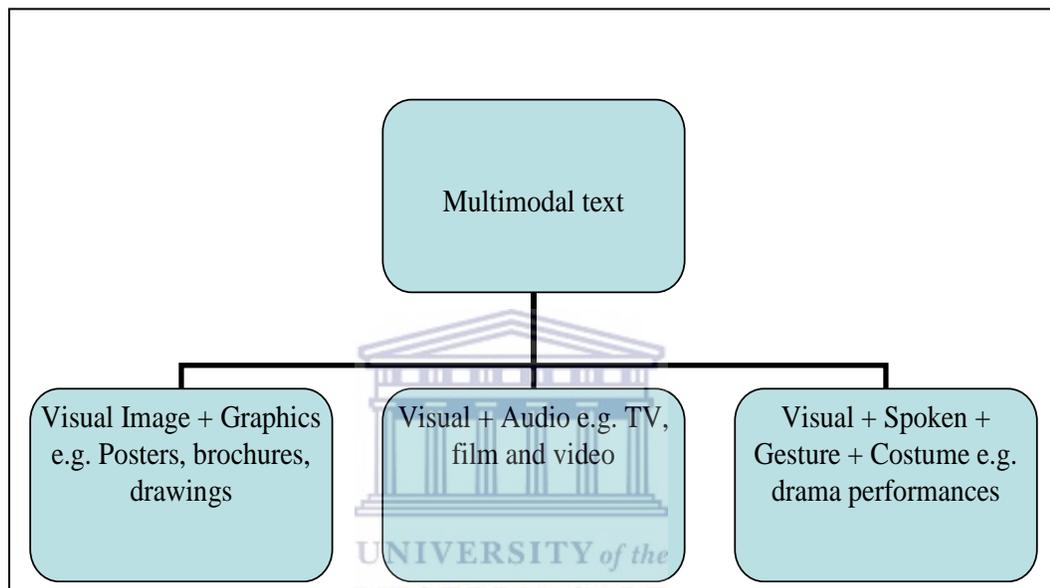
Figure 8.1: Multimodal modes as applied to meaning making and information dissemination

8.2: Multimodal texts: visual images and graphic

The use of a combination of visual images and the written texts are by far the most common type of multimodality found in the study area. These include brochures, instructional manuals and posters whose meanings must be interpreted by considering all their semiotic complexity and richness (Iedema, 2003). The focus of this section is on the analyses of how language and image (including colour choices) work together in the meaning making process. In other words, the analysis of multimodal texts seeks to find out how the two modes co-occur within the texts and whether they function together as an integrated whole in conveying meaning. I

therefore look at how the images and colour schemes anchor the written text and vice versa.

As mentioned earlier (Section 7.2.2.1), brochures are part of a public relations writing that aim at persuading, informing or educating (Newsom and Haynes, 2004). Many of the brochures that make use of visuals and graphics in the study area are those that aim at passing specific information regarding topics such as condom use, facts on HIV/AIDS, sex and sexuality and contraceptives. Some of these are directed to the general public, while others target specific audience.

Posters on the other hand refer to any large pieces of paper which hangs on a wall or other such surface. Like brochures, they are frequently used as tools for advertisement, sensitization or mobilization by groups trying to communicate a message to the general community. They are also used to promote a programme, an idea, a commodity or an event. As visual information, they are critical to winning and keeping the hearts and minds of key stakeholders (Cross and Dublin, 2002). In this sense, the posters tend to identify and assert the viewpoint of the posting organization to a selected or general audience.

We can identify two types of multimodal texts that use both the visual and the written modes. The first type uses real pictures of people and the second type uses animated illustrations or drawings of people, animals and objects. The use of real pictures is very popular with the youths and young adults especially where non-stereotypical messages are conveyed. For instance, the voluntary counselling and testing (VCT) posters and Billboards (see Appendix 3) are very popular with the audience, especially the youths, to whom the celebrities in the multimodal texts are already known. These posters have a great artistic merit hence they are extremely collectable and used as decorations in houses. The celebrities serve to draw the readers' attention to the texts as a whole and since the readers admire the celebrities, they always want to be identified with what they do. The multimodal texts therefore exploit this social relation between the celebrities and the wider

audience to pass their messages. However, their artistic merit limits their potential to reach many people because many of them are actually used to decorate people's walls.

Even these posters present a reality that many youths in the urban centres admire and are working towards achieving. The pictures of real couples in the proxemics of effluent and pompous furniture and modern musical and communication gadgetry draw the readers' attention to the poster. The icons look at the reader directly thus demanding their attention while they seem to be engaged in a leading narrative structure suggested by the vectors formed by their body language, posture or body parts (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). The striking feature of these posters is the fact that the linguistic choice (Sheng) as well as the experiential and the interpersonal metafunctions suit the target audience. Sheng identifies the people in those posters as the generation of intelligent forward looking, hard working couples who have a plan for their future. It is also sensitive to modern ideological balance that seeks to espouse gender equity by composing the message in a gender balanced way and encouraging equal commitment to the fight against HIV/AIDS.
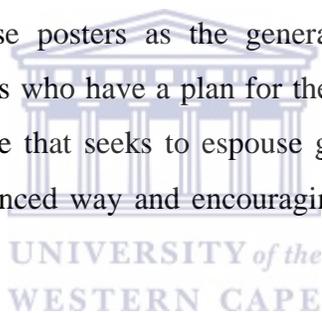
On the other hand the use of animation and drawings is effective in conveying socially sensitive messages relating to taboo topics like sex and condom use (see Appendix 4 c), culturally antagonistic messages or socially stigmatized diseases like the case of HIV/AIDS. In the case of HIV/AIDS, the use of real pictures may stereotype the persons who appear in the picture and for this reason there not many posters that use real pictures. Essentially the appearances would change the readers/viewers' schemata and the framing techniques for negotiating meanings with such people. In addition, as I mentioned earlier, when discussing theatre and drama, people sometimes do not distinguish between fantasy (acting) and reality thus a celebrity depicting an AIDS victim may be deemed as being "sick" and thus may end up loosing their status and marketability.

Besides using pictures of celebrities, organizations are also using pictures of people who are strong and culturally authoritative in the eyes of the general public to pass messages regarding VCT. This is driven by the understanding that only such people can influence change of attitudes and destroy the stereotypes associated with the socially sensitive issues. For instance, the National Aids Control Board has used the picture of the president and other leaders to encourage the general public to visit the VCT clinics. Of course in such cases, care is taken not to present the participants in the pictures as infected with the HIV virus because that would jeopardize their authority and status among the general public and even undermine their offices.

8.2.1: Billboards

Like other public relations media, Billboards are also used in the study area as outdoor advertisements and they offer the readers only a couple of seconds to grasp the message (Smith, 2003). They form part of what Smith calls "transit Advertisement" and are often mounted on roadsides, in urban centres or on buses or bus terminals (Smith, 2002). The strategy behind this is to remind the readers usually on transit, about what is usually already known to them thus reinforcing the ideas or knowledge through the images and the writings. Billboards are well received if their logos are well-known to the audiences, otherwise they become part of natural decorations in the area and the community will use them for other purposes rather than for what they are set for. For instance, a group of women selling fruits under a HIV/AIDS billboard had no idea of the message conveyed by a large billboard from whose shade they carried out their business. When the researcher asked them what message was on the billboard, they answered, *"Mano gir jo ukimwi wan wakya nyathi jomoko, wati joma kadho e ndara ka ema idwaro ni osom gigo"* translating as "That belongs to the people in charge of HIV/AIDS campaign, us we don't know, perhaps it is meant for the commuters who are using the road".

From this comment, it is clear that they did not relate at all with the messages in the communicative tool. In this billboard there were different drawings of people from

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all walks or life, and a message reading: 'anybody can get HIV/AIDS be careful'. This is one of the billboards that dominated the Kenyan landscape with messages in the local languages. However, the visual images did not anchor the written messages and in some cases, the communities simply resisted them because they were presenting them in a negative light. For this reason, such billboards alienate the targeted audience and deny them the chance to interact with the text and the message therein. These women for instance, associated the message with HIV/AIDS 'people' and 'travellers' yet the ministry of Heath in conjunction with FPAK targeted members of that community with this mode of dissemination of information on HIV/AIDS. Clearly, the multimodal channel mode was in their midst but they did not care what it said partly because there is no reading culture among the people living in the area, while those who could read interpreted the message negatively to mean it was a direct attack on the community by communicating putting up promiscuity as one respondent pointed out:
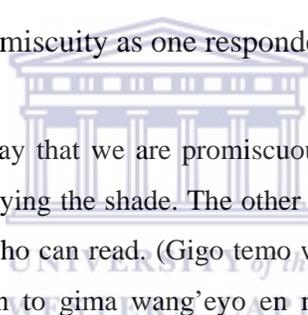
> That thing is trying to say that we are promiscuous which is not true. For us we know is that we are enjoying the shade. The other details are for the commuters to read they are the ones who can read. (Gigo temo wacho ni wan wachodo to mano ok en adieri omiyo wan to gima wang'eyo en ni tipo wan go mangeny go to jomakadho e ndara osom gin ema ging'e somo).

While this comment may look out of place, it does point to the attitude that the community has towards some of the modes used to disseminate information. These groups of women did not care less what the message was after all, for some reason someone may have told them that the billboard says they are "promiscuous" hence the negative reaction to the billboard. In reality, HIV/AIDS is prevalent in the area and one can see that efforts directed towards reducing the prevalence will not succeed unless the community changes its attitude. This can only happen if there is interactive communication where people can voice their feedback. At least in that area the women used the shade for their petty trade; while in the neighbouring province, people brought down the billboards and used them to make basins, school

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boxes, farm implements or *Jikos*[12]. This is a clear example of what can happen if information is not properly packaged.

The biggest mistake designers of such billboards make is to assume that they know what the community wants and can design messages that can impact on their lives. For this reason they design the billboards without consulting the community and simply ambush the community by mounting the billboards in their community roadside. The visual images used on such billboards are often not relating directly to members of the community. So in spite of the enormous amounts of money spent by the government in mounting the HIV/AIDS billboards in all major highways across the country, the message did not reach the targeted audience, hence they were not effective. As a result of this realization, the government removed the billboards as they never impacted on the people's social behaviour.

The above scenario suggests that the community must be involved in designing channels of communication that suits their needs without antagonizing their cultural schemata and meaning making frameworks. What may appear simple and straightforward may have far reaching reactions and effect.
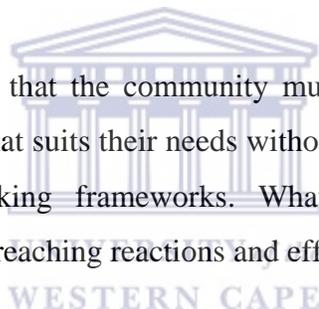
8.2.2: Mural

A mural is a painting on a wall, ceiling, or other large permanent surface[13]. There are many techniques used to paint murals although the most well known is probably the "fresco"[14]. Fresco murals consist of painting medium on wet or fresh lime mortar or plaster. This makes a very durable work of art and even if the wall is destroyed, the painting can often be reassembled because of the size of the plaster parts. The other common type is the *secco* mural which means a mural done "on dry surface" such as dry plaster and is often done with the medium binding pigments. The difference between the two techniques lies in the fact that while the wet plaster dries, in the case of fresco, it absorbs the pigment and the painting

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[12] Cooking stoves that use charcoal as fuel
[13] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Murals
[14] Comes from the Italian phrase *buon fresco,* meaning "really fresh"

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becomes part of the wall. This is unlike the *secco* where the painting rests on the surface of the top and may pill with time.

As a tool of communication, murals are relatively effective in social emancipation or achieving a political goal. Often, the visual effects are an enticement to attract public attention to social issues like HIV/AIDS and to provoke an open discussion about issues. In this way, it is hoped that the feedback it would generate would manifest itself in the levels of community awareness on the social political issue at hand. This can be achieved by installing what are seen as provocative murals at strategic locations where the target public can easily access them and be provoked to discussions. Hence, the murals become effective tools in establishing a dialogue which aims at solving a social problem. For this reason some NGOs and government-sponsored organizations have used the so called public art expressions, particularly murals, to disseminate information regarding a wide array of social issues.

During fieldwork, I came across a mural of the *secco* type in one of the walls in a maternity hospital in Siaya district. This is a painting on a dry plastered wall of an expectant mother accompanied by some writing in Dholuo. The message is directed to expectant mothers telling them to visit clinics or hospitals as soon as they realise they have conceived and especially if they are infected by the HIV/AIDS virus. The main reason for this is to help them prevent transmitting the virus to their unborn babies. See the Mural in Picture 2.
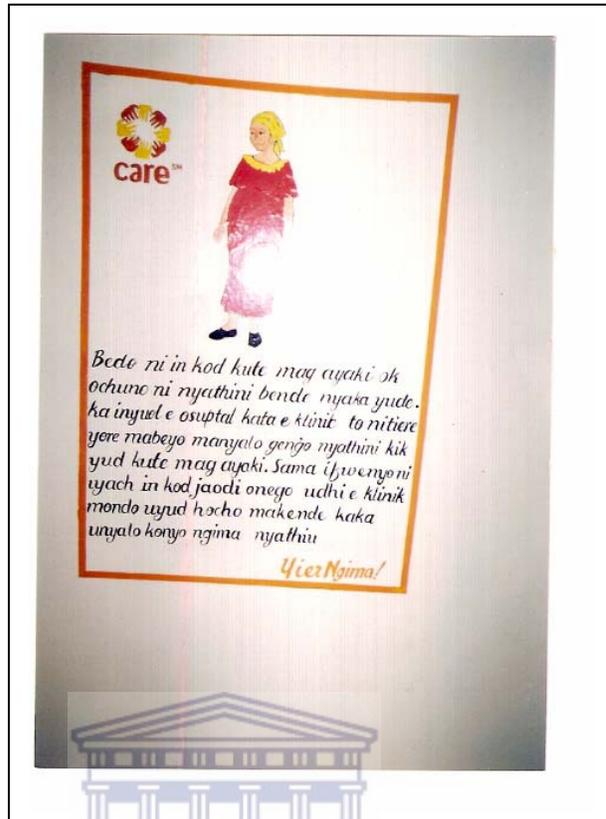
Picture 2: Mural

The text uses both the graphics and the image, hence there are two modalities articulating what is going on. Martin and Rose (2004) refer to this as "multimodal texts" and suggest that the interpretation of such texts requires going 'beyond linguistics into social semiotics and taking into account as many modalities of communication as we can systematically describe' (2004: 255).

Using Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) grammar of visual semiotics we can point out that the point of departure of the text is the non-transactive image of an expectant woman dressed in red. It is significant that it occupies the ideal position, which is further enhanced by her full frame which stands out visually and defines the target audience. This also forms the path from which the readers are expected to engage with the Mural. Since the image does not contain any vectors it is classified as 'conceptual'. Conceptual here means images which 'visually "define" or

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"analyse" or "classify" people, places and things including again abstract things' (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). The designer/drawer has achieved salience through the use of red colour and also through positioning it at the top, hence focusing the reader to the 'ideal' situation and the more ideologically salient part. The woman looks out of place in the whole. Such images are conventionally associated with symbolic values of types rather than individuals (*ibid*).

The anticipated interpretation here is that this message should get to infected expectant mothers. Even though seeing people from a distance signify lack of attachment as with strangers, the exploitation of distance here is guided by ethical considerations which would stereotype a person if a real picture were used. For this reason, the use of drawings rather than a real picture of an individual is appropriate since it does not single out any specific woman, but a type that is expectant and infected with the HIV virus. This helps in concealing the privacy of the infected mothers and effectively addresses the target audience without exposing their status and subjecting them to social discrimination owing to the stigma associated with HIV/AIDS. The framing of the text with a yellow line connects the elements of the graphics and the image and represents them as belonging together.

On the other hand, the bottom part is where the 'real' down to earth information is presented (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). In the context of the mural, this is where specific information giving directions for action is presented. The following message is put in this position:

> *Bedo ni in gi kute mag Ayaki ok ochuno ni naythini be nyaka yude, Ka inyuol e hospital kata e klinik to nitiere yore mabeyo manyalo geng'o naythini kik yud kute mag Ayaki. Sama ifuenyo ni iyach in kod jaodi onego udhi e kilinik mondo uyud hocho makende kaka unyalo konyo ngima naythini.*

> Translating into English as:
> The fact that you are infected with HIV/AIDS virus does not mean that your child should also be infected. If you deliver in a hospital or at a clinic, there are safe

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ways of preventing your baby from getting infected with HIV/AIDS virus. As soon as you conceive you and your husband should visit a clinic so that you get counselling on how you can save the life of your baby.

The message written in Dholuo is rather straightforward and links well with the visual drawing of the expectant mother. However, we can make a number of observations with regard to its effectiveness in disseminating development information. First, the assumption made here is that the target audience is literate and can read and relate the graphics to the visual composition of the texts, which is not necessarily so. Secondly, the placement of the text inside a maternity ward limits its dissemination capacity to only those who end up in the ward. This means its effectiveness in addressing infected expectant mothers is not achieved because unless one goes to the maternity ward one will definitely not see it. In this case, it is preaching to the converted and even if some of the mothers in the wards had not heard of the message, it would be rather late for assistance, since they will have carried the babies to term and transmitted the virus any way. Thirdly, in actual sense, the mural is addressing the wrong audience, mothers who are about to deliver or who have delivered, whereas the message in it targets mothers who have just conceived. As a dissemination tool this particular mural fails to reach its targeted audience, women who have conceived and not those who have carried pregnancy to term. Lastly, the graphical message assumes that every pregnant woman is married hence leaving out those who are not married, but who may have conceived for various reasons. These are also significantly many in the rural communities.

Consequently, the evidence above points to restricted access to information through placement of important information in inaccessible locations. For this reason, it does not nurture public interaction with the important information that they can use to engage in meaningfully changing their conditions. This can be remedied by placing information in the accessible points where the target audience can relate to it and seek details through follow up which will encourage interactive and transactional communication between the parties concerned.

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8.3: Gaps in the multimodal texts

In general most of the multimodal texts follow the Western traditional reading paths starting from left to right and proceeding from top to bottom. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) have pointed out that information values are realized by the placement of elements of a composition. This means that the role of a particular element will depend on where it is placed on the face of the page. Following the Roman script of reading from left to right and from top to bottom certain values have been ascribed to those positions. Therefore the elements placed on the left are presented as 'given' meaning they are presented as something the viewer or reader already knows and as such they become the agreed point of departure for the message (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). Elements placed on the right are presented as 'new' meaning they are things that are not yet known to the viewer or the reader hence, the reader/viewer must pay special attention to such elements. Such elements tend to be problematic, contestable and their information value requires close scrutiny.

Elements on the horizontal axis are either 'idealized' or 'generalized' essence of information, and they are usually the ideologically most salient part. Such elements occupy the top or 'ideal' position on the page while those elements that are at the bottom carry 'down to earth information' thus forming the meaning potential of the text. According to Jewitt and Oyama (*ibid*), the bottom part carries "more specific information (for example, details), more practical oriented information (for example, practical consequences, direction for action) or more real information (for example, photographs as documentary evidence" (p. 148). Finally, elements that appear at the centre are seen as holding the 'marginal' elements together; in other words the 'marginal' elements are subservient to the central element from where they derive their interpretation depending on the context. I now go on to discuss the gaps.

The explanation on the composition of elements in a multimodal text is very true when we consider that change agents are elites who may understand and use the

same reading paths to design and interpret the multimodal texts. Thus, extending their "power over" the communities by using modes that the community are not familiar with, but which are naturalized as appropriate in modern communication. Again, the assumption that the readers/ viewers of the multimodal texts will interpret the texts in this manner is grossly misplaced. First, the majority of the target people are not formally educated and thus do not know the reading paths. Secondly, even those who are educated may not have the same skills to interpret the texts in the manner advanced by the change agents as explained by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996). In the absence of an interpretational schema the readers tend to focus on each mode rather than the integration of the modes as an integrated whole. The majority of the people relate with the visual mode, especially authentic pictures, which they use as decorations or wall hangings in their offices or houses. Essentially, such texts cease to be effective since they are largely linear and restrictive thus present semantic and interpretative noise.

8.3.1: Disparity in co-occurrence of the modes

The complexity and richness of multimodal texts demand a thorough description and analysis since they represent reality using different semiotics. In essence, the multimodal account should not privilege any one semiotic over the other although the practice itself may foreground one particular mode (Iedema, 2003). Ideally, visuals should be used to support, emphasize, complement or substitute the written text (De Vito, 2001) and not just do dress up the brochure or poster.

In some of the multimodal texts gathered from the field, there is a disparity of co-occurrence between the visual and the verbal text. In brochure 1, the visual and the verbal texts are mismatching and each text constructs a different reality. The visual layout follows the Roman scripting that we have discussed above, with the title and subtitle "Answers to Questions Frequently Asked by Youth on Sexuality" placed at the ideal position. The picture of the participants is placed in the middle, while the logo of the two organizations and a reminder to the reader to make a decision on the contents-*Amua*- are placed at the bottom.
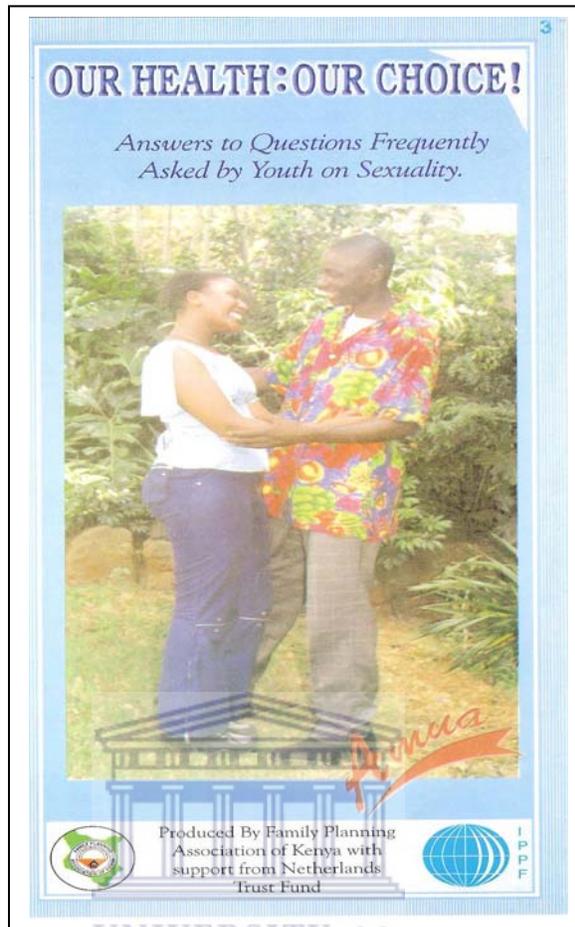
Brochure 1: Mismatch of modes

So the writings form the ideal and the real, and are held together by the picture at the centre telling the reader what the brochure is about. The participants in framed picture convey the representational meaning (experiential) through the narrative structures recognized by the vectors, lines that connects participants (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). The vectors in this case are the arms of the two participants and their eye contacts depicting a happening that the reader is expected to interpret as a romantic relationship between a girl and a boy, as shown by their actions. The two participants seem to be in a transactive experience hence they simply offer information about their experiences on sexuality. This seems to link well with the writings. The colour of their cloths contrast well with the natural background and their smiles are eye-catching giving the impression of youths in love hiding from

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the public eye. The full picture frame makes the reader see them impersonally, as types rather than as individuals, which ideally is what it is meant to be-represent the world of youths.

However, the text inside the brochure addresses concerns of young adolescents rather than the older youths. The participants represented in the picture are much older and are unlikely to be concerned with the developmental changes taking place in the body of adolescents such as the emergence of breasts and broadening of shoulders. The text therefore appears to be more relevant to participants of age thirteen to seventeen rather than those in their mid and late twenties and only serves to show that they are ignorant of stages in their development despite their advanced age. The message in the texts is more suitable for participants in brochure two discussed below.

Text in Brochure 1

QUESTION 02:   What are some of the changes experienced during adolescence?

ANSWER :   The following changes are experienced;

By females:
- Development of breasts
- Broadening of hips
- Beginning of menstruation
- Growth of pubic and armpit hair
- Development of feelings of attraction to the opposite sex

By males:
- Broadening of shoulders
- Deepening of the voice
- Growth of hair in the armpits and pubic parts
- Growth of beard
- Development of feelings of attraction to the opposite sex.

QUESTION 04: Can you get pregnant if you have sex standing up?

ANSWER :   Yes. Standing or assuming any other position will not prevent pregnancy since none of the positions prevents the fertilisation process.

QUESTION 05: If you take a bath or shower immediately after sex, will you still get pregnant?

ANSWER :   One cannot avoid getting pregnant by taking a bath or shower after sexual intercourse since neither of these interferes with the fertilisation process.

QUESTION 06: Will my testicles explode if I don't ejaculate?

This brochure can be contrasted with Brochure 2 on "Our health: Our Choice" representing two participants in transactive narrative in which the boy is the actor

while the girl is the goal. The vectors are formed through the hands of the boy pointing at the written text that he holds and the arms of the girl folded across her bust while looking at the paper with the writing "your questions????". Even though the boy is included in the picture and plays the role of an actor, the text inside the brochure predominantly address the girls making the whole issue of contraceptives look as if it is a female's only concern.
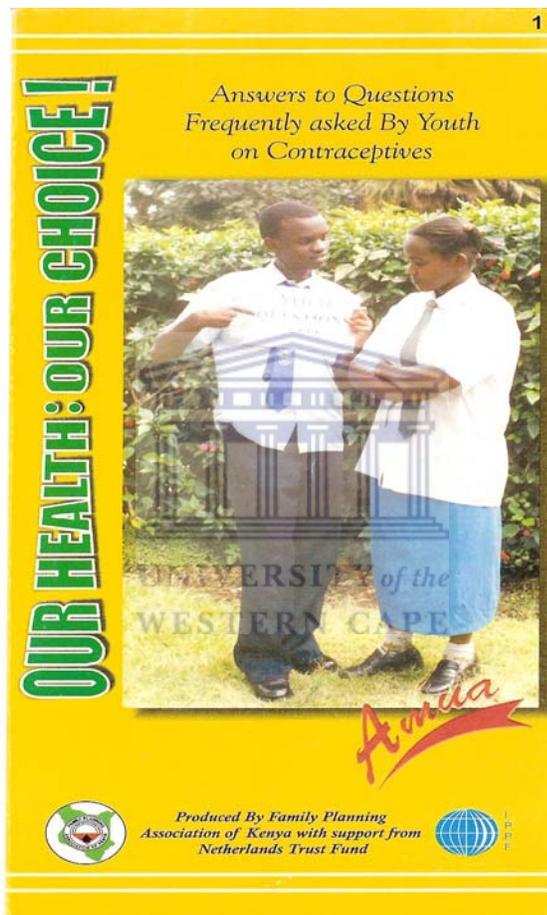
Brochure 2

The visual in this brochure, anchors well with the graphic text which uses a language that the youths relate to without any difficulty, except it emphasizes the stereotypes of males as actors in matters relating to sexuality. The pointing of the questions on the paper seems to suggest that the boy is better placed to initiate discussions relating to sexuality hence constructing boys as more powerful and

dominant as compared to the girl who seems to be unsure as suggested by the folding of her hands. Clearly, this is the kind of behaviour one finds with the adolescents girls and this makes these participants appropriately suited for the message in brochure 1 above.

Another example of mismatch can be seen in Poster 1 below. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) remind us that images can create particular relations between viewers and the world inside the picture frame, thus in a sense they interact with the viewers and suggest the attitude viewers should take towards what is presented (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). The framed black and white picture of a young girl carrying a sleeping baby on her back and gazing directly at the reader/viewer appeals for some attention from the reader/viewer.


Poster 1: Mismatch of graphics and visual modes

In this poster the young girl gazes at the public directly, naturally forming an imaginary relation with them. In other words, she makes contact with the viewers. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) refer to such pictures as "demand" pictures because they demand some form of attention from the viewer, while those that lack this imaginary contact with the viewers are known as "offers". This is because viewers look at them differently, more or less as specimens in a display case.

In the above Poster, the fixed and unblinking gaze of the young girl looking at the readers/viewers, 'demands' their attention and subsequently their action. However, there is ambiguity in the representational meaning of the visual image. It is not clear what relationship exists between the young child and the baby. Indeed during the Focus Group Discussions respondents interpreted the representational (experiential) meaning of the visual text variously as depicting:

   i. Destitute children,
  ii. Irresponsible parents may lead to child-headed homes,
 iii. Irresponsible parents lead to poverty,
 iv. A case of exploitation of children hence child labour,
  v. Childhood parenting.
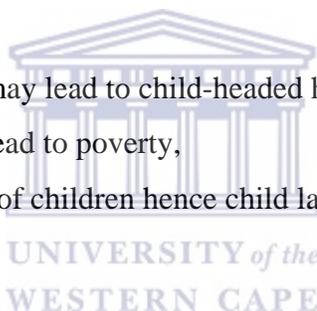
All of these are not easily linked to the written text accompanying the picture, that is "Good parents protect their children before, during & after birth. Reduce the chances of passing HIV to your baby. PMTCT is there to help you". The viewers can not immediately see the link between the verbiage and the visual; instead they expected a written message addressing the above interpretations.

Posters are supposed to be eye-catching in order for them to grab the viewers' attention. The visual and the written texts must convey the message in less strenuous manner bearing in mind that people do not have time to seat and analyse the posters as they are usually on transit to other commitments. Thus, posters ought to convey the message in as quickly as possible and in a less strenuous way. But although posters are an effective mode of passing quick messages they should be

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used cautiously so as to avaoid the feeling of intrusion into people's daily activities, particularly by invading their sight wherever they go. The observed practice is that people hardly take time to read the posters and if they do, then, they go with the first impression. One informant alludes to this point during the focus group discussion:

> But this is a baby carrying a baby! This is not a parent, I am a parent and I would look out for a poster that addresses me rather than one with misplaced picture and message. This picture shows some struggling child and not a responsible parent[15].

This indicates that the posters are quickly dismissed as addressing children's problems and not linked to the targeted audience, the parents. This means that the message is misplaced and the target audience will not get it. Besides, it calls for inference from those who chance to see it, since they are posted in the NGO offices, Hospitals, Chief's camps or doors of shops where they are hidden when the shop doors are opened, and hence not accessed by many.

This flouting of the expected link between the visual and the written is a barrier to effective communication of the intended message. It is only through inference that the viewer can arrive at the desired message, that parents who are not responsible in their sexual behaviour die early leaving children to take care of babies. This does not relate to the main message which is prevention of transmission of HIV virus from mother to child, thus undermining the techniques of foregrounding used in designing the message tool. This is an effective technique that makes use of picture close up hence inviting the viewers to see the participants in the text as more or less intimately acquainted (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). It appears so close to the reader hence revealing their individuality and personality. However, in a culture that pays little attention to the concerns of children, such posters will not be treated seriously. Secondly, the general public recognizes the visual text as depicting poverty or child labour or teenage pregnancies and for that reason they find it suitable for the

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[15] Informant, aged 49 in a group discussion in Siaya town on the 14/01/05

campaign against such issues. The intended linkage between the picture and the written message is not achieved and such posters are communicatively useless bearing in mind that there is no advantage of immediate feedback to explain any misunderstanding.

As far as the audience is concerned, the poster below was more appropriate to the message since it incorporated their interpretative schemata.

Poster 2: A Poster with matching visual and graphics modes

In this instance, the interpretation of parents was well connected to the visual image and interpreted as a couple, man and woman, who are married in this culture. Although the message does not spell out the word parents, which it does in the Dholuo version and fails to address single mothers or victims of unwanted pregnancies and adolescent mothers, the poster is understood as targeting parents, due to the familiar image of parents as a married couple. But this is also interpreted by others as excluding those who are not married especially now that there was no poster targeting them. Such omissions may appear insignificant but they affect the way the community judge and interact with an organization.

Poster 2 above uses a familiar picture that co-occurs effectively with the text. The picture represents a familiar reality within the context of culture in the study area. The participants, parents, are represented as 'actors' who demonstrate the idea of care communicated by the written text. The baby is the 'goal' of their action and appears to be very well protected and attended to physically as indicated by the hands and gazing direction of the parents eyes. This forms the vectors which connects the participants together. The picture is in the 'ideal' position and this is significant since, in reality, it is not common to see couples in the context of the existing cultural practice. Culturally, child bearing and babysitting is the domain of the mothers and therefore this image goes against the grain of cultural expectations. The men reacted strongly to such images by tagging them 'those new things about equality'. This appears to threaten cultural status quo by presenting a reality that empowers women to domineer over men. Indeed the poster is interpreted in line with the gender equality campaigns which vented some aggression towards men. This, of course, is very counterproductive to communicating messages regarding women empowerment. For instance, one informant points out this clearly in the following dialogue:

Question: Would you say this is a true depiction of parenthood as understood in you community?

Informant: Certainly not! Which man baby seats here?

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Question:	What about you do you help your wife with the baby?
Informant:	Why should I do that? What will she be doing for me to take care of the baby? These are those new ideas brought by women about women's rights and that's' why these posters are there and I can tell you that many woman are really stressing their men out there.
Question:	What about you?
Informant:	Who me? Can a woman answer back to me?

Such comments are loaded with overtones of resistance to new concepts that are not culturally sensitive especially following the aggressive campaigns for women equality in the area that was presented as disempowering men. This historical experience is still imprinted in the community's psyche and forms part of their interpretative schemata. However, the poster serves as a constant reminder that there is need to work as a team if the war on HIV/AIDS is to be won. The issue that men particularly had with the poster is that it appears to be driven by women. This threatens the established social structure, hence the resistance.

8.3.2: Overloading messages on one medium

Effective multimodal texts are the ones that communicate a specific clear and straightforward message; this means that the text must make itself easy and accessible to viewer/readers, who in most cases have no time to spend reading complicated messages. In Poster 3, titled "LET US JOIN EFFORTS IN ELIMINATING HIV/AIDS", we see an example of a text that is loaded with so many messages some are conflicting, while others are culturally antagonistic.

The narrative representation of the participants as engaging in the act of 'fighting' AIDS ushers the viewer to the field of discourse. The various objects and the direction of the gaze form vectors, the paths through which the viewers are able to work out what is going on in the frame. The twisted head, open mouth and rolling tongue of the AIDS ogre create a reaction rather than an action thus signalling a transactive narrative representing participants as active actors in eliminating AIDS, here depicted as the common goal.

Poster 3: Loaded messages

The poster interacts with viewers although from a distance. The images appear to have been taken from a long shot suggesting impersonal relationship. This is further supported by the use of animation rather than real pictures to communicate the message on HIV/AIDS. Even though animations have low modality (reality value), in this case it is effective because the disease is still stigmatized and as such the animation communicates with the viewers without putting pressure on them to identify those involved in the fight.

From a social semiotic visual analysis point of view, we can say that the information is organized according to what it valued. The "ideal" position occupied by the title suggests that the community is not fighting as a block and therefore there is need to involve every body. Ideologically, it is the most salient part and the

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designers have used green colour against the white background to give it prominence. The images are not framed although the vectors connect all the elements into a coherent visual syntactic pattern held together by the big size of AIDS occupying the central position. This is another feature of salience used in the poster to appeal to the viewers to come up and collectively fight AIDS which is depicted here as too big to be fought by one person.

The bottom position offers information on those behind the endeavor to mobilize people to join efforts in the elimination of HIV/AIDS that is, Sida and WAFNET. Unlike the information in Poster 1, which tells the reader where to go for help, in this Poster the viewers are not provided with sufficient information on how to get in touch with the organizations. It assumes that every one knows who WAFNET and Sida are and can reach them. One way of advertising the organizations and the donors is to put their logo-emblems at the foot of the multimodal texts, traditionally left for the more down to earth or real or more specific details (Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). This gives the interpretation that the designers of such texts are particularly keen on advertising themselves and showing they are the "movers" of action oriented at changing the conditions in the communities, hence more powerful. In this way, they continue the hegemonic and the all-powerful provider of the big saviour syndrome.

Although the poster presents the field of discourse and the participants as actively involved in the effort to eliminate HIV/AIDS, it does present so many messages in one text: '*Let us change our attitudes and morals, stop prostitution, No to wife inheritance, Let us use condoms, youths lets abstain'* are all part of the text. These are too many messages in a single poster making it too loaded with messages and risking conflicting and contradictory messages all in one text. For instance, *stop prostitution and let us use condoms, or let us use condoms and youths lets abstain* are contradictory and present the viewers/readers with choice dilemma in which they are not sure whether to stop prostitution or use condoms, or abstain! Such

mixed messages present disorders of discourse thereby failing to impact positively in people's behaviour change.

Aside from conflicting messages the poster is also culturally antagonistic in the message 'No to wife inheritance', which attacks the people's culture directly. In the context of culture it is not appropriate in two ways. First, it attacks the people's cultural practice of family trusteeship bestowed on the community after the death of a man. Secondly, the text is verbalized by a woman who has no cultural capital and authority to discuss matters pertaining to inheritance. The same statement would have a different effect if a man uttered it since men in this community enjoy a higher position of power and status within the social and cultural hierarchy and as such can influence the desired change. For this reason the appeal against wife inheritance is not taken seriously and in fact in some areas they are removed or destroyed as a show of disregard to the message.

The utterance by the pastor 'Let us change our attitudes and morals' is an example of Intertextuality (*Cf.* Fairclough, 2004), borrowing from the Christian discourse into the discourse of development and into this channel of communication. However, the text demonstrates stereotypes that only those with weak morals spread HIV/AIDS. It implies that the existing morals are not good and people should change their lifestyles and lead a life as prescribed in the bible and preached in the churches. This of course stands in direct opposition to 'lets us use condoms'. Besides, it assumes that all people will subscribe to the Christian faith. In this regard, it leaves out people who are of other faiths yet such people leave in the community. The effect is a breakdown in communication especially where the organization comes into the community hoping to succeed after applying 'participatory' approaches only to be met with resistance from a section of the community who were not included in the poster.

Lastly, the message is further complicated by the presence of babies in the image. It is not clear what their role is in the text and this makes the representational meaning

doubtful. Many participants felt it is incredible and irrational to expect babies to fight HIV/AIDS, a disease they have no idea about. So while the designers intend to communicate the sense of collective action against HIV/AIDS, the inclusion of babies discredits and undermines the message thus taking away its seriousness. In natural contexts and even in this cultural context babies are never expected to engage in fights of any nature. Their presence in the poster casts doubts on the sincerity of the organization to help mobilize the community to fight HIV/AIDS.

8.3.3: Cultural antagonism

People are often defined by their "customs, worldview, language, kinship systems, social organization, and other taken-for-granted day-to-day practices … which set them apart as a distinctive group" (Scollon and Scollon, 1995:126). Understanding a people's culture can elevate someone to a stronger position from which s/he can communicate effectively and successfully in social circumstances. The success of an interactive communication rely heavily on this understanding because people attach great value to their way of life even if such are perceived as backward or uncivilized. The best way of getting to people and impacting on their lives is to invest in packaging information that does not antagonize their belief systems and cultural practices, but to embrace such practices and use them as vehicles of change.

For instance, among the Luo, polygamy is a common practice just like the use of traditional medicine to cure diseases. Poster 4 and 5 below touch on these cultural practices but constructs them negatively as causing poverty, illiteracy and family conflicts in the area. The two posters follow similar visual syntactic layout where the titles occupy the "ideal" top position and are written in contrasting colours for salience. The visual text anchored by some written text is placed in the middle/centre, while there are more texts at bottom/real position. The logos of the organization are also placed at the lower part of the posters. The placement of the two logos is significant particularly the placement of the donor organization's logo on the left which means it is known to the people as opposed to the designing

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organization which is relatively new meaning the viewers are still not familiar with them.
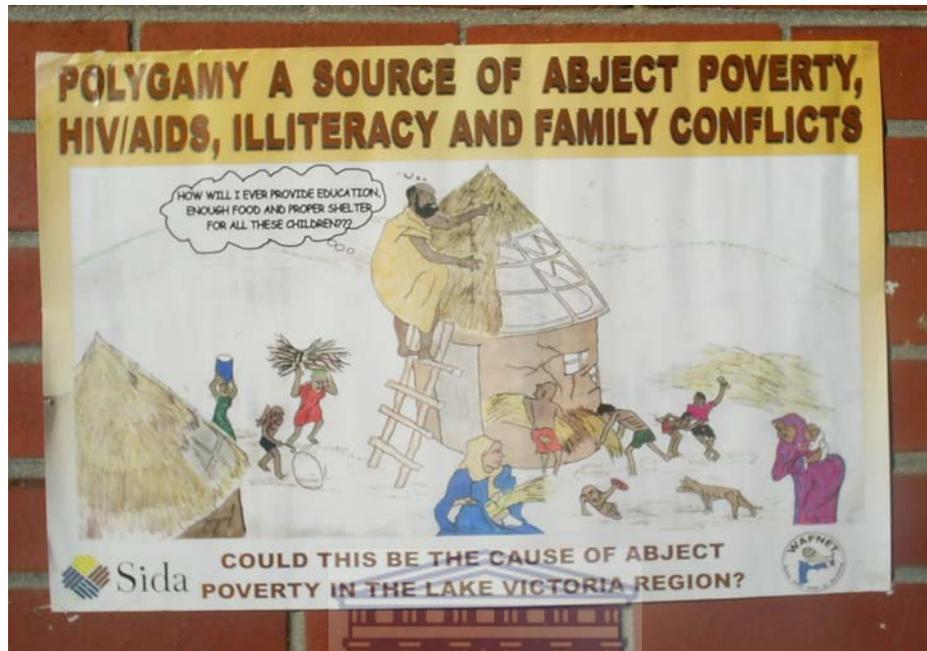
Poster 4: Cultural antagonism

The narrative structure in Poster 4 represents a family caught up in poverty as connected by the edge of the house, roof of the house and the ladder that form the vectors. The vertical advantage of the man on the ladder identifies him as the centre of authority and singles him out as the participant responsible for the situation of poverty. This is further buttressed by his thoughts included in the text "How will I ever provide education, enough food and proper shelter for all these children???" depicting him as the main participant. All these form the reading path and help the viewer in relating the visual text to the written text and in interpreting the multimodal texts as representing poverty.

The visual images in this case depict an extremely difficult condition aimed at heightening the intensity of the problem and appealing to the viewer's reaction. The question at the end, invites the viewer to engage in the discourse. While the mode achieves the objective of presenting an extreme poverty situation, it stereotypes

polygamy as a cultural practice among the Luo, by generalizing the trait and it is responsible for the poverty situation in the province. This is not necessarily the case and thus people simply dismiss such posters as part of the foreign channels of communication that seek to dismiss their cultural practices. In fact, such culturally antagonistic posters especially targeting wife-inheritance are associated with the campaigns by educated women pursuing gender equality.

The majority of the respondents interpreted Poster 4 as an attack on the people's cultural practices and pointed out that there are numerous rich, successful, peaceful and healthy polygamous homes in the area. Likewise they pointed out that the reverse is also true, that is, that there are many monogamous families who are poor and illiterate. The assumptions on the part of the organizations implementing projects in the communities that the community is suffering due to polygamy, elicit negative psychological effect from the community and this impacts on communicative interaction. Furthermore, the language used is not only foreign but also too difficult for the target audience, hence a clear example of semantic noise. By heightening the intensity of the situation, the poster does not succeed in driving home the message because viewers form opinion based on the first line and hence do not bother to read the rest. This means that it does not allow the community to exhaustively contest the message put forth through this channel, instead they collectively interpret anything from the organization as negative and antagonistic to their culture, a factor which many organizations never consider.

The presentation of polygamy as the root cause of poverty and illiteracy in the study are is an overgeneralization which is not true with respect to the context of situation. The posters apply the characteristic of a few individuals to all members of a group and exaggerate the practice in order to construct it in a negative light. Scollon and Scollon (2001) refer to such overgeneralizations as stereotypes and point out that 'they limit our view of human activity to just one or two salient dimensions and consider this to be the whole picture' (p.169). This is clearly

evident in these posters, which paint a picture of the community as polygamous and suffering in abject poverty.

In Poster 5 below traditional medications is stereotyped as a waste of resources and associated with appeasing of "spirits", whom are mainly perceived as evil. Among the Luo, there is a disease known as *Chiraa*, which come as a result of a curse, and presents symptoms similar to those of HIV/AIDS. Traditionally, there is no known cure for this disease and even modern medicine cannot remedy this type of illness. While the fact of the statement, "Witchcraft is not a solution to HIV/AIDS" is true, the poster assumes that the viewers can distinguish between HIV/AIDS and *Chiraa* and, that by simply denouncing witchcraft the viewers will "go for life prolonging medicine". On the contrary, the message in the poster is not complete because it does not provide the viewer/reader with concrete information on where to "go for the life prolonging medicine". The designers of this poster assume that the readers/viewers will understand the language used and take action. Except in this case the place where this help can be gotten is not specified.
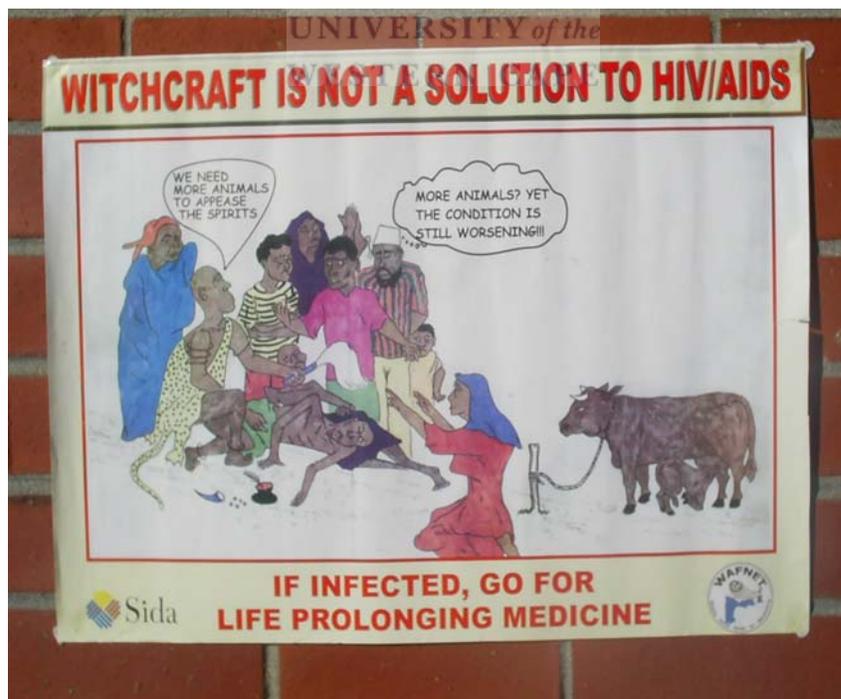
Poster 5: Cultural antagonism

It is such kind of mode of communication that stereotypes the people's cultural practices and knowledge hence impacting negatively on dissemination of the new information. A sound understanding of such cultural practices can enhance the development agents' information dissemination, especially if they build on the people's cultural schemata.

8.3.4: Abstract modes

Some of the mediated messages are packaged in abstract signs that viewers and readers cannot understand easily. Even though they use familiar signs and objects, the modes present them out of their context of usage and outside the known schemata of the viewers. In such cases, the viewers/audiences frame of interpretation is completely displaced. For example, in Poster 6 below the message is abstract and elusive. Many participants were not able to interpret what it really means. While it may be aiming at showing how strong a condom is, the colour – red- used in the shape of a fist does not match the viewers' schemata of what a condom looks like. Thus the readers/viewers fail to connect the intended meaning with the multimodal texts presented, because meanings are bound by familiar experiences and this includes shapes and colours that people attach to different things. In this case, it does not disseminate a meaningful and clear message regarding condom use. Such packagings create uncertainty in the minds of the viewers and fail to pass any meaningful message.

Poster 6: Abstract message

8.4: Conclusion to Chapter Eight

There is a bias assumption by the designers of the multimodal texts that listeners/readers are competent in the new literacy practices that they use in the posters, brochures, billboards etc. The texts use genre mixing and genre chains thus require that the target audience is familiar with the different genres and how they function together as a whole in passing development messages. This as we have seen, is not the case with the target audience who do not have a reading culture let alone possessing sufficient reading skills in the first place. This assumption contradicts the main objective of using communication resources that people are familiar with for easy access and engagement with the information. This is evidence of mismatch between people's discursive schemata and the modes applied to

communicate development information to them. In some cases, the selected visual modes contradict the verbal messages as in the case with Brochure 1 and Poster 1 discussed above. In this regard, the modes are not empowering participants to be part of the meaning making process, instead they serve to construct the audience as consumers of the services and ideas marketed through the various "foreign" communicative methods. As a result of this, the community members continually strive to keep pace with the new methods of communication (in order to appear to be developed) and by so doing, they emphasize and sustain dependency syndrome.

We can therefore conclude that the linguistic choices, the order of discourse and the modes used in discursive processes in development interactions remain largely inaccessible to the majority of the targeted people who are neither proficient in the chosen linguistic modes nor are they conversant with the modes and discursive structure comprising the communicative interaction. Hence, while the modes are popular with the development agents, they fail to instigate the much-desired participation owing to the bias composition of some of the reality they present and the complete disregard of the target people's communicative abilities. In this way, some of the modes have undermined the social and cultural contexts of the target community and presented such resources as responsible for the depressing living conditions.

It is evident that modes of communication can only be successful if they take into consideration the register aspects of discourse which include understanding the experiential, the interpersonal and the textual resources available to the participants and particularly the target recipients. Development agents need to learn the target communities' social and cultural practices and use modes of communication that people are familiar with. I now proceed to the last chapter, where I draw conclusions and make recommendations based on the discussion so far.

CHAPTER NINE

9.0: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1: Introduction

This study set out to investigate the discourse practices and modes of communication in the social practice of meaning making and dissemination of information in the field of rural development. The overriding aim was to examine the role and the impact of these practices in fulfilling development goals in the development projects in Nyanza province in western Kenya. Using qualitative research methods as discussed in Chapter five, this study gathered data that has been used in the discussions in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Therefore, this chapter provides the conclusions of the discussions in this thesis and makes recommendations for an improved communication in development. The chapter is divided into two sections; Section One deals with the conclusions and Section Two presents recommendations.
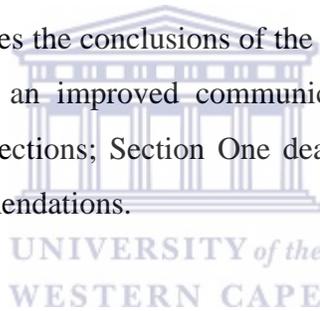
9.2: General remarks

Development brings together groups of people who are stimulated to improve aspects of their way of living in a world that constitutes many unequally distributed power and resources and for this reason it establishes a process of bargaining and negotiation. Language and effective communication as we have seen is an integral part of this process without which there is no development.

There is a clear indication from what I have discussed that the discourse practices in development are fraught with so many disorders of discourse arising from factors such as linguistic choices, mode of communication, order of discourse, power imbalance and hegemony, and contradictory ideological positions. We have also seen that language has been used to construct identities of development agents as saviours of the communities. Language is also used to institutionalise development

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practice and naturalize development agents as the indispensable link to the much desired change. This exploitation is orchestrated through a capitalistic ideological hegemony that seeks to dismantle all the stable social structures in Third World countries and create new structures that establish a market empire for the new capitalist values *(Cf.* Fairclough, 2004, Cornwall, 2000). In this new ideological dispensation, the poor communities in the Third World countries are not only disempowered in the name of development, but are perpetually made dependants of the development forces and their agents, the development donors and development organizations.

The current practice in development seeks to establish and sustain new social structures and values under the guise of development. This is done through the languages of those who call the capitalistic shots, thus rendering the so-called development impossible in any of the powerless languages like Dholuo. In the existing circumstance development will not be possible until the participants attain equal power or at least sufficient power to break into the market and compete equally. In this regard, local languages have no place in the development discourse and even where it is used, it only serves the capitalist objectives of the development agents rather than the beneficiaries. Thus, the glamour for a people-driven development or for the use of the people's language in development activities has no basis and as we have seen, the poor communities do not think their languages provide them with the best resources to compete favourable in development discourse. English therefore stands out as the language that the majority of people believe can best describe and carry development ideas.

The study has also seen that the much extolled PRA has been institutionalised as a prime development goal thus rendering it the focus rather than a methodology for enabling participants to be involved and understand what they are going to engage in. PRA sessions have become a collection of techniques that the powerful development agents use to extract information from the target groups, to dominate and exploit them. In this regard, the methodology has failed to redeem its primary

purpose of empowering the people, and to make and shape their own spaces for collective engagement with the desired changes in their lives. Hence, PRA has come to mean taking up invitations extended by development agents.

Having made these general remarks I will now make specific remarks with regard to ideological formation and identity creation in development discourse; hegemony and relations of dominance. Others include the relationship between context and texts; field of discourse and experiential meanings; tenor of discourse and interpersonal meanings and modes of discourse and texts.

9.2.1: Ideological formation and identity creation

We have seen from the discussions that development is a form of social transformation that seeks to universalize social patterns through changes in the existing local social networks and social practices in the rest of the world. This aims at realizing changes in the form of human action and interaction. These changes are effected by causal powers in the social structure represented by powerful participants in development interaction. An analysis of the products of these social interactions and events reveal that such powers are visible in linguistics choices and order of discourse although they may not be seen by a non-critical eye and have become naturalized over time (*Cf.* Fairclough, 2004; Wodak, 2001; Cameron, 2001).

It is evident from the discussion that development agents have arrogated themselves the power to dominate development activities in the name of helping the poor people in the rural Third World countries while in the actual sense advancing their own hidden agenda. Development as practiced in the Third World is an ideology driven by the assumption that human progress as a whole depends on the expansion of a consumer society from which it creates a system of total demand. This system is implemented and sustained through the competitive market principles where entities like information and services are packaged and branded as goods for sell. Dependency is also created through incentives which lure the communities into

accepting the new values in the name of development. Throughout the study, we have seen that the ideology of development has pervaded every sphere of human life affecting their social structures as it seeks to establish domination and control of the changes in human life.

As a social practice we have seen that development is driven by educated social agents working in various initiatives to change the lives of people in the Third World. Given their education, they are the people of a higher social status and are considered the best participants when it comes to development issues. For this reason, they occupy a more powerful position than the target communities. They make decisions regarding the direction of social processes even though they purport to be initiators and facilitators of the people driven development. Furthermore, having been trained in Western education they have acquired attitudes and values that are deemed as a prerequisite for effectively understanding the ideological basis for effecting changes in the social structure and social processes.

With this kind of armoury development agents play a crucial role in establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation. They construct themselves as initiators and implementers of development in the communities and position themselves as the doers of action which the community has no choice, but to accept. Through their interactions with the communities, they sell the idea that development is an inevitable social restructuring which the communities must adopt as part of their way of life, and they offer to help the communities achieve this. We have seen that the agents exploit the communities in the process and while they purport to champion the people's voices they are in fact implementing neo-colonialism disguised in the name of development and perpetuating dependency syndrome of the communities in the Third World countries on behalf of the Western donors. By advocating for change in social structures and human behaviour development agents are not just sustaining the new capitalist ideology of creating a consumer society which will depend on the ideals

from the Western world, but they actually dis-empower the communities and make them susceptible to the Western ideological onslaught.

The irony is that the agents claim to empower the communities through the assumption that such communities are incapable, underdeveloped, insensitive, and need to be mobilized for change to take place. It is therefore taken as given that what is best for the donors should be accepted by the rest of the world thus serving to sustain the unequal power relations. This is an ideological position that seeks to universalize particular meanings and behavioural patterns in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance over the people who depend on such forces. Development is an ideological hegemony largely implemented by the elite using elitist culture, and this as we have seen, is reflected and constituted in the language choices and discourse practices by the development agents.

In this ideological position there is no room for local languages which have been constructed as best for serving local interest and not the advanced and wider global concerns such as development. The majority of people in the study area prefer English and even in cases where people do not understand the language they still prefer to use English language since they have been made to believe it is 'what constitutes development'. This is a clear case of victims becoming unwitting participants in the social structure which perpetuates social relations of inequality. In fact, the people who prefer to use English seem to help in the enactment and sustenance of such relations.

There is clear evidence that the local language (Dholuo) is mainly used to signal communal identity and ethnic patriotism and the users are not interested in using it as discourse of development interactions. English is the most preferred language and in fact, there is growing demand for it among the people. In an ironic twisted way it would serve the development agents and the donors well if they invested in the teaching and learning of the language rather than hiding under the guise of pushing for local languages and local resources. It is evident from the discussions

that there is a growing concern with the language particularly English, which many people, recognise as the language of power, status, dominion and success. This is an ideological contradiction because one cannot purport to develop what one targets to dismantle. It is clear that languages other than English have no place in this ideological hegemony and even where they are used the idea is to use them as a stepping stone to grabbing and securing the market empire and not to empower and strengthen them. This is a clear case of hegemonic influence of English on the people. However, in this regard the community also shares in the blame for insisting on using English. As we saw in Chapter Six, the community insists on using English even where some agents use the local language. In this case the community members are the ones who enact and sustain the unequal functions accorded to the available linguistic resources.

In the discussions, we have also seen that the social status of the participants in the development interaction influences the social practice; and the values and attitudes that they exude tend to trickle down to other participants of lower social status. This status legitimizes their attitudes towards the communities as people who know nothing and this is evident in their language behaviour. However, we also saw that these factors beget frame conflicts and misunderstanding during face-to-face communication and non-understanding while reading the information produced by the development agents under the explicit assumption that the modes chosen will be accessible to everyone. This results into disorders of discourse that serve to sustain the unequal power relations and perennial decline in human living conditions in the province as indicated by the Kenyan annual poverty reports.

Social identities also extend to language choices and discourse practices. Such choices serve the hegemonic interests of the dominant ideologies. Therefore the choice of language is important in sustaining the relationships of dominance between the participants. Participants use linguistic choice and discourse practices to signal their identities, the linguistic choices also serve as the arena for constructing their identities and social realities. For this reason, we have seen that

the change agents construct themselves as the doers of action, the providers of the services and knowledge required to effect change in the lives of the target people. At the same time, they use language to construe the communities as poor and helpless people lacking the knowledge and skills to survive in a modern world. This is done through naturalizing the living conditions of the people in the communities in the use of words and phrases such as mobilize, empower, conscientize, capacitating the communities or champions of the people's voices. The communities have also learnt the game so well that they also use language to construct their reality as urgently requiring intervention by some outside force, a situation which plays into the hands of the development agents and perpetuate the dependency syndrome.

The logical implication of this is that language is used to avoid being explicit while creating a market base in which the communities are exploited in the name of development. By branding development as people oriented they win the trust of the people and thus expand the market base for the new capitalist ideology and sustain the unequal power relations through dominating the social processes. Since texts are the product of social events the repetitive usage of certain texts naturalize their implied identities, and over time, such identities are taken as normal and as we have seen, this is just another way of ensuring that powerful participants dominate social processes. Participants in development interaction have therefore exploited language as a resource for domination and sustaining individual interests.

9.2.2: Hegemony and relations of dominance

The discussions revealed that development as advertised and constructed by development agents has been accepted and taken as a natural social change which can only be effected through the development organizations. Indeed we have seen that from the target communities' point of view development means the tangible things that are done in their communities by development organizations. In their schemata they associate development with development agents and development organizations. For this reason, the development agents have exploited this situation

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to construct themselves as the providers of "development" to the communities. From the various definitions we have seen that the understanding of development position them as agents of the action and the communities as the recipients of this action. In this sense, they have arrogated themselves as the dominating forces behind implementation of development objectives.

This discourse practice and constant equation of development with initiatives by external experts has contributed in sustaining the hegemonic view of the new capitalist ideology. It has been taken as the norm that development organizations and development agents are initiators of community development and this assumption has not been questioned. What this has done is to cement the positions and legitimize them as natural and language has been used to sustain this belief and to oppose any contention aiming at questioning this position. Hence the field of development interaction is a fertile ground for representing particular visions and representations of the world as having a universal status.

Acting on the hegemonic position that development is inevitable and that each community must uphold modern virtues such as improved human rights, democracy, improved human living conditions and being able to write proposals for funding, the development organizations have naturally dominated the communities who in turn depend on them for their 'development'. This hegemonic control of the communities masks the fact that they are exploited and their conditions are made worse through dismantling of their stable structures in the name of development and modernity. Development as we have seen is not about improving the poor communities' living standards, but a move aimed at creating a large market base for the new capitalist ideologies. And the best way to do this is to package development as being people oriented when the underlying objective is to implement what the donors and the Western world see as "improved living conditions". One of the reasons why most development projects in the Third World countries die as soon as the project life is over and the development organizations pull out is that the new social structures that organizations try to implement in the communities are not

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sustainable. This is because they are never internalised by the time the project winds up. Furthermore, the organizations implement development initiatives that the communities cannot sustain without their support.

9.2.3: The relationship between text and context

From our discussions we have seen that the relationship between meaning making and the contexts in which they occur is a big challenge to participants in development as a social interaction. The discursive practice in the field of development is determined by many factors which participants often ignore and these results into disorders of discourse even in contexts where the linguistic choice is familiar to all the participants.

It emerged clearly from the discussions that the language choice in development interactions in the study area is driven by the participants' attitudes and ideological considerations. In this case, languages that do not signal power or status are ignored, while those that identify the participants as developed and modern or as powerful or of high social status are used. In this regard, English is preferred to other local languages in the interactive discourses as it signals power and status. Many participants, even those who are not proficient in English, prefer it because it signals status identity and the fact that in their indoctrinated minds, development is best understood and communicated through English. The irony is that people insist on using English even where they do not understand it, a fact which this study attributes to the influence of development agents on the community through constant preference and use of the language. Development has been packaged and sold through English language and everyone thinks that the changes effected in the social structure and processes can only be negotiated and implemented through English.

The implied meaning of this is that development is extending the linguistic hegemony of English and continuing the onslaught of other local languages which are seen as too provincial to explain the complexity of modern change! In this

regard, this study confirms Webb and Kembo-Sure's (2002) observation that the speakers of African languages generally hold their own languages with low esteem. However, there is no doubt about the capacity of the African languages to express concepts in development. And we have seen that if conscious efforts are made to 'scientificate' and expand the referent range and functions of the African languages, they can accommodate the new concepts and thus improve the people's attitudes towards them. The examples of new words that have come into everyday Dholuo vocabulary stand in bold support to this claim.

The focus on the use of local resources and local languages in development should first seek to establish whether the people actually want to use their languages and whether these languages are strong enough to break into the ideological and hegemonic force of capitalism and globalization. It is indeed clear that the campaign for the use of African languages in development will be futile if people are only interested in learning and using English language. However, African languages have an important place in society which this study identifies as loyalties to group identity and patriotism to ethnic solidarity rooted in the local socio-cultural conditions of the communities. This identity is important for purposeful survival in the pervading capitalist ideology.

One of the problems associated with the assumption that development is best communicated in English relates to inaccessibility of the discourse texts in social interactions in the field of development. While the participants yearn for English they do not understand the language fully and therefore are not able to be active participants in the social process. Mediation of these social interactions has become an inevitable practice. However, mediation does not aid the participants in understanding clearly the desired social processes because development agents are not using competent personnel. As such even this practice has not been effective particularly because the text mediators lack the necessary experiential schemata. While the agents rely on the community members to do this, there is a disjuncture in experiential knowledge of the chosen mediators resulting into meaning variance.

The ad hoc mediators tend to focus on the ordinary translations hence mere substitution of labels between languages for the same words or concepts. Besides, the translators use their schemata on what NGOs have done in the area to reconstruct the texts to suit the needs of their communities which are in most cases, gain driven hence contributing to the sustenance of community dependency on the development agents. Further, in some cases, the practice has resulted into a conflict of interpretational frames and mistrust at interpersonal relations and meanings.

9.2.4: Modes of communication

From the study, we have seen that there are three main modes of communication in development discourse interactions. These modes are, the phonic mode, the graphic mode and the multimodal mode that largely combines the two modes. These modes exist in a dialectical relationship with the social processes that they have emerged to serve. Thus, while they construct the social practice in development interactions, they are also determined by the existing social practices. This study has shown that these modes are largely linear, and they are designed as information service tools rather than resources for an interactive discourse practice. For that matter, they serve the interests of the development agents who initiate their usage rather than the target audience. This is particularly evident in the use of graphic mode which emphasizes status difference and perpetuates the unequal power relations between the participants involved in the development projects.

The assumption that listeners/readers of the multimodal texts are competent in the new literacy practices that incorporate genre mixing and genre chains, and that the target audience posses sufficient reading skills is adversely misplaced and has contributed to the non-understanding of the texts. This assumption is a clear demonstration that there is insincerity in the proclamation by development organizations that they use communication resources that are familiar to the target communities. It is obvious that in a society where people are not literate, it is foolhardy to package information in modes that require literacy skills such as reading and inference. Accordingly, a lot of the information that could help the

people internalize new ideas is made inaccessible through linguistic choices and modes of communication that the participants are not familiar with. Such linguistic choices present a mismatch between people's discursive schemata and the modes applied. And, in some cases, as in multimodal texts, there exist a contradiction between the visual mode and the verbal messages. Evidently, the modes are not empowering participants to be part of the meaning making process; instead they serve to construct the audience as consumers of the values and ideas being marketed through the various "foreign" discursive methods. This is not interactive and the targeted readers/listeners are construed as mere consumers in development, a fact which emphasizes and sustains dependency syndrome.

We can therefore conclude that the linguistic choices, the order of discourse and the modes used in discursive processes in development interactions remain largely inaccessible to the majority of the targeted people. This is because the chosen modes of communication disregard the target people's discourse behaviour and communicative schemata. Hence, while the modes are popular with the development agents, they fail to instigate the much desired community participation because they go into the community with bias assumptions about the reality on the ground and completely disregard the target people's communicative abilities. In this way, the users of these modes undermine the communities' discursive practices and go ahead to brand them as difficult to work with or as primitive.

This study concludes strongly that the success of a mode of communication depends on a critical consideration of the register aspects of discourse, which in turn demands a thorough understanding of the experiential, the interpersonal and the textual resources available to the target participants. Development agents need to understand the target communities' socio-cultural practices and use modes of communication that they are familiar with.

9.3: RECOMMENDATIONS

In fulfilment of objective six of this study and based on the literature review, the analytical framework discussed in Chapter Four and applied in the discussion and the conclusions drawn above, I now make the following recommendations regarding a communication model which if applied can improve communication in development. A comprehensive communication model would thus consider the following key aspects:

  i.   **Context of culture and context of situation**

Communication involves exchange of meanings which are constrained by a set of symbolic frameworks provided by a specific culture. Participants in development should recognize the fact that texts are understood as features of context of situation and the larger context of culture and meanings and actions are negotiated and interpreted through them. In this regard an understanding of the context of culture and context of situation can enhance communication in the rural areas especially if the existing frameworks are taken as resources rather than challenges. Where strong cultural practices and structures exist, there should be alternatives rather than direct antagonism. A good example of positive use of existing culture to achieve development objectives is the case of planting high value trees or shrubs which are mainly introduced as source of firewood for women.

ii.   Modes of communication

Closely related to the above point is the mode of communication. This is a product of the register feature of context of situation and is central to collective meaning making and negotiation. Participants in development interaction should consider appropriate language choice and discourse practices that can enhance genuine participation in development discourse. This will improve participants' confidence in the discourse and meaning negotiation and empower the participants to articulate and relate to the texts from an equal position, rather than the convenience of the more powerful "experts". Where there is disparity in discursive practices, a team of language and communication experts be engaged to work with the communities and

the development agents to design materials that can easily communicate messages to the target people before the project based development is initiated.

iii.   Field of discourse

The proposed model should also recognise the target people's abilities to understand the concepts that they seek to implement in their communities. In this case deliberate effort should be made to position participants as equal parties in the social processes and initiatives. Situational issues should be considered while choosing the language and even order of discourse here. Hence, deliberate effort be made to end the notion that development interaction is an academic exercise. It is this notion that encourages the choice and use of English which is not available to all the participants yet. However, where it is the people's choice, participants should restrain from making English the focus of the interaction and instead use it as a mode of achieving the communicative intension of understanding the field of discourse. Therefore the terminologies must be unpacked and assumptions that people know be verified.

iv.   Tenor of discourse

This model should recognise that development is a social process which involves people who exhibit numerous social dynamics like status, power, attitudes and values. These factors emerge in the ways people use language, their lexical choices, order of discourse, use of space, gadgets etc and communicate silent messages that can be destructive to the main focus. For this reason, development agents should consider relating with the target people as facilitators rather than the all knowing expert. This relationship can be enhanced through trusting the ability of the communities to make decisions regarding their destiny and to let them exercise that ability with minimal interference. One way of doing this is to demystify the idea that development is information about the Western culture carried in a Western language and accessed by a few experts who know how best it should trickle down to the communities.

Having made recommendations regarding the communication model, this study also makes the following general recommendations.

1.   That the most effective mode of communication of development information in the study area is the phonic mode. This is largely due to the opportunity it offers to every participant to engage with the new concepts and ideas as opposed to the written and the multimodal which are not accessible to all the people in the area. While not many people can access the graphic and the multimodal modes, posters and billboards that use local celebrities are very popular and thus should be encouraged. However, effort must be made to explain to those who cannot read or interpret particularly the multimodal texts (due to genre mixing) what the contents of the texts are.

2.   Though the use of local language is desirable, language choice and usage be based on the needs of the people and the situation rather than on a blanket assumption that every body understands the local language and therefore it should be the de facto language of communication. On the contrary, where there is resistance to the use of local language, conscious effort should be made to avail English language to those who have not acquired it before initiating development activities in their area since English is what the participants desire to use. This will give them the power to negotiate meanings freely and confidently hence participating in their destiny. In this regard, if people desire to use a particular language deliberate effort be made to intensify the acquisition of that language. By extension, the use of code-switching, Sheng and even local variety of Kiswahili should be encouraged in areas where the target people prefer any of the languages. Sheng is particularly popular with the youths and young adults hence NGOs can reap more by using it in initiatives targeting the youths and young adults. Likewise, there should be increased investment on language issues through a thorough baseline survey of the target communities' linguistic preferences and discursive practices before engaging them in any development initiative.

This will not only equip development agents with the necessary communicative schemata but also make communication easier since they will be packaging messages in communicative modes that are familiar to the community.

3.   Visual modes such as drawings and animations are particularly effective with initiatives that touch on taboo topics like sex, condom use, and HIV/AIDS. Initiatives of this nature should therefore invest on this mode although caution must be taken to present the visual images in familiar and plausible contexts otherwise they can be abstractions as in the case of the condom worn on the clinched fist in red boxing gloves. Where there is need to use multimodal texts, the implementing organization should take initiatives to use modes that reinforce the messages rather than those that contradict the message, unless of course it is deliberately intended to be so.

4.   There should be a paradigm shift from conceiving community development as a project-based and time-bound activity. This conception construes development projects as an end rather than a means to achieving true and genuine change in the target communities. Therefore, if change is to be realised in the communities, the donors and development agencies should reconsider the straight jacket time-bound development. This type of development is crafted on the pretentious consultation of the communities through a trajectory of PRA, then implementation of the project, then monitoring and evaluation and finally exit. Rather, change should be supported at its pace in whatever community and the focus should not be on how many projects have been implemented, but on what impact the projects have in the lives of the people in the communities. Here, donors and development agencies should reconsider what development really means to the people and be ware of the true desire of the people rather than imposing what the donors and organizations assume is best for the people. At this

point I use the words of Julius Nyerere (1968) by saying that "people are not being developed when they are herded like animals into new ventures".

5. Since a lot of the development agents do not have sound grasp of the development issues as well as communication and interactive skills, NGOs should invest in training of such development consultants to avoid forcing the communities into exercises and decisions that mean nothing to them. This is evidenced by the fact that the number of trained development agents/consultants in the field is very small and projects are run on trial and error basis by 'people who masquerade as experts in development'. Otherwise, the use of untrained personnel seeking self gain will continue to exert damage to the change process and the targeted development objectives.

6. The much heralded PRA be designed to empower the people to take control of their plans and decisions rather than an information extraction tool used by the development agents. This can be done through explaining the purpose of the tools properly before the appraisal sessions begin. Moreover the agents should also allow the people to use the methods they know best to achieve the same objectives, thus making the interactional situations heuristic.

7. Development agents should intensify the application and use of communication modes that appeal to the people's socio-cultural and communicative familiarity such as the performance mode especially the use of songs and drama.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 (a) Ethic Statement

ETHIC STATEMENT

As a requirement of all researches, this study will be guided by the researcher's integrity and commitment to the research for knowledge and in clear observance of the principles of research conduct and ethics.

Utmost respect and human dignity will be upheld and participants' consent will be sought before being involved in the research. Their provision of information and capacity to make voluntary choice will be highly encouraged, thus no coercion, influence or inducements will be tolerated. Information gathered and participants' identities shall be treated with privacy and confidentiality and all activities will recognize and respect the cultural sensitivities and practices of the target group.

Last and finally the methods used in both data gathering and data analysis, and the research findings will be made available for public knowledge and scrutiny.

APPENDIX 1 (b) Letter authorizing research

CARE Kenya
Head Office
Mvute Road
Off Ngong Road
P.O. Box 43864 - 00100
Nairobi, Kenya
tel   2710765, 2711761, 2712974
fax   02 2728493
e-mail info@care.or.ke

January 19, 2005
CD/12958

Omondi Oketch
Maseno University
Department of Language, Linguistics
And Literary Studies
P O Box 333
Maseno

Dear Mr. Oketch

RE: AUTHORITY TO CARRY OUT FIELDWORK RESEARCH

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated January 17, 2005 with appreciation and would like to inform you that CARE International in Kenya has no objection to you carrying out fieldwork research

As per your request, we are under the understanding that study will be carried within Kisumu district and that you will be able to share with us your findings at the end of the study. To enable us provide you with all the necessary assistances that you may require during your research, kindly give us an assurance that you will be meeting all related costs pertaining to this study.

Best regards

Dennis O'Brien
Country Director

fi: Chrono FY05

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APPENDIX 1 (c) Questionnaire

Department of Linguistics

University of Western Cape

Private Bag X17 BELLVILE, 7535

SOUTH AFRICA

Number_____

Dear participant,

This questionnaire is designed to investigate 'Language use and Modes of Communication in Community Development in Nyanza province'. This is part of my ongoing PhD research in the above-mentioned university. The information you will provide will help me to understand better the language practice and modes of communication used in community development in Nyanza Province. Since you are in the best position to give a correct picture of how you experience community development initiatives in the district, I request that you respond to the questions frankly and honestly.

Your response will be kept strictly confidential. Only members of the research team will have access to the information you give. In order to ensure privacy we have provided a number for each respondent. This number will be used only for follow up procedures. The numbers and completed questionnaires will not be made available to any one other than the research team.

Thank you very much for your time and co-operation. I greatly appreciate your help in furthering this research endeavour.

OMONDI OKETCH

Please provide the following information before you proceed to fill the questionnaire.

Sex:_____ Age: _____ Highest level of education: _____

1.　(a)　Have you been involved in community development?

　　　　_____

　　(b)　Please name some of the community development projects that you have been involved in

　　　　_____

　　(c)　In what capacity were you involved?

　　　　_____

2.　In your opinion, what is community development?
　　_____
　　_____

3.　List any three indicators of community development in area that you have been involved.

　　_____

　　_____

　　_____

4　(a)　How many languages do you speak?

　　　　_____

(b)　List them below

　　　_____

5.　In what language did you first encounter community development?

_____

6. (a) Do you think language is important to a community development?

_____

(b) Explain your response in 6 (a)

_____

_____

7. (a) Which language do you prefer to use while carrying out community development initiatives?

_____

(b) Give reasons why you prefer the language you have indicated above

_____

_____

_____
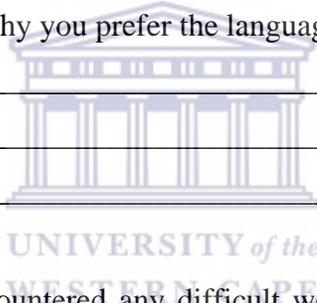
8. (a) Have you encountered any difficult words/ concepts in the course your involvement in community development initiatives?

_____

(b) Please give examples of such words or concepts?

_____

_____

_____

(c) List down any five words that you have found difficult to translate either from English to Dholuo or Dholuo to English (Use the columns below)

Dholuo-English   English- Dholuo

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

9.   How do you overcome such translation problems?

    _____

    _____

    _____

10.   (a)   Are there language translators who assist you in case of such
        difficulties?

    _____

(b)   If yes, in what ways do the translators assist?

_____

_____

_____

11.   In what ways do you think the following impacts on community
development messages?

        (a) Culture_____

    _____

    _____

    _____

(b)   Socio-economic status of participants/ facilitators

_____

_____

_____

(c)   Politics

(d)   Other sectoral based initiatives

_____

_____

_____

12.   Do you think understanding a community's culture is important before undertaking community development initiative?   Explain your answer.

_____

_____

_____

_____

13.   List down 8 information dissemination methods that you have utilized in community development

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

14.   Of the above methods which ones do you find appropriate and why? (Start with the most preferred)

Method   Reasons for preference

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

Thank you.

APPENDIX 1 (d) Guiding schedule for KIIs and FGDs

1.   Guide questions to NGO network boss

1.   What do you do in the NGO network?
2.   What is a community development project?
3.   How do you carry out community development?
4.   How do you communicate development concepts to the community?
5.   What communication methods do you use?
6.   Are they the effective in communicating development concepts?
7.   What language do you use and why?
8.   How does these modes and language impact on development?
9.   Do you think development concepts can be effectively communicated in
        local languages?
10.   What role does culture play in community development?
11.   Do they use any translated pamphlets?
12.   Are there translation experts?
13.   Are there any models of information dissemination used by the NGOs?
14.   Do you think the communities understand the technical foreign concepts
        that you deal with in community development?

2.   Guide questions to Project Coordinators

1.   What project are you coordinating?
2.   How long has been going on?
3.   How do you communicate project concepts to the community?
4.   Are they effective?
5.   Have you experienced any problems with the methods?
6.   What language do you use and why?
7.   Do you experience any problems with the language you use?
8.   Do you encounter cultural issues in the course of your work?
9.   How do you deal with them?
10.   How do you rate literacy in your project area?
11.   How do you deal with issues of literacy in your project area?
12.   Does it have an impact on the project?
13.   What model of information dissemination do you use?
14.   How easy is it for you to disseminate the technical concepts of development
        to the target community?

3. Guide questions to Community Gatekeepers

1. What community project is going on in your community?
2. What is it all about?
3. In what language do they communicate with you?
4. Do all of you understand the language?
5. How do they communicate the concepts and teachings to you?
6. Do you understand the teachings in the methods they use?
7. Do you think the teachings could be better grasped in Dholuo?
8. How have they incorporated your culture in the development agenda?
9. Do you understand the messages in the billboards, pamphlets etc?
10. Are there translators among you?
11. Are they trained?
12. What do you think can be improved in the methods and language used?
13. What models do they use to get information to you?

4. Guide questions to Consultants

1. What do you do?
2. What is community development?
3. What participatory methods do you use?
4. How else do you communicate to the participants/community?
5. Have you encountered any language or communication problems while carrying out your work?
6. How did you resolve them?
7. Are there cultural issues that have stood on the way of your work?
8. How did you resolve this?
9. Would you suggest a model that you think would be effective in community development?
10. Some of the terms and concepts you apply in community development are rather complex and foreign, how do you ensure that your target audiences grasp them?
11. Do you use trained translation experts in your work?
12. Do you think the methods used by development agents are effective in disseminating development information?
13. Would you suggest an information dissemination model that would be applicable in community development?

APPENDIX 2 (a) Brochure

VISION, MISSION AND CORE VALUES

1. VISION

To see that communities in the lake region are self-organized to make choices towards improved quality of life that is socially and economically sustainable.

2. MISSION

To build the capacity of the member organizations and partners in the region to empower their local communities through participatory methodologies in decision making, human rights, democracy, governance and sustainable development.

3. VALUES

a) People-centered development

LARDNET – Kenya aspires to carry out development that is rooted in the interests, hearts and minds of communities we work with. Their deep participation is central to our work. These are founded on the premise and belief that people are capable of thinking and changing their destinies.

b) Recognition & respect for indigenous knowledge, creativity & innovations

LARDNET – Kenya values local knowledge systems seasoned into wisdom over many years of practice and thoughts. We also believe that a fundamental requirement for growth and development is creativity and innovation. We will live and work to encourage the same among the rural communities and those who work with them.

c) Commitment to action, results, and impact

Unless what we do brings change LARDNET has no cause to exist. We are committed and determined to bring about the upliftment of rural communities so that they lead better and dignified lives.

d) Support for recognition, equity and justice to all

LARDNET live and work towards the increasing the visibility of the Lake region communities and to ensure that they are respected and recognized.

e) Gender sensitive Development

LARDNET will live and work to remove gender disparities and promote equitable sharing of benefits between men, women and the youth.

f) Transparency, accountability and constructive self-criticism

LARDNET shall always accountable to our membership, communities and partners. We will also promote openness and look into ourselves and learn from ourselves and, if need be, discipline ourselves.

g) Commitment to partnership and through networking and collaboration

LARDNET recognizes the roles played by other development partners. We believe that for sustainable development, we must link and work with other partners at local, national, regional and international levels.

h) Support for the struggle against exploitative practices

LARDNET will work towards change of exploitative practices and policies in favour of humanity, farmers, traders, hawkers, boda boda cyclist and the fisher folk in particular.

4. THE KEY STRATEGIC ISSUES AND STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

4.1 Institutional Development

Institutional development is necessary in order for LARDNET to realize its goals, objectives and aspirations. The member organizations, organizational key administration structures and systems need to be strengthened and reinforced for the association to meet the ever-changing challenges and dynamics of development. Members of LARDNET are also at different levels of organizational development. As a network, LARDNET must have the capacity to meet the diverse needs of all its membership and the partners.

Institutional Development may be addressed through strengthening and equipping the membership with relevant skills, the governing bodies of LARDNET.

4.2 Strategic Objectives

1. To strengthen and develop the institutional framework and capacity of LARDNET to provide effective and efficient services to member organizations and partners.

2. To provide members & partners with a forum for effective exchange of ideas & information for development to create reliable linkages with members & others partners.

3. To generate and identify appropriate technologies with member organizations, partners and communities to enable them make appropriate and informed decisions on

Development issues.

4. To Advocate and campaign for favourable legislation that enable local communities to realize their full potential in ecological land use management.

4.3 Policies, Research, and Advocacy in Natural Resource Management

LARDNET aspires to change the livelihoods of communities through:

1. Campaign, advocacy and lobbying in change of policies in favour of small scale farmers, traders, and Fisher folk.

2. Promoting sharing of information, experiences and innovations in Natural Resource Management.

3. Able to provide opportunities for a healthy exchange of ideas and information and experiences.

4. Developing a directory of unique but yet unexploited sites for Eco-tourism.

5. Development of positive habits useful for conservation of the environment and indigenous cultures among the residents of the lake region.

6. Organizing seminars/workshops/ training sessions to enhance capacity building of the stakeholders.

7. Planning and formulate strategies for continuous improvement of the social and economic condition of the residents within the region.

8. Developing strategies that prepare the residents of the lake region in disaster management.

9. Promoting culture and arts in Kenyan ethnic communities and demonstrating that culture is a cross cutting issue with critical role in the regional integration process and economic growth.

10. Strengthening democratic values through civic education.

11. Enhancing enterprises that promote sustainable use of biodiversity and supporting initiatives that reduce threats to biodiversity by promoting activities that create awareness of the need to conserve Biodiversity.

5. DEVELOPMENT OF THE LARDNET CONSTITUTION

This will give the organization its shape, base and legal framework to implement its activities.

Formation of STIPA

STIPA is a national non-governmental organization based in Kisumu City, Nyanza Province in Kenya.

The roots of STIPA can be traced back to 1996 when a group of local professionals came together and envisaged the need to be regarded as an organization through which they can encourage and support local initiatives and build the capacity of their members in order to enable them manage their projects successfully.

The organization was registered under the NGO Act of Kenya in September 1997.

Main Objective

The main objective of STIPA is to alleviate poverty amongst the rural poor through the use and promotion of locally available resources. ~~What resources and~~ *What resources and available resources?* (language)

Vision

STIPA's vision is to have communities with the capacity to have an increased control over their environment.

The priority of STIPA is to instil sustainable development that will improve the economic and social well being of the communities. STIPA strives to give priority to the poor and marginalized members of the community.

Mission

To build the capacity of the needy.

Beneficiaries

The key beneficiaries of STIPA are:

1. Communities through participatory development programmes.
2. Non-governmental Organizations / Community Based Organizations / Government/Church Organizations, Other

---

private organizations through capacity building.

3. Students from Middle Level Colleges Polytechnics/Universities through internship programme.

1. Programmes

STIPA is undertaking the following programmes:-

i) Single Parents Programme

STIPA works with poor single parents who are widowers, widows, divorcees, separated from their spouses or who never got married. Most of them support their children single-handedly.

The project activities include:

- Counselling
- Addressing pertinent issues through conferences/ workshops in respect to single parented families.
- Issuing of revolving funds to support existing income generating activities.
- Advocacy (challenging the church to look for ways and means of accommodating the single parents).
- Help them to initiate, manage and evaluate health financing mechanisms to improve their health status.

ii) Community Based Health Financing

The general objective of the programme is to strengthen the health financing initiatives in Western Kenya by building the capacity of implementing organizations through training and technical assistance. The overall aim is to empower communities to access quality health care through implementation of micro-insurance scheme managed and financed by their beneficiaries.

The objectives are:

- To build the capacity of program holders in the design, implementation, management and monitoring of community based health financing schemes.
- To have operational health micro-insurance schemes in Western Kenya region.
- To enhance co-ordination of and lobbying for community based health financing (CBHF).
- For STIPA to pursue its facilitation and consultation role in the field of CBHF.

STIPA is also co-ordinating the Kenya Community Based Health Financing (KCBHF) Network.

iii) Kisumu Bicycle Operations Support Services (KIBOSS) Programme

STIPA's main focus is on capacity building of the boda boda enterprises through skills and knowledge acquisition, networking and collaboration, lobbying and advocacy. The main activities are centred on:-

- Training of leaders and artisans so as to help promoting quality of service.
- Identifying and working with interested institutions for resource mobilization and experience sharing.
- Lobbying and advocacy for policies to create enabling working environment for enhancing enterprise growth.

iv) Local Capacities for Peace Project

This is a pilot project identified by a collaborative effort of 3 facilitating organizations (Inter-Diocesan Christian Community Services, Eldoret Christian Community Services, Support for Tropical Initiatives in Poverty Alleviation). The project aims at promoting inter-tribal resource sharing and create an enabling environment for needs/problems identification, prioritization of needs, identification, opportunities and development action plans. This promotes sustainable inter-tribal development through a participatory integrated community development incorporated with local capacities for peace approach.

APPENDIX 2 (c) Brochure

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in terms of poverty?

- Why is Nyanza Province leading in HIV/AIDS infections and its spread? Could our practices and beliefs be playing some role?

- These too many Luo songs which sing about women, their beauty and sex, leading to HIV/AIDS and focus on surface beauty and no brains leading to high illiteracy level in Nyanza women and girls, can they be reduced?

- Could this conditional education of the boy as a future family bank and discriminating the girl child as an outsider, be the cause of denial of the right to education for majority of girls in Nyanza Province?

- Majority of Luo beliefs and practices are solved by intimate sex and performance levels of both is never discussed by the two, instead it is only "lan this sad and within nine minute the whole process is over" leaving the wife very disappointed.

- Could this practice be the cause of accept spread of HIV/AIDS in an attempt to get a satisfying partner?

- Find out and let us discuss!

KED GI AYAKI

- Non itribe Luo maitendo Ayaki, dhier, somo main, kod dok chien ci ahiara nam lolwe.

- Pemgne ng'at Chike kod kwer mang' eny ma ocweyi ahinya gi, kony'i geng'o ayaki kata tieko dhier cyoo manc? To ginedo dongruok raeobalo uade ne teuon, to katz ne oganda ma inye?

- Yoru mon mang' eny ana neko ikla kata kanya yudo kosyruok, kony'i race kaka ng'amandichwo?

- Pemgne koyat Ang'o mooriyo Nyanza Province ne nimalo ahinya e higni mokuodho, to aaui Nyanza i jimo mung gi North Eastern e waene ming' dhier?

- Wapenjre ni jotelo ma ring' wnci gi dhi uade, kata om Nyanza Province ema onge kala j atelo achiel machaiso ma nijumbe ci od sara?

- Ang'o mooriyo Nyanza emu sutti otelo e kwan ruer ji mathi gi twache mouxdure gi Ayaki?

- Wende dholuo mang' eny mug kisera konyo tieko Ayaki gi medo dongruok eyu mune?

APENDIX 2 (d) Brochure

Who are we?

We are an HIV/AIDS Support Group. We work in-groups with friends and people who are concerned about the AIDS pandemic. We come together once a week to share our feelings and frustrations without discriminations. YES we are very particular about AIDS. We are united mainly by the fact that we know our HIV status and are willing to do something about it. We accept young men aged 18-24 HIV positive tested from any VCT site and referred by a VCT Counsellor or if negative tested at UNIM Project.

Why only positive clients?

HIV/AIDS usually raises difficult and personal issues such as health, relationships, financial, security, death or feelings about sexuality. Other people's prejudices and discrimination and wider social and economic issues also cause many problems for people affected by HIV.

With the knowledge that we have about HIV, the challenges involved, may include health, relationship, financial and security issues we clearly note the need to have a clearly organized group of those who are directly affected. Together we work together to reflect clearly on other matters, that pertains to realities of Life and death, also our true feelings about sexuality. It is our belief that Support groups can reduce some of these pressures. Working together and sharing ideas and problems can held people in many emotional and practical way.

Support group

From our experience we can now say that support group provides a chance for people to talk freely in confidence, be listened and be encouraged. The group encourages the members to reflect and learn from themselves and from each other. It challenge the members attitude but in a safe and supportive environment.

We know it's not easy.

- To be public about HIV status and this will make people reluctant to join other groups.

- The biggest need is money and other material support, and our small group is unlikely able to solve this problem.

- The members all have different needs and expectations which can lead to conflict and disappointment.

- Due to lack of people who are ready to share their own experiences of living with HIV there will be several calls for public speaking, planning services and other activity which may result to "buots'

Yes Change for better

We will change people's lives and wider world will improve group members personal situation reducing their sense of isolation, providing them with support and information or improving the chances of security health. Information, and knowledge are necessary but we also need some skill to put these issues in to use.

Support group

When we decide to make changes we will need support and the will from other people. This means building on enabling social and cultural structures, beliefs and practices that provides a positive and social environment, where people with HIV are accepted equals and other feel able to reduce the risk of HIV infection. It also means living in environment where having HIV and taking steps to reduce.

We are working together to:

- Help others feel that they are not isolated or alone with their problems.

- Provide a way of meeting people and making friends.

- Help individuals become more confident and powerful.

- Provide a basis to organize activities led by the members.

- Make links between people from different backgrounds and increase understanding and tolerance.

- Share resources, ideas, and information available from local support services.

- Make others in the community more aware of the situation facing people the group by increasing the visibility of people living with HIV. Lead change by creating a public voice (lobbying advocacy).

APPENDIX 2 (e) Brochure

Project Goal

To improve the quality of drinking water at household level and reduce diarrhea risk especially in children under five years.

Project Objectives

- To motivate communities to accept and adopt the Safe Water System.

- To evaluate the health impact through active diarrhoea surveillance.

- Behaviour change by multiple intervention approches including community mobilization, social marketing and hygiene education.

- Target wider scope adoption of SWS through strategic alliance and partnership.

Project Design

During the 1st phase, the NHW Project was implemented as a research cum development project. The project worked alongside CARE Kenya's Water, Sanitation and Education for Health (WASEH), project covering 72 villages targeting 43,000 people in Suba, Rachuonyo and Homabay districts. The design was to facilitate an alternative intervention for communities without safe water and to determine acceptability and applicability in a rural setting. Currently, the project has initiated the process of partnership with other development agencies in the Lake Victoria region.

Activities

- Community mobilization and capacity building of community institutions.

- Social marketing to motivate communities to accept and adopt SWS. This is done through distribution of SWS products and IEC material such as posters, branded t-shirts and caps and promotional shows.

- Partnership for attaining wider coverage through strategic alliances and dissemination.

- Research, Monitoring and Evaluation.

APPENDIX 2 (f) Brochure

Support for Tropical Initiatives in Poverty Alleviation (STIPA) is a national non governmental organization based in Kisumu town, Kenya.

HOW DID STIPA COME TO EXISTENCE?

STIPA traces its history way back to 1996 when a group of community development professionals deemed the need of reaching out to and working with poor single parents in Kisumu town who comprise a group of people with special social and economic needs and whose plight had been ignored by everyone. The single parents were mobilized into social support groups.

The organization was officially registered on 25th September 1997 as a national NGO under the NGO Act of Kenya.

As the organization grew, its activities were diversified to include Community Based Health Financing Project, Micro-Enterprise Support Project, Local Capacities for Peace Project and Community Mobilization Project at the community development programme level and the provision of training / capacity building services at both organizational and community levels.

STIPA'S AIM

STIPA aims at alleviating poverty amongst the rural poor through the use and promotion of resources that are locally available.

THE VISION OF STIPA

STIPA's vision is to have communities with the capacity to have an increased control over their environment.

Our priority is to instill sustainable development that will improve the economic and social well being of the communities we work with. STIPA strives to give priority to the poor and marginalized members of the community.

STIPA'S TRAINING / CAPACITY BUILDING SERVICES

STIPA's provision of training / capacity building services is done at both community and organization levels in an effort to build the capacity of the beneficiaries to carry out and own their development initiatives.

Training Methodology

STIPA's training methodology is learner-centered, practical and participatory to ensure utmost involvement or participants through discussions, group work, role plays and dry runs.

Trainers / Consultants

A pool of professional trainers and consultants has been formed comprising qualified and vast experienced STIPA senior staff and other STIPA associate consultants who are called upon as the need arises.

Main Areas of Focus

❶ Participatory Integrated Community Development Development (PICD) Process

This is a process that seeks to empower and enable communities plan for and implement their development plans and install monitoring and evaluation system for the same. STIPA trains in PICD process skill development and assists in the enhancement of organizational structures to embrace participatory development at the community, organizational and partner levels.

The process encompasses Participatory Rural Appraisal, Participatory Impact Monitoring, Participatory Evaluation, Visioning and Participatory Management methodologies.

APPENDIX 3 (a) Posters on VCT using Sheng language

APPENDIX 3 (b) Poster on VCT using Sheng language

APPENDIX 3 (c) Poster on VCT using Sheng Language

APPENDIX 4 (a) Poster 1

APPENDIX 4 (b) Poster 2

APPENDIX 4 (c)

APPENDIX 5 (a)

Sample from key Informant Interviews

Interviewee 5

Researcher: How would you define community development?

Respondent: These are the big words that we use…Er, mm… I think we should say people's development. The word community is amorphous. And that really, just trying to improve or address peoples livelihood and the way people do things, sometimes it doesn't have to be because they are poor, I think it has to be also with the way, you know, improving living, using technology to improve the way people are doing things or just sharing information to encourage people to participate in certain ways er…trying to mobilize people to churn out resources in a more effective way in relation to more economic ways.

Researcher: Then what is the difference with community development and a project.

Respondent: A project is the process that you need, you know, because a project is…the…idea that you put in to improve the peoples well being. Because then you are not necessarily using money…and that's why, the thing is, a project doesn't to be money, I think we have looked at it in terms of financial. …there must be an element of monetary benefits, it doesn't have to be, because you can still develop community without even using a penny. Mobilizing, I mean look at how you use radio. Sometimes there is no…you know, money. Development must therefore venture into other approaches.

Researcher: So what are the methods/approaches that you use in carrying out these projects that ensure that there is a change in people's way of living.

Respondent: I think the first thing is to first of all, get community to identify what the obstacle are, and then from there ……you use whatever capacities one has, because different organizations use different approaches for example sinking boreholes or building capacities. That is a form. You do it and it addresses a specific area. …there is so much. It means that you can address health; you can address the amount of time to do something else. Then we have others who use newspapers, newsletters, the ….its different. There are others who just go into the community and be part of them, and there are others who get the community themselves to do that development. They believe that that capacity is within the community and maybe just something small is needed so could be they need to get a platform where they can share that. So it all depends on the intervention method that institution use.

Researcher:	Yeah, now that you talk about how do you do this?
Respondent:	Mm ….then …..it again …..using these different approaches yeah, but most of it is usually communication that you have can be one on one, it can be through intermediary so that you get representatives to come and sit down and share the information and then, the assumption is that they'll go out there. It could be exchange visits. You communicate in different ways, it can even just be passive by just sending, you know, putting something on a wall in the chief's camp and sharing that information with the community, but sometimes it also depends on a lot more now on development actors. It seems to rely a lot on whatever the resources are available, whether we have finance, because the assumption is that we give and I think we have probably helped in promoting that thought. So that you always find that we use sometimes some very modern ways of doing things that don't make sense though it can be in local language, it can be in English or Kiswahili. It could even be through theatre, which is predominant now, and theatre seems to be done by the young and not the old anymore.

Researcher:	So which language do they use?
Respondent:	I think for me, really, language would be how we package that language. Because you can still use ….you can still use local language, but if the message does …is not culturally sensitive then there is a problem even though you are using a local dialect. If the message is being presented by an age group that I think mm …er…are talking about an issue that is culturally sensitive, then I think we lose, we don't communicate …er …and I suppose now that when we talk about theater, to me I believe that…if we are not very careful we are going to abuse it…because we are going to have young people discussing cultural sensitive information and disseminating culturally sensitive information to an older group, who are offended about the young who are giving that information to them. I think that we have got to start expanding our age groups …our artistes. I think having watched, I to schools and I see children trying to stage a play on the domestic violence, and then I hear the audience tether….I think the message is completely lost, when you start having the audience laughing when somebody is down, it means that either the message is not being clearly received or…people have taken this for granted because of the way it has been shared…it…and that we do not act accordingly
Researcher:	Okay
Respondent:	But on the other hand, we have the newsprint that we use and the felt pens…I think it's important that we start using local resources. we go with pens …we…we have talked about the capacity building and we use a language to build capacity,

but I think somewhere we create a status…a difference of status and therefore whatever message we give, we communicate the messages but in a wrong way, because the way we package ourselves, the way we go there, the way we dress, the way we carry ourselves driving and all…it immediately give impression in a community that is probably poor, that we have brought, so when we talk to people, they will tell us what we want to hear or they have learnt our psychology so well, and they know we want to give, but they have got to then package their information well, and what we have created is a dependent community based on the way we communicate with them in whatever development language, so that everywhere you go, when you finish a workshop,'' I want to talk to you', 'I have problem and I was wondering how you can help me' its always, you know, and its all based on how you look. I think we need to change the way we communicate and have a lot more local people. Even if we start building resources, how can you? We can still have local people articulating their own issues, trying to find out how they can address those issues because really, guiding questions as this simple, `` what do you want? What is the problem?'' ``how can you solve it? `` How as it been solved before? I don't need to be the one to do that. I can guide because I'm supposed to have the knowledge, but I can still guide through another person, ask them what they think. You know, it…we have ….Ii think that now development partners are becoming too selfish….what is it? What is the word without making it look like we are being mean? (Laugh) I think we are too self-perceiving, yeah? And because of that I think we package our message, I think in a negative way it's all very good. We are all very noble, but I think there is a disconnect between the people we are communicating with and how we communicate that message to them.

Researcher: Just to get you back how do the methods of communication and languages used impact on development?

Respondent: I think in certain cases, it still promotes bad practices. Well, traditional, of stigma, because if you do not communicate your message it means you ate either destroying the little hope that people had or you are turning the whole concept into a joke, and so your message did not take anybody

Researcher: What kinds of people go out into the communities to try and facilitate this process?

Respondent: I think mostly now, we have all these organized groups, I want call them civil societies, but there are these organized groups that now talk about..er.. You…are empowering communities …..er…..anybody who calls themselves you know, a

group that wants to do poverty eradication, or that I think the ones who take charge of developments and believe that they have got the mandate to be able to do that,. I'd believe those are the guys who are responsible sort for the dissemination of whatever.

Researcher: Do you think local languages are important in this?

Respondent: I think that local language is important in places where we are saying that illiteracy is so high or in places where you want to talk to a large community and you do not want to leave people out. But it depends on who your target group is, you know, er but the thing is that I think that our endeavor to speak English we have left out a very important resource that can actually be used within the community because first of all, we are ostracizing people and we are making them feel, we make them feel inferior, you know, so you ….er…have people not able to come, or we insist on shifting people to suit us. It becomes easy for us to communicate in a language that is ……

Researcher: For us

Respondent: Yeah, and I suppose also because as development organizations, we now say that we work without boundaries. So you have people from all tribes working in an organization and having to carry out a sort of training or having to disseminate something. They can't use the local language, it is their respossibility, and they can't transfer it to somebody else. So we are struck with a language that is easy for a person and not necessarily for the community. So we get the community to fit into our program instead of the other way round and that creates a bit of a communication challenge.

Researcher: I've noted that a lot of NGOs around are actually headed by people who are not native speakers of this area and they often communicate in English or Kiswahili so I don't know whether they use translators and if so are the translators competent enough in the local language?

Respondent: You know actually there are certain words that cannot be translated in Dholuo. You need to have a story. You need to explain by giving a story because you just don't have those words. But I think also the assumption is, that when I give you information that you are going to share with a community, that is a very bad assumption that we have been making for a very long time, that you are working with a community that is openly going to share information so you get those representatives and you assume that they will go back, not understanding the dynamics involved. This person might be coming from this location and there is no way he is going to be able to share with the whole constituency so that information

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is also then left to self, but like you're saying, we make program easy for us, but we say that we are doing it on behalf of the people that we are speaking for. And this notion of the people being voiceless, that we represent voiceless, I think we also have got to be….you know, we must be… very careful. What aspect of voiceless are we talking about? I would imagine that when I speak for the voiceless, it's because they cannot engage at any political level. But when we are talking about development that involves me as an individual, I'd like to speak to them in language that they can understand because they are the ones who are going to be left to manage, you know er…but also you must then understand that a lot of their organizations, they lack capacity also just, you know they have their own institutional weakness and these institutional weakness will transfer out, when we go out and work with people, because we do not know how to do it. So we only do it the same way we know best and sometimes that best is really destructive. And we……you know like when XY organization came, first time when they were in Kisumu, they would communicate their message but the communication package entailed paying people to sit down and listen. What XY did is that they destroyed communities, so that other people who came and couldn't pay had to be forced to start paying people. So now we started paying communities to sit down and listen to word and ultimately what happened is that we had people coming to workshops, not because of what they were going to tell them but because of what they were going to earn, after that. And for me, that in itself is…is what we are communicating to people is that we are paying them. We pay people to listen, and …and we continue to pay them and people start finding it as just a joke. So now when you walk into a workshop, they ask, is there anything? Have you heard any *dalili* (signs of getting paid)?. And if you don't get rid of that on day one, that's it. Nothing is going to succeed. So we have got to start changing and start working where people are really coming to work

Researcher: Does that mean you must also change your way of communicating?

Respondent: It is an assumption such that when they go back to their own little homes, because they do have their own little small places, they are bound to banish it, because of the way they understand it, and the way you deleted it. But we don't have a harmonized way of doing things because we use different interventions to address developments and if you are working with institutions that do not have enough information and only go with half baked information, then we know that is so detrimental that when you go back, you hear people saying that 'we were told that we will get something but now you want to leave us just like that'. So what they

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end up doing is they put them together and they come up with a generic product, and that is what they sell. So, we can't say that we harmonize, because we kind of we are trying to attract. We want to stand out as a development organization. We want to be above everybody as we must make sure that we pump in information and we always say that ours is the right way doing things, as long as we are going to be able to do that, as long as we still have to sort of top in resources to do that, I think we always have competition and unfortunately there is no regulation, so we will still be stuck with trying to give information and thinking we are the only ones who know it.

Yeah, its individual, so then there's no uniformity in terms of you know the way you want to say mobilize, each organization mobilize in the way that it finds it best for it. And the way they find it convenient. Not everybody works with the government so if you want to mobilize I will go to the local council and ask the CBOs to do that for me. If somebody else comes, they say, we will do it ourselves. You know somebody will ask Omondi I to mobilize. So you will go to the people who are working in KEPI and say bring me five youths in Nyalenda, somebody bring me what, now, that person will only get the people that they are conversant with and friends with. So you have infectious information. You know quickly just amongst because those are the clique that can know. But if you go to other structures, you assume that you are getting somebody from anywhere, and they go and share information well, if its not communicated to me well then it is destroyed. And then the course it depends on how I package that information when you come to any meeting, and if I give you a transport reimbursement. Then it means you are going to use my presence for a very long time. Because you who strongly believe in me. And it could have just been the benefit that you got it could be what you get on that day, or what you'll get afterwards. But you finish the meeting and you say you can come and see me my……..that community is still communicating how do I…….how is my …what is it? How is my after sales service? And that after sales service can also determine how you package yourself.

Researcher: And how do they package information, say on HIV/AIDS or poverty alleviation?

Respondent: It depends, you know, I think first of all that we address too much symptoms and not causes. It's difficult for us to go and tell a man to use a condom….so…even within our own institutions we actually sensitize and I think that our culture also determines how we package ourselves. And so you find very few organizations willing to touch and offend, you know, and because of that we try to be safe you know the way we present ourselves and yet it is easier for a lot of organizations

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and I can say a lot of organizations are sort of moving towards that direction you find more organizations now using theatre to be able to package that information

Researcher: Why do they use theatre?

Respondent: Because ….it…it is er…it is serious and yet it is not serious you look at it and it….it…. because of ….of… the fact that it is role play, communities readily accepts theatre …er…then when you are talking to them, because they also don't have the time to listen to you a whole day. But in theatre you can package a lot more and then you know that you will not be offending people, with that I'm saying, people look at it as comic relief and because of that, the assumption is that in the process of laughing at everyone, something is sticking in. and they will talk about it. But you know what you get when people say`  `do you remember how that the thing was …are you …is the theme that you want to convey accepted or people only remember the funny ha ha ha bit of it and not create a link of what is said and what is happening in ….in …in the community. I think that if …if…in some places now I see that after a play there's a sort of questions and answers. I think that is very important because then, you start trying to draw the relation between what has just been staged and what happens in the community. That way you can say that it's quite effective in that people start thinking`` actually yeah, in my community, you know, and nani nani nani `` and people can start saying that ``child so and so is wrong' and they start reviewing and so….

Researcher: They get that relationship. And what is your opinion of using opinion leaders?

Respondent: I think initially opinion leaders, I think was based on the ….if you look at our traditional aspect, a long time ago, the opinion leaders were leaders …the elders, yeah and community and so we have confirmed to assume that the same thing happens in that community we forget that these factors have sort of broken down, and I think with the influx of development institutions wanting to work with communities and the need to have respected leaders on board we have destroyed the original respect. Those people have become a bit more commercial oriented now, so that they go to so many meetings. …they are called to so many places and so we find it easier to ask opinion from them, and yet the communities that they are looking after. …some of them do not even exist because of the migration. So you find women, more women in certain places. And so we find it easier again it is a short cut for us to be able to use opinion leaders to get that information. But I think a lot more organizations now are starting to realize that you cannot have people represented by the opinion leaders. And also because poverty has became

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so dynamic, that you know people address it and survive the survival you know mechanisms are just so innovative that you need to speak to people directly. You can go through them …and …and again the assumption is …..if you speak with these people they are going to share the information because there was a platform where that could be done. They used to have a baraza and so you'll be able to use the opinion leaders because they will share this in a village baraza. But that doesn't work anymore …er ….i think now we use opinion leaders and we have confirmed opinion leaders, maybe to churches, because we believe they have a following, and again that they understand the flock or we go to MPs. We call them opinion leaders we need to have to just get a fee but we are not just necessarily confirmed to the way they think anymore. They use them to be able to move a step forward. So this is what you think? Okay fine, so when I go to the community I will have that in mind. When I'm starting to talk to them then I can now know also I have addressed certain issues based on what the …the information that I've gotten. ``but like teachers known with their transfers happening all over the place very few people are starting to rely on the opinion leaders as being the gurus in a community. I don't think it is happening anymore. No (on opinion leaders)

Researcher: So what would you consider the most appropriate method of disseminating development messages?

Respondent: I think we have to use the local resources. I think we need to go back. We need to start having ……we need to identify what the issues are, and then be able to address those issues, develop a package that can address them, and use as much as possible the people on the ground and ..this is one thing, the community members to be able to try and change themselves. I think it is important to do and you must do. But when people see their own doing it they believe. We …we…we cannot go and say it is important to do and you do. But when people see their own members doing it, then it means that they see the benefits accrued from them then you see people copying it you know if one person within the community level they have their own structures of addressing information. We need to be able to use those structures but get people to do it themselves. We can just facilitate but we can't constantly, you know, we cant implement anymore we just facilitate and let them …let it …and I see where the gap is but I think now when you're here community developing their own communication package they will tell you 'oh, you can't do this' you're like when you guys are trying to do a play in a community, you need to get as much information from them as possible so that you come up with something that…that is apt and you know, closer linked to the issues over there.

Researcher: So you are saying the best way to communicate development messages would be to identify a few members within that community and discuss with them first, then let them get their interpretation of it, then share it with the members of their community?

Respondent: And also try as much as possible to…to be organizing more community forums, where you have more people coming on board. And then see how you can use that as an entry for people to start discussing. Instead of having just five people, and saying okay now, you go back'' but try to figure what if, I mean, you need to rejuvenate those barazas (community gatherings) without necessarily making them political. These communities dialogue that people used to have. They were important in that, people were able to share and learn, ah ooh, I tried that, it didn't work, ''oh, we tried that in our place, it didn't work.' That was really the purpose having those things. And when you get people talking about that, then, it's important for community now to start watching out, to development workers, as opposed to us watching out to them as we have being doing ,because we are saying that …they are poor, illiterate and all but for me going to school is not necessarily …literate…because…but I can read and I can write , I can equally have somebody in the community who cannot read and write, but if they are fabulous agriculturalist based on their traditional knowledge, we need also to start looking into that. How can that person make analysis? How do we develop mode of communication that does not necessarily include writing with a pen, or if its writing, we don't want to write 1,2,3, but we can write stick, for somebody to be able to do it, so, that community can feel that I have twenty shillings. How can I divide the symbols of twenty shillings?

Researcher: Now, this NGO network has been on for quite some time. How come we don't have an agreeable format that it recommends for passing messages to the community? What purpose does it serve?

Respondent: It ….it….. it is meant really to harmonize. Harmonize ….to try and er….find out how to use whatever resources we have that you think that means avoiding duplication and sort of collaboration and …and coalition forming. The thing is, when we start developing a common strategy and that is now where you start having package communication packages that are similar and you find out how every single intervention addresses specific issues…..er….apart from that, it means that when you give people information, and you give them factual information, they also now find out how can you get other information how can we access information when we are stuck,? So, we …try and carry out the capacity

building component which is really meant to find out how institution can work better and that means strengthening those institutions weaknesses like governance, accountability how to financially manage, how to open transparent because the thing is, if you do not …if you cant sort it out internally, whatever you take out, outside is affected. So, we try and see how we can start with institutions as opposed to individuals because the membership is the organization, and the capacity is done for purposes of carrying out work effectively.

Researcher: Now, I have seen a lot of brochures around like this one, how effective are they as a means of communicating messages especially on HIV/AIDS?

Respondent: It depends, for me I think it depends on the design and the thing you are aiming at. You must realize that in the rural communities, people like to put up on the walls, for aesthetic value, so that aesthetic value, you appreciate that, then it means you have to develop a package that can help ….er…..i've also seen that some of them are so wordy, so you 'd lose the message automatically. I think also that er….if we are going to be developing those brochures and posters and all. We need to start looking at institutions that can .you know …to do that job. So, go to an advertising company, tell them what you want, let them develop a message. But you see what we are having. One poster, AIDS scourge, cattle dip, you know, so many things in one paper, and ….too much turbulence. And it… I think it's lost. You can't…you can't have too many things in one, and I see that's what we have. We have billboards that, speaking are for me in some places are a total waste of resources, particularly you know, like how you are saying in Nyando the…what does that billboard say? You know when somebody asks you what the billboard says and you I imagine that you know yet you don't so who is that billboard for? Is it for the guys who are passing by at 180km/hr and probably cannot read who exactly are we doing? We must start asking ourselves ….I think for me, that we haven't used radio except …and I believe that radio is powerful tool. Because in the rural areas, after nine o'clock because it is and people have nothing to do, dark. We are all at home radio is the only thing that people have. And we need to be able to use that radio. We used it effectively when we were doing the sugar campaign and it….and it worked, you know. When we went back to ask people `` how did you get that information? They talked also …..they were telling us about radio, you know now I hear we have HIV/AIDS for children at ten o'clock in the morning. Children are in class! What is the assumption is that we are going to use that message. We are going to use that media during class time and schools don't have radios. You know. If you want to start packaging our information, maybe we need to do it in such a way that we prepare, we work with all the different people, you know. Like

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on Sunday we want to organize I think there is a program on Sunday on radio at about eleven. People are in church! So who is the message for? I mean…er….we must be careful, and therefore when we are targeting nine o'clock you also have to discuss a topic where ..er ….your mother and your father and the children are together because they know they will not be together. You will find fathers' walking out because they think it is embarrassing. We must be able to target …our community very well, and you cant put everything, at the same time in one program because whether we like it or not we are predominantly directed by culture in their region – both western and Nyanza, and it……it …it is a process that will take a while to break down. So, we as development workers must be culturally sensitive because leave alone the world, even for me, you know, I can I cannot claim to understand my culture very well, you know?

Use of radio is also very effective but we need to have locals discussing their issues with experts then the community can follow up the discussions. We can also use our elected leaders especially those of upright morals not people who preach water and drink alcohol.

Interviewee 9

Researcher: What do you do?

Respondent: I coordinate a number of projects for ICRAF aimed at improving the people's well being. You can say we are actually engaged in the development of the communities that we deal with.

Researcher: And what then is community development?

Respondent: It is a process that brings in many partners with various components. We as ICRAF focus on four key issues when talking about community development. These are poverty alleviation, food security, Income generating activities where we are looking at the drivers of production scheme and marketing of alternative livelihoods as community development, and lastly environmentally sound processes where we focus on a stable environment. We also focus on the critical issues of empowerment where communities are able to seek justice, information and equity. We work through committees who have gotten other alternative options eg lobbying for other infrastructure. Ok I can sum all that by saying that we are engaged in a process of helping people handle poverty and live slightly better life by meeting their basic needs.

Researcher:	That is what you as ICRAF perceive community development to be, but what do you think the communities that you are working with perceive community development as?
Respondent:	Actually we have seen a paradox, a kind of dilemma owing from the fact that the community does not perceive our interventions as important needs. So there is a difference in the needs focus. In most cases we assume a homogeneous community, however deeper analysis reveals variance at the level of needs. In most communities where we have projects, the perception is that we should provide infrastructure support e.g in health provide clinics, dispensaries and drugs, or provision of clean piped water, roads, schools, sufficient food and general infrastructure. So in away the community is looking at the tangibles while we are look empowerment. This presents a paradox because our experience has revealed the fact that community development is an integrated approach and no one organization can achieve community development because it can only address one component of it.

For instance we have realized a lot of social impacts as a result of our interventions in Shauri in Yala where there has been a reduction of theft because of improved farm yields as well as the biophysical aspects.
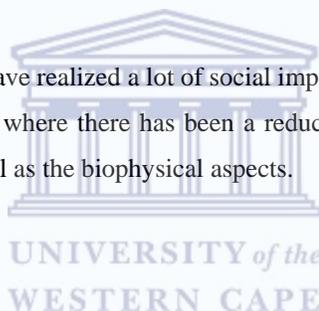
Researcher:	What are your major areas of intervention?
Respondent:	Our major focus is mainly in agro forestry and natural resources management as a whole. ICRAF is a research organization but incorporates development as well e.g. we do research in development as well as research for development e.g. extension methodologies but the communities must guide us in this.

In Agro forestry we are basically concerned with the improvement of soil fertility so as to improve yields. We do this through diversification of highly value crops e.g. keyless, indigenous vegetables and fruit trees such as bananas.

We are also dealing with high value trees e.g. fodder trees for diary farming, medicinal tress, and nutritional trees. All these are aimed at looking at the whole

aspect of community health so as to improve the community's health and market the products.

Thirdly we are concerned with the natural water source protection e.g spring protection using trees which are a natural purification for water.

Fourthly we have environmental conservation, which include indigenous tress, soil and water conservation. Fifth, we have cross-cutting issues not mandated buy ICRAF like HIV/AIDS, but we feel are important for the realization of our objectives. So apart from using the trees that mitigate on health and nutrition values we use improved fallows which are not labour intensive. Lastly we do marketing of the products geared towards market orientation e.g we are trying to sensitize the communities about selling environmental services e.g. carbon trade where farmers can be linked with firms in the US who are interested in disposing carbon so that they can come over and deposit the carbon in their farms. The advantage will be that they will actually gain money without working for it and two; their farms have low carbon levels will actually improve in carbon and hence better yields.
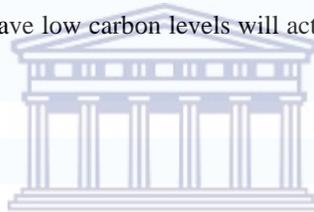
Researcher: What impacts have you realized so far at the community levels?

Respondent: The fuel wood initiative has actually reduced long time that was spent on searching for firewood. We have also seen an improvement in access and control of resources and benefits on the part of women. We have also seen improved nutrition, number of meals per day and reduction of food deficient periods. All these then mean that the community has more time to plan and think about their future that is a better option compared to what they had earlier.

Researcher: What role would you say culture plays in aiding or inhibiting the achievements of your objectives?

Respondent: Culture is changing and it is not the same as it used to be 7-8 years ago and this is partly due to awareness creation. Some of the changes are coming through natural processes e.g. 8-10% of the homes are either widow or child-headed households. Before children were taken to uncles and widows were inherited but now because of demographic changes and harsh economic changes they have to fend for themselves. Men are also changing their attitudes towards women and we have

even seen women as entry points into the communities e.g through using trees, before men would decide where the trees are planted because women were not allowed to plant trees but earlier women would use their sons to plant trees and not go against the culture and now they are planting trees and in any case they are better resource managers than men.

Researcher: What information dissemination methods are you using?

Respondent: Our methods of dissemination are geared towards technological rather than social change. And to be able to do this we use

- Farmers of the future where we have embarked on a mission to work with schools through schools open days because we have realized that it is easy to change the youths
- We use plays with specific messages e.g against wife inheritance or discrimination against the girl child. For instance there is the belief that if a woman plants trees her husband will die or she becomes barren. This is a myth to aimed at discouraging women from attempting to own property because in Kenya trees designate ownership of land. So women, landless and the youth are not allowed to plant trees because they can claim the land since trees signify ownership. So men strike fear to ensure that women do not go against it. And this can be very challenging and you have to be careful with this by looking for ways of passing information in a non-conflicting or non-confrontational manner. People must practice it and networking is also part of the solution so that you are not doing it alone but with others. Another example is the myth that the MVULE tree should not be planted next to the house because you will die if it matures. This is a positive myth because it discouraged people from planting the tree next to their houses but the reason is that when it matures the roots don't sink deep they remain on the surface hence can crack the floor of a house and even cause the house to fall hence the possibility of killing someone.

Researcher:	What language do you use and why?
Respondent:	In ICRAF we have a balance we use Dholuo, Luhya and non-speakers here use Kiswahili and English. I must also say it depends on the audience e.g. if you are training teachers we use English because it is easy to explain concepts in English. But you run in to challenges when you use are working with people who do not speak English because we use a lot of technical terms and they have no match in the local languages. There is also distortion of information due to translation for instance I have been in areas where the translators say things which offer promises to the community e.g translating facilitation or linking and someone says we will do this for you! And as a non-native speaker I don't get the big feel, there is no connection with the community and you feel you are being misrepresented. Another example is a word like agro biodiversity. So you have to break it down into components, explain each term, and then come up with one highly localized term, this is time consuming. We are also forced to use a lot of assimilations, modules and analogues. I think it would be easier and faster to communicate if I understood Dholuo or Luhya for instance in Tanzania it is easy to communicate in Kiswahili because they all understand and you can connect with the field officer well. Besides the communities appreciate you more if you speak their local language.
Researcher:	So what methods of communication do you use in such cases?
Respondent:	The methods vary however it is important to know the effective ones because there is a difference between reaching people and impacting on them e.g. you can reach a million people through radio but how do you impact on them? Again in the kind of work that we do, you will realize that literacy levels will determine the kind of methods and even language that you will use. So far we have used the following methods:
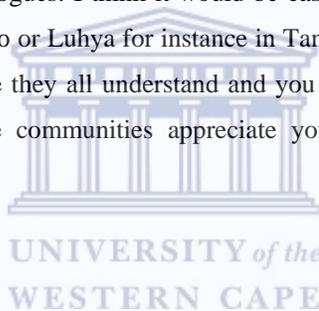
- Exchange visits and these gives almost 100% results when it comes to implementation of a project.
- Demonstration plots especially used where tangibles are involved.
- Simple pictorial posters especially in the local language when dealing with farmers. This is very effective because they can read it and see what

to do or the benefits. I know many people want them in English and then they ask their children to translate for them.

Researcher:	But why do they want it in English if they can understand them in the local language?
Respondent:	You know the Luos my friend! It is all about prestige it lifts their esteem higher if they are seen to be having information in English. If you do it in their mother tongue they think they loose out on some information and this is partly true because you may not translate the exact meaning from English to the local language. Some people just like their children to translate for them they trust them and perhaps would want to reap from their investment in taking them to school.
Researcher:	So that in a way they teach their parents English language in the process?
Respondent:	Yah and I can tell you that when we carried out our needs assessment we actually discovered that people want the posters in English or Kiswahili, though we also found out that the ones done in mother tongue were very effective.

- We have also used radio programs but the timing aspect is very crucial since the farmers are in the field during the prime hours. So care must be taken when using radios e.g. evenings after meals. But the challenge is that it creates a lot of demands on packages especially on seeds.
- We have also used drama. It is very effective in creating a awareness and passing sensitive information e.g. HIV/AIDS and gender based teachings. However it is not very effective when dealing with knowledge intensive initiatives. For technical information it is better to do drama but package it with some written information. Secondly in some cases the use of humour may kill the message.
- We also use training of farmer-to-farmer and this too has been effective because farmers talk the same language and can learn from each other. However the issues of materials for training such as trainer's manuals for example reference material for planting tomatoes also challenge them.
- We also use audiotapes with listener groups but like radio programs they are not interactive.

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Researcher: So having done all these, what information dissemination model would you suggest for effective dissemination?

Respondent: First I would suggest extension through strategic partners in the sense that you better have resources e.g. personnel, vehicles etc and partners of course occupy a wider geographical area and then it is important that you are in the area that you want to initiate the project. Then do a T.O.T that is a training of trainers where you identify participants from the CBOs and train them then they take the information back to the community.

You can also work with other NGOs and the government because they may be having manuals that you need hence you do not need to make your own.

I would also recommend exchange visits where a group of the community members visit a site where a successful project is going on then they come and implement it in their areas.

Sometimes you have to deal with the CBOs directly where you deal with the village umbrella groups such as interest groups, forming of groups where there are none and do their own social mapping then get their leaders and train them.

The use of demonstration plots is also important e.g. have some 20-demo farmers whom the community can learn from.

You must also not leave the other aspects of life like training the communities in terms of other options e.g. leadership and extension skills. Encourage farmer-to-farmer or farmer-to-group training

Essentially have a model which links government, NGOs, CBOs, schools etc. But be careful not to create tension in the communities by separating them say I am ICRAF you are SANA no. You are all doing the same thing, working towards building a better community, so don't ignore existing structures.

Researcher: How have you managed to impact on the Luo and Luhya communities yet you don't speak either of the languages?

Respondent: Language is a big issue you need to connect with the people and the most important way is through language. And this is what has failed many government bills for example the forestry bill is written in English and tough English at that yet it is suppose to help the farmers who do not speak nor understand English. Language brings people to be cohesive and enhance collective action and if you want to know this just attend a session in the communities and as soon as the facilitators leave people remain to discuss the issue further in their language so that they can internalize it. It is the tool that will help you build collective teams, trust, linkages and even connections with the private sector. So we should see a situation where we draft contracts in local languages. As it is now the farmer materials are in English and are also very prescriptive such that you will find a glaring gap between the materials and the people they are meant to empower. And even though development process may be interactive and participatory the resultant document is often prescriptive. So I think the decision support tools are important because they provide options to the community and makes them think, be innovative and do interactive knowledge acquisition.

INTERVIEW 14

Researcher: As a community development Agent in the past 3 years, so what are some of the project you have dealt with?.

Respondent: Basically what we deal with water and sanitation, provision of safe water for drinking, and sanitation facilities. By sanitation facilities I mean latrines, latrines different types of latrines. Hygiene messages and the project we have worked in the entire Nyanza, Kisii, Kuria, Migori, all the districts of Nyanza, and we currently have programmes in Nyakach in Nyando district and one which is almost coming to an end in Migori District. Those are our latest programmes.

Researcher: How have you communicated the messages to the people?

Respondent: We have different levels, when we have the leaders meetings it is mostly English, although we also used Dholuo, then the other meetings we have mostly conducted in Dholuo and Kiswahili depending on where we are, but we try, there is a lot of Dholuo that is used.

Researcher: Yes why don't you use Kiswahili?

Respondent: Kiswahili, the local people really don't speak much of Kiswahili, to them it is difficult so they prefer either English or Dholuo. So since we include old women and old men in the project they don't understand Kiswahili and if you insist on

using it they tell you " wan oswahili ok wawinji" (us we don't understand Kiswahili).

Researcher: And are all your field officers competent in Dholuo?

Respondent: We have three field officers and one is not a Luo, and is not fluent in Dholuo.

Researcher: So how does he work?

Respondent: He has to use a lot of Kiswahili and some broken Dholuo and a bit of English and may be some interpretation at time when it is necessary, when they can't communicate for example in English somebody has to interpret.

Researcher: Ok, and what methods have you used in disseminating information regarding water and sanitation.

Respondent: We've tried to break them into two so as to interpret them into Dholuo. We have used a lot of pictorials which of course don't need any language, but messages initially when we had not started using the PHAST methodology, we had to change a lot of things into Dholuo with a lot of interpretation, so like 'use clean water for drinking purposes' we just change that to "Ti gi pi maler mar modho" we have to change all those to Dholuo, we had to translate all that.

Researcher: What is this PHAST methodology?

Respondent: PHAST stands for Participatory Hygiene and Sanitation Transformation. It is a step by step wise guide to how diseases are transmitted and it was basically made to control diseases and at some stage we were able to adopt it to malaria and HIV. We have managed to have people understand where does the disease come from and how to relate to where the disease comes from within the environment. And move onto how it is transmitted and how it can be blocked and from there asses the barriers that we can use for blocking it, like which ones are effective and find which ones are not effective. And from the ones that are effective they decide to do a plan, actually how to do them and who to do them and it also gives us room for having monitoring and evaluation by community members.

Researcher: Beside pictorials and translations to Dholuo what other modes do you use?

Respondent: Besides pictorial and oral communication there is discussion. Ok like, depending on the nature, if we have to bring leaders or some people to a meeting where we can have a few shows on video or something we can do that, but a part from that or writing a few letters once in a while basically that is all.

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Researcher: What would you say is the impact of culture in your work?

Respondent: Among the Luo mostly the man has to do something like construction of a home or identifying a site for latrine construction or any construction that has to be made in the home. It has to be the man to do it. So with all the that you find that if the man is away mostly in the urban centers like Nairobi or anywhere, the women cannot do any of these jobs and it lags behind so may be they have actually applied for the latrines, but they cannot start. This is cultural practice which has really hindered our progress. Another one is the belief that feaces are harmful to human beings, they should not be touched by hands and this has affected the two technologies that we have. One is the double pit technology, where you are supposed to scoop the feaces from that pit and keep the feaces somewhere before using it say on some farm, and go to another pit and come back to this one later, so that has not been easy for people to take, they don't believe that you can use the feaces for improving the farm. So that one has taken the people quite a lot of learning to do even in the other technology where we separate the urine from the feaces and you pour ash after use and after 6 months you are supposed to tie the feaces and keep it, keep it at your own home for use in future may be towards after another 6 months. People have really found it difficult to adapt on that. So those ones have been issues where the culture has hindered us.

But culture has helped in the aspects of building more latrines. Culturally the Luos believe that one should not share a latrine with his/her daughter in-laws, so when they are ready to take latrines, they want two, one for the father and mother and one for the children. That has also helped, for the people who want two they say one is for "malo" (parents) and one for "mwalo"(the children).

Researcher: Ok, but is that an advantage to you or a disadvantage?

Respondent: It is an advantage to us in that those who are ready to take toilets actually take two, they want two and they do it, but the disadvantage is that it takes a long time to build/construct a pit latrines because the community is required to make a high contribution almost 50% so if he takes two then he has really make a big contribution but the goodness is that when they accept to make the latrines, they always go for two, when the number goes high and when it is high then the occurrence of feaces in the community reduces, they use latrines well. Formally we used to have the problem where, especially for the old men and women, they did not like to go to the same place where they defecated, if they use it today, they will have to go to different place, so the latrine was confining them to one place so

you find somebody else has a latrine but the latrine is kept very clean and even actually locked and the keys in the house, but the old woman or man will not use it, they use it once or twice and nowadays goes to use others. That was very common in Migori and Homabay.

Researcher: If you were to come up with a model for information dissemination how the model looked like?

Respondent: So far we have actually dwelt much into culture and how it would help us in information dissemination. Apart from getting the people to have songs yeah, because we used to have song, people used to like songs formerly in Luo culture so is able to have some two groups that have had songs and in these songs we have messages, especially for the hygienic education, we had messages inside. These songs and they are able to pass it through the songs especially the children have done and in Asembo we have Kadong'o theatre for development Group which is a theatre group developed the community to pass development messages. They sing songs, and when I devided them into groups and told them to give me the messages, some of the messages that are said in that song. It was there, so we did get it down that it's possible.

Researcher: Ok, what would you say is the best way of passing information to the rural community especially information regarding development issues.

Respondent: Ok as part of getting a clear picture of what kind of development is supposed to be brought, the best will be theatre. The very first like you are telling somebody something like he doesn't know you want him to do AB and C so that he goes to another level, like we are talking about IGAs and telling people about it, e.g. forming a limited company through the water project. People can be paid their dividends and they don't seem to capture that very well. So the best would be to have a role play or a drama sort of and give them a picture of what they are supposed to see and what will happen in the future. So that is the best that is my number one opinion for information dissemination in terms of development.

The second would be through pictorials which take them through a step by step process like having a participatory way, after identifying the problems then we actually plan together and come up with a solution, we choose from which step, what actually you want to do. If they help in doing the planning then they can have a good grasp of what is going on but you don't just come and give them the final product that you want them to have, it really becomes hard for them.

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Researcher: There is the issue of sustainability, do you think communities are able to sustain themselves after you have initiated a project and exited?

Respondent: Ok, the communities are often at different levels, but on average, let me talk about the water facilities first. The water will be well maintained if it is a need that was actually felt by the community, then they will really maintain it. If it was the only water that they were using in a radius of three kilometers they'll look after it then the other problem that we see is, if the initial committee is open then people can criticize it and it changes or adapts then it will be sustainable, but if it over relies on one person, one individual then one day that individual is not there, the project disappear s. So sustainability is a critical issue to any development group.

Researcher: There are so many NGOs operating in Nyanza province and they have been here for a very long time, why do you think they are not making an impact in the people's way of life.

Respondent: Yeah, that is true, what we have is that even though we are making some steps forward, we are also making some steps backward. A lot of their projects are always. The second thing is when the management relies in one family or one individual, then when the person who is taking charge in that family goes and so does the project. Then of course there was vandalism around the late 80's of the water pumps, you put it here today, the same people take it put it in another place, so that one also contributed to the lack of progress, we can say there are some area where there has been positive input. NGOs are many, but some have done very little and some are also doing implementation without the software part of it, without the training part of it, so if you construct the facility without involving the community, without training and preparing them for sustainability, then you also have a problem there. So I think a lot of organizations also do a lot of things but they don't train the communities. So that also brings a problem where the projects a very short period after that there is nobody to maintain it and that a big problem.

APPENDIX 5 (B)

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Group 1

Researcher: What do you do?

Respondent 1:   We are a consultancy firm that trains the communities in areas of development such as education, water, health and capacity building in several sectors.

Researcher: How would you define community development?

Respondent 1:   To us community development refers to efforts towards mobilizing people with common goals, commonalities in terms of background, interest and problems they have had hence mobilizing them to a martial resources they have with help of some external input in terms of skills expertise, technical support, to change their conditions in terms of improving their livelihood and general well being.

Respondent 2:   Community development also presupposes disparity in terms of resources and also poor technology and financial support hence assumes that people are not able to support themselves they lack resources and skills.

Respondent 3:   Community development has another dimension called emerging agendas e.g. child rights agenda, gender also becoming part of community development but do not necessarily address the basic needs of a community. These are components that are emerging.

Respondent 4:   I also think community development also presupposes technology transfer / financial inputs where it is assumed that people lack these therefore with this kind of input their condition could change. At the same time the issue of arising agenda that you are able to avail basics like portable water at realistic distances to people but other issues emerges such as control, access, time and increased burden.

Respondent 5:   I would say it is dynamic and evolves over time, initially it was assumed that once you transfer technology and resources then development occurs however it has now become apparent that community development goes with community empowerment e.g. decision making and power sharing.

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Respondent 2:   Another component of community development is where the government endeavors to provide infrastructure before community development can effectively take place. Community development can also be looked at a micro level where government provides basic infrastructure, and a micro level involving things that the community can do on their own.

Respondent 3:   However the emerging agenda from outside must recognize the dynamics of the local level and the reason why things are not going on well is because of the donor/agency interacting with the locals are not respecting certain fundamentals of human interaction and then the government must also provide basic infrastructure while the community on their own must identify what they want to develop, all these build up to community development.

Researcher: And how do you go about your work?

Respondent 1:   Our role as consultants is that we are catalysts of interaction that goes on between the community, the government, the donor and any other interested parties.

Respondent4:   The consultants is a person who whereby facilitates this kind of interaction. At the same time help them visualize certain contradictions therein in the sense that people may have some urban experience yet you want to talk about rural experience which can influence local agenda e.g. how to prioritize issues like water.

Respondent 2:   Our role also is to try and relate whatever priorities they want to have vis a vis the resources and capacities that exist.

Respondent 5:   Most of the times when we talk about development people focus on the hardware because the activities focus on things like roads, available wells etc. Who will do the development? This is easy to evaluate, but our role goes beyond this, it is not just the output that we are looking at, but the OUTCOME because output is basically the deliverables, what you deliver in the society through different activities that you undertake, but the outcome is how you change the benefits that people begin to have and those benefits that you have (outcome) makes a great change in the general society's dreams or visions or goal so you are having an impact. And if there is no impact you can't talk about development, you can end up with 100 wells with no impact. You can't call that development. Therefore our

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role is to see now we can enable people to be able to see the skills, capacities, the resources they have and the development agenda with the implementing partners and how they can implement in the best way to ensure that there is some kind of change.

Researcher: What communication methods do you use?

Respondent 3:   They very depending on the circumstances which the community you are dealing with, the level of education, awareness or if you think they have come with an agenda (e.g. Plan is dealing with children hence the hence give them children) your communications then must respond to the situation.

Respondent 1:   We also undertake training using different training skills for instance mobilization calls for mobilization tools and facilitating a process of identifying needs then prioritizing during such time we use different tools. If it is research then it can either be extractive or participatory and advocacy e.g. HIV/AIDS will also demand different tools.

Respondent 5:   The language use also varies though during trainings we mainly English and/or Kiswahili.

Respondent 3:   One of the strategies of training is to work as a team rather than work as individuals so that you can help each other and to us tools are what you use to communicate with the target for instance visual tools are mainly used where people are illiterate.
                        If you use one approach that focus on one level of the community say – you are speaking English throughout and people are writing them the others who did not go to school will feel left out.

Respondent4:   And that is why we try to insist on participatory tools because they focus on capturing as much as possible and everybody contributes at that particular session. One advantage of such tools is that the tools are not very keen on the precision of doing, but are keen on the out come. So if you want to know the patterns we organize a process and the out come will reveal what has been going on with regard to rainfall patterns.

Researcher: Could you please elaborate on what you mean by participatory?

Respondent 4:   You can participate in information giving for incentives or in decision making, mobilizing, implementing, or planning. So essentially I can say that participation involves INVOLVEMENT, which takes the form of contribution in decision-making e.t.c.

Researcher:	Yes please you want to add something to that?
Respondent 1:	Yes just to add something to what he has said I wanted to point out that involvement also requires instruction or negotiation, persuasion and of course this involve language.
Researcher:	So how many languages do you know?
Respondent 3:	We all know Dholuo, Kiswahili English and a bit of Luhya.
Respondent 1:	Are you sure? I will not mention what happened one day in the field when we thought we knew Dholuo and we met these participants who spoke to us in Dholuo and some people here who are happy that they speak four languages had a real problem with communication. (Laughter)
Respondent 5:	Don't bother with that man he can derail you but of course I want to say that there is a lot of dynamism when planning consultancy there are cases where we use local people – community resources & persons – who for purposes of communication help us in reaching out to the community. For instance if I want to train people with language barrier I use part of them who know the language.
Respondent 4:	And that stems from the fact that communities have diverse composition so they are able to synthesize the concepts into their own understanding, which is in most cases in line with understanding.
Respondent 2:	The other issue that determines our language use is the urban verses rural divide. The urbanites are seen as education hence speak English or Kiswahili while the rural communities communicate best in their local languages hence the need to use locals to bridge not just the language gap but also the social gap.
Respondent 3:	I suppose it language performance also depends with the group you are working with and for, and what you are doing. If you are doing training you may use English so as to grasp the concepts for instance mobilization involves one to one interaction meaning one will use English and Kiswahili a lot depending on level of education and the people.
Respondent 1:	But don't forget that English is the official language in Kenya and because we have been having instructions in the language and using it as the language of instruction in schools, from nursery school to this level and because we are urban based and have gone this urban education it exposes you to English hence we are comfortable and conversant with English and so because the concepts that we seek to transfer are mostly written in English.

Respondent 4: We normally try to translate them into Dholuo, but like he says we have been brought up in a certain way speaking English right from nursery school through education system so that is the best language that we know now to do things with.

Researcher: Has the use of English language affected your performance in any away?

Respondent 2: It depends sometimes on what you are training and whom you are training. The concepts we are talking about are rather standardized e.g. gender or facts on HIV/AIDS, some of them will not necessarily apply in local languages e.g. what is gender in Dholuo? So the challenge we have is that such concepts must be understood and passed on to the communities.

Researcher: Have you tried the services of language translators now that these concepts are standardized in English and that you may not find a marching word or equivalents in the local language.

Respondent 1: Instead of using a translator you put the concept clearly as simple as you can in the language you are using to those who understand it, then the concept is discussed and the nearest meaning of the word in the local language is developed collectively then people agree to use certain within the context of that concept for purposes of clear understanding.

Respondent 3: A good trainer will not start with a single meaning of what he wants to pass across and what we do is take the concept then put it to people then let them look at it then you ask them which word in their language best suits that concept at the time we sometimes facilitate process that ideally result in changes in the livelihoods of people this is not necessarily training. There in lies the challenge because the literacy levels are diverse and may not have too much time.

Respondent 5: And expectations of people you are going to meet may be very different from how the project is designed, so it takes time for you to march the expectations with the reality of the project. The challenge here is on the language to be used.

Respondent 2: You may not even be sure whether you have communication in the end. Some people come with a preconceived mind of what they want to hear. So as long as you are saying things they don't want to hear they will simply not listen. So the expectation of the community vis-a-vis the project objective sometimes is at

variance and language you will use to make them visualize the objectives in the same way is very challenging.

Respondent 4:   Also there are those who are willing to accept and those who are not willing to change – they come eat to see what it is and another category of those who feel that when they are invited they have arrived in another caucus – they get mesmerized by the whole process.

Researcher: Do you do any follow-ups?

Respondent1:   Not really unless it is part of the process which may not be the main focus e.g. mobilization to training to forming committees to project implementation to evaluation, at each stage the focus is different and consultants work according to the schedule of the donor.

Researcher: Are there any cultural issues that have impacted on your work?

Respondent 2:   The role of women in participation e.g. during introduction among the Kalenjin they never say their names but simply point at their husbands. Another example regards custody of information where only certain categories of people can divulge information.

Respondent 5:   There is also the attachment of …let me say the equation of knowledge with age such that especially when talking about gender. You find that some elders feel you cannot talk about family life when you are a young man because they think you lack practical lessons on family life.

Respondent 3:   Involving the community can be tricky because women are the backbone of development yet in many societies they are not allowed to talk where men are for example in initiatives involving sanitation there are a lot of taboos of the don'ts and do's e.g. use of toilets will not be discussed easily if father-in law-and his daughter-in-law are in the same forum let alone using the same toilet.

Respondent 1:   While our work is sector specific and the requires that for purposes of sensitization and social advocacy all people should be influenced, cultural issues such as issues of HIV/AIDS and sex are still tabooed and people may not be free to participate in such discussions. Elders are never comfortable. Standard facts may raise discomfort among participants so your intention maybe to influence change of attitude that you cannot achieve without proper participation, discussion and consensus but now culture limits you.

Respondent 4:   Many times when we go into a community we do not know how they relate and culturally you will find that some people are treated differently e.g. night runners,

witch doctors or when you train such people are not comfortable and there you are talking of openness mobilization working together.

Respondent 1: Or even better is the example of when you want to participants to eat in a training and some of them refuse to feed their children because one of them is sorcerer (josihoho) or stereotypes e.g. physical handicapped or drunkards, there are people who feel such people can not discuss anything fruitful so it inhibits your work.

Respondent 5: Taboos are practices – people refer to them – so they use other words to refer to them - ``we bed e kom wuon dala'' you don't sit anywhere when you visit a home.

Respondent 2: So that you are being told others things. Consultants may be relatives which makes it difficult to deal with training e.g. son- in-law will not just sit anywhere in a home, may effect training due to choice of words given the existing relation e.g. HIV/AIDS transmission and sex, such are tabooed words or topics that cannot be spoken between son and mother or daughter – facilitator (lady) – to mother and this will definitely affect the work.

Respondent 3: In fact even though language use is paramount to our work but it is important that you know the community otherwise you may use some Dholuo but convey a different message e.g. the dialectical differences between Alego and South Nyanza speakers of Dholuo where "haro a lot" means harvest vegetables as opposed to "ngwedo a lot" which means the same thing in Alogo, however the fast one can not be used in Alego because it has a negative connotation associated with raping a woman!

Researcher: Do you use Kiswahili…(laughter)

Respondent 1: (laughter) Kiswahili – we all have difficulty in Kiswahili, and the people we deal with don't know it and if you speak standard Kiswahili they don't understand you. The textbook Kiswahili is very rare.

Researcher: So you speak which Kiswahili?

Respondent 5: We try to speak what they speak but you realize that we take forever to pass our message.

Researcher: What is the communities' attitude towards the languages that you use?

Respondent 2:   We can tell you that preparing ground for communication is easy than sustaining what you want to communicate and the colloquial Kiswahili that we use serves well in mobilization people and preparing them for action.

Respondent 1:   May I say something on that. I will disagree with you (respondent 2) there, if you are not trained in communicating with people there is the danger of miscommunication for example sometimes I may use too much English but I am necessarily communicating. To me I think you need to understand the language well for you to communicate well with the people. In Tanzanian and parts of Nyanza you should never be in hurry, prepare the way first before you get into the main thing. And even so use of phrases and sayings are critical and crucial in communication in the rural areas.

Respondent 4:   I think in terms of effective communication you need to understand the language you are using well. For instance most people can use Dholuo for the first 10 minutes, but cannot sustain it our long discourses

Respondent 3:   Even Kiswahili and like he says Dholuo can be very difficult so what we do is we work as a team and we repeat to emphasize or clarify what one has said. We also just facilitate the process of discussion using our limited Dholuo but let them do the talking and ask for clarification whatever we are getting lost. We also give opportunities to people to explain so that we gauge their understanding

Respondent 5:   Normally, we first agree on the language to be used, then as one of us is leading the rest listen and consult and if need be they clarify or emphasize the point – use of experiences also helps in elaborating the point and verifying understanding.

Respondent 3:   In fact in terms of language use in community development the focus is more or less concept based rather than pure language so that you can use anything even all languages as long as the concept is the focus. Overtime with our experience we have learnt to adopt different roles and registers depending on who you are talking to. When you want to emphasize you show some seriousness or commanding tone.

Respondent 4:   But the community also has its language e.g. Jaboya, or angang' tembeya (Which refer to a type of fish) so you must learn it for ease of communication. So I concur with my colleagues here that language use is not a broad division of either Dholuo or Kiswahili or English, but rather the language use of the place – the arena – so as

consultants we learn to speak their language. If they speak Sheng then you must speak their language.

Researcher: What model of information dissemination do you think is best applicable to community development in Nyanza?

Respondent 5:   I suppose such a thing if it exists at all would start with government here represented by the provincial administration e.g. DC, DO chief and assistant chief. Then you would identify the categories such as common interests groups e.g. women, self help groups, youth groups and share the vision with a few people first through a 1-2 days meeting to explain what is involved

Respondent 1:   I think you should not forget to respond to the circumstances where these people are operating.

Respondent 2:   I think what we have used and what we know is that we have worked a lot with a small group of people whom we have trained known as TOTs but basically there is no model.

Respondent 4:   We deal with different circumstance so you cannot have one basic model. We work for different people who have their on agenda and we give them what so there are not standardized models.

Respondent 3:   Don't forget that NGOs are trapped on proposal syndrome so once it is approved it must be implemented and then focus is never standard and we are only called in as first aiders.

Respondent 1:   I think what we can say is that the model should ensure participation it is very difficult to know how the community is when you come from outside so what you do, you go through the administration depending on how lucky you are so to open up participation. At the level of the sub chief it ends then you now start to work with those on the ground.

GROUP 2

Researcher: So what do you do?

Respondent 1 (M):   As an organization?

Researcher: Yes

Respondent 1 (M):	Yah we are a theatre consultancy firm that deals with training community theatre groups so that they can go on into communities and through the use of theatre provoke sustained dialogue with the community on issues pertaining to constitutional governance, nation to promote democracy. We basically use participatory education theatre.
Researcher:	What is the difference between TfD and PET?
Respondent 2 (F):	I can say that even though people say that the difference between the two is a question of semantics and its not so because we appreciate this field is basically one where there is a lot of research going on and the definition of conceptual terms on basis of terminologies is yet to be found. We are using the general broad approach of participatory education and it is theatrical issue based.
Researcher:	So what language do you use?
Respondent 3 (F):	The whole training or………….
Researcher:	Well yah during training and while carrying out all your programme activities?
Respondent 2 (F):	We mostly use aamm…Kiswahili but we encourage like with the such community theatre, because they will be using Dholuo, to go along…we encourage people to use their language because the purpose of arts is to bring about an understanding between artist and the audience, so we try to reduce Kiswahili and English, but mostly we use Kiswahili.
Researcher:	So why do you use Kiswahili more often?
Respondent 4 (M):	We use it because it is more of national language and bridges that gap between those who are privileged to know English and those who are less knowledgeable in that language. So when we mix it English and those of us who can also speak the local language also mix it in order to make us communicate and understand one another. You see we are not suppose to assume that you have understood what is learned without deception so

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that you get the correct meaning of what is being done or what is expected of you to do.

Researcher: How easy is it to train the communities in the local languages?

Respondent 1(M): I don't think it is a big challenge because I think even those who are of doing the participatory approaches must have gotten them from here first to take them up like you come here and realize that most of the things that are being done is because of participatory say approaches aa…..it depicts say a set up or a situation say a Luo homestead where if it is decision making they had to create procedures ya….the elders would give you a lengthy talk on what all that process is about even if it is the distribution of duties of each person, which eventually you will hear people talking about rounds of responsibilities titles and all those things you see down here. The way it is understood if it is from up there we come and start talking like you are using Dholuo you see something like that so somebody knows it is not suppose to be interfered with or somebody is not suppose to overstep such a thing. So it is also incumbent upon the facilitators, the trainers, actually to get a grasp of the local understanding of…if it is democracy start it from the local set up what does it mean to them cause you see democracy is all those elements of participation, interaction and enabling environment where one enjoys aa…even in excess maybe to process of decision making the likes of privileges are guaranteed and all that so that if it is withdrawn the people at the top there will come and call it democracy. So we don't start from the very abstract reconstruction we start with what is closer to them, which is simple.

Researcher: How does your training and activities deal with the different cultural orientations especially with regards to democracy?

Respondent 4 (M): I will give you an example, of course when you are talking about democracy you have to state that it is about respect more than it is about involvement in participation of all eeh….but culturally you realize that the women in particular are suppose to be there just like any other child, the youth are neglected, in fact its like the elders, those grown ups, those own homes, in fact it even boils down to those who have many wives culturally that is suppose to be like a……the tribes down here so that

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even when we are trying to carry out our work there are certain forums where you will realize that one or two people who happen to be very calm and even despite the fact that the young people and the women have given their views of what they think this is, he becomes the authority and start saying that what I am telling you is this and so that is cultural its actually trying to block that flow of information and communication we have witnessed that.

Researcher: And how do you resolve such a barrier?

Respondent 1 (M):   There are several strategies that we have used like if you are in such a forum of course as somebody who has intermingled with several other people elsewhere you realize that the problem is with that elder and their cultural orientation. There are people who have lived within that system for all these years so they always say its very difficult to teach an old dog new tricks, but as somebody who knows that culture should not be a barrier in fact it should be a facilitator in development process you get to know how to tackle him. And so if you encounter a cultural dictionary who distracts the issues you are trying to pass across, you try and make him to become part and parcel of the discussion so that with your sharp knowledge about other world cultural practices, you will be helpful by explaining what the cultural practices are and you will be elaborating even more on aspects of that culture because every culture practice has got a rationale so what is that rationale still relevant, so that don't take that person head on but through that learning process one learns he/she realizes that time is ripe and not to harden his positions but to be flexible and allow everybody to have a view, I think try to use that kind of approach.

Respondent 2 (F):   Another thing that we are trying to talk about in relation to culture, I think the concept of community development, you are deciding that these people have not developed the conceptual basis of development maybe the fact that some cultural aspects are hindrance to what we may call the globalization of the world with their own progress and I may say progress in quotes because of the dialectical nature of the term and understanding that people have of it. So performance in development and communication has basically been away of looking at cultural perceptions

and comparing it with what the rest of the world has. So we have to stop looking at our cultures and languages from our own perception within the frame and the locale of the village and the community, but as part of the greater country and the world. We must tell these people, for example, that we should open up our decision making procedures we are saying that in families and communities all said and done there is definitely going to be something you know is retrogressive to the youth and that retards the youth in progressing. We are saying that women will not meaningful contribute to issues in the changing economy, they will not be allowed to and work because women are suppose to be unheard you see because development will now come in because it works towards orienting the cultural perception and removing maybe the stagnant and redundant ideas found in particular communities that have a concept of development that is not in line with what is happening around the world. So to some extent communication in development is a way of resolving conflict so as to create a better tomorrow.

Respondent 3 (F): Basically you cannot say at the moment you are not bringing change since the involvement of the entire development workers is being felt today and we are saying the people have to re- conceptualize their own lives. We are saying the old man will get annoyed that his daughter will put on a trouser because it is trendy but we are saying that the daughter is fitting within the global trend.

Researcher: Do you think after this training the theatre groups here will have grasp of the content that you would want them to go and communicate to the people in the village, do you think they will have had enough experience to deal with the cases such as you have just talked about.

Respondent 2 (F): I think to some extent we are not saying that… like the people we are training are the people who live within this particular community, they know the issue that are in this particular community, they know the people they interact with, what we are doing is like putting all those ideas together, refocusing and trying now to direct it in one direction so I think to some extent we can say so.

Researcher: What methods of communication are you using while training?

Respondent 4 (M):   They slightly vary……..the methods also, okay…the effectiveness of communication will also depend on the level of people's perceptions or something like that for example I read some information that was done by some people regarding the project we did last time, national civic education program, they think theatre was very popular but very effective in terms of changing peoples attitude regarding skills and that kind of thing. If you gazette from the perspectives of the interacting cultural direction something like theatre and drama, theatre things that are meant for entertainment they are not meant for imparting skills for communicating certain points of views although those selling in sometimes…and I was wondering how comes like Hollywood changed African tremendously, for all of our wisdom thinking, eating, dressing, speaking so western and we have only used by these movies, the old movies, the TV but yet in our own cultural context drama is seen as a means of amusing that's when you go perform somewhere as a theatre group and people will not remember the message so you get that theatre has not been effective in educating or imparting skills in…..maybe one needs to look at it a little deeper and think about time allocation this is something which is done for 15 minutes. People are there and some are out of your control maybe it is just a opportunistic mood as opposed to certain methods like where you use workshops where you select a certain number of people, people who are very serious with workshops they seek to know, they try to interact on situations on one to one although I think theatre is also trying to do that, theatre is also trying to be participatory, a bit interactive and introduce some kind of serious discussions and exchange. But I think basically theatre has been built as some form of just entertainment and amusement never meant to impart development skills or information but I think the trend is beginning to change and with the kind of research you are doing you might continue a greater deal……….

Respondent 3 (F):   Just in line with that we (Cape Players) did a lot of training on even conflict resolution somewhere in Nyakach and I remember every time I go to Nyakach people still remember me by my theatre name it is like that's what they remember. They never remember the message. But in some areas they can even link the performance to the messages and point out to you that you said one, two, three and those things stuck and when

you go to our community you will see some change. That is one in a million

Respondent 1 (M):   I would also contribute there and say it also depends on the quality of the program that you are taking. The relevance of it how discernible those characters have been portrayed on certain issues because I do remember even the last play that was performed nationally, there was this theme of animals (wanyama) sought of depicting resource sharing, usimamizi (governance) and a a ……the Simba (lion) would lure others into working very hard and he is just there with the friend a a ……then eventually they would be the ones to reap the benefits and that was a time when KANU and president Moi would be known to do. That a psychopath changing Kamotho so people eventually said that is Moi, this is Kamotho and this is exactly what is happening, so much as they remember their was a girl there who was also saying that what the Simba does is exactly what these people are doing, so the quality of the authorities developed.

Researcher: You haven't spoken let us hear your voice.

Respondent 5 (M):   May be just to add on something..a.a…….it also depends of mobilization. If maybe you go to a market and take advantage of the people who are gathered there they may not take you seriously because in the first place they didn't know you were coming there to bring them education. So if you just take advantage of people gathering in a certain place I don't think it would work as much as it would work if you prepared people earlier mentally so that they would engage in meaningful discussion and issues that you want to teach.

Researcher: But do you go announcing that we will go and perform on this particular day?

Respondent 2 (F):   Yah it is possible especially when you are making organized groups so that even if you are using a church, for example, people will be reminded even during that day that after the service their will be a play on this and this and the people will decide to come and maybe it's a learning moment so you can use this well organized groups to mobilize them and prepare things for an educative kind of a youth activity.

Respondent 4 (M):	And just another thing you can't assume that the community's calendar because we don't know the prior and if you are traveling all the way from Nairobi to come and have a play it won't have any impact but if you have the communities calendar in mind and you notify them earlier you know like sometime before then they will tell you on this particular date you can come but if you come on that date you will do a short performance at the end of the day because they have told you before that usually on that day we go harvesting or we go fishing and bla bla bla………..
Respondent 3 (F):	So you will see that the work of TfD then is not limited to the actual performance on stage, but is a process that begins with some kind of base line survey and understanding of the community so that by the time you come you fit within the calendar of this people.
Respondent 5(M):	And of course beyond that if I was to emphasize on what is stated as the findings of some evaluation that was done to evaluate such session of educational program. They did not know that as much as we are popular we may not be effectively in making the issues seen, data was made to break virgin grounds where it was to test ordinary workshops and being chased away from those areas. Secondly most of those theatre particularly facilitated began the facilitation of workshops at the moment people are excited, people are seeing the real life situation as it effects them, it made it very easy for facilitators on issues to do with democracy, governance, constitution and all that so that the referee would be just like you so there you see it becomes development. So as much as they say we did that in a workshop actually the tool makes them more and more interested in theatre.
Respondent 2 (F):	Actually we were proposing because we realized theatre is a very good way of moderating people from the actual civic education workshops, so we think in any case we can combine them but a workshop will always be preceded with a pre-letter which would summarize the whole theme of the workshop and all that ……it also combines very well that you bring in a workshop and at the end of the workshop their would be a play which would sort of be linked to what the workshop was all about, it re – emphasizes the whole thing.

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Researcher:	Yes you have something to add?
Respondent 1(M):	Just on something we said about TfD and the fact that it is an important tool for communication; I am interested in the revolution of TfD than when it was started. There have been a lot of changes until now it is the youth who are mainly involved in TfD. We are saying that the role of actors from the actor-facilitator to actor-teacher to the educators as it is now, these roles are changing and we are saying that for there to be meaningful discourse we have to prepare you, you have to prepare me, you just can't come and perform and expect me to get into your shoes and understand where you are coming from is far and therefore think like you are thinking and think with you at the same time. We are saying that the ground for preparation should be taken seriously that the people need don't need to be abused, we cannot achieve development a a...or have any cost for education when its an abuse of a situation. It doesn't work and that has been one of the failures of the practices.
Respondent 5 (M):	And one thing we coming round to is institutionalizing the practice so that people then can take participatory educational theatre as a learning situation in which both parties, the actor-educator and the audience-educator have prior preparedness so that you know that I am coming and you are waiting to discuss something with me then both of us are at per...then especially then your own weakness and my own weakness will arrive at a consensus. We can then pick up an issue and develop it and say that we've gained something and development in the sense of positive movement from either thought process, social action and so on ......ya if people go to the bush for long call then you can say hey bwana don't go to the bush there is a toilet there.
Researcher:	Having gone round the whole country which language did you perceive as popular?
Respondent 3 (F):	The popular language in my opinion is the language understood by the majority of the people that is Kiswahili of course.
Researcher:	Would you say the same with regard to Nyanza Province?
Respondent 2 (F):	Sorry I think it depends with where you are going. I remember there was a time we went to a place called Chogorio people are not comfortable at all at all with Kiswahili and in our group people speak either kikuyu or

Kimeru and you see some words in kikuyu will mean something very different in Kimeru, so using broken Kiswahili to communicate but it was very very difficult because already some of us were very limited in Kimeru and a Kikuyu there is a word in kikuyu I can say that is an insult, it will be totally an insult to him so you can imagine in a workshop trying to balance Kikuyu and Kimeru I don't think we did communicate, I tried the little Kimeru I knew but it hit the rocks, so I think it depends with where you are going because you go to another place or like we assume Tanzania all of them are good in Kiswahili but in Kenya not all communities are good in Kiswahili even though we assume its our national language but not all communities are comfortable with Kiswahili. Others prefer mother tongue and now if they insist on another language I think there will be communication breakdown because we are not communicating.

Respondent 1(M):   Really Kiswahili is a language based on the cultural history, Kiswahili is a language used by tricksters and conmen so in areas where it is not at the back of the social circumstances of that community, you know linked to that person who was a liar even the aspect that mtu anakuambia ati wewe ni mswahili inamaanisha kuwa unauongo mahali (someone tells you that you are a Kiswahili speaker meaning you are full of lies). But at other times Kiswahili is very effective apart from that it has a national outlook and besides Kiswahili in the nation other regions prefer mother tongue because it works in that particular area. Where you have a mixture of people you can also mix Kiswahili and English to come up with a communicating element that will fit the circumstances so the language keeps on shifting. There is a performance I remember we did in Kikamba another one in Kimeru and in Dholuo. I understand very little in Dholuo but you see I will respond in my language or Kiswahili for example and let the people who know Dholuo facilitate the issues because that way the people will be able to communicate more effectively.

Respondent 4 (M):   In that case then the best language is the language which people understand best and that is why in any place you go to do civic education or to do these things, we first of all ask the people what language they want to use, don't impose a language on them the language the people understand best is what they love and that is what works. So you cannot

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impose and say Kiswahili is better or English is better and that is why we are insisting on community theatre where people are teaching themselves with their own language, that which they understand better and that is why we are localizing these because we have realized coming from Nairobi and going to the countryside with your Kiswahili or English doesn't work in most communities. To me the best language is what the community understands best.

Respondent 1 (M): But we have also encountered a challenge among some Luo communities. They will tell you to facilitate in English but you will realize that not all will understand the English and those who understand will get half meanings totally different from what is meant and so what is understood to be the meaning that is a problem and they will never tell you we don't understand that terminology.

GROUP 3

Researcher: So what have you come to do here?

Respondent 1: We have come for treatment in the clinic

Researcher: How often do you come to the clinic?

Respondent 2: May be two to three times in a month or is that not so? (The rest nod in positive affirmation)

Researcher: And how did you learn about this clinic?

Respondent 3: I saw a poster with a pregnant woman and the writing telling pregnant mothers to protect their babies so I come to this clinic because I am expecting

Respondent 1: Me I learned about it from a lecture in the hospital by people from Yier Ngima.

Researcher: How did you know there will be a lecture?

Respondent 1: You see my husband died of HIV/AIDS so I knew but I did not know so he left me pregnant but I was falling sick all the time so when I come for medication in the hospital here I was told about this project and I was also informed about the lecture and that is how I come to know about it.

Researcher: Yes and you?

Respondent 4: Me I learnt about it through drama in the market

Researcher: Can you say something more on that?

Respondent 4:	You see I have a small stall where I normally go to sell my fish, so one day there were these boys who were performing a play, and so we all went to see what they were doing stopping people from coming to buy what we were selling.
Researcher:	Yah were you together?
Respondent 2:	Yah Nyar Yimbo and I are petty traders at the Oyuma market so on this particular day we heard drums and I run to see what was going on because if you here drums these days it could be a funeral or anything so I went and so the drama.
Researcher:	So what did the drama tell you about Yier Ngima?
Respondent 4:	First they played by showing us this little boy who was protected by a shield and then there were about four people …
Respondent 2:	No they were amore than four and they were throwing dangerous objects at the boy
Respondent 4:	Yes objects like stones, sticks, bottles and the like but these objects could not harm the boy but when they removed the shield and they were about to throw the objects at the boy the people refused?
Researcher:	Why?
Respondent 3:	Because the objects would harm the boy
Respondent 2:	Because the boy was not protected and people had seen how dangerous the objects were so they thought if they left the boy the people would harm him.
Respondent 4:	After that they taught us that our bodies are like that boy and we are protected by antibodies and if we get HIV/AIDS then the virus weakens our immune system and we become exposed to dangerous diseases just like the boy who did not have a shield was exposed to dangerous objects.
Respondent 5:	Me the one I saw they did not use dangerous objects but they used a shield and a small girl but they were throwing balls at her and when the shield was removed then the balls begun hitting her and she pretended to be hurt and was crying and they stopped and started teaching us about how to choose life and not death for our unborn children especially if we have been infected by the HIV virus.
Researcher:	And what language did they use to teach you about choosing life?
Respondent 5:	They normally use Dholuo because that is the language we all understand well
Researcher:	Yes say something
Respondent 1:	I have also heard about this project in the KBC radio through a program called Arindi and it normally comes on Sunday at 9pm.

Researcher:	You have not slept by that time?
	(They respond in almost unison-No!)
Respondent 2:	It is a very popular program and even those without radio will always go to listen to it at a neighbour's house.
Respondent 4:	Even Ramogi radio and sometimes on TV though they use Kiswahili and sometimes English that we don't quite understand.
Respondent 1:	But the language is Dholuo but it is also sometimes very confusing for example they use 'Kute' so you may not know whether they mean virus or just insects, and again there is a character who says 'Just be calm I will be with you till the last minute' and this is scaring because if you are infected you can not be calm and there is the constant reminder that there is a final minute coming. So me I find such words scaring and sometimes confusing.
Researcher:	Ok
Respondent 3:	But in Ramogi it comes either late in the night when we are sleepy but if it could come as early as say 8.30pm then we would listen.
Researcher:	So what would you say the project is all about?
Respondent 4:	Yier Ngima is about HIV/AIDS
Respondent 2:	I think it is not just about AIDS it is about creating awareness especially for expectant mothers so that even if they are infected their babies can be protected and get life. So it is about stopping mother to child infection and spreading hope to the expectant mother.
Respondent 5:	I think Yier Ngima tells of the ways of spreading HIV/AIDS and asks us to choose either life or death because we already know each of the two ways so if you choose to abstain and come to the clinic you will live and if you choose to sleep around without protection then you will die.
Respondent 1:	Sometimes it is not that you sleep around you can be in the house then AIDS comes to you right there without sleeping around so you can say those who have AIDS are sleeping around.
Respondent 3:	Me I think Yier Ngima is about making a decision to choose life and not death and especially for infected mothers and not any other person. That is why we come here for check ups and to get medication that will stop mother to child transmission.

Researcher: Ok and how would you say culture has affected this project?

Respondent 1: What I can say is that there is no need for wife inheritance because the man does not help you in any way instead you are the one who is feeding him and that is an extra burden. They are like parasites yet the community still clings on to such traditions.

Respondent 4: I think our culture also insist that when your husband dies you must be inherited and if you refuse they even force you, but that can affect the project because you can even get re-infected by that man after all they are always doing it like a profession.

Respondent 2: I can also say that in some cases people do not believe that HIV/AIDS exists they think it is Chira (a disease that comes as a result of a curse) and so even if you tell other women they refuse to come for help because they don't believe you are telling them the truth. They trust what their clan says.

Respondent 5: I also wanted to say that the language that we use can also affect the project because you realize that many Luos will not tell each other about bad things for example you can see very well that so and so is infected and may be the spouse died of HIV/AIDS but then when some body else approaches such a person no one warns them of the consequences and even if you warn them they say 'Rwath ma dwa pocho makigolo to nyalo chwowi (Never distract a bull on heat because it can attack you), they also say that Rwath tho gi lum e dhoge kamako to amako- (That a bull dies with grass in its mouth so when I have caught something I don't leave). Such kind of language encourages people to be irresponsible and hence continue dying.

Researcher: What impact has Yier Ngima had on the people around here?

Respondent 3: I think people have learned that you can save yourself if you avoid contacting HIV/AIDS. It has also taught people that even if you are infected you can still live a positive life and choose life for your children.

Respondent 1: It has also taught people to change their social behaviour especially those engaged in risky social behaviour like drinking and unprotected sex.

Researcher: On a scale of 1-10 how would you rate the impact of Yier Ngima in your community?

Researcher 4: I could say 5-6 over 10

Researcher: Do we all agree with that or somebody has a different opinion?

Respondent 5:   No I think it is about that.

Researcher: So how do you think this can be improved?

Respondent 3:   I think we should not stop talking about HIV/AIDS. We must just continue talking about it in schools, hospitals, chief's barazas, and all community projects so that people can change because I have seen that our people respond to things that are repeated again and again.

Respondent 2:   We should also encourage people to use condoms without saying that only prostitutes use condoms.

Respondent 5:   But you know condoms are only cheap for men and that gives then the opportunity to buy them and keep them in their pockets, but the female condoms are very expensive and so if you want to have sex with a man and you expect him to have condoms than he tells you he doesn't have. You see you will be compromised.

Respondent 1:   You know the community protects men and when they are seen walking with a woman it is the woman who is seen as bad. So I think the female condom should be made cheaper than the male one because there is no reason why their condom should be cheap yet they don't even buy it and they are the ones who always have money.

Respondent 4:   I think we should also talk about these things early enough so that we know whether the man has a condom or not. And they should stop blaming irresponsible behaviour on alcohol. In fact women don't move around it is the men who move around and collect all sorts of diseases.