

**Crucial Factors in the Implementation of Participatory  
Development Communication in Development Projects in Papua  
New Guinea**

By

**Birgit Hermann**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

**Master of  
International Communication**

Unitec New Zealand, 2007

This thesis is supervised by

Dr. Linda Beamer

Dr. Evangelia Papoutsaki

## Abstract

This ethnographic study examines the key factors in the implementation of participatory development communication (PDC), an under-researched field, in four development projects of an international development organisation in Papua New Guinea. Divergent opinions exist about which type of communication is effective for sustainable development. Papua New Guinea faces serious developmental issues, and development projects have been initiated by several international development organisations.

The ethnographic study comprises three data collection methods: participant observation, interviews, and documents. The researcher observed the communication processes of four development projects in Papua New Guinea during May and June 2007. Twenty-four staff members and beneficiaries are informants for the research. Documents of the organisation are used for triangulation.

The findings disclose that only one of the four projects integrates PDC to the extent of involving the beneficiaries in the design of the project. In the other three projects, the beneficiaries participate only in the implementation of the activities—a kind of participatory diffusion. Ten highly interrelated factors around three themes influence the implementation process in the specific Papua New Guinean context. The critical themes for an environment supportive of PDC are (a) that staff have positive attitudes and behaviours toward implementing PDC, (b) that the perceived needs of the beneficiaries are met, and (c) that a level of trust between the development organisation and the beneficiaries is established. In this study, additionally the specific organisational culture, the communication context between the organisation and the beneficiaries, and the time-restricted, donor-driven project design hinder the implementation of an ideal PDC approach.



## Declaration

**Name of candidate:** Birgit Hermann

This Thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the Unitec degree of Master of International Communication.

### CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I confirm that:

- This Thesis represents my own work;
- The contribution of supervisors and others to this work was consistent with the Unitec Regulations and Policies.
- Research for this work has been conducted in accordance with the Unitec Research Ethics Committee Policy and Procedures, and has fulfilled any requirements set for this project by the Unitec Research Ethics Committee.

Research Ethics Committee Approval Number: 2007.682

Candidate Signature: .....Date: October 18, 2007

Student number: 1267521

## Acknowledgements

Many people contributed to make this research possible and I am very grateful to all of them. First, I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr. Linda Beamer and Dr. Evangelia Papoutsaki for their enormous time and effort on my research. Linda, without your outstandingly prompt feedback, your constructive critique, and your amazing attention to detail, I would not have progressed at the same pace as I did. Valia, your enthusiasm induced me to conduct my research in one of the most interesting places on earth. Your inspirational comments helped me to keep on track, and to see the broader picture.

Second, I would like to thank the organisation “UDO” for participating and investing time in this project. Your contribution is invaluable for this research. In times of change and tight time commitments, you answered all my questions, showed me around, and introduced me to the organisational processes and the Papua New Guinean culture. Special thanks go to Catalina, Paolo, Janet, Mike, Dave, Sharryl, David, Toxin, David, Paul, and Dayan.

Third, I would like to thank all the people who made Unitec and New Zealand a pleasant study environment: all lecturers for engaging in discussions to pin down my research interest, my fellow study colleagues Kylie, Liza, and Géraldine for sharing the moments of insanity, and my initial proof-readers Jodi and Jaz.

Furthermore, I would like to thank my boyfriend Andrew for his steady enthusiasm to give my best for the studies, for his understanding that a postgraduate research project needs a lot of time, and for making the research period an enjoyable time anyway.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents Rosel and Bernhard. Thank you for your endless support and encouragement of all my undertakings, even though they take me to places far away from home.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .....	i
Declaration .....	ii
Acknowledgements .....	iii
Abbreviations .....	viii
CHAPTER 1 .....	1
Organisational Context .....	2
Sociocultural Context of Papua New Guinea .....	4
<i>Development Status</i> .....	4
<i>Social System</i> .....	6
<i>Donor Reliance</i> .....	7
Outline of the Thesis .....	7
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW .....	9
Theoretical Considerations- Development Communication .....	9
<i>Diffusion Development Communication (DDC)</i> .....	10
<i>Participatory Development Communication (PDC)</i> .....	11
<i>Combining PDC and DDC</i> .....	15
<i>Guidelines for Implementing PDC</i> .....	16
<i>Evaluation and Measurement of PDC</i> .....	18
Factors influencing the Implementation of PDC .....	21
<i>Contextual Factors</i> .....	21
<i>Socio-cultural Context</i> .....	22
<i>Power Structure</i> .....	24
<i>Religious Context</i> .....	26
<i>External Influence</i> .....	27
<i>Project-related Factors</i> .....	28
<i>Time and Effort</i> .....	28
<i>Type of Participation</i> .....	29
<i>Communication Context</i> .....	30
<i>Communication Training</i> .....	32
<i>Constant Evaluation</i> .....	33
<i>People-related Factors</i> .....	34
<i>Attitudes of Development Workers</i> .....	35
<i>Attitudes of Beneficiaries</i> .....	36
<i>Attitudes of Leaders</i> .....	37
Implications for Research .....	38
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN .....	40
Methodology .....	40
Data Sources and Collection .....	44
<i>Participant Observation</i> .....	44
<i>In-depth Interviews</i> .....	46
<i>Field Interviews</i> .....	48

<i>Documents</i> .....	50
Data Analysis .....	50
Ethical Considerations .....	54
Limitations .....	55
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS .....	57
Background of the Interviewees .....	58
The Development Initiatives and PDC .....	59
Project-related Factors in the Implementation of PDC.....	64
<i>Organisational Environment of UDO</i> .....	64
<i>Experience and PDC Training of UDO Staff</i> .....	65
<i>Project Design</i> .....	67
<i>Communication Infrastructure between UDO and Community</i> .....	70
UDO Staff-related Factors in the Implementation of PDC.....	72
<i>Attitudes of UDO Staff toward PDC</i> .....	72
<i>Behaviour of UDO Staff</i> .....	75
<i>Socio-cultural Background of UDO Staff</i> .....	77
Beneficiaries-related Factors in the Implementation of PDC .....	78
<i>Meeting Needs of Beneficiaries</i> .....	78
<i>Sense of Ownership of the Beneficiaries</i> .....	82
<i>Commitment of Time</i> .....	83
<i>Expectation of Beneficiaries to Receive Money</i> .....	83
<i>Fully Informing Beneficiaries</i> .....	87
Context-related Factors in the Implementation of PDC .....	88
<i>Collaboration with Existing Groups</i> .....	88
<i>Leader-Support</i> .....	90
CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS .....	93
PDC in the Development Initiatives .....	93
Ten Factors and Three Underlying Themes in the Implementation Process .....	98
<i>Attitudes and Behaviour of UDO staff toward PDC</i> .....	98
<i>Factors Influencing Attitudes and Behaviour of UDO Staff toward PDC</i> .....	101
<i>Experience of UDO staff</i> .....	102
<i>Organisational Culture</i> .....	103
<i>Donor-driven Project Design</i> .....	105
<i>Meeting Perceived Needs</i> .....	107
<i>Factors Influencing Meeting Perceived Needs</i> .....	110
<i>Needs Analysis</i> .....	110
<i>Donor-driven Project Design</i> .....	112
<i>Collaboration with Existing Groups</i> .....	112
<i>Expectations of Beneficiaries</i> .....	115
<i>Trust Level</i> .....	117
<i>Factors Influencing Trust Level</i> .....	117
<i>Donor-driven Project Design</i> .....	118
<i>Acceptance of Development Workers by the Community</i> .....	119
<i>Socio-cultural Background of Development Worker</i> .....	120

<i>Leader-Support</i> .....	121
<i>Communication Context</i> .....	124
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS .....	128
Attitudes and Behaviours of Staff toward PDC .....	130
Meeting Perceived Needs .....	132
Trust Level .....	133
Summary .....	135
References .....	136
Appendices.....	148
<i>Appendix A: Agenda of Field Research</i> .....	148
<i>Appendix B: Information Form</i> .....	149
<i>Appendix C: Consent Form</i> .....	150
<i>Appendix D: Information Form Tok Pisin</i> .....	151
<i>Appendix E: Consent Form Tok Pisin</i> .....	152

## TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure1. Model of Participatory Development Communication of Bessette (2004, p. 35) .....	95
Figure 2. Factors Influencing Attitudes and Behaviours of Staff toward PDC .....	102
Figure 3. Factors Influencing Meeting Perceived Needs .....	110
Figure 3. Factors Influencing Trust Level .....	118

## Abbreviations

AA	Advisor Agriculture
AS	Advisor Water-Sanitation
AusAID	Australian Government's overseas aid program
FWP	Field Worker Sweet Potato Project
FWS	Field Worker Water-Sanitation Project
FWW	Field Worker Women's Livelihood Project
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
NZAID	New Zealand Agency for International Development
PDC	Participatory Development Communication
PMH	Project Manager HIV/AIDS Project
PML	Project Manager Literacy Project
PMP	Project Manager Sweet Potato Project
PMW	Project Manager Women's Livelihood Project
UDO	Unnamed Development Organisation
UN	United Nations

## CHAPTER 1

Development communication refers to the “planned use of communication” (Rogers, 2006, p. 180) in development projects. The field is relatively new and not sufficiently researched (Waisbord, 2005). Communication specialists widely recognise that communication plays a central role in development projects and has potential to improve their success (Waisbord, 2005a; Wilson, Warnock, & Schoemaker, 2007). Yet, no consensus exists regarding the type of communication that is effective for sustainable development. During the fifty years of development experience, two main paradigms for communication for development have emerged: diffusion and participatory communication (Morris, 2005). Both vary distinctly in their programme designs and goals (Morris, 2005). Most development agencies incorporate participatory development communication (PDC) in their programmes due to its promise to lead to sustainability (Huesca, 2002; Mefalopulos, 2005). However, studies indicate many critical factors in the process of implementing PDC (Bessette, 2004; Golooba-Mutebi, 2005; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Muturi & Mwangi, 2006). The process is not sufficiently discussed, and these factors are investigated only by few authors (Agunga, Aiyeru, & Annor-Frempong, 2006).

To contribute to a better understanding of the factors in the implementation of PDC, this study examines the process of applying the theoretical PDC model in practice. Due to New Zealand’s proximity to Papua New Guinea, and its dominant role as foreign aid donor in the South Pacific, the research centres on the South Pacific nation of Papua New Guinea. As one of the poorest countries in the South Pacific, Papua New Guinea faces serious developmental challenges. Several development projects have been initiated by numerous international development agencies in the country’s progress toward achieving the Millennium Development Goals (Government of Papua New Guinea & United Nations in Papua New Guinea, 2004). In

addition, the development organisation volunteering for the study offered to have the communication practices of its projects in Papua New Guinea investigated.

The focus of the research project is on an analysis of the factors influencing the implementation of PDC in a real context—in four development projects of an international, nongovernmental development organisation in Papua New Guinea. The following process-oriented research question is investigated:

What are the crucial factors influencing the implementation of the participatory development communication model within the context of development projects initiated by an international development organisation in Papua New Guinea?

To analyse in-depth the factors influencing the PDC implementation, an ethnographic approach is used. Methods include participant observation of the communication practices in the projects in Papua New Guinea, interviews of people involved in the development projects, and analysis of core documents. The following four sub-questions guide the approach and help answering the research question:

- How is the PDC model employed in the development initiatives under investigation?
- What are the issues and factors impacting the PDC implementation process?
- How are these factors interrelated?
- What are the underlying themes influencing the implementation of PDC?

### Organisational Context

The research project focuses on the communication processes in four development initiatives of an Unnamed Development Organisation (“UDO”) in Papua New Guinea. UDO is an international Christian relief and development organisation whose objective is sustainable and community-based poverty alleviation. The non-governmental organisation (NGO) has been

working for over fifty years and is today involved in development and relief projects in 96 countries. All independent national offices work in partnership with each other, and share the same core values. Participatory approaches are applied in all of UDO's initiatives. This is reflected in the mission statement of UDO International:

We seek to understand the situation of the poor and work alongside them. We seek to facilitate an engagement between the poor and the affluent that opens both to transformation. We respect the poor as active participants, not passive recipients, in this relationship. They are people from whom others may learn and receive, as well as give.

The need for transformation is common to all. (UDO, 2007, Core values, para. 3)

The organisation has been working in Papua New Guinea since the 1970s. The present programme being implemented in Papua New Guinea is a grant funded programme through the organisation's support offices in New Zealand and Australia, with both government and multilateral institutional donors. Its development projects vary in length and sectoral focus. Currently UDO implements projects in three provinces throughout Papua New Guinea: Port Moresby, Madang, and Bougainville. Project offices are located in each province. Additionally, the UDO head office for the whole Pacific area is situated in Port Moresby.

At the time of data collection in May and June 2007, the office in Port Moresby was involved in projects in community development, HIV/AIDS, women's livelihood, and child protection. The office in Madang was involved in two projects with sectoral focus on education and food security and was in the starting phase of a water-sanitation project. The project in Bougainville was mainly concerned with water-sanitation. For the research I investigated PDC processes in four selected projects in Port Moresby and Madang in the areas of a) HIV/AIDS, b) women's livelihood, c) literacy education, and d) food security.

## Sociocultural Context of Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea, often referred to as the “land of the unexpected,” has been an independent Pacific nation-state since 1975 (Papua New Guinea Tourism Promotion Authority, 2007). The multiplicity of languages, cosmologies, social forms, and environmental adaptations make it a culturally unique place. Whereas Tok Pisin (Pidgin English) is increasingly used as a lingua franca (Strathern & Stewart, 2002), and a growing proportion of the urban elite speak English (Crocombe, 2001), linguists estimate that more than 860 languages and numerous dialects may be found in Papua New Guinea (Nagai, 1999). More than 1000 cultures, each with different traditions, have been identified.

Each individual group from small (300-900 people) to the large (up to 100,000 people) has developed a distinct way of life and pattern of culture. The language and cultural characteristics in one community will not necessarily be repeated in the next community located beyond the next mountain or across the next river. (Nagai, 1999, p. 194).

### *Development Status*

Despite its cultural richness, Papua New Guinea is facing serious developmental challenges (NZAID, 2007). It has one of the lowest living standards in the Pacific with a low life expectancy (57 years), low levels of literacy (64 percent), high infant mortality, and extremely high maternal mortality (NZAID, 2007). Its Human Development Index ranks 139 out of 177 countries (Watkins, 2006). Approximately 37 percent of its 5.8 million inhabitants live in poverty (NZAID, 2007; Watkins, 2006).

According to the Government of Papua New Guinea and United Nations in Papua New Guinea (2004), the overall developmental progress has been disappointing: whereas progress has been made in some areas, in others stagnation or even deterioration has been experienced. Papua

New Guinea “seems to have moved at a snail’s pace towards development at all levels” (Singirok, 2004, p. 100), since its independence from Australia in 1975. Successive budget deficits have left the public sector under-resourced and with limited means to increase the basic living standards and services (NZAID, 2007). Church-based groups and NGOs often provide basic services, such as health posts and schools, “where the government services do not meet the needs” (Watson, 2006, p. 34)

Although 80 to 85 percent of the population live in rural areas (NZAID, 2007), the “rural sector is not served by a well-developed infrastructure” (Government of Papua New Guinea & United Nations in Papua New Guinea, 2004, p. 5). Poverty is concentrated in the rural areas due to land issues, land degradation, declining crop yields and food shortages, and little access to services and markets due to poor transport and communications (NZAID, 2007). The worst affected regions reveal serious levels of child malnutrition, high and increasing population densities, and an increasing HIV/AIDS rate (NZAID, 2007).

However, development challenges also include rapid urbanisation (Gewertz & Errington, 2004). Papua New Guinea’s capital, Port Moresby, shelters approximately 255,000 people. Most of them have come to the city in the hopes of finding jobs, resulting in urban settlements that are made up of ethnically and culturally mixed people. The growth in the urban population has resulted in an unemployment rate of 80 percent (PMW, in-depth interview. May 17, 2007), and overburdened social services, leading to poverty, desperation, and lawlessness among the settlers (Crocombe, 2001).

The complex socio-cultural environment of Papua New Guinea entails further development challenges. A study by Reilly (2004) revealed that the differences in ethnic diversity are the most important reason for the disparities in development in Papua New Guinea:

the “more diverse provinces had significantly lower development levels than more homogeneous ones” (p. 480).

### *Social System*

Papua New Guinea, like most Melanesian societies, is a society with strong, traditional cultural and social values, since it has been little exposed to Western influences (Lockwood, 2004; NZAID, 2007). The socio-political organisation of Papua New Guinea is informal. Most people live in villages organised around kinship (Lockwood, 2004). A distinctive feature of contemporary Papua New Guinea is the *Wantok* system, an adaptation of traditional kinship systems that reflects the needs of an increasingly mobile population. *Wantok* (from the English one talk) is a pidgin word originally referring to someone of the same language community (Crocombe, 2001). Within Papua New Guinea this implies relationship with a person from one's own province or region. The meaning varies according to context, and generally refers to a social safety net that operates based on mutual obligations for assistance, support, and favours in settings where individuals are removed from their traditional exchange systems (Crocombe, 2001). *Wantok* combines kinship, ethnicity and individualistic friendship ties. It also refers to a social support system of extended family and friends wherein wage earners have to meet traditional obligations to support extended family (Romer & Renzaho, 2007). While providing a safety net for the disadvantaged or less energetic, the *Wantok* system entails new pressures and burdens for the energetic people of the community, especially the ones who barely earn their own livelihood (Crocombe, 2001; Romer & Renzaho, 2007).

### *Donor Reliance*

Papua New Guinea's development is heavily dependent on foreign aid. Currently, half of its development budget—as assigned in the national budget—comes from donor funds (NZAID, 2007). In 2000, the funds included US\$330.6m from bilateral donors and US\$21m from multilateral donors. The main bilateral donors are Australia, Japan, China, New Zealand and Germany. Australia, contributing 82.3 percent of the combined development assistance, is the major donor (Lockwood, 2004). Papua New Guinea is the main recipient of the Australian Government's overseas aid program (AusAID). New Zealand contributes around 1.9 percent of the total assistance received by Papua New Guinea. According to the New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID, 2007), Papua New Guinea is likely to rely heavily on donors for the next 20 years.

A growing percentage of foreign aid—worldwide twelve percent in 1994 (Mercer, 2006)—is channelled through large and small NGOs (Brown, Brown, & Desposato, 2007). Concomitantly, the number of international NGOs increased from 6,000 in 1990 to 26,000 in 1999 worldwide (The World Bank, 2007). Despite the numerous development projects initiated by various agencies, “many development agencies and actors, multilateral, bilateral and non government [sic], often wring their hands regarding their development experiences in [Papua New Guinea]” (Chapman & Tenehoe, 2005, p. 6). According to Chapman and Tenehoe (2005), the results of big donors such as AusAID are often disappointing and not as far reaching as could be expected with a programme of this size.

### Outline of the Thesis

To answer the research question, the employment of PDC in this specific context is analysed from different perspectives. In this chapter the background of the study, the development

organisation, and the culture and societal organisation of Papua New Guinea have been introduced. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant published research on participatory development communication and the factors influencing its implementation. Then, the methodological considerations for the choice of an ethnographic approach and the research design of this study are discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the research on how the subject development organisation applies PDC in its development projects. Subsequently, the analysis of factors influencing the implementation of PDC is discussed in Chapter 5. The thesis ends with conclusions in Chapter 6.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The following chapter reviews the relevant literature for this research project. The first part presents the theoretical assumptions underlying models of development communication and defines the concepts of diffusion and participation development communication. This is followed by a review of the literature on models of applying and evaluating participatory development communication. The last part discusses studies that focus on factors influencing the implementation of participatory development communication in practice.

### Theoretical Considerations—Development Communication

Development communication is defined as “the integration of strategic communication in development projects” (The World Bank, 2004, para. 1) and is further specified as operating “through engaging [the poor] more fully in decision-making processes that affect their lives, giving them a ‘voice’ to influence policy, or persuading them to adopt new practices that will enhance their livelihood, increase their security, advance their education and improve their health” (Rogers, 2006, p. 180). The field of study has its origins in the post-war international aid programmes of the 1950s when methods were sought to transform the newly independent nation-states of Africa, Latin America and Asia into Western-type societies (Akpan, 2003). Daniel Lerner’s classic book, *The passing of the traditional society* (1958) was the first publication of a link between development and communication (Rogers, 2006). Since then the field of development communication has been challenged by the emergence of different development and communication models that have marked development efforts up to now (Besette, 2004; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Rogers, 2006; Waisbord, 2001). Two major trends developed that still exist to various degrees: an approach that involves large-scale actions, relying on the mass media (diffusion model), and an approach that favours grassroots or community communication and

promotes small-scale projects, relying on small media and interpersonal communication channels (participatory model) (Bessette, 2004; Morris, 2003; Morris, 2005; Rogers, 2006).

### *Diffusion Development Communication (DDC)*

The diffusion model of communication, named after Everett M. Rogers' (1962) Diffusion of Innovation theory, has its roots in the modernisation paradigm. According to the modernisation paradigm, all societies go through the same stages of progress in the process of development (Lerner, 2000; Rogers, 2003). From this perspective, traditional societies have to adopt modern and, therefore, Western ways and attitudes to become developed. According to Lerner (2000), one of the earliest exponents of the modernisation theory and author of the first publication on development communication, modernisation is therefore closely associated with the process of "Westernisation".

In this school of thought, the problems of development emerge from a lack of information. The value of development communication is seen in the dissemination of modern knowledge, education, and awareness-raising through international mass media, and therefore, in a top-down information transfer from the developed to the less developed countries (Lerner, 2000; Rogers, 2003). Thus, development communication in this view is mainly considered as mass media (Bessette, 2004). Lerner (2000) describes the mass media as a "mobility multiplier" (p. 123) that enables people to take part in events that are far away and at the same time promote empathy. Schramm (1964), another key modernisation theorist, sees media as a link to the wider world, transferring new models and ideas to developing countries and speeding the social transformation required for economic development. From this perspective, new knowledge leads to worldview and attitude changes and, in turn, to behaviour changes and, consequently, development (Lerner, 2000; Rogers, 2003; Schramm, 1964).

The goals of diffusion communication interventions such as social marketing and entertainment-education are highly outcome-oriented: changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviour are indicators for successful development communication (Morris, 2003; Morris, 2005; Waisbord, 2001). Here, development is a top-down approach to communication with a one-way flow of ideas from government or international development agencies to the poor people at the bottom.

Rogers (2003) agrees that mass media have a key role in development and might be used for development purposes in areas such as education, family planning, nutrition, hygiene, agricultural and industrial production, and rural and urban life. In contrast to other modernisation theorists, Rogers continuously updated his framework (Rogers, 2006). His revised “diffusion of innovation” theory integrates the use of different communication channels and the relevance of human agency in the process of development: “Mass media channels are more effective in creating knowledge of innovations, whereas interpersonal channels are more effective in forming and changing attitudes toward a new idea, and thus in influencing the decision to adopt or reject a new idea” (Rogers, 2003). By selecting appropriate communication channels and addressing local opinion leaders, Rogers’ (2006) theory, therefore, considers the relevance of human agency and grassroots organisations to improve the process of diffusion of innovations.

#### *Participatory Development Communication (PDC)*

Newer approaches to development communication advocate the PDC model (Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Servaes, 2001; Servaes & Malikhao, 2005). These approaches have arisen from the multiplicity paradigm or “another” paradigm, which emerged as a criticism of the modernisation paradigm and its diffusion model (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005). Within the multiplicity paradigm, modernisation programmes were criticised for promoting modern

consciousness without doubting whether it would be sustainable and desirable for people in less developed countries to move from the traditional toward modern life-styles (Servaes, 2001; Servaes & Malikhao, 2005; Tehranian, 1999). The multiplicity approach emphasises cultural identity and multidimensionality. Contrary to the earlier paradigms which centre on national economics, national development is here defined as the fulfilment of local basic needs with the main focus on local culture (Servaes, 2001). Development is understood as a bottom-up process that encourages empowerment, participation and self-development of the local communities. Empowerment is essential to the approach, since it enables the local people to participate actively in national development. The underlying assumption is that “one cannot help people permanently by always doing for them what they can do for themselves or, more to the point, what they can be taught to do for themselves” (Agunga et al., 2006, p. 2, italics in original). Central to this approach is that the local basic needs be met (Servaes, 2001).

From this perspective, communication is seen as equal information exchange or dialogue between all stakeholders of the project through horizontal and bottom-up communication structures (Servaes, 2001). Participatory development communication is based on the work of Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (1970). Bessette (2004) generally defines PDC as a planned activity, based on the one hand on participatory processes, and on the other hand on media and interpersonal communication, which facilitates a dialogue among different stakeholders, around a common development problem or goal, with the objective of developing and implementing a set of activities to contribute to its solution, or its realization, and which supports and accompanies this initiative. (p.8)

In PDC approaches, it is crucial that individuals at the grassroots participate in defining and planning development goals and that local knowledge, as well as cultural and national identity are integrated (Melkote & Kandath, 2001).

Generally, the techniques of communication are not different between the DDC and the PDC approach. However, the ideologies and philosophies behind the practice of the techniques are profoundly different (Yoon, 1996). In the PDC approach, local small-scale media and interpersonal channels of interventions at the micro-level are emphasised. The use of appropriate communication channels rather than costly and complex high technology are favoured (Tehrani, 1999). Interpersonal communication tools can be workshops, debate, visioning sessions, focus group discussions, role-playing, and home visits. Furthermore, local small-scale media such as photography, flip charts, video and audio recordings, theatre, songs, stories, rural radio, and local press can be employed (Bessette, 2004; Morris, 2003; Morris, 2005). This process-oriented approach is more “receiver-centric” (Servaes, 2001, p. 11) and is concerned with process, context, exchange of meanings, and their interpretation rather than persuading information transmission. Here, empowerment, social equity, dialogue and community involvement are the indicators for successful development communication (Morris, 2005).

PDC is acknowledged by institutions such as the World Bank and UN organisations and incorporated in the overall mission of almost every development organisation, since it promises to lead to sustainable development (Agunga et al., 2006; Huesca, 2002; Mefalopulos, 2005). Past experiences showed that DDC activities without local involvement were likely to become unsustainable: activities resulted in a higher level of awareness but did not mobilise people towards action (Kiiti, 2005; Morris, 2003; Morris, 2005; Muturi, 2005; Onabajo, 2005; Shahjahan, Khan, & Haque, 2006). Studies by Kiiti (2005) and Muturi (2005) in Kenya are

examples that show that mass media and other diffusion type communication interventions, such as social marketing and edutainment approaches, have been used to inform and educate about HIV/AIDS but have not led to sustainable behaviour changes. Muturi (2005, p.78, referring to Gule, 1994; National Council for Population and Development, 1998; Westoff & Rodriguez, 1995) states that 98 percent of married women in Kenya are aware of modern contraceptive methods but only 32 percent are using them. Kiiti (2005) points out that past top-down HIV/AIDS communication initiatives in Kenya ignored the social, political, and cultural context, which hindered their effectiveness. Several of the health projects studied by Morris (2003, 2005) in Zaire, Central Java, and Nigeria, and the Bangladeshi reproductive health communication programme analysed by Shahjahan, Khan, and Haque (2006), support the argument that new knowledge through mass media educated people on health issues but did not encourage them to change risky behaviour. Individual commitment and decision-making skills, which are fostered in PDC approaches, are required to translate knowledge into action (Shahjahan et al., 2006). Furthermore, according to Balit (2004), broader and longer-term strategies are needed with holistic approaches to address social, cultural, political and gender aspects. Onabajo (2005) states further reasons why sustainable development cannot be achieved with the diffusion model of development communication: message designers, disseminators and receivers tend to belong to different social groups with different frames of reference, which, in turn, lead to misunderstanding, suspicion, distrust, and non-acceptance of message content. Mefalopulos (2005), a Senior Communications Officer in the Division of Development Communication of the World Bank, concludes that any development intervention needs to be based on a participatory model in order to be sustainable: "Achieving sustainability in rural development depends largely on the way stakeholders perceive the proposed change and the way

they are involved in assessing and deciding about how that change should be achieved” (Mefalopulos, 2005, p. 248).

### *Combining PDC and DDC*

Some scholars (Li, 2005; Morris, 2003; Morris, 2005) point out that the two models are not mutually exclusive. A study by Morris (2003, 2005) of 45 health projects in Africa, Latin America and the less developed countries of Asia, conducted within the last decade, reveals that most development projects identify themselves as either diffusion or participatory development communication but integrate some aspects of both models. Li (2005) argues that “there is nothing intrinsically wrong with the conventional top-down model; and pure grassroots participation and local knowledge production can be problematic too” (p. 16). According to Li (2005), meaningful, equitable participation can be promoted by appropriate top-down campaign efforts.

Besides, within PDC approaches, development professionals, planners and institutional leaders still have the role of consultants and initiators of the process (Melkote & Kandath, 2001; Servaes & Malikhao, 2005). Consequently, a small degree of top-down communication remains also in a pure PDC approach. Likewise, in the revised version of the Diffusion of Innovation theory of 2003, Rogers (2003) himself recognises that the incorporation of participatory aspects into the diffusion model increases its effectiveness. He states that mass media are needed to raise awareness of an issue, while PDC is needed to mobilise action towards a development objective.

A new group of scholars advocates an approach that combines the two models (Rogers, 2006; Waisbord, 2005a; Waisbord, 2005b). Adam Rogers (2006), chief of the communications and public information unit of the UN Capital Development Fund, calls this approach “participatory diffusion.” Rogers (2006) argues that “a good idea is a good idea” (p. 182)

regardless whether it arises from the grassroots or an academic project. However, it should be introduced “through participatory channels, or it will never be accepted, modified and embraced” (Rogers, 2006, p.182). The study of communication programmes in polio eradication initiatives by Waisbord (2005b) supports the argument that a “two-tiered communication strategy” (p. 19) is especially important when dealing with rumours about the disease. Large-scale and small media were used to address the concerns of the population. Through social mobilisation marginalised populations were reached, and through personal meetings the support of influential opinion and political leaders was ensured (Waisbord, 2005b). Waisbord (2005a) argues that “inclusive approaches and openness to a diversity of programmatic insights and strategies is required” (p. 82). He argues that a growing consensus around five ideas of development communication exist: centrality of power, the integration of top-down and bottom-up approaches, the need to use a communication “tool-kit” approach, the articulation of interpersonal and mass communication, and the incorporation of personal and contextual factors.

#### *Guidelines for Implementing PDC*

Several case studies (Chitnis, 2005; Jacobson & Storey, 2004; Muturi & Mwangi, 2006) also demonstrate that when implementing PDC, a variety and combination of PDC strategies are most effective for addressing development issues. A case study by Muturi and Mwangi (2006) shows that in a project addressing violence against women and girls in Jamaica, meetings with all stakeholders, theatre performances, and workshops were used to deal with the magnitude of the violence problem. In a population programme in Nepal (Jacobson & Storey, 2004), a multifaceted variety of strategies was employed, ranging from large to small, short-term to long-term activities, anchored by ongoing radio serial dramas. Furthermore, in an Indian project (Chitnis, 2005), rural women’s empowerment was enhanced through health promoting

workshops, combined with peer learning in their villages, visits of health centres, and the delegation of new responsibilities to the women.

Although no best, single approach or strategy for empowering people and implementing PDC exists (Cadiz, 2005; Morris, 2003; Morris, 2005; Waisbord, 2005a), several authors (Anyabgunam, Mefalopulos, & Moetsabi, 2004; Bessette, 2004; Yoon, 1996) have developed general guidelines for application. Some examples are outlined here.

Over the past thirty years the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations has evaluated development communication approaches and methods to develop the 'Participatory Rural Communication Appraisal' (Anyabgunam et al., 2004). This methodology combines participatory communication with traditional and modern media to involve all stakeholders in the planning and implementation of effective communication strategies for development. PRCA is used for creating dialogue with all stakeholders in order to identify and analyse their problems and needs, their existing knowledge and practices; their feelings and attitudes, as well as their perceptions of the development issues under investigation (Anyabgunam et al., 2004).

Yoon (1996) outlines guidelines to plan and implement PDC with the following six steps: a) entering the community, b) preparing to plan action, c) planning what to do, d) supporting action, e) iterating the process, and f) withdrawing from the community. In following these guidelines, it is crucial to encourage the participation of as many stakeholders as possible in all stages, to report and give feedback on the progress, and to plan early the development workers' withdrawal from the project. Bessette (2004) formulated a similar but more specific model to plan and implement PDC in ten steps (as displayed in Figure 1, Chapter 5, p.96):

- Step 1: Establishing a relationship with a local community and understanding the local setting
- Step 2: Involving the community in the identification of a problem, its potential solutions, and the decision to carry out a concrete initiative
- Step 3: Identifying the different community groups and other stakeholders concerned with the identifying problem (or goal) and initiative
- Step 4: Identifying communication needs, objectives and activities
- Step 5: Identifying appropriate communication tools
- Step 6: Preparing and pre-testing communication content and materials
- Step 7: Facilitating partnerships
- Step 8: Producing an implementation plan
- Step 9: Monitoring and evaluating the communication strategy and documenting the development or research process
- Step 10: Planning the sharing and utilisation of results (p. 36)

When working with PDC it is vital, according to Bessette (2004), that the local community be involved in the process of identifying the development problem, discussing potential solutions, and taking decisions on a concrete set of actions to implement. It is no longer the sole responsibility of the researcher, the development practitioner, and their organisations to bring about change (Bessette, 2004). Both authors, Bessette (2004) and Yoon (1996), stress that models are only a point of reference and have to be adjusted to the specific context.

#### *Evaluation and Measurement of PDC*

The growing consensus about the non-existence of a universal development communication strategy does not hinder efforts to evaluate the process of PDC and how it

promotes development. In the field of participatory communication it is common practice to evaluate qualitatively (Morris, 2005, 2003), since indicators of successful PDC, such as empowerment, social equity, dialogue, and community involvement, are process-oriented.

The analysis by Morris (2005, 2003) compared 45 empirical studies of health development projects on their objectives and outcomes. She encountered the difficulty that most projects identify themselves as in either the diffusion or participatory category and consequently disregard mentioning the outcomes related only to one or the other framework. Furthermore, participatory and diffusion approaches are commonly evaluated qualitatively and quantitatively respectively, which limits the extent of comparison and therefore the possibility to discover patterns of successful techniques (Morris, 2005, 2003). Additional difficulties arise because most projects apply a combination of strategies but almost never the same combination.

Furthermore, the term *participation* is used ambiguously across different development projects, which incorporates problems in measuring it. The conceptualisation of participation ranges from participation-as-a-means to participation-as-an-end (Huesca, 2002; Mefalopulos, 2005; Melkote & Kandath, 2001; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Yoon, 1996). The first implies that participation is used as an instrument to achieve other development goals; communities are only consulted concerning the planning and realisation of development initiatives or they participate in self-help activities that are selected by external development agencies. The second implies that participation is seen as the genuine end-goal in itself, and that communities are really involved in the decision-making process. Both concepts of participation are measured differently. Whereas the first implies that it should be measured in summative evaluation, the second should be measured in the formative research and implementation phases (Chang, 2006). The ambiguity of

the definition of participation further complicates the effort to develop replicable measures to evaluate participatory interventions.

Jacobson and Storey (2004) argue that Habermas' (1984) theory of communicative action can be used to analyse both concepts of participation and to design indicators of participation at the project level. However, only its potential is outlined in their case study (Jacobson & Storey, 2004). Criteria to employ the theory in project design, implementation and evaluation further need to be developed, according to Chang (2006), and Jacobson and Storey (2004).

By contrast, the Integrated Model of Communication for Social Change (IMCFSC) of Figueroa, Kincaid, Rani, and Lewis (2002) is a descriptive and prescriptive model for successful development communication practices. It draws on a broad range of literature on development communication and a variety of theories. With this model it is possible to conduct a systematic analysis of the relationship between the communication process and its outcomes (Figueroa et al., 2002). Here, development communication is seen as an input-output system. A catalyst (input) can be external or internal, such as a development agency's interventions or new policies. This catalyst leads to dialogue within the community that, when effective, leads to collective action. The development outcomes (output) are individual-level and social-level changes within the community. The model proposes several indicators to measure quantitatively and qualitatively the process and the outcomes of development communication. Participation as-a-means and participation as-an-end are both integrated. Although the authors (Figueroa et al., 2002) agree that development communication cannot follow a rigidly structured model, IMCFSC aims to "help identify what makes some community initiatives succeed and what may be lacking in those that fail" (p.iv).

## Factors influencing the Implementation of PDC

“The application of the participatory communication concept has proven to be full of challenges in actual development settings” (Yoon, 1996, *Challenges in Practise*, para. 1). In contrast to the general euphoria of incorporating PDC arising from its promise to lead to sustainability (Agunga et al., 2006; Anyaebgunam et al., 2004; Huesca, 2002; Mefalopulos, 2005), many studies, mostly qualitative case studies, indicate critical factors in the implementation of PDC (Agunga et al., 2006; Balit, 2004; Bessette, 2004; Golooba-Mutebi, 2005; Huesca, 2002; Jacobson & Storey, 2004; Kiiti, 2005; Mefalopulos & Grenna, 2004; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Muturi, 2005; Muturi & Mwangi, 2006; Onabajo, 2005; Shahjahan et al., 2006; Snyder, 2003; Stuart, 1994; Thurston, Farrar, Casebeer, & Grossman, 2004; Yoon, 1996). Factors include “those involving how people respond to time, space, themselves, their culture and their environment” (Onabajo, 2005, p. 124). Agunga, Aiyeru, and Annor-Frempong (2006) emphasise that the social and communication factors, although mostly obvious, are only beginning to receive the attention they deserve in the field of development communication. The following section outlines the present literature on factors influencing the implementation of PDC. These contributing factors can be grouped into three broad areas: contextual factors, project-related factors and people-related factors.

### *Contextual Factors*

Contextual factors of the specific developing country, such as the socio-cultural context, the power structure, the religious context, and the existence of other agencies, impact whether implementing PDC is applicable in a specific setting (Agunga et al., 2006; Balit, 2004; Bessette, 2004; Cadiz, 2005; Golooba-Mutebi, 2005; Jacobson & Storey, 2004; Kiiti, 2005; Li, 2005; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Muturi, 2005; Onabajo, 2005; Parks, Gray-Felder, Hunt, & Byrne,

2005; Shahjahan et al., 2006; Snyder, 2003; Stuart, 1994; Thurston et al., 2004; White, 2004; Wilkins & Mody, 2001; Yoon, 1996). A basic principle underlying the PDC approach is respect for the knowledge, values, and culture of indigenous people (Balit, 2004). To implement PDC strategies successfully, the audience and the context must be understood (Muturi, 2005).

However, in practice, development organisations often do not fully integrate the social and cultural context in the design of a development initiative, with the consequence that PDC activities will not be adapted by the local stakeholders (Balit, 2004; Kiiti, 2005; Muturi, 2005).

### *Socio-cultural Context*

Cultural barriers and systems of beliefs can influence whether PDC is applicable (Bessette, 2004). Cultural and religious characteristics of social or ethnic groups impact the ways group members approach and discuss subjects or take decisions. Resistance to change, force of local customs, habits, and taboos further constrain the implementation of PDC (Bessette, 2004).

In a study of development communication in Southeast Asia, Quebral (2003) argues that the ASEAN countries are subdivided into two groups, and each of the two groups prefers a different communication approach to development, which results in PDC not being applicable in all contexts.

Stuart (1994) adds that the implementation of PDC is also impacted by the people's readiness for actual organisational development, such as a system for dealing with decisions and problem solving. For example, the study by Muturi (2005) revealed that the extent of women's participation in some Kenyan communities is limited by the private nature of reproductive health issues and the habit of individual women not to make their decisions without involving other family members. Bessette (2004) discloses that communication specialists must understand what

is legally and socially accepted and acceptable and be prepared to work in contexts where the freedom of expression is constrained.

Furthermore, Bessette (2004), Onabajo (2005), Snyder (2003), and Thurston et al. (2004) point out that it is difficult to reach a consensus about the priorities and development goals of a local community through PDC, since communities are rarely homogenous regarding ethnicity, gender, age, education level, and interests. Decisions taken in the name of the community often reflect the interest of one group or another (Bessette, 2004). However, an ideal PDC approach needs to integrate all affected stakeholders. Bessette (2004) argues that otherwise PDC can become a guise for manipulation.

PDC activities should incorporate all modern and traditional media channels that are available in a country and are appropriate to the prevailing cultural, social, and economic conditions (Balit, 2004). Onabajo (2005) argues that community-based media are advantageous for implementing PDC approaches due to the strong indigenous linkages: messages have local flavour and indigenous resources and material can be used. As shown in the study of Shahjahan, Khan, and Haque (2006), one of the key factors of success of an adolescent reproductive health communication programme in Bangladesh was the incorporation of culture and traditions through stakeholder involvement. The study by Kiiti (2005) also supports the argument that, theoretically, a PDC approach that integrates the existing indigenous system can be extremely effective: indigenous knowledge or advice provided by an indigenous source was perceived as a useful instrument to empower and enable youth towards positive behaviour (Kiiti, 2005). The majority of youth felt that parents should educate them about HIV/AIDS while they are young; alternatively religious leaders, teachers, health workers and village elders should do this task

(Kiiti, 2005). Both youth and community members favoured an open dialogue approach in a non-threatening environment (Kiiti, 2005).

Nevertheless, case studies demonstrate that frequently the local socio-cultural setting is not fully understood by development organisations, resulting in inappropriate PDC activities in areas such as women's empowerment (Balit, 2004) and HIV/AIDS communication (Kiiti, 2005; Muturi, 2005). Cultural beliefs, values, norms, myths and other socio-cultural factors have played a role in the rapidly increasing epidemic in rural communities in Kenya (Kiiti, 2005; Muturi, 2005). Knowledge of health issues is filtered through prejudgements and attitudes that tend to arise from myths and other cultural beliefs, and this filtered knowledge, in turn, impedes health practices (Muturi, 2005). Even the finding that health care centre staff do not communicate appropriately with patients about HIV/AIDS issues could be associated with the stigma (of being linked to promiscuity) associated with the disease: the behaviour could be a way of allowing the patients to save face (Muturi, 2005). HIV/AIDS communication activities have not yet addressed these factors adequately and effectively (Kiiti, 2005; Muturi, 2005).

### *Power Structure*

The power structure within the communication network is another factor to consider when implementing PDC (Li, 2005; Parks et al., 2005; Yoon, 1996). According to Li (2005) and Yoon (1996), theories and practices of local participation and communication campaigns have to adapt to the context-specific power structure, since the type of governance might affect people's will to participate. Besides financial and material resources, a degree of political will is required to implement PDC in development initiatives (Bessette, 2004). Therefore, several authors (Li, 2005; Wilkins & Mody, 2001; Yoon, 1996) state that the focus of development communication should be on issues of power. Yoon (1996) suggests that development specialists have to ensure

that PDC approaches do not threaten the interests of power-holders because this might put people in risk. White (2004) further points out that having the support of a family network or a clientelistic network of politician friends is crucial in rural areas or huge urban slum areas. These clientelism or patronage systems continue to exist by providing individual favours and because of a hierarchical structure of power: “There is no such thing as the universal right to education or the right to health. It depends on who you know and your access to the ‘private’ control of resources” (White, 2004, p. 22).

Participation involves responsibility, democracy, and the right to express divergent opinions (Bessette, 2004). However, the right to express divergent opinions contradicts the traditions of many cultures that recognise the indisputable superiority of the Chief’s opinion, or leave decision-making powers to the community elders (Bessette, 2004). A case study of population programmes in Nepal by Jacobson and Storey (2004) lends support to the argument that modern participatory practices are a Western instrument and require social institutions that are modern and Western to a certain degree. The authors (Jacobson & Storey, 2004) point out that introducing PDC and, therefore, Western communication practices, may lead to unforeseen changes in cultural practices (Jacobson & Storey, 2004).

For similar reasons, the governments of many Asian countries do not promote Western-style democracy and participation (Yoon, 1996). According to Yoon (1996), the participatory approach is not favoured because it is considered to be a model that produces conflict, in particular conflict between those holding power and those lacking power. Whereas Western societies favour individualism, Asian societies value collectivism (Yoon, 1996). The general opinion is that the focus of development initiatives should be on the national rather than the

individual interest. Furthermore, the assumption is that a diversity of views can confuse people if they are not educated and prepared for decision-making from a variety of views.

### *Religious Context*

Religious practice provides a framework for community participation and has to be taken into account when implementing PDC (Bessette, 2004; Melkote & Steeves, 2001). "It is important to recognize that the most basic and fundamental expressions of religious practice, including prayer and meditation, are forms of communication" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001, p. 322, italics in original). These modes of communication are considered to be among the most empowering modes in sustaining faith and hope, and providing the strength for action (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). Melkote and Steeves (2001) see religion as a factor of social change and development, in particular the mystical, transcendent and paradoxical logic of religion. The scholars note that almost all major religions encourage dialogue, solidarity, and activities to create the social integration that forms the basis of grassroots organisations. Furthermore, religions can establish educational infrastructure at the grassroots level with a form of low-cost, committed service to the poor through volunteerism and dedication. Forms of religious practice are essential in defining communities and have crucial roles in the sustainability and viability of many development initiatives (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). However, only a small number of authors pay attention to the religious forms of communication in development programmes (White, 2004).

Local religion can also hinder the implementation of PDC approaches toward people's empowerment, as stated by Cadiz (2005) and Golooba-Mutebi (2005). Ethnographic research on beliefs in witchcraft and their impact on social relations in a South African Village by Golooba-Mutebi (2005) supports the argument that participatory approaches can only be adopted in

certain social, political, religious and cultural contexts. The case study demonstrates that beliefs in witchcraft have long-term negative consequences for intra-community relations, which, in turn, have a damaging effect on the collective action and the participation of the local people. The underlying assumption of participatory approaches—that the poor are willing to participate—is not justified in this village in which beliefs in witchcraft are apparent. He concluded that “the capacity for co-operation in any community depends on a certain level of (positive) social capital being available within it” (Golooba-Mutebi, 2005, p. 955).

### *External Influence*

A further contextual factor impacting the implementation of PDC is the influence of other external organisations, the private sector, and other communication systems (Agunga, Aiyeru, & Annor-Frempong, 2006; Bessette, 2004; Stuart, 1994; Yoon, 1996). Bessette (2004) stresses that PDC activities should support local development initiatives. The established linkages with the communication systems of governmental and non-governmental (NGO) organisations influence the implementation of PDC (Stuart, 1994). Since NGOs tend to specialise in a specific area, and, therefore cannot address all development problems, NGOs have to network (Yoon, 1996). According to Yoon (1996), development workers need to introduce ways of coexisting with the larger communication system, since no community is totally isolated and the process of implementing PDC is influenced by other communication systems. Agunga, Aiyeru, and Annor-Frempong (2006) lay emphasis on the need to build partnerships with local leaders and businesses as an integral part of development process. However, their study (Agunga, Aiyeru, & Annor-Frempong, 2006) reveals that the local business owners were not involved in the specific project planning. Yoon (1996) further points out that in some cases other organisations have

even worked against the development initiatives by offering money or employment opportunities to local people (Yoon, 1996).

### *Project-related Factors*

Additional to the contextual factors of the location of the development initiative, several factors related to the specific project influence whether PDC can be implemented such as time and effort, type of participation, communication system, communication training, and constant evaluation of the project (Agunga et al., 2006; Balit, 2004; Bessette, 2004; Cadiz, 2005; Huesca, 2002; Mefalopulos & Grenna, 2004; Melkote & Kandath, 2001; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Muturi, 2005; Muturi & Mwangi, 2006; Onabajó, 2005; Parks et al., 2005; Shahjahan et al., 2006; Stuart, 1994; Thurston et al., 2004; Yoon, 1996).

### *Time and Effort*

The amount of time and effort necessary for PDC approaches impacts the process of implementing PDC in a specific development initiative at the project and institutional level (Balit, 2004; Cadiz, 2005; Huesca, 2002; Yoon, 1996). The cost of effort and time of the people involved at the field level, both of development workers and beneficiaries, is often overlooked (Cadiz, 2005; Yoon, 1996). The approach assumes that local people, who might struggle every day to feed their families, somehow still have the time to participate and volunteer in development activities (Cadiz, 2005; Yoon, 1996). Burnout can be a common consequence of volunteers (Cadiz, 2005). Others (Muturi & Mwangi, 2006) reveal that participatory approaches are very demanding for local NGOs. The case study of the planning and implementation of a Caribbean gender project by Muturi and Mwangi (2006) addresses the problems undermining the implementation of this inter-agency project. The local NGOs could not fulfil the time and capacity requirements of the international funding agencies to achieve an ideal PDC approach.

Leadership problems, personal issues and the lack of professionalism within the local organisations further constrained the project (Muturi & Mwangi, 2006).

The study by Huesca (2002) reveals that serious practical impediments exist at the institutional level. Since the approach is time-consuming, long-range, and symbolic, it is not in accordance with the evaluative criteria of institutions and lacks their support (Huesca, 2002). Yoon (1996) adds that, besides long-term goals, short-term solutions and interventions are needed for immediate changes. Often financial sustainability cannot be achieved in the short time frame given by the donor agency because sufficient time and resources for PDC cannot be allocated (Balit, 2004). PDC requires long-term involvement of the people involved. Yoon (1996) points out that usually two or three years is too short a time period to implement PDC. This provokes ethical considerations when a funding agency or development workers leave a community in the middle of a process because the funding period has finished or the contract of a development worker has expired (Yoon, 1996). Therefore, although international development agencies integrate participatory approaches, the traditional top-down paradigm still remains in their theoretical and practical implications of everyday operations (Mefalopulos & Grenna, 2004).

#### *Type of Participation*

The assessment of the process of applying the PDC model has to take into account which type of participation was intended and employed (Parks, Gray-Felder, Hunt, & Byrne, 2005). Research by Mefalopulos (2005) demonstrates that different meanings of participation—participation-as-an-end and participation-as-a-means—can even be conceptualised within the same development project.

Participation-as-an-end is the type of participation favoured by advocates of participatory communication (Mefalopulos, 2005; Melkote & Kandath, 2001; Melkote & Steeves, 2001).

Participation-as-a-means is criticised as being “a process where the participation of the intended beneficiaries is obtained to actually serve the ends of authorities” (Melkote & Kandath, 2001, p. 192). Several case studies of PDC projects (Agunga, Aiyeru, & Annor-Frempong, 2006; Balit, 2004; Thurston et al., 2004) show that the participation on the part of the marginalised sector was lacking. The study by Agunga, Aiyeru, and Annor-Frempong (2006) reveals that local people have virtually no say in choosing projects, setting development objectives, or selecting project managers; the ideas and management of the initiative usually come from outsiders. Another challenge to ensure true participation and empowerment of the local and marginalised people is finding suitable representatives from marginalised populations (Thurston et al., 2004).

Empowerment is mostly a requirement of funding agencies. However, little agreement exists regarding how to empower marginalised people (Thurston et al., 2004). Melkote and Steeves (2001) conclude that the outcome in most PDC initiatives has not been true empowerment of the people but the achievement of some indicator of development, as articulated in the modernisation paradigm. Others (Huesca, 2002; Yoon, 1996) add that the forms of pseudo-participation manipulate people to accept plans made by other more powerful people (Yoon, 1996), which, in turn, can even reproduce oppressive social relationships under the guise of participation (Huesca, 2002).

### *Communication Context*

Another factor identified by many authors is that the attributes of the communication system facilitate the exchange between all stakeholders (Balit, 2004; Bessette, 2004; Mefalopulos & Grenna, 2004; Muturi & Mwangi, 2006; Stuart, 1994; Thurston et al., 2004).

Mefalopulos and Grenna (2004) emphasise that, since participation alone is not sufficient to design a sustainable development project, a design that combines the people-based approach of participation with a systematic communication strategy is needed (Mefalopulos & Grenna, 2004).

Bessette (2004), Thurston et al. (2004) and Stuart (1994) agree on the importance of fully informing all stakeholders about the development process. The authors call attention to the risk of raising expectations among stakeholders; the scope and limitations of the development initiative, as well as the roles and responsibilities of the stakeholders, have to be fully discussed and understood by everyone involved. Stuart (1994) points out that co-operation and respect among the different groups involved in the development process are the basis for effective development communication.

Thurston et al. (2004) suggest an advisory committee as a model for increased communication and understanding. A study by Stuart (1994) of a three-year experimental project to transfer agricultural technology to small agricultural businesses in the Philippines found that public loudspeakers provided open lines of communication to inform every community member. The study (Stuart, 1994) further reveals the importance of adequate social preparation to ensure that project participants know from the beginning how their ideas, problems, needs, preoccupations, and aspirations contribute to the planning. According to Stuart (1994), communication systems should be responsive to the needs of the local people. His study demonstrates that the linkages forged by the Filipino community have widened the perspective of the community members on their opportunities and opened up new entrepreneurial activities.

One of the factors that constrained the implementation of an ideal PDC approach in the Caribbean case by Muturi and Mwangi (2006) was the lack of a communication specialist

assisting in linking the stakeholders, as generally proposed by Melkote and Kandath (2001). The lack of an independent facilitator also hindered the success of an advisory committee on health promotion planning which consisted of professionals and direct beneficiaries, according to Thurston et al. (2004). Since the facilitator was concerned with achieving goals and meeting deadlines, no additional time could be spent on process issues. An independent facilitator whose role would be solely helping and assisting all members to voice their concerns may have fostered more discussion and, in turn, may have led to greater success (Thurston et al., 2004). In this context, Agunga, Aiyeru, & Annor-Frempong (2006) call attention to the shortage of professional development communication specialists, especially in developing countries, since only a few universities offer study programmes in this field.

Balit (2004), Bessette (2004), and Thurston et al. (2004) point out that a local translator or moderator who speaks the local language and local dialect is needed to overcome language barriers in communication activities. Using jargon should be avoided since it reinforces the thought that professionals are more knowledgeable (Thurston et al., 2004).

### *Communication Training*

Numerous studies indicate that communication training at all levels, from beneficiaries to field workers and planners, is a pre-requisite for realising the PDC approach (Agunga, Aiyeru, & Annor-Frempong, 2006; Balit, 2004; Cadiz, 2005; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Muturi, 2005; Onabajo, 2005; Stuart, 1994; Thurston et al., 2004). Onabajo (2005) adds that especially conflict management skills have to be learned by the people involved in the development initiative. Balit (2004) emphasises that in particular the training of rural women as communication specialists is essential, since they are the key actors and economic agents in solving major development issues but they have often no voice in it. Furthermore, according to Onabajo (2005), women prefer to

learn in single-gender environments until they have gained the self-confidence necessary to act in mixed-gender groups (Onabajo, 2005). However, essential training is often not provided, which leads to crucial communication constraints (Balit, 2004; Muturi, 2005; Thurston et al., 2004). A study of HIV/AIDS communication in Kenya by Muturi (2005) shows that the health care centre staff does not have appropriate interpersonal communication skills to communicate with locals about reproductive health issues and prevention of HIV/AIDS, with the result that many local men avoid the health care centres. A study by Thurston et al. (2004) found out that members of a newly established advisory committee were highly challenged by the experience of working on a committee and having meaningful interaction with other committee members, especially having interaction with professional as well as lay members.

Muturi (2005) argues that further research is required on how to involve and train people. In a study by Agunga, Aiyeru, and Annor-Frempong (2006) of rural development workers in Ghana and Nigeria, the respondents strongly agreed that, in order to make training relevant, it must help local officials to solve problems. Onabajo (2005) concluded that participants have the courage to participate in training only if they feel valued and included in the design, implementation, and evaluation of the processes of development projects.

#### *Constant Evaluation*

Ongoing research has been identified as a key factor of success when implementing PDC initiatives (Balit, 2004; Muturi, 2005; Onabajo, 2005; Stuart, 1994; Shahjahan, Khan, & Haque, 2006; Yoon, 1996). Formative research is needed to ensure comprehension and cultural acceptability, according to Shahjahan, Khan, and Haque (2006). Monitoring and evaluating of activities is an integral part of the development process so that messages will become more audience-centred, since attitudes are not constant across times and issues (Onabajo, 2005;

Shahjahan, Khan, & Haque, 2006). The crucial point of ongoing research, according to Yoon (1996), is that NGOs and their funding agencies do not only evaluate the implementation of PDC programmes but also adopt flexible management approaches to integrate issues arising throughout the implementation.

To gather relevant information, the communicator may enter into a dialogue with the community (Muturi, 2005). Bessette (2004) mentions that, in order to get reliable information, the researcher should ideally be a member of the same social group. Otherwise, “many community members, approached in the process of collecting information, especially poor farmers, will not speak their mind in response to the questions they are being asked, but say what they think the researcher or development practitioner wants to hear” (p.50).

#### *People-related Factors*

The people-embodied nature of PDC entails advantages and disadvantages: special skills and attributes of some people make the PDC process highly effective, whereas the process might fail in other circumstances (Yoon, 1996). People-related factors such as attitudes of all stakeholders involved, development workers, project communities, and their leaders, contribute to the process of applying PDC (Agunga et al., 2006; Balit, 2004; Cadiz, 2005; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Muturi, 2005; Muturi & Mwangi, 2006; Onabajo, 2005; Stuart, 1994; Thurston et al., 2004; Yoon, 1996). Melkote and Steeves (2001) even argue that PDC approaches have never really taken root among development agencies, partly due to the lack of skills and appreciation of implementing PDC. The case study of a Caribbean gender project by Muturi and Mwangi (2006) supports this argument by revealing that the main problems undermining the implementation of the PDC approach are personal issues and the lack of professionalism within the local organisations, besides leadership problems and capacity constraints.

*Attitudes of Development Workers*

The way researchers and development practitioners interact with local people impacts whether the local community participates (Bessette, 2004). PDC requires the integration and possibly a shift in mindset of all affected stakeholders, including researchers and development workers (Cadiz, 2005). They also have to change their attitudes and perceptions from considering community members as beneficiaries of the project to considering them as stakeholders of the project (Bessette, 2004, Cadiz, 2005). Stuart (1994) further points out that local people should work in the forefront and project implementers in the background (Stuart, 1994).

According to Yoon (1996) development workers should never manipulate people to engage in PDC activities even if it appears to be the best for them. He (Yoon, 1996) stresses that even genuine participation can be manipulative when a researcher with his or her own perspective of participation comes to a village assuming that the villagers have the same perspective. By contrast, Huesca (2002) and Melkote and Steeves (2001) point out that some development experts tend to avoid participatory practices since strong participatory approaches transfer control over the process from officials and development experts to beneficiaries.

PDC demands a high level of immersion, credibility, and commitment of field staff and the project team (Stuart, 1994). Development workers, in particular communication specialists, must understand what is legally and socially accepted and acceptable and be prepared to work in contexts where the freedom of expression might be constrained (Bessette, 2004). Stuart (1994) suggests that the project facilitator meet with the local participants regularly more than once a week. Yoon (1996) recommends that, to facilitate sustainability of the project, development

workers should plan their withdrawal from the community as soon as people indicate their readiness.

### *Attitudes of Beneficiaries*

Most authors (Agunga, Aiyeru, & Annor-Frempong, 2006; Balit, 2004; Bessette, 2004; Onabajo, 2005; Shahjahan, Khan, & Haque, 2006) stress that in order to achieve sustainable development through a PDC approach, the local communities must develop a sense of ownership of the initiative and give up the perspective of seeing themselves as beneficiaries. The community members have to change from the passive attitude of waiting for donors to an attitude of self-help (Bessette, 2004). Furthermore, Stuart emphasises that the extension workers out of the community should be involved in all stages of the project to ensure sustainability of the project. A sense of ownership is coupled with people's responsibility, accountability, and commitment to pursue community development, and refers to the highest level of commitment to the development project (Stuart, 1994). Hence, a sense of ownership forms the motivator to participate in development. In this context, Onabajo (2005) points out, "Only through a participatory approach that results in commitment, can sustainable development which survives and remains viable after the development organization withdraws, be generated" (p.124). In order to make this happen, local people, not just the elite, must perceive development initiatives as being relevant, responsive, and participatory (Nagai, 1999; Stuart, 1994).

However, Onabajo (2005) notes that while development organisations can work towards developing a sense of ownership and building independence in all stakeholders, the only insurance for project sustainability is that stakeholders recognize the need to empower and motivate themselves. All members of any working committee need to have a common goal that can only be accomplished by their joint participation (Thurston et al., 2004). The study by Balit

(2004) supports this argument by demonstrating that one of the factors for the failure of a PDC initiative is that beneficiaries themselves may reject development efforts when they do not see the need for the development initiative.

Trust is a crucial factor to evaluate and monitor the network of a development initiative (Parks, Gray-Felder, Hunt, & Byrne, 2005). Onabajo (2005) argues that it is imperative to create an environment of trust between researchers, development workers, and community members, using honest and open communication and establishing long term relationships with communities. Trust in the development initiative motivates people continuously to participate (Bessette, 2005). Bessette (2005) and Shahjahan, Khan, and Haque (2006) emphasise that cooperating with the authorities is one of the essential factors to consider when implementing PDC since it is important in order to build trust, support and ownership of the programme. Shahjahan, Khan, and Haque (2006) revealed in their study of an adolescent reproductive health communication programme that the government, followed by the parents, is the critical partner for reaching all adolescents in Bangladesh and establishing a level of trust in the programme.

#### *Attitudes of Community Leaders*

Leadership of the development initiative is another factor to consider when implementing PDC (Cadiz, 2005; Parks et al., 2005). Yoon (1996) stresses that PDC can only be realised when facilitated by leaders who possess attributes that foster participation. Cadiz (2005) adds, “Personality traits, such as diligence, trustworthiness, commitment, service-orientation and dedication, especially of leaders, play a big role in the potential success of a development project.” (p. 157). A study by Agung, Aiyeru, and Annor-Frempong (2006) reveals that the majority of the development workers who were surveyed in the study advocate that leaders and managers of development initiatives should arise out of the local people.

Onabajo (2005) analysed the role of local leadership in the planning and implementing of grassroots campaigns among women groups in Nigeria. With reference to Anyanwu (1992), Onabajo (2005) concluded that the conceptualisation, design, and organisation of grassroots development initiatives rely significantly on local leaders, especially among women's groups, as local leaders fire the enthusiasm of the people and create faith in the development initiative. With close, personal, face-to-face relationships, female community leaders are involved in the daily activities of the communities (Onabajo, 2005). The author (Onabajo, 2005) argues that local leadership refers to individuals who influence others in matters of decision-making and opinion formation, and is distinct from formal leadership brought about through position. Development workers must recognise these patterns and structures of leadership, according to Onabajo (2005).

#### Implications for Research

The review of the literature reveals that a complex set of twelve interrelated factors impacts whether the PDC model can be applied in a specific development initiative. The literature shows that the contributing factors are grouped around three broad areas: context, project, and people. The context-related factors are discussed by the most authors, and include the socio-cultural context, the power structure, the religious context, and the existence of other agencies. Project-related factors are time and effort, the type of participation, the communication system, communication training and the constant evaluation of the project. The attitudes of all stakeholders involved—the development workers, the project beneficiaries, and the community leaders—form the people-related factors. All of the influencing factors do not act alone but are interrelated and impact other factors in the process of implementing PDC. The context-specific nature of the PDC approach, and the finding that most studies indicate context-related factors (Agunga et al., 2006; Balit, 2004; Bessette, 2004; Cadiz, 2005; Golooba-Mutebi, 2005; Jacobson

& Storey, 2004; Kiiti, 2005; Li, 2005; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Muturi, 2005; Onabajo, 2005; Parks et al., 2005; Shahjahan et al., 2006; Snyder, 2003; Stuart, 1994; Thurston et al., 2004; White, 2004; Wilkins & Mody, 2001; Yoon, 1996), lead to the assumption that context-related factors may be the crucial factors influencing the PDC implementation. However, the findings of these studies are specific to a certain development project, to its context, and to the people involved. The studies are from places as diverse as Africa, Southeast Asia, South America and the Caribbean. The objectives of the specific development projects differ enormously. Generalisations cannot be made. A need exists to investigate the process of implementing PDC in specific development projects in the context of Papua New Guinea.

These findings of the literature review form the initial framework with which to identify and analyse the crucial factors influencing the implementation of the PDC model in the context of development projects initiated by an international nongovernmental development organisation in Papua New Guinea. Findings of the study are analysed against the background of these published studies in Chapter 5.

## CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN

### Methodology

An ethnographic approach was chosen for the purpose of the study for several reasons. Generally, qualitative approaches may be better when investigating meaningful phenomena in development communication, according to Servaes (2001), a leading scholar in the field of development communication. Mercer (2006) further points out that most studies of practices of NGOs utilise qualitative methodologies. Yin (1994) adds that process-oriented research questions that deal with operational links need to be observed qualitatively. The research question—*What are the crucial factors influencing the implementation of the participatory development communication model, within the context of development projects initiated by an international development organisation in Papua New Guinea?*—is process-oriented and context-specific. The assumptions underlying qualitative approaches further support the choice of a qualitative framework. The methodological considerations for this choice are discussed in this chapter. Then, details of the research design are described.

Research into the process of applying PDC is based on the assumption that implementing PDC may have an impact on people's minds and the reality they construct. This shows the qualitative ontological assumption that reality is subjective, plural, and does not exist apart from one's interpretation (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

The epistemological assumption of qualitative approaches is that the researcher should deeply understand human actions, motives, feelings, and what is considered meaningful from the participants' own frame of reference (Creswell, 2003). This understanding is particularly essential in a research project in which the researcher comes from another cultural and socioeconomic background than the people being researched. To understand the process of PDC

in a development initiative in Papua New Guinea, a researcher should understand the world view and way of thinking of the local people. Extensive dialogue practiced in the actual setting contributes to this understanding and is only possible through qualitative research (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002)□. In particular, ethnographic methods help to understand processes and society from the inside (Donge, 2006). As this research focuses on the process, and not the outcome of implementing PDC, an ethnographic approach entails clear advantages over a case study approach that considers also the outcomes.

Furthermore, Smith (1999), an author growing up within indigenous communities, points out that research generally is a point of conflict between the interests and ways of knowing of the “West” and the interests and ways of the “Others” or indigenous peoples: “In a very real sense research has been an encounter between the West and the Other” (Smith, 1999, p.8). Here, considerably more is known of the Western side of the encounter than the other side. Servaes (2001) adds that the methodological and epistemological assumptions of the quantitative paradigm are almost exclusively based on Western experiences and world view. The interaction in this current research between the researcher and the researched can contribute to overcoming limitations of the Western perspective inherent in the quantitative paradigm.

According to Servaes (2001), researchers in development issues are not detached from what they are studying. Furthermore, research among indigenous peoples is an activity that occurs in a set of political and social conditions and entails other activities (Smith, 1999). A stranger coming to a settlement or a remote rural community in Papua New Guinea conducting research might have a huge impact on the local dwellers. This reflects the qualitative axiological assumption that objects that are studied may be affected by the research and may change through it (Collis & Hussey, 2003).

The strengths of the qualitative paradigm appear most concretely in the underlying methodological assumptions. Since a variety of research methods is applied in qualitative research (Collis & Hussey, 2003), the complexity of views can be captured, and obtaining only the perspective of a (Western) researcher can be at least somewhat avoided. The emerging design of qualitative approaches entails additional advantages. For this research project, participant observation, interviews, and document analysis are the research methods. The qualitative methods employed in this research project offer both the researcher and the research subjects the possibility to ask questions and clarify issues whenever they emerge. If categories have been defined and redefined during the research process, the particular context of the development project as well as the perceptions of the Papua New Guinean people can be reflected in the process of defining the categories. Furthermore, since the stakeholders of the project speak English, Tok Pisin (Pidgin English), and numerous other languages, potential linguistic misunderstandings can be limited through direct interaction with the researched.

Out of the qualitative approaches, ethnography can be particularly useful for research in developing countries (Donge, 2006), as well as research in communication (Centeno, Anderson, Restrepo, Jacobson, Guendouzi, Müller et al., 2007). Ethnography refers to the systematic “study of culture, including the cultural bases of linguistic skills and communicative context” (Centeno et al., 2007, p. 12). It focuses on “people as *meaning*-makers, around an emphasis on understanding how people *interpret* their worlds and the need to understand the particular cultural worlds in which people live and which they both construct and utilize” (Goldbart & Hustler, 2005, p.16, italics in original). It provides a “descriptive, analytical framework for the communication context” (Centeno et al., 2007) The term *ethnography* derives from the period of European expansion referring to the observation of “exotic peoples”. Hence, originally, the term

is closely associated with the confrontation of different cultures which “makes it especially relevant for development studies as a confrontation between cultures is inherent in development work” (Donge, 2006, p. 180). In most ethnographic studies the researcher acts as a “participant observer in the everyday lives of whichever society or group s/he is studying” (Goldbart & Hustler, 2005, p. 16). A widespread scepticism about the suitability of ethnographic methods for development research used to exist, as they were time-consuming and not immediately policy-relevant (Donge, 2006). However, due to dissatisfaction with previous dominant methods, “development organizations these days increasingly commission ethnographic-style research” (Donge, 2006, p. 181). The advantage of ethnography, especially of observation, is the opportunity to check and deepen arising issues through watching people and situations, and take notes from casual conversation. Through this process, contrasting opinions of individuals become clearer (Donge, 2006). Furthermore, participant observation provides information enabling the researcher to “interpret the social world in the way that the members of that particular world do” (Collis & Hussey, 2003, p. 71) and to “generate practical and theoretical truths about human life grounded in the realities of daily existence” (Jorgensen, 1989, p. 14). Atkinson and Coffey (2002), referring to Becker and Geer (1970), claim the significance of participant observation rests on the completeness of *data of events* in contrast to data coming from interviews “*about those events alone*” (p. 804, italics in original). In addition, Jorgensen (1989) emphasises that findings of participant observation are most appropriate for critically examining theories. Participant observation and interviews provide appropriate data to analyse the factors influencing the implementation of the theoretical PDC model in a real situation.

The data gained through participant observation, interviews and documents is subjective and rich (Collis & Hussey, 2003), which leads to a high validity. In turn, this implies that the

reliability will be lower than in quantitative data. Therefore, abstracted meanings inductively developed in this study can only be generalised from this specific setting to similar settings (Jensen, 2002). To verify and validate findings and to address both reliability and validity, data triangulation is used. Data triangulation is the comparison of data on one topic generated by different techniques, sources and/or evaluators (Parks et al., 2005) and is realised in this research project through different data collection methods and by reference to previously published studies. In particular, the combination of interviewing and participant observation complements the methods' strengths and offsets their respective weaknesses (Atkinson & Coffey, 2002). Consequently, the ethnographic study leads to a context-specific interpretation and in-depth evaluation of the communication process of the four UDO development projects in Papua New Guinea, and might develop new patterns to understand the process.

#### Data Sources and Collection

Mercer (2006) points out that in order to conduct research on NGO practices, the following methods are helpful: interviews with key informants, interviews or focus groups with project beneficiaries, surveys in the project location, participatory appraisal with project beneficiaries, and document analysis of NGO reports and baseline surveys. For this research project, participant observation, and interviews with key informants and project beneficiaries form the main sources of data, and have been triangulated with documents of UDO.

#### *Participant Observation*

Data was collected from participant observation in Papua New Guinea during May and June 2007. In mutual agreement with UDO, I followed the organisation's staff in their daily routines. The projects under investigation were chosen according to their integration of PDC elements, the activities undertaken with the project beneficiaries during the time of my field

research, the availability and time of UDO staff, and the age of the stakeholders involved (to guarantee collecting data only from adults, for ethical reasons). As described by Collis and Hussey (2003), I became as involved as possible in the project without losing an analytical perspective. Similar to an ethnographic study in entrepreneurial communication by Brender, (2005), I attended internal meetings and meetings with stakeholders, visited project sites, and participated in workshops and other project activities. Appendix A presents a detailed description of activities involved.

This involvement gave me the opportunity to observe the PDC activities in detail and depth, as argued by Chilisa and Preece (2005). Additionally, I was able to establish contacts with the key informants. I collected data of four key informants during the period of participant observation. Other key informants were subsequently the subjects of in-depth interviews. Furthermore, participant observation provides a detailed understanding of values, motives and practices of those being observed (Collis & Hussey, 2003). “From the ethnographic point of view, the ideal is not to be noticed as an observer and to be accepted as a normal member of social life, as this results in minimal disturbance. Such participant observation is, however, an ideal that is rarely reached in practice” (Donge, 2006, p. 180). In this project, the type of observation called “participant as observer” (Bryman, 2001; Chilisa & Preece, 2005) was employed. This means that I negotiated a way into the setting and spent most of the time at the setting, but did not participate in all of the activities of the research participants (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). In contrast to a “complete participant,” this type of observation is not covert (Collis & Hussey, 2003): the organisation was fully informed of my observation activity.

In order to limit interruptions to the daily processes, my talks and conversations with UDO staff and community people during the observation were not audio taped. I carried a

research journal with me at all times, in which I noted comments on the conversations during or immediately after the conversations took place. As far as possible, the participants' views of their experiences were captured in their own words. All observations, my own thoughts, experiences and feelings were written down in the research journal as well. As suggested by Collis and Hussey (2003), the field notes were written down daily and in a descriptive way, as soon as possible after leaving the setting, and I did not talk to anyone else until I did so.

### *In-depth Interviews*

Seven in-depth interviews were conducted with experts and staff of UDO, including senior level staff of UDO, project managers, and the team of field workers working in the development projects. The interviewees were chosen according to their importance as sources in the process of applying PDC and according to their willingness to cooperate. As suggested by Mercer (2006), the most useful interviewees for research projects in NGO practices in developing countries are generally the project beneficiaries and key informants, such as NGO staff and project leaders, donor staff, village or settlement leaders, local leaders from government, and business and religious institutions. However, Willis (2006) emphasises that, for example, the NGO president and other senior level staff might not be the most appropriate informants, since "in a large organization they may be removed from the day-to-day activities in which you are interested" (p. 147). Through participant observation and several conversations, it became apparent during the period of field research which person might be most appropriate to recruit as an interviewee. Out of the six senior level staff of UDO, I conducted an in-depth interview with one senior manager. Furthermore, four out of eight project managers, one technical advisor and one field worker were interviewed.

The interviews were conducted after a period of orientation to the setting and observation of the activities and processes of the development initiatives. This enabled me to cross-check emerging issues and recurring patterns during the interviews which arose during participant observation. According to Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (1991, as cited in Collis & Hussey, 2003, p.168), unstructured or semi-structured interviews are appropriate when the research project requires an understanding of an interviewee's world view and the mental constructs that form the basis of his/her opinion. As Collis and Hussey (2003) point out, the strength of open-ended interviews is that questions raised and matters explored change from one interview to the next, as the focus on the topic might differ from informant to informant. Drawing on the findings of participant observation and preliminary research sub-questions developed through the literature review, a semi-structured interview protocol with open-ended questions was developed. This protocol served as a guideline to cover all areas of potential factors influencing the implementation of PDC, and helped me to understand the process of how UDO intends to apply and does apply PDC. By gaining this understanding, I could explore how the interviewees perceive the factors influencing the implementation of PDC in the UDO development initiatives.

Prior to each interview, an information sheet stating the research purpose and the conditions of providing the interview data were given to the interviewee. Preceding the interview, consent to record the interview and authority to use the content of the interview for the purpose of the study were gained from each interviewee. For confidentiality purposes, only I and my supervisors are authorised to see the transcribed interviews, which does not allow for inclusion of the transcriptions in the appendices of the thesis. According to research protocol, as emphasised by Willis (2006), participants were assured they could refuse to participate. I also offered the participants the opportunity to see their transcribed interviews. Only one interviewee,

the senior manager, made use of this offer and censored parts of the interview retrospectively. Both information and consent forms were translated into Tok Pisin. Appendices B –E display the information and consent forms.

To ensure that interviewees were able to speak openly and without any distraction, one-on-one interviews took place in an appropriate environment. The locations and dates of the interviews were chosen by the individual interviewees to limit any inconvenience. In most instances, the interviewee chose his or her own office space. The interview was kept to a short time frame of up to one hour. All interviews were conducted by me alone. Every interview was recorded with two recording devices to avoid any loss of data and was subsequently transcribed by me. In only one instance, some minutes of an interview were lost due to the simultaneous failure of both recording devices.

#### *Field Interviews*

Besides the in-depth interviews, field interviews were conducted during the time of field research and participant observation. From UDO staff, the field interviews were conducted with another technical advisor and two more field workers. From the Papua New Guinean beneficiaries of the project, one volunteer, one pastor, three farmers and five workshop participants of a business skills workshop were interviewed.

The structure of the field interviews was similar to the structure of the more formal in-depth interviews. These interviews either developed out of a conversation or a spontaneous situation during a field visit in which it became apparent that the person might be a useful informant. Especially in the instance of the field interviews with the direct beneficiaries of the projects, it was not possible to conduct formal interviews from a practical point of view. Due to safety issues and accessibility of project sites, I was not able to meet with the direct beneficiaries

again outside of normal working hours. I could only access these project sites accompanied by UDO staff. During the time of the field research all the project sites were visited just once by staff members.

These field interviews differed from other casual conversations during participant observation in their framework as well as in their meaning. In all interview situations, I sat down with the interviewee away from other people to gain the full concentration of the person. Prior to all field interviews, I explained my research purpose and gained the informant's consent to take notes of the conversation and to use the content of the interview for the purpose of the study. Appendices B-E include the information and consent forms. In the case of the interviews of the two farmers, due to the illiteracy of the interviewees, consent was given orally to me in the presence of the other farmer and a UDO staff member. The conversation I held with the workshop participants was enabled by my introduction and explanation of the research purpose in front of the whole workshop in the morning, and my invitation to engage in conversation during lunch. The voluntary decision of the workshop participants to come and talk to me during lunch was considered their consent.

In the interview with the local farmers, the UDO staff member facilitated the conversation and translated between English and Tok Pisin. All other interviews were conducted in English by me alone, and I bore in mind that the person with the best English is not necessarily the spokesperson for the community, as mentioned by Apentiik and Parpart (2006).

All field interviews took place during field visits, which made the use of recording devices impracticable due to the noisy environment. Additionally, in order to ensure that interviewees were not distracted by modern recording devices they had never seen before in their lives, and in order to maintain a natural, uninhibited conversation atmosphere, recording devices

were avoided. Extensive note-taking ensured that all the main points and quotations of the interviews were preserved.

### *Documents*

Existing documents such as UDO's proposals of the development projects in Papua New Guinea and UDO's reports of the progress in the development programme served as an additional source of primary data. These documents were used to compare with the information gained from other sources, as suggested by Chilisa and Preece (2005).

### *Data Analysis*

The data analysis started during the data collection, as suggested by several authors (Chilisa & Preece, 2005; Corbetta, 2003). In qualitative research, the analysis is tied to the data collection and has to be done throughout the data collection stage, as well as at the end of the study (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). It is particularly crucial to analyse data gathered through participant observation during the course of the observation in order to reduce the likelihood of producing loads of disordered material (Corbetta, 2003). Observation notes "usually seem random in the beginning and not leading anywhere. However, insights into social practice often suddenly emerge from these notes," according to Donge (2006, p. 183). As mentioned by Corbetta (2003), analysing data and formulating preliminary theoretical considerations during the process of data collection can help the researcher to have a better picture of the processes and can assist the researcher to start to focus on the main issues (Corbetta, 2003). Following these principles, the early data analysis revealed emerging themes and patterns, issues that needed probing, as well as further questions that needed to be asked, as described by (Chilisa & Preece, 2005).

No clear and accepted set of conventions for organising and analysing qualitative data exists (Chilisa & Preece, 2005; Collis & Hussey, 2003). Consequently, analysing qualitative data is a challenging process, in particular because of the enormous amount of data collected through participant observation (Corbetta, 2003). Guidelines for analysis used for this research project are outlined in the following section.

Once the data were gathered, the data were available in text form, such as field notes from observations, interview protocols, transcriptions of interviews, notes of field interviews and information from documents. Collis and Hussey (2003) suggest that in the next stage data has to be reduced and structured. In order to construct any type of data display, the researcher has to become very familiar with the data (Collis & Hussey, 2003). Raw data collected in this research project was printed out and edited, using colours and codes to highlight possible categories and relationships. All raw data was initially coded according to the thematic categories that emerged through the literature review. In order to follow guidelines of qualitative analysis (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995), I did not put any limits on the emergence of new categories, ensuring openness to new ways of understanding the data. The initial coding led me to a situation of large numbers of categories, as described by Emerson et al. (1995): “Through initial coding and memoing the ethnographer identifies many more ideas and themes than she will actually be able to pursue in one paper or monograph. Hence she must decide which ideas to explore further and which to put on the back burner, at least for the moment” (p.157).

In the next step, I went over the data again and carried out a more focused coding, using the qualitative research analysis software NVivo 7, published by QSR International Pty Ltd, to categorise, sort, and recode the complex set of data. Following the suggestions of Emerson et al. (1995, p. 160), “Having decided on core themes and perhaps having sorted the fieldnotes

accordingly, the ethnographer next turns to a fine-grained, line-by-line analysis of the notes in focused coding,” I recoded the data. Sub-coding requires the same openness to new ways of understanding as initial coding (Emerson et al., 1995). Since no sub-themes had emerged when re-reviewing the literature, the sub-themes in the analysis developed as they emerged from the data. As described by Emerson et al. (1995), I constantly made “comparisons between incidents, identifying examples that are comparable on one dimension or that differ on some dimension and hence constitute contrasting cases” (p. 161) during the focused coding. Whenever I found such variations, I asked how the incidents differ and tried to identify the conditions under which these variations emerged (Emerson et al., 1995). I also focused on the differences that emerged through different data collection methods. If data from participant observation differed from data of interviews, I noted that in a memo in the software application. Analysing data, especially if data is partially gathered through participant observation, is a process with recursive and cyclical features (Corbetta, 2003). For the data analysis, I went several times through the process of focused coding, until all sub-themes and main themes had been categorised in a meaningful manner. Consequently, the analysis progressively narrowed the data. As stated by Emerson et al. (1995), a common problem, especially of participant observation, is that much of the material has to be discarded to maintain a firm line of argument. Often this material is the researcher’s favourite material.

In some instances these processes generate new issues that carry the analysis in an entirely different direction (Emerson et al., 1995). As pointed out by Collis and Hussey (2003), it is important that the researcher remain systematic in the approach, but be aware that becoming more formal implies the risk of becoming too narrow or blind to new meaning emerging from the data. To give the themes and sub-themes meaning and to avoid losing the focus of the research

purpose, I carefully considered the thematic analysis several times during the analysis process—in particular before decisions were made in which direction to continue—having in mind the research sub-questions formulated in the beginning of the research process, as well as the findings of the literature review. Reflections are the means to create theory from text (Emerson et al., 1995). Analysing data is not just a matter of finding what the data contain. The qualitative researcher, in particular the ethnographer, “selects out some incidents and events, gives them priority, and comes to understand them in relationship to others” (Emerson et al., p. 168). Appropriate displays have to be considered to bring together the qualitative data. According to Miles and Huberman (1994) a display is “a visual format that presents information systematically, so the user can draw conclusions and take needed action” (p. 91, as cited in Collis & Hussey, 2003). Models showing all relationships have been created in a visual format and have supported the process of reflecting and giving meaning to the data. With the software NVivo 7, complex models can be clearly arranged.

The findings of the data collection were then compared with the findings of the literature. I analysed recurring events, supporting arguments and contrary statements between the specific findings of the context of a development initiative in Papua New Guinea and the general findings of the literature. I drew initial conclusions from the models and came to new conclusions. As emphasised by Miles and Huberman (1994, as cited in Collis & Hussey, 2003), constructing displays is an iterative process in which conclusions are drawn from an initial display which, in turn, lead to modifications of the existing display. In the final step, conclusions made throughout the analysis process were put together to ensure a complex and in-depth analysis of the process.

### Ethical Considerations

The key point to bear in mind while conducting research in Third World communities is that during your fieldwork you are a guest in that community, and how you relate to individuals and groups will be likely to affect the responses you receive, and can ultimately determine the success of your entire research project. (Binns, 2006, p. 20)

Apentiik and Parpart (2006) and Binns (2006) further emphasise that development researchers have to respect local customs and make a determined effort to be unobtrusive, polite, and deferential, and be aware of the identities being assigned to them on the basis of world view, lifestyle, and personality. As recommended by Apentiik and Parpart (2006), I intensively reviewed the literature about the field site and sought advice from people who are familiar with the region before doing the field research. I learned to speak basic words in Tok Pisin, Papua New Guinea's widely accepted lingua franca, such as greetings and everyday phrases. Since nonverbal communication can signal different things in different cultures, I also cross-checked the meaning of nonverbal language with "knowledgeable members of the society and key informants" (Apentiik & Parpart, 2006, p. 40), in particular, with local UDO staff who took part in the same interactions.

This research project was approved by the Unitec Research Ethics Committee (UREC). As outlined in the section Data Sources and Collection, informed consent was obtained for all data gathered. Informed consent in a development context also includes an explanation "to the people in the community why [I am] doing this and what are the intended outcomes, both for [myself] and for them" (Brydon, 2006, p. 26). In addition, according to scholars, it is crucial in development research to report back the findings to the community (Binns, 2006; Mercer, 2006; Smith, 1999). Indigenous methodologies approach cultural protocols, values, beliefs, and

customs of communities in an ethical and respectful manner and incorporate reporting back and sharing knowledge as integral principles of reciprocity and feedback (Smith, 1999). To adopt these guidelines, I explained to informants how I intend to follow up the fieldwork and I am willing to account for research conclusions, as promoted by Binns (2006) and Mercer (2006). The findings and conclusions of this research project were reported back to UDO in early October 2007. Through this knowledge sharing, ongoing and future development initiatives can be improved, which will ultimately benefit the community members who contributed to this research project. Reporting back indirectly to the community members involved in the research project can be carried out by UDO.

#### Limitations

This research project has unavoidably some limitations. Coming from a more developed country and researching in a less developed country is a challenging undertaking. Brydon (2006) states that generally,

it is crucially important in all research that involves social interaction, the recording by whatever means of social events, interviews of any kind, focus groups or participation, to realize that there is no perfect formula, no absolutely 'right' way of doing things. There is a range of different strategies that are good or appropriate, and what is good or appropriate will vary according to the 'context.' (p. 29)

However, the fact of being a European, female, young, white researcher might have had an impact on the data gathered, the findings presented and the conclusions drawn. For example, Bessette (2004) states limitations of the reliability of information by mentioning that many community members in developing countries, especially poor farmers, will not openly answer questions they are being asked, but will rather say what they think the researcher wants to hear.

A conversation led by another poor farmer might foster more reliable information (Besette, 2004). Smith (1999) further points out that the term research is linked to European imperialism and colonialism, and that some indigenous communities refuse to be researched. Nevertheless, many individual non-indigenous researchers remain highly respected and well liked by the communities with whom they have stayed for a while (Smith, 1999).

Similarly, doing research through an NGO has advantages and disadvantages. As argued by Mercer (2006), “linking yourself to a local NGO may facilitate community acceptance of you and your work, helping you to gain access to key informants and other information more quickly than would be otherwise possible” (p.99). On the other hand, becoming too closely associated with the organisation under investigation carries risks that the informants may become less willing to share critical opinions with the researcher, which may threaten the researcher’s status as an independent observer. Being aware of these issues limits the reach of their impact.

## CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

### Introduction of Sources

This chapter presents the findings from three sources: participant observation, in-depth and field interviews, and documents. The chapter begins with background and demographic data of the interviewees. Then a description of how UDO applies participatory development communication (PDC) in its development projects follows. Next is the presentation of the findings and emerging issues related to factors influencing the PDC activities under investigation. These findings are presented in four groups: project-related factors, UDO staff-related factors, beneficiaries-related factors, and context-related factors. The purpose of the field research was to investigate the development activities being undertaken at the time of research in May-June 2007. Previous or other project activities that have not been observed are not presented or discussed in detail in this section.

In this study the terms *project beneficiaries*, *beneficiaries*, or *project community* all refer equally to the intended targets of the development projects. In the field of development studies, organisations use a plethora of terms with underlying connotations and meanings, including *recipients*, *beneficiaries*, *counterparts*, *clients*, *grantees*, and *partners* (Pickard, 2007). Here, the terms *(project) beneficiaries* or *project community* describe neutrally the Papua New Guinean communities where the development projects of UDO are located, and that are intended to benefit from the projects. The term *volunteer*, categorised as *extension worker* by Stuart (1994), refers to a member of the project community who has a certain function in the project, without being a UDO staff member. Therefore, a *volunteer* links UDO and his or her own community. The terms *(UDO) field staff* or *(UDO) project team* both refer to the paid employees of UDO and do not include the volunteers.

### Background of the Interviewees

During May and June 2007, seven UDO staff members were formally interviewed, and a further thirteen people were interviewed in the field. In addition, four other people were informants. Four of the formally interviewed individuals were located in Port Moresby; the remaining three worked in Madang. The female Senior Manager D (SMD), situated in Port Moresby, is an expatriate with extensive experience in development work and communication for development from previous jobs in other countries.

All four project managers who participated in in-depth interviews are Papua New Guineans. Project Manager W (PMW), male, manages the women's livelihood project (W). He has a banking background and had no prior development experience. Project Manager H (PMH), male, is the manager of the HIV/AIDS project (H) with an academic pathway and a background as nurse and midwife. Project Manager P (PMP) manages the sweet potato project (P) and is the only interviewed female project manager. She has extensive previous research and development experience. Project Manager L (PML) is responsible for the literacy project (L) in Madang. He has a teaching background and previous experience in community involvement, but had no previous specific development experience.

Furthermore, the technical advisor for the water-sanitation projects of UDO (AS) and one of the female Papua New Guinean field workers of the women's livelihood project (FWW) were interviewed. AS, located in Madang, is a male expatriate with experience from a variety of different projects in several other developing countries. FWW, a recent university graduate, had no prior practical experience. She facilitated and coordinated the literacy training in the women's livelihood project and just recently was promoted into another UDO project.

In addition, thirteen field interviews were undertaken, as described in chapter 4. From UDO staff, field interviews were conducted with the Agricultural Advisor (AA) and with two more Papua New Guinean field workers, Field Worker P (FWP) of the sweet potato project and Field Worker S (FWS) of the water-sanitation project. Furthermore, one field worker of the HIV/AIDS project, and two more members of the senior management team (Senior Manager A, Senior Manager B) were informants for this research project.

From the beneficiaries' side, I conducted field interviews with five participants of the business skills workshop, three farmers of the sweet potato project, and two volunteers. The first volunteer coordinates the training of the literacy trainers in the literacy project in Madang (Volunteer L). The second one is a female pastor (Pastor) who facilitates the business skills workshops for women in her community. Yet another informant was the field worker of the HIV/AIDS project. In total, 24 persons were informants for this research.

#### The Development Initiatives and PDC

The main focus of the data collection, in accordance with the research question and design, was on the communication processes in four projects: two are in Port Moresby, an HIV/AIDS awareness project and a women's livelihood project; two are in Madang, a functional literacy project and a project to evaluate and distribute sweet potato varieties. The HIV/AIDS project aims to promote strategies to enable affected people to cope and live within their communities "without fear of rejection, discrimination and stigma through capacity building and re-strengthening of existing service delivery" (Bruce, n.d., p.1). The goal of the women's livelihood project is to increase opportunities for women to contribute to family income in urban communities of Port Moresby. The project activities range from functional literacy training, to childcare facilitation, and to workshops on small business management skills. The literacy

project in Madang aims to improve functional literacy in the local languages and to sustain community access to learning opportunities. The objective of the sweet potato project is to “trial, evaluate and disseminate appropriate sweet potato varieties to the rural farming sector along the North Coast of [Papua New Guinea]” (Ivahupa, Brown, Bourke, Henderson, Guaf, 2007, p. 11). All projects have a three or four year timeframe and were half way through this timeline at the time of the study.

In the four projects under investigation, PDC strategies, type of participation, and stakeholder involvement differ. According to Senior Manager B, the literacy project and the HIV/AIDS project have included the most participatory techniques in their implementation (personal communication, May 15, 2007). The HIV/AIDS project mainly promotes awareness about HIV/AIDS issues and awareness of the HIV/AIDS testing centre operated by UDO where people can get tested and counselled. The project team works closely together with Papua New Guinean volunteers from the settlements for the awareness activities. The volunteers further prepare the community members for upcoming UDO events in the settlement and coordinate transport for people who would like to get tested. PMH (in-depth interview, May 25, 2007) stated that the project team has tried “to use different strategies to [transfer] the same message.” They integrated drama groups and musical performances to communicate the message in different ways. So far the project team has not used any big media for the campaigns. On a regular basis, the UDO team has organised awareness campaigns in the settlements, as described by PMH as:

going to a community through our contact people. Our contact persons, they do the awareness in the community. They identify a location where they would like to go and also set up a time . . . . In the presentation of the awareness we engage the drama group

sometimes. And then the drama group, they dramatise the information we want to give in the presentation to become available in the community and on the topics that we want to. (in-depth interview, May 25, 2007)

The community awareness activity I observed integrated a three-man drama group, and took place at a common meeting place in the settlement. When the UDO project team arrived with the drama group, some community members were already gathered. First, PMH introduced the purpose of the activity with the help of a megaphone. Then the drama group played for 20 minutes. Subsequently, the UDO staff facilitated an open discussion and encouraged the community members to ask questions.

Community awareness activities scarcely involve the audience as described by PMH: “[The audience]’s more passive. The drama group does all the things and they quietly just watch and laugh and all that” (in-depth interview, May 25, 2007). In the past, a baseline survey was done for the project which also revealed that “the beneficiaries are not really involved in this, and also this is in many projects” (PMH, in-depth interview, May 25, 2007). As a result of the survey, the project team integrated new initiatives in which the beneficiaries have more influence on how activities are carried out. For instance, UDO has supported affected people developing an income-generating activity of buying and re-selling items at the local market. In meetings, the beneficiaries can voice their ideas for designing the initiative. However, this initiative is only in the starting phase, so not much can yet be said about its level of PDC.

The women’s livelihood project applies different strategies. At the time of research, the main activities were two-week workshops to train women in establishing and running their own income-generating activities. The project team also implements the project with the help of volunteers from the project communities. To carry out the two-week workshop that I observed,

the pastor of the settlement (Pastor) was approached, and she then organised the venue and the people for the workshop. The women's livelihood project is designed with little involvement of the stakeholders. No baseline survey was done in the beginning of the project. The dominant strategy to encourage people to participate is described by PMW as: "what we did was we just went down and said 'this is the project that we have. And we are interested into [sic] women who would like to go into business'" (in-depth interview, May 17, 2007).

An exception was the literacy training component, initiated by FWW as a programme to be run throughout its duration by the beneficiaries themselves. The objective of the project was created with the participation of all stakeholders. FWW met with all the community leaders, from political leaders to church leaders to sport club leaders, to plan the literacy programme. FWW's intention was that volunteers raise awareness within the project community to the point where community members can get together and discuss freely and openly the benefits and disadvantages of the project. Furthermore, she encouraged the community members to establish a committee to further direct the programme. Since FWW had just been promoted and changed her position internally, the future of the committee and the programme was unclear at the time of research.

The separate literacy project in Madang primarily focuses on stakeholder involvement. According to two senior level staff, this project has integrated the most community participation in its strategy and tactics out of all current projects in Papua New Guinea (Senior Manager A, personal communication, May 10, 2007; Senior Manager B, personal communication, May 15, 2007). The project evolved out of the evaluation of a previous UDO literacy project that showed that "there was no guarantee that [the beneficiaries] will really continue the programme because [UDO] never assisted them in means of raising their own funds" (PML, in-depth interview, May

24, 2007). It aims to sustain the previous achievements, in particular maintaining community access of learning centres and continually improving functional literacy. The community has been highly involved in the process through Community Literacy Committees, which are purely made up of community people. All 140 literacy teachers and the 20 volunteer coordinators were chosen by the community and come from the communities in which they work. UDO staff only act as facilitators of the project and train the teachers.

Many of the communities in which UDO literacy projects take place were initially approached through existing networks of previous UDO projects in the area. Some of the communities directly approached UDO. The community I visited during my field research was chosen because a community-based organisation, which aimed to increase the literacy rate in the community, already existed.

The sweet potato project in Madang integrates other elements of community participation in its strategies and tactics. In the current stage, planting material of new sweet potato varieties has been distributed amongst farmers, and subsequently, UDO field workers monitor the harvest of the trial farmers and measure their outcomes. As a new method, participatory technology development was introduced to the project in order to find out farmers' preferences among sweet potato varieties. Participatory technology development usually takes place in the form of a social gathering, with all participating farmers of one area, during which they can designate their preferred variety, discuss the selection results of the farmers of other areas, and subsequently chose the varieties which they would like to keep for further planting.

The project team works jointly with volunteers, so-called contact farmers, who are the contact people of UDO in the community, and disseminate news of UDO among all the other farmers. The contact farmer is often a leading personality in the village (FWP).

## Project-related Factors in the Implementation of PDC

### *Organisational Environment of UDO*

UDO has around 66 staff in Papua New Guinea with approximately 25 people in the head office, about 16 staff in the field office in Port Moresby and 25 staff in the field office in Madang. The senior management team and the advisors are predominantly expatriates with one-year or two-year fixed-term contracts. All of the 41 field staff are Papua New Guinean. With the exception of two staff, all of the employees I talked to in the offices in Port Moresby have worked for the organisation less than two years. PMH (in-depth interview, May 15, 2007) explained that employee contracts depend on the project duration; projects range from two to five years and consequently dictate the short length of the contracts.

At the time of research, the organisation was going through several structural changes. Most of the members of the senior management team had been in their positions only for a few weeks. In the past, UDO has experienced a high turnover of staff and many internal staff changes. With the new stable management team, organisational changes have been planned and already have been made. Just before my study, the staff in Port Moresby underwent training in a new approach commonly used in all UDO programmes worldwide that puts emphasis on “community ownership and active participation of all stakeholders in design, monitoring and evaluation processes” ([Unnamed Development Organisation] Development Resources Team, 2005, p. 11), which sounds like participatory communication. According to PMH and AS, a responsibility of the project managers is “directing [their project teams into] new directions as to what has to be done” (PMH, in-depth interview, May 15, 2007). The project managers need “to motivate and monitor . . . staff that they feel that it is the project of the community” (AS, in-

depth interview, June 5, 2007). FWW suggested that the management changes would eventually impact the project communities:

We have a new structure, so we have a manager for the programme effectiveness and we have a top lady behind the programme unit, [SMD], and I think some of the ideas [SMD] brought up are very good. So, these people in the management team, they will be able to develop something for the community that we will be working with in terms of participatory community development. We just need people with the ideas to actually initiate and implement it. If there is no idea, you cannot implement anything. (In-depth interview, May 16, 2007.)

In the current situation within the organisation, according to PMW and FWW, the numerous procedures every process has to go through impact the smooth implementation of projects, which impacts also on the community level. For example, PMW mentioned that the women's livelihood project team had to wait very long for the approval of an extra fund for compensating its volunteers, which hindered the collaboration with the project community.

#### *Experience and PDC Training of UDO Staff*

SMD (personal communication, May 10, 2007) and FWW (in-depth interview, May 16, 2007) both emphasised that the implementation of participatory approaches of any kind depends on the commitment and passion, as well as the competence and quality of staff. However, as can be seen in the description of the background of the interviewees, the skills and knowledge of staff differ widely. Out of the four project managers interviewed, only one had previous experience in development work. The remaining three managers had technical experience in the specific sector of the project, but they never had worked in a community development context. SMD (in-depth interview, June 5, 2007) argued that the development of soft skills would be very

important for a successful project implementation. However, staff did not receive any training in soft skills and PDC techniques of project implementations:

Project Managers are not actually trained in [PDC] if they are nurses or bankers. They never ever heard of this stuff, so, they just do as they feel it should be done . . . It's not by the book. (SMD, in-depth interview, June 5, 2007)

PMH and one of the field workers of the HIV/AIDS both stated that they have not received specific training on techniques on how to talk to the community members about HIV/AIDS related issues. Furthermore, PMH mentioned difficulties in translating the words of the project proposal into real activities. PMH (in-depth interview, May 15, 2007) referred to some of the activities outlined in the proposal such as "conducting workshops" to identify and adopt best practice awareness raising strategies of communicating appropriate HIV/AIDS messages at the community level" (Bruce, n.d., p.12) and conducting participatory HIV/AIDS information sessions.

In addition, consequences of the high turnover and changes of staff for each new project have been a loss of the experience gained during the project cycles (SMD). FWW concluded, "I think the problem with this, obviously . . . is that we really need experts in the programme who can really look at the local situation, the problem[s] of this country, and submit proposals that we really need" (in-depth interview, May 16, 2007).

FWW suggested that the recent training on the newly introduced design, monitoring and evaluation methods would help bring all staff in line and introduce all staff to participatory techniques. Referring to the participatory approaches she introduced in the women's livelihood project, she further noted, "I think by the look, now that we have just received training on [the

new method of UDO], I am getting really excited because some of the things that I actually initiated in the project is [sic] in line with the [method]” (in-depth interview, May 16, 2007).

### *Project Design*

The design of every UDO project in Papua New Guinea is outlined in the project proposals that are written to apply for funding. This means that the funding agency determines the timeframe, the specific focus, and the amount of money allocated for the project (SMD, AS, Senior Manager B). Usually the project proposal is written to fit into the funding criteria of the donor. Once the funding is approved, UDO seeks the needy communities. According to Senior Manager B, usually UDO, like NGOs in general, does not approach the project communities in the first instance to avoid raising false expectations amongst the community members about a project’s coming into a community (personal communication, May 15, 2007). In case of disapproval of the project by the donor, the established rapport between the NGO and the community, and the trust level, cannot be maintained (Senior Manager B, personal communication, May 15, 2007). However, approaching the communities after the proposal is written consequently means that, in many cases, communities do not have their specific problem targeted in the project proposal (SMD, in-depth interview, June 5, 2007). SMD concluded that “you end up responding to an input that doesn’t come from the community” (SMD, in-depth interview, June 5, 2007). AS further added, “we have the challenge that the donor comes up with projects and that we integrate community participation” (in-depth interview, June 5, 2007).

“[The project] is probably most successful when you have long-term funding. We are talking about five years” (SMD, in-depth interview, June 5, 2007). Within the short timeframe of all of the UDO projects, it is difficult to implement a participatory, community-based approach that starts with an idea developing out of the community (SMD, AA). In all of the current UDO

projects, as well as in the projects of any other big organisation, time and budget are not flexible enough so that the community can participate in the planning process (SMD, AA).

However, usually the starting phase of participatory approaches takes a minimum of six months, and up to one year (AA). FWS added that, “it seems that it needs more time to establish a project in a new community” compared to communities that were involved in UDO initiatives in the past (field interview, May 21, 2007). The implementation plans do not contain a budget for such a long starting phase, even when that would benefit the communities in the long run (AA). Since funding is time-bound, projects could start at times when it is not the most suitable for the communities. As pointed out by SMD, it is often uncertain “that the community is actually willing to do that at the appointed time. They can have a funeral or they can have elections; they couldn’t care less about gathering and doing that [at the appointed time]” (in-depth interview, June 5, 2007). SMD further pointed out:

[The timeframe is] not generated by the community; it’s not the community that says “it has to take one year.” If you go to a community, they will always be disappointed when you leave after two years or three years. They will say, “Oh, you are abandoning us.” They don’t understand that a project is a finite kind of action; that when it reaches an objective, it’s supposed to close the door, [pull out] the key, hand it to the community, thank you, good bye! It was a mutually beneficial experience. They perceive it as an ongoing kind of relationship. It is a relationship. It becomes a very personal tie. It’s not a project to them; it’s a mutual exchange that then stopped. (in-depth interview, June 5, 2007)

AS and FWS supported this argument by describing that once the project phases out, no funding will be available to do follow-up in the communities. The project team will start working

on other projects or even for different organisations. However, “if the project gets extended, it is possible to have a real participatory approach,” because then other communities will have had time to approach UDO, and UDO can discuss with the current communities further development initiatives (AS, in-depth interview, June 5, 2007).

All project managers asserted that they have been following the suggested project design of the proposal but created new initiatives during the implementation of the project, and modified the activities to fit the needs of the beneficiaries. However, this is only possible within the budget frame outlined in the project proposal: “it is the community’s project, if it is possible in the budget frame then we do it [the community members’] way” (AS, in-depth interview, June 5, 2007). For instance, PMH came up with the income-generating initiative for people living with HIV/AIDS, because he realised that people living with HIV/AIDS would have to live a “dependency type of lifestyle” if they just relied on donations from aid organisations (in-depth interview, May 15, 2007). PMW referred to the project proposal as the “Holy Bible,” since it contained all the information available for the implementation of the women’s livelihood project (in-depth interview, May 17, 2007). However, he mentioned also two self-initiated programmes, the participatory literacy component and a workshop to help women writing proposals for bank loans. PMP described the development of a women’s cooking group as an initiative that was not suggested in the project proposal. This cooking group is now a permanent group running cooking workshops throughout the district. UDO supports the group and applied for further funding for it.

When this [funding proposal] comes through we can actually indirectly empower the women . . . . If this project goes as planned, then it is a big stepping-stone for the women’s group that’s with us. (PMP, in-depth interview, May 25, 2007)

### *Communication Infrastructure between UDO and Community*

Most of the communication between UDO staff and the volunteers is in the form of personal visits by UDO staff in the communities and settlements, including regular overnight trips and evening meetings (Madang office). Staff go into the field almost every day. In Madang, the project communities have been located all over the district, an area of about 180 km around the field office in Madang town. Due to the geographic location of the project sites, one field visit can take the entire day, even if the purpose is only passing messages or news. PML emphasised that in Madang, information has to be passed to the contact person's district at least one week before a scheduled meeting. In all villages, the villagers meet on Mondays, and news from UDO will be announced there as well. In some instances, the project team sends letters to the contact people. PMW and PMH both are in weekly contact with the local volunteers. PMH suggested that it is very important to meet regularly with the volunteers to help them out, encourage them to do their work and to be informed about emerging issues within the communities. This was also a recommendation of the past UDO baseline survey (PMH, in-depth interview, May 15, 2007).

In all projects, UDO has established regular meetings or committees at which beneficiaries can exchange information with the UDO project team and other beneficiaries. PMH described his experience of the establishment of a steering committee with the following words: The goal in that committee was to steer the activities of what the [HIV/AIDS] project is doing in the strategic sites. And I identified people who are with status in those different communities and also come from various stakeholders we work in partnership with. We had the first meeting last month and most of the participants that attended . . . were from the communities, and I

highlighted and explained what I expected from them but the responses were not really good. (in-depth interview, May 15, 2007)

Furthermore, in the projects in which UDO collaborates with pre-existing groups, existing group meetings and committees have been integrated in the communication infrastructure and form a platform for discussion without the presence of UDO staff. The three participating farmers of the sweet potato project reported that they discuss issues related to the UDO initiative in their weekly women's group meetings which consist of farmers participating in the UDO initiative and other people.

According to FWW (in-depth interview, May 16, 2007), one main factor constraining the implementation of participatory approaches, in particular in the Port Moresby settlements, is the variety of languages of Papua New Guinea. In most projects the working language is Tok Pisin, since "it is not possible to speak in the local language because two kilometres further they speak another language" (AS, in-depth interview, June 5, 2007). In particular, in the settlements of Port Moresby, many people do not speak either English or Tok Pisin, so field workers need a translator to go in with them. However, FWW reported that a translator constrains the communication between UDO and the project beneficiaries (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007). Furthermore, she pointed out:

For community participation you need to speak one common language that everybody understands. But [in] my experience, there is high illiteracy rate, and they only speak their mother tongue, their local language, and when you go in with Pidgin or English they don't understand. So it makes communication very difficult, and participation is not there. But people who communicate, they participate. When they don't communicate, they don't participate. (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007)

## UDO Staff-related Factors in the Implementation of PDC

### *Attitudes of UDO Staff toward PDC*

According to SMD (personal communication, May 10, 2007) not only the competence and quality of staff determine the success of PDC approaches but also the commitment, passion and attitude of the people toward PDC approaches. All interviewed project managers and field workers were very committed to work for the organisation and to make a change in the communities they worked in. Whereas all project managers described the beneficiaries as active stakeholders of the projects, the participants reported generally different attitudes toward PDC and participation. Referring to the project team of the new water-sanitation project, AS suggested that, to implement a participatory approach “it is really important that the [UDO] staff has the attitude that it is [the community members’] project and we have this attitude” (in-depth interview, June 5, 2007). By contrast, AA argued that it would not be possible within UDO to integrate an ideal PDC approach because the staff would only understand how to integrate participatory activities and elements but would not understand how to implement a thoroughly participatory project that is based on an idea coming from the beneficiaries. FWW supported this argument. She had the impression that her “idea of getting the community set up to participate fully and actively” in the literacy programme of the women’s livelihood project was not supported by most of the project managers, because the participatory literacy committee “was not their idea and they did not know what I was talking about” (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007). She identified the lack of support as one of the four main problems she experienced when implementing the participatory literacy programme.

FWW studied several cases of successful community development work in Papua New Guinea and observed projects in Port Moresby. She drew the conclusion “that the success of the

project . . . depends on community participation in terms of ownership and sustainability” (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007). According to FWW, “bottom-up planning is very, very useful. That’s when you allow people to participate . . . I think participatory development with bottom-up approaches for planning works more effectively than top-down” (in-depth interview, May 16, 2007). She emphasised that “we need [to know] the needs of the people,” and for this reason PDC approaches work “really effectively in terms of sustainability.” She considered the aim of the women’s livelihood project to “empower women to engage in income-generating activities . . . through education, training, small business training . . . and all that” (in-depth interview, May 16, 2007). She approached the community members with the following attitude:

I told them it is very important that you take ownership over this project. This is your project; it’s based on your need, so I will not come down and do whatever I want. You know the problem, you know your community, you take it. If you need the money, I will give you the money to do it that way. I am only here to facilitate. (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007)

PMW considered the participatory literacy development programme initiated by FWW a one-off idea. He told me that no further plans existed on initiating a similar activity. He has tried to motivate the beneficiaries to participate in the training activities and to apply the new skills by giving examples of success stories of other participating groups. He explained:

I give them this picture: there is the sea. What I do is teaching how to catch fish. This is what I am doing: teaching how to catch fish. Now, you, your job is now to go find yourself a fishing line and a hook . . . I am teaching you how to use it to catch it. But how you get that fishing line and hook is in your own court now. You have to do it. That’s the

way I tell them. If I teach you, and then I give you the fishing line and a hook, where is your part? (in-depth interview, May 17, 2007)

He further stressed that it would be beyond his power to force the beneficiaries to be trained and to apply the new knowledge. Offering his help is the most he could do; the last step has to be made by the beneficiaries. PMW reported that he can only work with communities that are interested in the project. The project design puts pressure on him to train a certain amount of women in a given timeline, and if a community is not interested in the training then he has to move on to an interested community, so that he does not lose time.

Knowledge-sharing through PDC activities was highlighted as an advantage for the project implementation by PMP (in-depth interview, May 25, 2007). She emphasised that through the participatory technology development meetings farmers can learn from each other and exchange information on their experiences with UDO and the new sweet potato varieties. She also suggested that “this meeting really helped in changing the attitudes of the other farmers” who had not been willing yet to share their knowledge and experiences (in-depth interview, May 25, 2007). She further emphasised, “I really wanted that because we had good farmers in other districts where they didn’t complain; they worked really nicely with us” (in-depth interview, May 25, 2007).

PML saw clear benefits in involving the beneficiaries in the decision-making process: “when we just feed them information and they think for themselves, it motivates them and gives value to them. They feel that they are valuable” (in-depth interview, May 24, 2007). He thinks their having access to the right information is the basis for being able to help themselves. He advocated UDO’s approach of providing training and opportunities of gaining lasting skills and knowledge, rather than giving out money. He approached the beneficiaries with the same

metaphor as PMW by telling them, “I will teach you how to fish. I won’t give you fish, but I will teach you how to fish. You help yourself” (in-depth interview, May 24, 2007).

In his opinion, giving the community knowledge is more valuable than money because knowledge will still be there once UDO leaves the community, and the community members could use this knowledge to make money. According to PML, the community members would agree: “they want to learn as much as possible, so that they can help themselves when [UDO] leaves . . . [because] they understand that [UDO] will not be there for a long time” (in-depth interview, May 24, 2007).

Empowering the beneficiaries to be able to help themselves was seen by PMH as one of the aims of his project. He reported from the newly established initiative within the HIV/AIDS project,

We are really happy because we are making them to realise that they can do something for themselves and get themselves actively involved and then generate something ... to sustain their own livelihood. (PMH, in-depth interview, May 15, 2007)

#### *Behaviour of UDO Staff*

Several participants (SMD, PML, PMP) stressed that the staff of UDO have to be accepted by the beneficiaries, and has to establish a relationship to them in order to facilitate their participation. PML stated that throughout the Madang district UDO staff would be generally accepted due to the organisation’s previous work in the area. Volunteer L agreed to this and saw the reasons for UDO staff to be very patient and helpful. FWS added that particularly the communities that were already involved in the literacy project would be interested in being involved in more projects.

PMP argued that the beneficiaries' acceptance of the field worker ultimately depends on the behaviour and the attitude of the worker:

You as a person, when you go into the community you have to make yourself interesting too . . . you have to try to be part of the community: to go in there, be with them and try to follow their norms, their customary norms . . . you have to behave yourself in a way you are accepted by the community. (PMP, in-depth interview, May 25)

She illustrated her statement with the example of entering a community in culturally appropriate clothing:

There are some communities where I, as a woman, cannot walk in there with trousers. That is for man. I should not. I like wearing my shorts, but I must carry a laplap with me. A laplap is this cloth you just put around your waist . . . once I enter a community I ask them . . . I say, "Is it okay for me to wear my shorts?" to the person who is leading us into the community. And if he says "yes," I can walk in with my shorts. But if he says "no, the chief doesn't like it, or the people, or it's not normal for our custom," then I have to wear my laplap. So you have to be accepted by the communities. The community has to accept you as a person. (PMP, in-depth interview, May 25)

FWP agreed to this argument by explaining that, in order to be fully accepted by the farmers, she had to give them a hand when harvesting the sweet potato tubers (field interview, May 23, 2007). When I accompanied FWP, harvesting was being done in the bright sunlight and took almost the entire day. Although harvesting is a physically challenging activity, it is equally done by the field workers and the participating farmers.

PMP further pointed out that "people have different ways of accepting. But generally they have to like you" (in-depth interview, May 25). Her experience showed that "once they start

working with you, everything just takes [sic] into place” (PMP, in-depth interview, May 25). She concluded with the advice: “It’s good to go and just to observe and see how you can fit yourself into the community. That’s how I do it myself” (PMP, in-depth interview, May 25).

#### *Socio-cultural Background of UDO Staff*

According to SMD and PMP, the development worker should melt into the community in order to establish a level of trust with the community. Since the development workers are usually educated people coming from the richer class, and the beneficiaries are “most likely destitute, uneducated people,” a perfect match might be difficult to find (SMD, in-depth interview, June 5, 2007). SMD argued that even a brilliant development worker might not be accepted and trusted by the community. The best match would be “someone from the same community who has started poor and has made [it] all the way up to the elevated circle and is educated,” as suggested by SMD ( in-depth interview, June 5, 2007).

Another point made by PMP was the influence of relationships on the participation in the projects. She stated that the field workers have developed close relationships with the project communities since they work together over a long time. However, she explained that, in the beginning, the project team ensured that field workers would not work in the district where they originally come from in order to avoid bias of the field workers towards the community: We felt that if they are with their own people, then they might not concentrate on their own work, like they might privilege their own village and spend less time on the project, or they might be biased in the selection of who should work with us, which farmer should work with us. (in-depth interview, May 25, 2007)

## Beneficiaries-related Factors in the Implementation of PDC

### *Meeting Needs of Beneficiaries*

PMP highlighted three main factors that influence whether the project communities want to participate: the community entry, the community's acceptance of the development workers and the project, and the needs of the community. This section addresses the third factor, the needs of the community. PMP emphasised that

whatever you are introducing to the community has to be something that the community really wants, so that they are really interested in that activity. If they are crying out for it and finally you brought it, then they will always work with you . . . and then they want to really participate in your project. (PMP, in-depth interview, May 25, 2007)

Furthermore, AA, PML, and FWW argued that many communities in Papua New Guinea have criticised the government for not providing services for them, and that NGOs would be the only ones helping the communities. In particular in the rural areas, access to education, health services, and funding sources is limited. AA concluded that Papua New Guinean communities would have a greater need for services offered by NGOs such as UDO, who stimulate their participation (field interview, May 21, 2007). AS agreed to this argument in the sector of water-sanitation management: "normally all communities are interested in improving their water systems; there is a need, and that is the base for their motivation" to participate in a water-sanitation project (in-depth interview, June 5, 2007). He was of the opinion that, "self-motivation is the best motivation, but in order to be self-motivated the project has to meet the[ir] basic needs" (in-depth interview, June 5, 2007). However, as pointed out by FWW, the need of one community does not necessarily reflect the need of another community, in particular when

contrasting rural and urban communities. She emphasised the importance of a needs analysis for the project design (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007).

Most of the interviewees suggested that literacy is a basic need in most of the communities: “Anything you want to do, you realise that if you don’t do a literacy course, you cannot have a project. If you want to teach mothers about nutrition, you have to give literacy first” (SMD, in-depth interview, June 6, 2007). According to PML, the official literacy rate in the Madang district is 46 percent; however, PML estimated that it is actually between 60 and 70 percent. He explained that, for several reasons, all of the inland communities in the Madang district have been actively participating in the literacy project. According to PML, communities are concerned that their language could die out, and with it also their culture, as in many places Tok Pisin replaces the local language. This concern motivates them to participate in the UDO literacy programme that contributes to a preservation of the local language (PML, in-depth interview, May 24, 2007). An additional incentive for participating in the project would be that literacy training has been taught by expatriates for many years, and the community members are eager to teach themselves (PML, field interview, May 24, 2007). Other needs, especially of women, are being met by the project: they have been applying their new functional literacy and numeric skills to sell their products more effectively at the local market and to give out exact change. PML experienced less interest in the initiative in the coastal areas, because those communities, according to PML, appeared to believe that they are already literate enough.

Also the beneficiaries considered meeting their needs as essential for the project implementation. Volunteer L emphasised that the beneficiaries only participate because they “see that [literacy] is a basic need, that it needs a programme” (field interview, May 24, 2007). He remembered that the local community-based organisation “saw the need that everyone needs

literacy skills” but did not have sufficient funds to realise the project, and, therefore, approached the UDO team. He argued that for four reasons the literacy project has been well accepted by this project community. First, the UDO staff had talks with the community elders in order to find out the root causes affecting the community. The community found out that “all problems came under the umbrella [of] literacy” and then gave some trial literacy training to see whether literacy really improves the problems. This contributed to the communities’ understanding of their needs. Second, the community-based organisation and UDO raised awareness of the low literacy rate and the project to address that, so that people could see that the project meets their needs. Third, the beneficiaries accepted the project because “it is our project, we came up with the idea” and because of the close collaboration between UDO and the community (Volunteer L, field interview, May 24, 2007). Another reason for their acceptance and participation was their perception that the training offered is not only for functional literacy but also for skills that help the community “to live their lives” (field interview, May 24, 2007). Therefore, according to Volunteer L, the beneficiaries want to participate in the project, so that “after the project ends we can stand on our own feet. Then we can do business and know how to take care of our families” (Volunteer L, field interview, May 24, 2007). PML had the same impression: “[the community members] feel that all the knowledge is more important than getting money from other organisations” (in-depth interview, May 24, 2007).

The business skills workshop of the women’s livelihood project meets the needs of the project community, according to the Pastor and five interviewed beneficiaries. The workshop was highly welcomed by the beneficiaries and their pastor. Over two hundred interested women applied for the approximately 40 places (PMW). The Pastor stressed that the workshop was “just what I was looking for, for my church community” and considered it as a “breakthrough for the

community” (field interview, May 14, 2007). After having attended a course overseas, she realised that business skills will help the women in her community and was highly motivated to find resources for gaining business skills. The five workshop participants described their church as a place that “gives good training” (field interview, May 14, 2007). One of the participants emphasised that she was really relieved upon hearing that UDO would offer the workshop, because she had failed when she had attempted to start a business in the past. The Pastor further indicated that no negative voices exist in the project community about this undertaking. She talked to the women and the minister and everyone considered it a good idea. She concluded that “if [the community members] know it’s a good idea, they accept it”.

This observation was also made in the sweet potato project. All three interviewed farmers pointed out that their motivation to participate in the project derives from their interest in growing a new vegetable, as they had wanted to grow sweet potatoes for a long time. However, of the ten farmers who were initially interested in growing new varieties in this community, five had dropped out by the time the research was conducted.

By contrast, PMH experienced that it was very difficult to make people understand the need and importance of having HIV/AIDS care facilities in the community. He had the feeling that the communities “are not really concerned; they are not taking HIV/AIDS that serious [sic]”. Moreover, he reported that affected people have been discriminated against by their communities, due to the stigma of HIV/AIDS being linked to sexual promiscuity. Generally, he found that “they don’t see the significance of helping themselves in the community ... they are just not having any interest [in] the needs of the people in the community,” which consequently has been reflected in their attitude and behaviour toward the UDO initiative (in-depth interview, May, 15, 2007).

*Sense of Ownership of the Beneficiaries*

FWS saw the benefits of participatory approaches in the “community flow”: if the community has been involved in the project, and developed a feeling of ownership, then the community members would be motivated to engage in it (field interview, May 21, 2007). He was convinced that a project would, therefore, only become sustainable with participatory approaches. PMH found it “very difficult to get people to have ownership” of the activities of the HIV/AIDS project in Port Moresby, since the community “is not really participating in it”, even though the project team explained to the community members that it would be important to have the skills and the knowledge in the community once UDO ends its project (in-depth interview, May 15, 2007). He saw the reason for the lack of ownership in the demographic structure of the settlements. Most of the people living in the Port Moresby settlements reside there only temporarily, which complicates finding a stable set of people who can run the activities after UDO leaves the community: “Whenever they want to go, they will go back, and if we have established something like that, who is going to keep the thing going?” (PMH, in-depth interview, May 15, 2007).

PMH further mentioned that in meetings “the communities themselves, their representatives, they didn’t truly speak out how they want us to carry out our activities in the communities” (PMH, in-depth interview, May 15, 2007). Furthermore, he reported that it was very difficult to find volunteers who actively participate, and independently manage the initiative:

It’s very difficult.... We have only four or five out of the twelve [volunteers] that actually bring in the clients. Because one of the conditions that we set for them is to bring five clients per weeks ... It’s very hard to monitor whether they are getting out to do the

awareness and whether what they are doing is relevant. (in-depth interview, May 15, 2007)

### *Commitment of Time*

AS acknowledged that “in some scenarios it’s difficult to do a participatory approach because it takes a lot of people’s time ... Many people have to have enough time or enough interest” (in-depth interview, June 5, 2007). Similarly, FWS saw the only disadvantage of PDC in that “it takes more time. But if it is done properly, it really enriches what is done in the community” (FWS, field interview, May 21, 2007). Additionally, SMD commented that the time commitments for volunteers are less flexible when they work with UDO compared to a smaller grassroots organisation, since any huge professional organisation has to complete the project within a certain time-frame. By contrast, none of the active volunteers (three farmers, five workshop participants) mentioned time issues. All of the interviewed beneficiaries were female, and explained that their husbands and families support their involvement in the UDO project, and help them with their other normal housework duties. The workshop participants also pointed out that their pastor is a role model to them, and has taught the entire family the importance of mutual support. However, in the cases where volunteers dropped out, the stated reasons included time issues, lack of support of husbands and families, and other commitments (Volunteer L, field interview, May 24, 2007). Another reason was that they found work outside the community once they gained the new qualification (PML, in-depth interview, May 24, 2007).

### *Expectation of Beneficiaries to Receive Money*

The expectations of the community members in a development initiative can impact their willingness to participate. According to UDO staff (AA, PMW, FWW, PMP, PML), Papua New Guinean communities usually think of money when a development organisation offers its

services: “If you go in the community and you mention the word ‘project’ to them, it’s in money. If you want to bring the service into the community, to them it means you want to give them money” (PML, in-depth interview, May 24, 2007). PMW and FWW assumed that this expectation of the community members developed through previous experiences with other development organisations. Similarly, AS experienced that the communities in which UDO started to implement water-sanitation projects expected that UDO will come up with a complete implementation plan and decide for them, since previous development organisations worked in this non-participatory manner (in-depth interview, June 5, 2007). Furthermore, UDO staff (FWW, Senior Manager B) mentioned that some communities are biased towards NGO activities due to previous disappointments.

We are experiencing that so many NGOs give [the communities] high hopes, false expectations, and then the project doesn’t get approved. You know, they wait and wait, and then later when we go they say ‘Ah! NGO wanted to come; they told us they are coming in and implement[ing] this project, and we are waiting, and—nothing. And now you guys are coming in and do the same.’ (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007)

All participants, from UDO and from the beneficiaries’ side, mentioned the compensation of volunteers as a factor influencing the participation in the development initiative. A statement of community members often encountered by PMW and PML was, “If you want to see activities carried out, we would like to have some money” (PMW, in-depth interview, May 17, 2007). Even Volunteer L emphasised that “if there is no money, there is less interest [on the part] of the volunteers” (field interview, May 24, 2007), although volunteers in his project do not receive any money but highly participate. SMD explained:

The problem here, and everywhere, comes with the different approaches that the agencies have. Like, you have an agency that stimulates volunteers in the community, and then you have another agency that comes and pays [for] their services. So the third agency that goes there will have a hard time to get volunteers, because they will say, "We will not do anything for you; you have to pay us." So, nowhere in the world you will find a place no one has ever been ... they are used to agencies there and they know already what to ask for. (in-depth interview, June 5, 2007)

AA called attention to the ethical issue arising out of the payment of volunteers. He questioned whether the beneficiaries participate because of the payment, or because they see the long-term impact of the development initiative (field interview, May 21, 2007). Within the UDO projects, differences in compensating volunteers exist. All the projects have in common that they provide training for the volunteers as a form of reimbursement for their engagement. In the literacy project, volunteers are unpaid, but it is agreed that they can ask the village elders for support with their house work duties as a form of compensating their time spent on the project. Furthermore, they receive training in small business skills so that they can also make a living besides the teaching commitments, and UDO helps them to become registered literacy teachers. PML emphasised the importance of constantly telling the community from the beginning that UDO does not have money and will not give money to the community. He stated that he showed the community members other ways of helping, instead of giving out money.

The sweet potato project team also ensures that the time and effort of its participants are recognised in other forms than regular payments. FWP sometimes gives money to the contact farmers, and provides them with recipes and ingredients for new sweet potato dishes. PMP added that they are rewarded with a visit from the women's cooking group. Furthermore, the expenses

for the participatory technology development meeting, such as transport and food, were paid for all volunteers, which was also considered a form of appreciating their cooperation. This social gathering was highly welcome by the farmers, because it was “their first time to go to that village, and they got to meet people, so... they were happy that they were going around, and that they can continue to work for us” (PMP, in-depth interview, May 25). Whereas the volunteers in the women’s livelihood project do not receive any money or other form of compensation, the volunteers of other UDO initiatives and other organisations in the Port Moresby settlements receive a form of reimbursement for their time spent on the activities (FWW). This has complicated the finding of volunteers for the women’s livelihood project in the same communities, since people hesitate to commit themselves for a voluntary, unpaid position (PMW, FWW). Therefore, PMW was of the opinion that the literacy programme “would have succeeded if we had paid [the literacy teachers] a little bit and they would, I believe they would have done it. That would have worked” (in-depth interview, May 17, 2007). Furthermore, he explained that “what has happened is that they joined up with other NGOs. Like I said, money is the key here. They can take training, fair enough. But then, they are going off with other NGOs” (PMW, in-depth interview, May 17, 2007). FWW illustrated the situation with the following words:

People rely on money for their day-to-day living . . . So if you take women and engage them voluntary [sic] full time, how are they going to end? So there is this kind of situation that we need to understand. But [UDO] is not giving them that; whereas, other NGOs they understand, and they have the money to compensate. (in-depth interview, May 16, 2007)

FWW further argued that participation in the urban setting of Port Moresby is more dependent on the compensation of volunteers than in the rural areas of Madang. According to FWW, the reason for this would be that urban settlers depend on the cash economy for survival, whereas

in the rural setting it's easier in terms of community participation... because they have the land there, they have free water, they have gardens there where they can get food. They are living in a home that is sheltered, that is free. Everything is free, in the rural setting. Participation is more in the rural community than here. (in-depth interview, June 5, 2007)

#### *Fully Informing Beneficiaries*

Volunteer L said that the acceptance of the literacy project was based on the clear understanding by the beneficiaries of what the project is trying to implement and what their benefits are. He stated that the communication through the project managers and raising awareness of the project in the community are the two main aspects that motivate people to be volunteers: "it is important [that the project managers] tell the volunteers exactly what is going on, what activities, who is doing what," otherwise they lose the interest in being involved (Volunteer L, field interview, May 24, 2007).

UDO (FWW, PMW, PML) staff reported the same observations: "In terms of community development, you need effective communication to raise understanding in the community you will be working with" (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007). PMW was of the opinion that project beneficiaries are generally interested in participating in the project, in particular once they find out about the project:

People want to participate. People have different approaches to things and I think the bottom line is the awareness is very important first...Awareness of the programme that we are doing. (in-depth interview, May 17, 2007)

Volunteer L mentioned that in the first three years the literacy project was not as effective as it is currently, because the community people did not yet fully understand the benefits of the project. Since community members can hardly read and write, “you have to tell them continuously what you do in the community” (Volunteer L, field interview, May 24, 2007). FWS also pointed out that, due to the low level of understanding, he had difficulties in explaining everything to the communities and collaborating with them in a participatory manner. He admitted that for this reason it has sometimes been hard to let the community make the decision, “sometimes you are tempted to just make their decisions” (field interview, May 21, 2007). At present, the beneficiaries of the literacy project fully understand the project and see that it meets their needs (Volunteer L). For this reason, they are enthusiastic about voluntarily participating in it (Volunteer L). Otherwise, Volunteer L concluded, “When you force us to do, we won’t come. It’s [Papua New Guinea]” (field interview, May 24, 2007).

#### Context-related Factors in the Implementation of PDC

##### *Collaboration with Existing Groups*

In order to foster participation, UDO collaborates with several other organisations throughout Papua New Guinea such as schools, community-based organisations, other NGOs, governmental organisations, church groups, and faith-based organisations (PML, PMH, PMP, PMW). Integrating the religious infrastructure in the development initiatives was experienced as particularly helpful in order to achieve a participatory approach for two reasons, according to PML and FWW. First, a development initiative, implemented in collaboration with a church, is

considered a communal activity open to everyone, since churches network with many groups. Initiatives in collaborations with other smaller groups can be perceived as the group's own initiative, and can hinder participation (PML, FWS, PMP, AA, PMP).

Second, since UDO is a Christian organisation, many Christian church groups and church leaders have supported the initiatives due to their common roots (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007). FWW argued that Christian groups have already the attitude, infrastructure and practices such as regular meetings and rooms to enable participatory approaches. For instance, she reported that the church group of the business skills workshop “assist[ed] voluntarily, without even asking for money, because I was able to catch their interest because I was telling them that UDO is a Christian-based organisation” (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007).

FWW argued that the way “people are organised” further influences beneficiaries’ participation. “If there is an existing group in place it’s easier for group participation and community participation ... it’s easier to get people mobilised and organised and participate” (in-depth interview, May 16, 2007). In the urban settlements, due to the different origins of the settlement population and the high illiteracy rate, “little groupings” but no formal organised groups with a common goal exist (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007).

The literacy project team found that using the “pre-existing network” of an already-established community-based organisation facilitated the active participation of the beneficiaries, since the idea for the project was based on the objectives of the community-based organisation (PML, in-depth interview, May 24, 2007). Volunteer L remembered that UDO already had plans to start the initiative in another community, but since the community-based organisation was in place, the initiative was started in his community (field interview, May 24, 2007). Similarly, pre-existing women’s groups were approached for the women’s livelihood project and the sweet

potato project. SMD highlighted that, in general, participation of the community members also depends on the “characteristics of the community itself,” since some communities will always “be more inclined to help out” (in-depth interview, June 5, 2007).

#### *Leader-Support*

To ensure people’s participation, it is essential, according to PML and PMP, to involve the leaders of the communities in the project. “When you go into a community, it is the Big Man that you have to see in the village or the Big Woman, whoever is the leader of the village” (PMP, in-depth interview, May 24, 2007). Community members generally would “rather talk to people with a high rank and social status, because they think that these people have the authority to act on their enquiries” and to change their situation (PML, in-depth interview, May 24, 2007).

In particular, in the far north of the Madang district where the chieftaincy is very strong, first, the chief has to be approached and informed about the planned activities. The chief then encourages people to be part of the initiative, according to PMP. The chief embodies cultural significance and has a higher social status than the councillor, with the result that “whatever the chief says has to be done ... If the chief says it has to go, it will go. It doesn’t matter what the people think. The chief makes decisions” (PMP, in-depth interview, May 25, 2007). A similar statement was made by FWW:

in the rural setting you have the ethnic groupings there. They have a clan leader. When he stands up and speaks, everyone listens. They pay respect to the leader. (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007)

PMP further suggested:

You go to the chief, and the chief will force leaders of certain little organisations in that community. And then you sit with the group of those leaders, and you talk about what’s

happening. Then those leaders, if they are happy, they say “OK, you can work with the youth group or you can work with the women’s group or you can work with the ward councillors.” They will tell you who you should work with. (in-depth interview, May 25, 2007)

In the areas where the chieftaincy is not as strong, PMP suggested approaching the councillor, who would then appoint people to participate in the project. The community entry into the village of the sweet potato project was done in this way. The councillor put the UDO field worker in touch with the leader of the local women’s group. As a result, all participating farmers in this village are also members of the women’s group. However, PMP pointed out that people identified by the councillor can still refuse to participate in the project, since decisions taken by the councillors are not as strict as the ones of the chief.

With the councillors it is really free and open, and people can say ‘yes, they want it’ or ‘no, they don’t want it’. It’s up to the people. If the people don’t want it, then the councillor says ‘I can’t do anything’. But if the councillor thinks ‘this is really good’, he tries first to convince the community that it’s good, and then again, it’s the people. If they want it, they take it. If they don’t want it, they won’t take it. (PMP, in-depth interview, May 25, 2007)

A further aspect pointed out by PML is that “it is better to collaborate with church leaders than with political leaders.” Priests and pastors have higher prestige than councillors, since they are perceived as more concerned about the problems of the communities, due to their frequent presence in the community (PML, in-depth interview, May 24, 2007). A similar argument was found among the Pastor and three workshop participants who stated that the political leader of their settlement does not “come down here” to provide enough support for them since he is “busy

with politics” (Pastor, field interview, May 14, 2007). By contrast, the Pastor was considered a trusted role model by the workshop participants. All five participants stated that they appreciate the work of the Pastor and trust that the Pastor supports only projects from which their community benefits, and which fulfil their needs (field interview, May 14, 2007). Similarly, the female leader of the community-based organisation of the literacy project team in Madang was described as very enthusiastic but was not a political leader (Volunteer L, field interview, May 24, 2007).

PML also mentioned that approaching new communities is a political process. Since the elections were in the near future at the time of research, PML recommended waiting to approach existing councillors and committees. They would re-form after the election, so that UDO would have to approach them again. Furthermore, FWW pointed out difficulties experienced when approaching a settlement community in Port Moresby without a strong leadership:

If you want the community to participate fully in the project, you expect to have a leader who stands up and speaks, and the people will obey. That was not there. There was no role model, a good leader who can stand up and the community will pay respect to the leader. It wasn't there because of this fighting for power and leadership. (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007)

## CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

This chapter analyses the findings from Chapter 4 and links them to the literature discussed in Chapter 2. The chapter is structured into three main parts, and answers the sub-questions for this research project:

- How is the PDC model employed in the development initiatives under investigation?
- What are the issues and factors impacting the PDC implementation process?
- How are these factors interrelated?
- What are the underlying themes influencing the implementation of PDC?

### PDC in the Development Initiatives

The findings indicate different levels of PDC in the development projects under investigation. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Bessette (2004) defines PDC as a planned activity, based on the one hand on participatory processes, and on the other hand on media and interpersonal communication, which facilitates a dialogue among different stakeholders, around a common development problem or goal, with the objective of developing and implementing a set of activities to contribute to its solution, or its realization, and which supports and accompanies this initiative. (p.8)

The findings reveal that the PDC activities integrated in the literacy project such as literacy committees, workshops and meetings, most closely follow Bessette's (2004) definition. Here, the activities integrated in the project design facilitate a dialogue among UDO staff and the beneficiaries, and involve both staff and beneficiaries in the design and implementation of communication activities. This was also acknowledged by two senior managers of the UDO head office in Port Moresby, who stated that the literacy project in Madang has integrated the most community participation in its strategy and tactics out of all current UDO projects in Papua New

Guinea (Senior Manager A, personal communication, May 10, 2007; Senior Manager B, personal communication, May 15, 2007). As the literacy project developed out of a previous literacy project, only here did the project beneficiaries participate in the defining and planning of the entire literacy project as well as executing the project. Whereas the communities of the other three projects generally participated only in the execution of the initiative, here, communities are involved in the decision-making processes of the development initiative, and participation is seen as the end-goal, which is crucial for PDC approaches (Melkote & Kandath, 2001). A further difference between the literacy project and the other three projects is the selection process of project communities. The majority of the project communities of the literacy project initiated the contact with UDO. In the other projects, UDO predominantly approached the project beneficiaries. This self-initiative on the part of the literacy project community was enabled as a result of UDO's campaigns to raise public awareness about the project, and through existing community groups seeking help from UDO for their undertakings. In addition, through participation in past UDO projects, many of the communities involved in the literacy project were already in contact with UDO when the project was in its initial planning stage. Consequently, the 10-step implementation model of Bessette (2004) was generally followed in the literacy project. First, a relationship with the local community was established, the local setting understood, and the community was involved from the beginning, as identified in Step 1 and Step 2 of Bessette's (2004) model of implementing PDC, as presented in Chapter 2 and displayed in Figure 1.

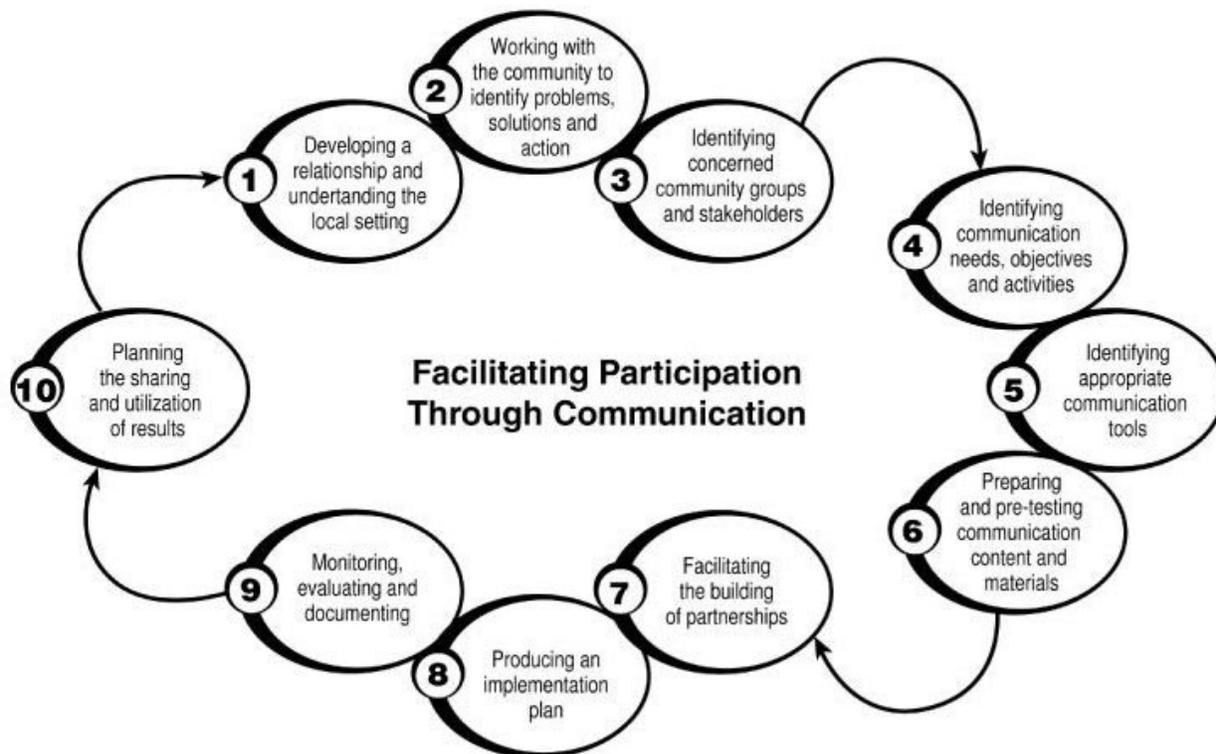


Figure1. Model of Participatory Development Communication of Bessette (2004, p. 35)

The remaining three projects were designed by UDO staff in Papua New Guinea and in the support offices in Australia and New Zealand, and were consequently less participatory in the starting phase of the project. Most of the project communities of these three projects were chosen and approached by the UDO project teams after the implementation plans were designed. This lack of beneficiaries' involvement contradicts an ideal PDC approach in which development is understood as a bottom-up process that encourages self-development of the local communities (Servaes, 2001). In those cases, Step 8 of Bessette's (2004) implementation model ("Producing an Implementation Plan") was employed in advance of all the other steps, and the implementation model was reversed. Although Bessette (2004) and Yoon (1996) stress that implementation models are only a point of reference that might need to be adjusted to the specific context, this reverse of the model reflects the little involvement of the beneficiaries in

the early decision-making of the development initiative that is the basis of PDC approaches (Bessette, 2004). In these three projects, to various extents, participation is seen as a means to achieve the development goals that have been selected by UDO. As discussed in Chapter 2, this type of participation is identified as participation-as-a-means by several scholars (Huesca, 2002; Mefalopulos, 2005; Melkote & Kandath, 2001; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Yoon, 1996). The integration of participation-as-a-means becomes obvious in the HIV/AIDS project. The project integrates the most communication elements in its strategies and tactics out of all the projects, since one of the project's objectives is HIV/AIDS awareness-raising to reduce rejection, discrimination, and stigma connected to HIV/AIDS. However, although activities such as drama performances and live music could potentially be participatory, in the sense that people can participate in them, the community awareness activities hardly involve the audience actively in the process, as described by PMH (Chapter 4, p.61). In particular, drama groups have the potential to be highly participatory and with participation as an end-goal, as seen in the Wan Smolbag Theatre in the South Pacific island nation of Vanuatu (DeVries, 2004, January 19). The Wan Smolbag Theatre is a grassroots NGO using live theatre and participatory drama workshops to address social, health, and environmental issues. Its mission is "solving problems together, energizing to take action, and adding drama to development in the Pacific" (Wan Smolbag Theatre, 2007, Wan Smol Bag Theatre, para. 1). Dialogue through participation and horizontal communication is achieved with its participatory dramas (DeVries, 2004, January 19). This potential of drama groups to be a PDC activity may explain why Senior Manager B suggested that the HIV/AIDS and the literacy project include the most PDC activities in its approach. However, in practice in the HIV/AIDS project, the drama group was considered a means to "dramatise the information [the UDO project staff] want to give in the presentation to become

available in the community and on the topics that we want” (PMH, in-depth interview, May 25, 2007). This shows that the drama group was actually used to achieve a development goal selected by UDO without the involvement of the beneficiaries. Furthermore, this reveals that Senior Manager B understands PDC activities as activities that foster participation-as-a-means. Similar conclusions can be drawn in the women’s livelihood and the sweet potato projects. The main communication activities in the women’s livelihood project are workshops that are generally considered PDC activities (Bessette, 2004; Morris, 2003; Morris, 2004). The volunteers are involved in the execution of the activity. However, here again, the identification of the goals of the development initiative and the selection of the communication activities were done by UDO. PMW’s description that beneficiaries are approached with the statement “this is the project that we have” (in-depth interview, May 17, 2007; Chapter 4, p. 62) shows the marginal involvement of beneficiaries in the planning phase of the project. Likewise, the participatory technology development meetings of the sweet potato project reflect that project communities can participate in activities but cannot participate in the design of them. An exception is the literacy component of FWW for the women’s livelihood project. Here, it was envisaged that the community be fully involved in the decision-making process from the very start of the programme. Hence, the development communication of the HIV/AIDS, women’s livelihood and sweet potato projects can generally be categorised as “participatory diffusion” (Rogers, 2006), since their ideas arose from UDO staff but their introductions were through possible participatory channels, such as community committees (women’s livelihood project), meetings (all three projects), collaboration with community volunteers (all three projects), drama groups (HIV/AIDS project), and workshops (women’s livelihood project).

### Ten Factors and Three Underlying Themes in the Implementation Process

The findings of the field research in Papua New Guinea reveal ten highly interrelated factors and three underlying themes influencing the PDC implementation in this specific context. To reduce the complexity of the interrelations between the factors, the factors are discussed in three groups, clustered around the three underlying themes (a) the attitudes of UDO staff toward PDC approaches, (b) meeting the perceived need of the beneficiaries, and (c) establishment of a level of trust between the beneficiaries and UDO. Most of the factors impact on several other factors, but are only discussed once within the cluster in which their impact is the greatest. The factor *donor-driven project design* similarly impacts within all three themes, and contributes to the discussion at several stages. The communication context shapes the ground for the entire PDC implementation process, and is discussed separately. Therefore, the factor *communication context* is not discussed in this section.

#### *Attitudes and Behaviour of UDO staff toward PDC*

Several participants (AA, AS, FWW, SMD) and studies by Bessette (2004), Cadiz (2005), Stuart (1994), and Yoon (1996) indicate that the commitment, passion and attitudes of the development worker impacts the way the development worker interacts with the local people, and, in turn, impact whether the local community participates. All of the interviewed project managers considered the beneficiaries active stakeholders of the development initiative, as is considered essential for the implementation of a PDC approach, according to Bessette (2004) and Cadiz (2005). However, the project managers' understanding of what defines an active stakeholder and the general attitude of the project team members towards beneficiary involvement and participation varied. PML, PMH and FWW saw the benefit of participatory approaches primarily in empowering the beneficiaries to be able to help themselves, which is the

ultimate goal of ideal PDC approaches (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). FWW, coming from the academic field, was convinced through studies of several development approaches in Papua New Guinea that the success of development programmes depends on participatory approaches to initiate action and bottom-up planning. As a result of her conviction, she approached communities with the idea of the participatory literacy programme. She fully put the decision-making of the literacy initiative in the hands of the beneficiaries by stating that it would be the project of the community and she “will not come down and do whatever [she wants]” (in-depth interview, May 16, 2007; Chapter 4, p. 73). Therefore, she followed Stuart’s (1994) suggestions of implementing a PDC approach that includes putting the local people at the forefront and the project implementers in the background.

PMH’s statement that the project team is “happy” to support the beneficiaries in self-development activities that empower them (in-depth interview, May 15, 2007; Chapter 4, p.75) indicates his willingness to integrate the beneficiaries fully in the development initiatives. However, PMH mentioned difficulties in translating the instructions of the project proposal into PDC activities. PMH referred to appropriate HIV/AIDS awareness raising strategies at the community level and participatory HIV/AIDS information sessions. Both of these instructions could be designed as highly participatory activities. However, he did not seem to understand how the beneficiaries could contribute to the identification of appropriate communication strategies, and the issues connected to HIV/AIDS. He considered “directing [into] new directions” to be the role of the project manager and not the role of the beneficiaries (in-depth interview, May 15, 2007; Chapter 4, p.64).

Two of the project managers (PML, PMW) described their responsibility as teaching the beneficiaries “how to catch fish” instead of directly giving them the “fish” (Chapter 4, pp.73-75).

This view demonstrates a general openness to a PDC approach that encourages bottom-up development and self-development of the communities (Servaes, 2001). Furthermore, it reflects the underlying assumption of PDC that “one cannot help people permanently by always doing for them what they can do for themselves or, more to the point what they can be taught to do for themselves” (Agunga et al., 2006, p. 2). PML viewed the project beneficiaries as being eager for as much knowledge as possible since they understood that UDO’s project is time restricted and that the knowledge will improve their lives. He considered “we just feed them information and they think for themselves” as a means to involve the beneficiaries in the decision-making, and to empower them to change their lives in the long-term (in-depth interview, May 24, 2007).

By contrast, PMW, who also used the metaphor of teaching how to fish, seemed to see the benefits of involving the beneficiaries in the implementation process from a different perspective. He asserted that he can only collaborate with groups that are interested and want to participate in UDO’s activities, since he has the pressure to meet certain targets. He further considered FWW’s participatory literacy initiative a “one-off idea”. Similarly, FWW had the impression that her initiative was not supported by PMW and the other staff members because they did not understand the importance of participatory approaches. Furthermore, the teaching metaphor he used can also imply a one-way communication flow from the teacher to the student. This suggests that PMW sees the participation of the beneficiaries in pre-decided activities rather than in the decision-making and planning of the project design, contrary to the underlying assumption of PDC approaches (Bessette, 2004). His attitude appears to be that he has to motivate the beneficiaries and has to make the development initiative interesting for them, instead of the attitude that the initiative reflects the beneficiaries’ need. This could lead to the conclusion that PMW actually sees the goal of PDC as people participating in the activities so

that his own targets are fulfilled, and not as empowering beneficiaries. Such a conclusion explains his lack of support observed by his field staff (FWW) for the participatory literacy programme of the women's livelihood project.

PMP also saw personal benefit to the UDO project team gained through PDC techniques. She identified clear advantages of PDC activities such as participatory technology development meetings, since they lead to a better knowledge-sharing among the farmers. However, her statements, "this meeting really helped in changing the attitude of the other farmers," and "I really wanted that because we had good farmers in other districts where they didn't complain; they worked really nicely with us," demonstrate that she understands the participatory activity as a means to facilitate the implementation of the UDO sweet potato project, and not necessarily as a means to involve the beneficiaries fully in the decision-making process. Her understanding, similar to PMW's understanding, contradicts the underlying philosophies of an ideal PDC approach in which participation-as-an-end is favoured and participation-as-a-means is criticised as being "a process where the participation of the intended beneficiaries is obtained to actually serve the ends of authorities"(Melkote & Kandath, 2001, p. 192). The argument of Melkote and Steeves (2001) that PDC approaches have never really taken root among development organisations, since they are not completely appreciated by the development workers, was supported in the case of PMW, PMP, and PMH. This lack of appreciation for truly empowering PDC activities among the three project managers may contribute to the explanation why the PDC levels in the women's livelihood, the sweet potato, and the HIV/AIDS projects are very low.

*Factors Influencing Attitudes and Behaviour of UDO Staff toward PDC*

The findings indicate that four factors influence the attitude of UDO staff toward PDC, and consequently impact also their behaviour in the interaction with the beneficiaries. First, staff

attitudes and behaviours are influenced by their skills, knowledge, and biases gained before and during the period of time with UDO. Second, the actual organisational culture of UDO impacts their attitudes toward PDC. Third, the staff behaviour is restricted through the project design. Furthermore, the socio-cultural background of the development worker may impact staff attitudes and behaviour. Figure 2 shows the interrelation between the factors.

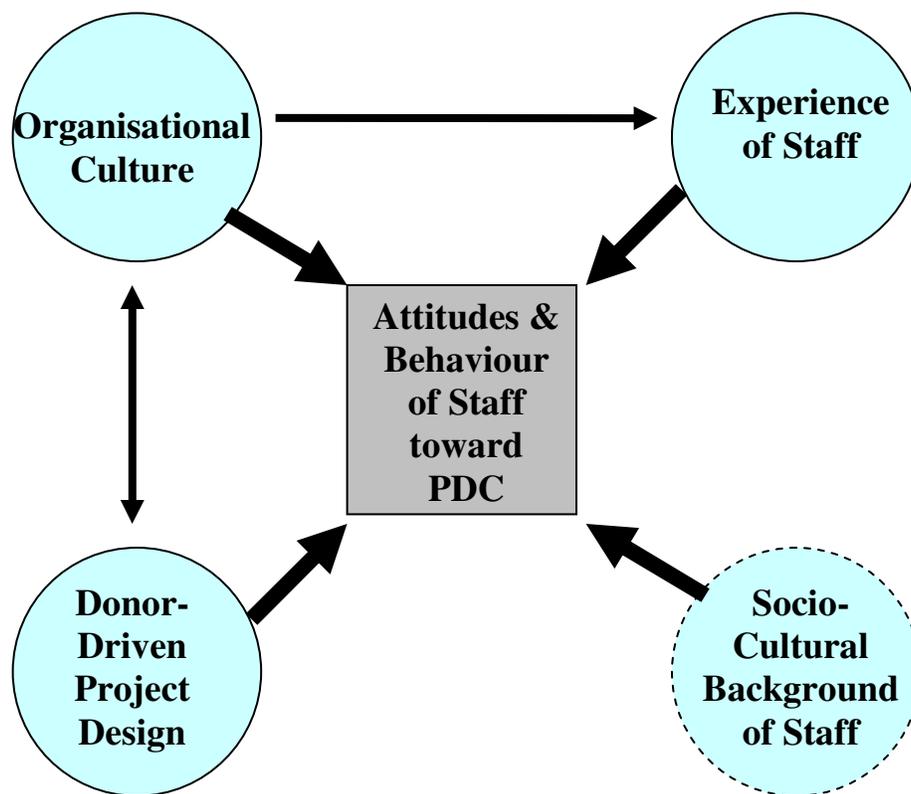


Figure 2. Factors Influencing Attitudes and Behaviours of Staff toward PDC

Note: The dotted line around Socio-cultural Background of Staff indicates it will be discussed below, in connection with another theme.

#### *Experience of UDO staff*

The case of FWW—as being the only field staff who initiated a process in which the beneficiaries’ decision-making started with the project planning phase—shows a link between the experience of a development worker and the worker’s attitude toward PDC. FWW, who had

studied PDC approaches, was truly convinced about the sustainability of PDC approaches and was eager to implement a PDC approach. Generally, the skills, knowledge and understanding of the development workers—and not only the ones academically gained—influence whether a PDC approach can be implemented (Yoon, 1996), an argument supported by FWW. Without knowledge of PDC methods, the methods and techniques logically cannot be implemented (Muturi, 2005).

### *Organisational Culture*

A further factor influencing the attitudes and behaviour of UDO staff toward implementing a PDC approach is the organisational culture of UDO. This result is surprising, as only few authors of previous studies (Huesca, 2002; Melkote & Steeves, 2001) direct their attention to organisational philosophies and organisational support when investigating issues influencing the implementation of PDC. The organisational or corporate culture is defined as “the underlying belief and value structure of an organization collectively shared by the employees and symbolically expressed in a variety of overt and subtle ways” (Clampitt, 2005, p. 47). The organisational culture does not strictly determine communication patterns of the staff, but it fosters certain types of interactions and beliefs, and constrains some options (Bolman & Deal, 2003; Clampitt, 2005). “The *stated* culture is what the organization aspires to be, whereas the *actual* culture represents the way the organization truly behaves” (Clampitt, 2005, p. 51). Corporate slogans, philosophies and value statements present the stated culture (Clampitt, 2005). The strategic direction of the organisation, the leadership of the senior level team, and whether the delivery of PDC training is engrained in the organisation’s approach are, therefore, symptoms of UDO’s actual organisational culture. Through communicating with other members of the organisation, staff members learn their roles in the organisation and the kinds of actions

that are expected of them by the other members (Conrad & Poole, 2004). Consequently, the attitudes and behaviours of UDO staff are shaped by UDO's organisational culture.

Although the vision and mission statements of UDO—the stated organisational culture—emphasise participatory approaches and state that the organisation should “respect the poor as active participants, not passive recipients” (UDO, 2007, Core values, para. 3), UDO did not fully integrate PDC approaches in its actual organisational culture. It is particularly crucial that the managers and senior managers understand and support PDC approaches, since the employees at the highest level are the main creators and carriers of the organisational culture (Clampitt, 2005). However, in the organisational culture as observed, the highly-participatory literacy component of the women's livelihood project was not sufficiently supported by the other project managers. Furthermore, the previously discussed statement of Senior Manger B (p. 97) reflects an understanding of participation that is different from the ideals of a PDC approach. The importance of the guidance by the senior level management explains why FWW identified the lack of support and understanding of PDC approaches from within UDO as one of the major factors hindering the implementation of the participatory literacy programme.

In addition, the organisational procedures negatively impact the collaboration with the project communities (PMW, Chapter 4, p. 65). The organisational culture also affects the prevalent attitude toward staff being trained in PDC skills, and therefore impacts whether staff gain appropriate skills and procedural knowledge of how to implement a PDC approach. Although the importance of soft skills and communication skills is acknowledged by the present senior level staff of UDO (SMD), UDO staff have little development experience and are not yet trained in PDC skills. The former senior management did not introduce the new commonly used design, monitoring, and evaluation method that promotes community ownership and active

participation (Chapter 4, p.64). UDO's organisational environment appears to be similar to the environment of the organisation in a study by Muturi and Mwangi (2006) that identified several organisational problems that undermine the successful implementation of the PDC approach, such as personal issues, the lack of professionalism within the organisation, leadership problems, and staff capacity constraints. These findings of UDO's organisational culture are in accordance with Melkote and Steeves (2001) who argue that PDC approaches generally have not been fully integrated in the practices of development organisations, due to a lack of skills and appreciation of the approach by the development workers. However, according to one optimistic UDO staff member (FWW), the recent management changes will eventually lead the organisation towards successful participatory community development, since UDO only "need[s] people with the ideas to actually initiate and implement [participatory community development]. If there is no idea, you cannot implement anything" (in-depth interview, May 16, 2007). The introduction of the new method, which focuses on participatory implementation processes, further contributes to a continuing strategic direction by UDO toward PDC. According to FWW, the organisational culture, therefore, can form the environment that enables the implementation of PDC approaches.

#### *Donor-driven Project Design*

The behaviour of UDO staff is further biased by the donor-approved project proposal since this is the general framework for the activities undertaken in the project. UDO depends on funds for its projects, as is typical of NGOs in general (Makoba, 2002), and the UDO's projects in Papua New Guinea are generally designed following the usual funding scheme: The initial project idea often develops out of an open funding opportunity. The project proposals are routinely written to fit the funding criteria of donors, as discussed in Chapter 4, even if this

means that the stated organisational culture is not followed. This is commonly experienced among NGOs, since “NGOs have a strong financial incentive to tell donors what they think they want to hear – including adapting their work to donors’ priorities and inflating claims about what they achieve “(Mango, 2005, 1. Power, para. 1). Although in Papua New Guinea UDO depends on donor funding, the degree to which its projects are designed to fit the donor’s funding criteria is still left to UDO to determine, and reflects UDO’s organisational culture. Many NGOs hesitate to accept large amounts of official aid funds because their development approach differs qualitatively from the donor agency’s approach (Overseas Development Institute, 1995). Adapting extensively the project design to the funding parameters ultimately implies that the funding agency has a “powerful position” (Mango, 2005, 1. Power, para. 1) in the implementation of the development initiative.

Once the proposal is approved, the individual activities suggested in the proposal can be modified to a certain degree in the implementation process. All three project managers of the women’s livelihood, the HIV/AIDS, and the sweet potato projects (PMW, PMP, PMH; Chapter 4, p. 69) stated that they follow the general framework but they can change the individual activities undertaken during the implementation. An interesting finding is that all of the specific, project-based activities initiated by these three UDO project teams developed through dialogue with the beneficiaries, and are actually participatory—in contrast to the general design of these projects (income-generating activity for people affected by HIV/AIDS, participatory literacy programme of women’s livelihood project, women’s cooking group of sweet potato project). This finding suggests that the design that evolves from donor agency parameters reflects the underlying assumptions of “participatory diffusion” (Rogers, 2006). Therefore, the conclusion that the HIV/AIDS, the women’s livelihood, and the sweet potato projects follow the

participatory diffusion approach is further supported. Since donor-funded projects are common practise within UDO, the conclusion is drawn that the participatory diffusion approach is engrained in the organisational culture of UDO. This implies that the attitude of UDO staff may be shaped by the participatory diffusion approach.

#### *Meeting Perceived Needs*

The findings of Chapter 4, pp. 78-81 further reveal that meeting the needs of the beneficiaries is considered crucial for implementing PDC by both UDO development workers (PMP, AA, AS, SMD, PML) and beneficiaries (Volunteer L, business skills workshop participants, farmers). PMP even categorised meeting the needs as one of the three main factors influencing the applicability of PDC approaches because “if [the community members] are crying out for [the project] and finally you brought it, . . . then they want to really participate in your project.” The findings further indicate that the literacy project has the highest PDC level, and also it fully meets the needs of the participating villagers, as stated by its project manager (PML) and the community volunteer (Volunteer L). As outlined by several participants (AA, PML, FWW) in Chapter 4 and as described in Chapter 1 (Government of Papua New Guinea & United Nations in Papua New Guinea, 2004; NZAID, 2007), access to health and education services in Papua New Guinea, especially in the rural areas, is limited. This scarcity generates a general need for services in the communities. The water sanitation advisor, AS, further suggest that this general need informs the motivation to participate in development initiatives that meet the basic needs of the beneficiaries, and fosters PDC approaches. These findings are not surprising, since the underlying assumption of an ideal PDC approach is that the local needs are met with the PDC initiative (Servaes, 2001). As meeting the needs is the basis of a PDC approach, the relevant literature does not consider meeting the needs a factor influencing the

implementation but rather an essential requirement for the implementation (Anyaebugnam et al., 2004; Bessette, 2004; Servaes, 2001). However, a crucial factor for the acceptance of a PDC approach in the literacy project is that the need is also acknowledged and perceived to be a need by the beneficiaries (Chapter 4, pp.79-81). Nagai (1999) states that when people understand and perceive the need, then they feel responsible for the change. This feeling of responsibility, in turn, is the basis for their motivation to participate (Stuart, 1994). By contrast, communities who refused to participate in the literacy project did not consider the prevalent low literacy rate an issue that needed to be changed. Similar links between meeting the needs of the project community, the needs perception of the beneficiaries, and the application of a PDC approach, were found in the other three projects. The business skills workshop for women was highly welcomed by the workshop participants, and more women wanted to participate than places available in it. The Pastor and the workshop participants both emphasised that the reason for the high interest is because they need business skills. Furthermore, all farmers of the sweet potato project stated their interest in growing sweet potato varieties as their motivation to participate in the project, which demonstrates that having an interest and having a need can similarly influence the willingness to participate in the project implementation. However, as seen in the drop-out rate of half of the farmers in this specific community, an interest alone does not necessarily lead to a constant willingness to participate in the project. These findings are in line with Stuart (1994) and Onabajo (2005), who argue that only development initiatives that are perceived to be relevant and responsive by the local people result in permanent commitment of the local people, even after the development organisation withdraws. In turn, permanent commitment leads to sustainable development (Onabajo, 2005; Stuart, 1994).

By contrast, in the HIV/AIDS project, the need for HIV/AIDS care centres was only perceived to be a need by UDO. The communities either did not perceive them to be a need, as explained by PMH, or they did not want to engage in activities related to HIV/AIDS due to its stigma. Consequently, this perception of the unimportance of HIV/AIDS facilities negatively influences the community members' willingness to participate in the activities, as seen in the community's modest engagement in the HIV/AIDS initiatives. Onabajo's (2005) argument is in line with this conclusion: the only insurance to successful implementation of a PDC approach is that the beneficiaries recognise the need to empower and motivate themselves.

#### *Factors Influencing Meeting Perceived Needs*

The findings identify five factors that influence whether the perceived needs of the beneficiaries are met. These are needs analysis, donor-driven project design, collaboration with existing groups, expectations of communities, and the compensation of volunteers, as presented in Figure 3.

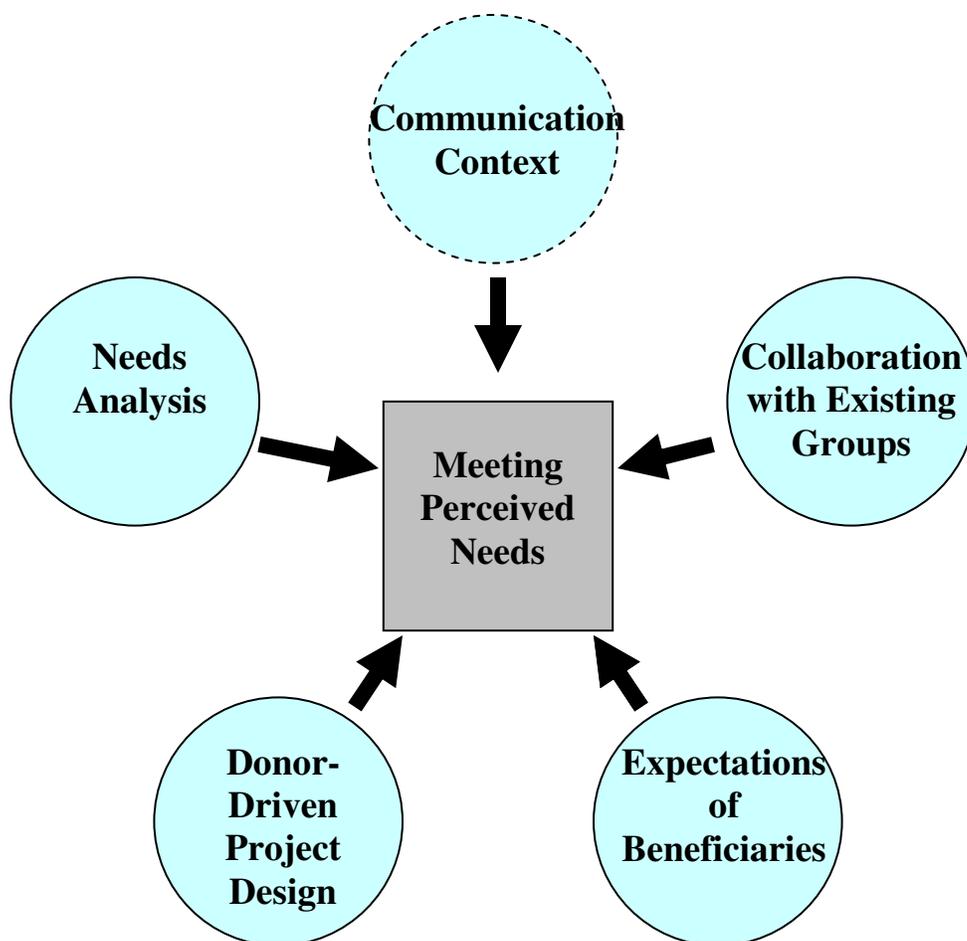


Figure 3. Factors Influencing Meeting Perceived Needs

Note: The dotted line around Communication Context indicates it will be discussed below separately.

#### *Needs Analysis*

As perceived needs differ, FWW argued that a needs analysis for each individual community and community group is essential for the project design. The literacy project with the highest PDC level is the only project that developed out of the evaluation of a previous project where a community-based and community-specific needs analysis was conducted. For the other three projects, generally available statistics and figures were used for the needs identification but

no community-specific needs analysis was conducted among the intended beneficiaries. As a consequence, the perceived and recognised needs of the beneficiaries are not reflected in the project design of these three projects. As discussed in Section PDC in the Development Initiatives, the HIV/AIDS, women's livelihood, and sweet potato projects started with Step 8 of Bessette's (2004) model ("Producing an implementation plan") and disregarded Step 4 ("Identifying communication needs, objectives and activities"). Similarly, Balit (2004) argues that research on the needs of a community, although an integral part of a PDC approach, is often not carried out before the implementation of a development initiative. Furthermore, many project proposals were written in the support offices outside of Papua New Guinea (Senior Manager B), and did therefore not integrate sufficiently the "local situation, [and] the problem[s] of this country" (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007). As argued by Shahjahan, Khan, and Haque (2006), formative research ensures comprehension and cultural acceptability. The findings of this research extend the findings of Shahjahan, Khan, and Haque, and reveal that formative research also ensures that the perceived needs of the beneficiaries are known. Therefore, formative research, in particular a needs analysis among the beneficiaries, contributes to the project's meeting the perceived needs of the beneficiaries and, in turn, increases the beneficiaries' willingness to participate.

An alternative way to ensure that the perceived needs are met was argued by Volunteer L, who stated that the needs adaptation in the literacy project was enabled because the project idea originated in the community. In addition, the close collaboration between UDO and the community ensured the project's continuous meeting of the perceived needs. This, however, implies that the communication between UDO and the beneficiaries allows the beneficiaries to express their perceived needs. Mefalopulos' (2005) point of view, as cited previously, applies

here: “Achieving sustainability in rural development depends largely on the way stakeholders perceive the proposed change and the way they are involved in assessing and deciding about how that change should be achieved” (p. 248).

#### *Donor-driven Project Design*

The donor-driven project design also affects, for various reasons, whether the perceived needs of the beneficiaries are recognised in the planning of the development project. First, UDO normally approaches the project communities after the project is designed and approved by the donor. According to UDO staff, the reason is to avoid raising false expectations about a project’s coming into a community among the community members. However, this implies that also no community-specific needs analysis is conducted. Second, since project proposals need to fit the criteria of funding agencies, the perceived needs of the specific project communities are not necessarily integrated in the project proposal. Third, once the funding is approved and the timeframe of the project set, UDO needs to start promptly with the implementation of the project to meet the set objectives within the timeline. Similar experiences are disclosed in studies by Huesca (2002) and Balit (2002), as discussed in Chapter 2, pp. 28-29. The time pressure is an additional factor that moves Step 8 of Bessette’s (2004) implementation model (“Producing an Implementation Plan”) to a premature stage of the project. This explains why the three projects that follow a typical funding scheme (HIV/AIDS, women’s livelihood, and the sweet potato project) do not necessarily meet the perceived needs of the project communities.

#### *Collaboration with Existing Groups*

Three of the four projects under investigation (literacy project, women’s livelihood project, sweet potato project) approached already-existing groups in the community as beneficiaries of the project. Since the perceived needs of those groups are engrained in the

objectives of the groups, the collaboration with them ensured that the perceived needs of the beneficiaries were met, and, in turn, fostered the active participation of the beneficiaries. Similar conclusions are made by Thurston et al. (2004) who state that in order to be willing to participate, all members of any working committee need to have a common goal that can only be accomplished by their joint participation. Interestingly, this finding actually supports Bessette's (2004) point of criticism that through PDC approaches, decisions taken in the name of the community often reflect the interest of only one group. On the other hand, UDO staff (AA, FWS, PML, PMP) stated that collaborating with one group entails the risk that the project is commonly perceived to be an activity of the specific group, and other people hesitate to participate in it. However, since all the projects under investigation have a different focus and a specific target group (illiterate adults, women, people affected with HIV/AIDS, farmers), the projects do not aim to help the entire community anyway, but only a smaller target group. In contrast to the findings of Bessette (2004), Onabajo (2005), and Thurston et al. (2004) that it is difficult to reach a consensus through PDC among all affected people who have various priorities and development goals, the findings here demonstrate that collaborating with an existing group such as the community-based organisation of the literacy project, creates a supportive environment for implementing a PDC approach. Since existing groups have a common objective and a common interest, the processes of consensus-reaching and decision-making are facilitated and are also reached through PDC approaches in which all affected people have a say in the decision-making process. Since in rural areas in Papua New Guinea many clearly structured ethnic groups exist (FWW), PDC approaches are more easily implemented in the rural areas than in the urban settlements where no organised groups with a common goal exist. Contrary to Watson (2006), who states that cultural variations are potential impediments to the effective implementation of

development communication in Papua New Guinea, in this particular case they assist the success of the project implementation. The knowledge about the structure of the local community enabled the UDO project teams to facilitate an environment for a participatory project implementation.

The collaboration with existing groups entails additional advantages. Existing groups provide the infrastructure and facilities to support the implementation of a PDC approach. Generally, “if there is an existing group in place, it’s easier for group participation and community participation” (FWW, in-depth interview, May 16, 2007). The findings of this research, as well as of the studies of Bessette (2004), and Melkote and Steeves (2001), revealed that particularly the collaboration with church groups facilitates implementing PDC approaches, since these groups usually have the attitude and infrastructure to enable PDC approaches. In accordance with Melkote and Steeves (2001), the findings reveal that these church groups have already a form of low-cost, committed service through volunteerism and dedication. Church groups in Papua New Guinea have generally a bottom-up structure that creates a space, particularly for women, to participate in civil society (Maisonneuve, 2006). The findings display that in particular the social and practical aspects of religion, such as encouragement of dialogue, solidarity, and social activities, facilitate the implementation of PDC. The importance of these aspects of religion for the implementation is also pointed out by Melkote and Steeves (2001), although to a lesser degree of importance. Only one advantage of collaborating with church groups over collaborating with other common interest groups was found: a project in collaboration with church groups is commonly perceived to be an initiative open to the public. This perception fosters the participation of all stakeholders and, therefore, further facilitates the implementation of PDC approaches. Considering the minimal advantage of church groups over

other common interest groups, it is therefore not surprising that only a few scholars pay attention to the role of religious practices in development programmes, as was White's (2004) critique.

### *Expectations of Beneficiaries*

Another factor influencing the needs perception of the communities is their set of expectations. UDO staff (SMD, PML, PMW, FWW, AS, AA) encountered several expectations among the Papua New Guinean communities, and they assume that most of these expectations were developed through experiences with other development organisations. Since many organisations in Papua New Guinea applied non-participatory, top-down approaches (FWW; Nagai, 1999), staff suggested the community expect to be provided with a complete implementation plan, to be paid for their participation (SMD, FWW), and to receive free services (SMD, PMW, FWW, AS). Some communities had experienced NGOs' promising to work in the communities but then never starting, which decreased the beneficiaries' general trust of NGO activities, as described by FWW (Chapter 4, p. 84).

In particular, the expectation of the project communities to be compensated for their participation impact the implementation of a PDC approach. The findings outlined in Chapter 4, pp.84-87 reveal that when the volunteers are not paid for their time and efforts in the project, their willingness to engage in PDC activities is negatively influenced. This was similarly reported by UDO staff (AA, PMW, FWW, PMP, PML) and Volunteer L. This finding leads to the question about the underlying motives of the project beneficiaries to participate in the development initiative, as raised by AA (Chapter 4, p. 85): do the beneficiaries participate in order to get money, or in order to contribute to the long-term change that is the aim of the UDO development initiative (field interview, May 21, 2007)? Whereas the second motive refers to the underlying assumption of PDC approaches, that the poor are willing to participate in the

development and change process (Golooba-Mutebi, 2005), the first implies that participants see primarily their immediate, personal benefit of the development initiative. As emphasised by FWW, it is essential to keep in mind that “people rely on money for their day-to-day living . . . So, if you take women and engage them voluntary [sic] full time, how are they going to end?” (in-depth interview, May 16, 2007). As discussed in Chapter 2, Cadiz (2005) and Yoon (1996) also critique the ideal PDC approach that assumes that poor people have nothing better to do with their time than participate in a project that helps in the long run but does not help them feed their families day-by-day. Considering money to be the perceived need of the beneficiaries, their motivation to participate therefore reflects the argument that the perceived needs of the beneficiaries have to be met to enable a PDC approach. Payment is in particular crucial when their participation in the project is so time-consuming that it hinders their ability to earn money and fulfil their monetary needs in a different way (Cadiz, 2005; Yoon, 1996), which were stated reasons for the dropping out of previous volunteers (Volunteer L, PML).

However, whereas these time and compensation issues hindered finding new volunteers, and contributed to losing some volunteers, UDO presently collaborates with many volunteers who are actively involved in the projects. Interestingly, none of the present volunteers involved in the literacy project, the sweet potato project, and the business skills workshop of the women’s livelihood project mentioned time issues or compensation issues. As these activities fulfil already the perceived needs of the beneficiaries, the conclusion is drawn that the beneficiaries’ monetary needs do not dictate their willingness to participate when their other perceived needs are filled by the development initiative.

### *Trust Level*

The findings of the research further show that, according to UDO staff (SMD, PML, PMP), the project communities are more likely to participate in the development initiatives when they accept and trust it. As presented in Chapter 2, Bessette (2004) explains that trust in the development project motivates people to participate continuously. Acceptance of and trust in the development initiative, in turn, is facilitated when the UDO field staff establish a relationship with the beneficiaries. This finding is in accordance with Onabajo (2005), who argues that through entering into long term relationships with the communities, an environment of trust will be created that facilitates implementing a PDC approach. Generally, according to UDO senior level staff (SMD, in-depth interview, June 5, 2007; Chapter 4, p. 68) community members perceive a project “as an ongoing kind of relationship. It is a relationship. It becomes a very personal tie. It’s not a project to them.” This insight explains why communities that were already involved in previous literacy programmes, and consequently had the time to establish a relationship with the UDO project team and a level of trust, are generally interested in participating in further projects. The conclusion that trust is key in participatory development communication is supported by AS’s statement: “if the project gets extended, it is possible to have a real participatory approach” (in-depth interview, June 5, 2007).

### *Factors Influencing Trust Level*

Here again, five factors influence whether the beneficiaries and UDO staff enter into a relationship and a level of trust is established: donor-driven project design, acceptance of development worker by the community, socio-cultural background of development worker, leader-support, and communication context. Figure 4 displays the relationship.

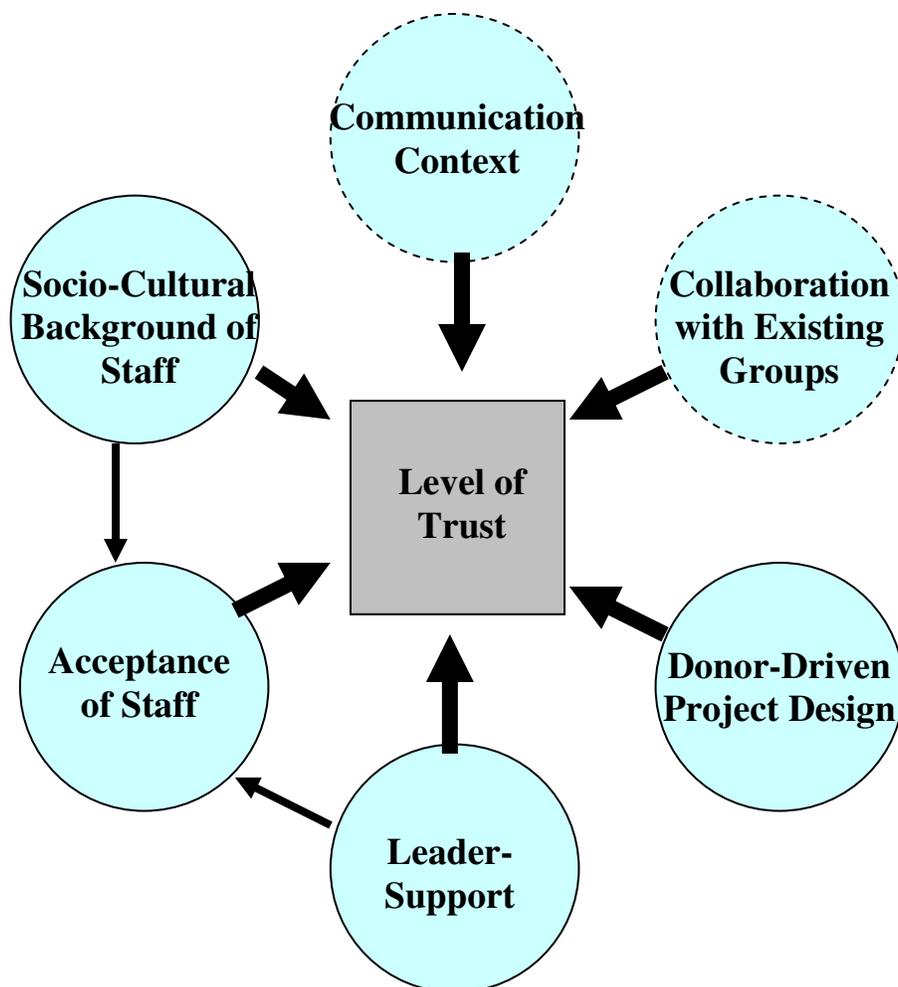


Figure 4. Factors Influencing Trust Level

Note: The dotted line around Communication Context and Collaboration with Existing Groups indicates it will not be discussed in connection with this theme.

#### *Donor-driven Project Design*

The short timeframe of the donor-driven projects limits the time to establish relationships (Chapter 4, pp. 67-69). However, relationships and a level of trust need time to be established, especially when working with new communities: “it seems that it needs more time to establish a project in a new community” than in a community where UDO worked already (FWS, field-interview, May 21, 2007). The time restriction therefore, impedes the establishment of trust between the project beneficiaries and the development organisation, especially when entering a

new community, which is mostly the case. In addition, the pressure to achieve the development goals in a set timeframe sometimes contributes to the project's starting at a date that is not suitable for the project community (SMD, Chapter 4, p. 68). This may further negatively impact the establishment of trust. By the time good relationships and a level of trust are established, most of the projects already are being phased out.

#### *Acceptance of Development Workers by the Community*

To trust the development project, communities have to trust the field workers. Generally, an accepted and trusted individual is someone who integrates well into the norms and standards of the community (PMP) or, in the best case, who originally comes from the same community (SMD). In turn, whether the development worker integrates into the community depends on the person's behaviour and attitude when approaching the communities (PMP; Stuart, 1994; Bessette, 2004). Whereas Stuart (1994) points out that the application of PDC demands a high level of immersion from field staff, Bessette (2004) adds that development workers have to understand the socially and legally accepted and acceptable norms to create an environment enabling a PDC approach. Stuart (1994) further emphasises that a PDC approach also demands a high level of credibility of field staff. The findings of the literacy project offer evidence for this argument. UDO staff have a very good reputation and credibility throughout the Madang area through previous projects—they facilitated the openness of the communities to work on UDO projects (PML, Volunteer L). Consequently, underlying factors such as the characteristics, behaviours, attitudes, and credibility of the development workers influence whether the development worker is accepted and trusted. This, in turn, influences the likelihood that the beneficiaries trust the project and are eager to participate and be involved in the development initiative.

### *Socio-cultural Background of Development Workers*

The argument of SMD that a development worker originally coming from the project community is the person who is most accepted and trusted by the community members, is supported by a well-established concept in the field of personal relationships. People enter into relationships with those they perceive to be similar to themselves in terms of attitudes or demographic characteristics (Canary, Cody, & Manusov, 2003; Guerrero, Andersen, & Afifi, 2001). However, in practice this involves other risks for an ideal PDC approach. As presented in Chapter 4, p. 77 the sweet potato project team did not place field workers in their home districts specifically in order to avoid field workers' privileging people of their own village, and discriminating against people outside their village (PMP). Considering the strong influence of the *Wantok* system in Papua New Guinea (Lockwood, 2004), and having in mind that all field staff are Papua New Guineans, risk of bias toward one's ingroup is an important point to consider when designing the project. The *Wantok* system, as described in Chapter 1, entraps people into doing favours for one's ingroup, even if these favours are not in the best interest for oneself (Crocombe, 2001; Romer & Renzaho, 2007), and, in this case, for the implementation of the project and the PDC approach. Furthermore, Papua New Guineans also expect to be privileged by members of their own *Wantok* group. Ultimately this socio-cultural system specific to Papua New Guinea, similar to the clientelism system mentioned by White (2004), has to be considered when planning a PDC approach in Papua New Guinea. Since the *Wantok* system means development workers from the same *Wantok* are accepted and trusted, but simultaneously also obligated to privilege their own clan, the principles of a PDC approach are undermined.

*Leader-Support*

PMP considered the type of community entry one of the three main factors influencing whether a PDC approach is accepted (Chapter 4, pp. 77, 90-92). The findings of the sweet potato project are in line with findings of authors (Bessette, 2004; Shahjahan et al., 2006) who reveal that cooperation and support from the authorities contribute to establishing a level of trust, support and ownership in the programme (Bessette, 2004; Shahjahan et al., 2006). However, who the critical authorities are varies across different projects (Bessette, 2004; Shahjahan, Khan, & Haque, 2006). Papua New Guinea's decentralised provincial governmental system (Matbob, 2006) may explain why local authorities, the chief or the councillor, are the critical partners who need to be approached initially. This local authority then introduces the UDO project team to potential groups in the community. In areas with a strong chieftaincy, the appointed group leader will generally support the initiative because the decisions of the chief are taken for granted (PMP). In areas where a chief is not so dominant, the decisions of the councillor are less strict, and the individual group leader decides whether he or she supports the initiative. In the communities in which people enthusiastically participate in UDO's activities (literacy project, business skills workshop of women's livelihood project), their leaders were very supportive of the initiatives and collaborated with UDO. Both of the leaders were described as enthusiastic, encouraging and trustworthy by the community members (Chapter 4, p. 92). Even in the community of the sweet potato project, all participating farmers belong to the same women's group and are attached to their leader. By contrast, difficulties in implementing a participatory literacy committee were experienced in the settlement community in Port Moresby (FWW), since the ethnically mixed community did not have a respected leader who supported the participatory literacy initiative. These findings demonstrate a link between the attributes of the

local leaders and the applicability of a PDC approach and are in accordance with findings of previous studies (Agunga et al., 2006; Cadiz, 2005; Yoon, 1996). As discussed in Chapter 2, Cadiz (2005) and Yoon (1996) argue that PDC approaches are only employable when supported by local leaders with attributes that foster participation, such as trustworthiness, commitment, and dedication. The local leader can fire the enthusiasm of the people and create faith in the initiative, which contribute to their willingness to actively participate in the initiative. This was particularly found in the literacy project and the business skills workshop, but also, to a lesser degree, in the sweet potato project.

The findings of this research resemble findings of Onabajo's (2005) research in Nigeria that reveal that the support by the local leader is especially important among members of women's groups. UDO collaborated with leaders of women's groups for the business skills workshop and the sweet potato project; however, the reasons were that the majority of sweet potato farmers in Papua New Guinea are female and the business skills workshop was for women only. Therefore, the collaboration with leaders of women's groups in those projects may rather demonstrate that, in order to establish support and trust in the initiative in those Papua New Guinean communities, it is important to collaborate with leaders who are close and similar to the intended direct beneficiaries. This conclusion is also substantiated with the concepts of attitudinal and demographic similarity in personal relationships (Canary et al., 2003; Guerrero et al., 2001): individuals establish relationships with people whom they perceive to be similar in attitudes and demographic characteristics, and consequently trust. PML stated that a higher level of trust can be achieved through collaboration with church leaders instead of political leaders, since church leaders have a higher prestige in the community because they are perceived to be part of the community and more concerned about the community members. In addition, since

UDO is a Christian organisation, Christian church leaders and church groups in general tend to support the UDO initiatives (FWW).

In contrast to Onabajo's (2005) findings, all leaders in the UDO project communities have formal leadership roles within their community, although not political roles. Collaborating with and being dependent on formal leaders to implement a PDC activity means disadvantages can arise when positions change. These consequences were experienced in the literacy project. Here, the UDO team planned to approach politicians to gain their support for the literacy project. However, this essential step in the project implementation needed to be postponed until after the forthcoming election took place, and the politician's positions were stable. Being dependent on people is an integral part of the nature of the PDC approach that falls and stands with the people involved (Yoon, 1996). Therefore, the dependency on the local leader can also have a negative influence the implementation of a PDC approach.

The question arises whether the participating community members are involved in the development initiatives because they trust and accept the activity, or whether they participate due to their leader's support for the activity. The first assumption leads to intrinsically motivated beneficiaries who perceive the activities to be seriously helpful. They are additionally encouraged through their leaders to participate. The second assumption leads to beneficiaries who are extrinsically motivated by cultural norms to follow their leader. The statement of FWW, who is a member of the Papua New Guinean culture, "if you want the community to participate fully in the project, you expect to have a leader who stands up and speaks, and the people will obey," describes extrinsically motivated beneficiaries who obey the decisions of the leader. Here, participation does not involve responsibility and the right to express divergent opinions, but refers to following the indisputable superiority of the Chief's opinion, which is an integral part of

many traditions (Bessette, 2004). This assumption contradicts the principles of an ideal PDC approach that wants to integrate all stakeholders equally in the decision-making process through horizontal and bottom-up communication structures (Servaes, 2001). This assumption also questions whether the ideal PDC approach is appropriate when the local cultural norms and traditions clearly respect the leader figure.

#### *Communication Context*

The findings reveal that both UDO staff (FWW, PMW) and the beneficiaries (Volunteer L) assume that communication that fully informs the beneficiaries about the project and their personal benefits increases their willingness to be involved in the project. Volunteer L argued that, in order to motivate people to participate voluntarily in the project, the type of communication must fulfil two criteria. First, the entire project community needs to be fully informed and aware of the scope of the project, and second, the communication between the project manager and the volunteers needs to be exact, precise and transparent. Onabajó (2005) maintains this second aspect, the open and honest communication, will translate into a higher level of trust between UDO staff and the beneficiaries, and then, in turn, into a higher level of participation in the activity.

In addition, other studies conclude that informing all beneficiaries about the intended project reduces the risk of raising false expectations (Bessette, 2004; Stuart, 1994; Thurston et al., 2004). Since Papua New Guineans have generally several expectations about development projects that are not met by UDO initiatives or any other PDC initiative (Chapter 4, pp. 83-84; Chapter 5, pp. 115-116), it is therefore essential to communicate openly and honestly. Fully informing all beneficiaries means that beneficiaries know what to expect from the specific UDO

initiative. This helps in creating an environment of trust and, therefore a better basis for implementing a PDC approach.

However, although all projects integrate mechanisms of two-way communication, in the form of regular meetings between UDO staff and the beneficiaries, all participants, including UDO staff and the beneficiaries, presented the information flow not as a two-way dialogue but rather as one-way information flow from the UDO staff to the beneficiaries. This was seen in the staff's and Volunteer L's descriptions of communication as *informing* the beneficiaries what UDO *intends* to do for them instead of *exchanging* information about what the beneficiaries *want* to do. The statement of PMH exemplifies this: "the goal in that committee was to steer the activities . . . I identified people who are with status in those different communities . . . and I highlighted and explained what I expected from them" (in-depth interview, May 15, 2007). The purpose of the participatory, two-way communication activities is often to transfer information in a one-way flow from UDO to the beneficiaries with little opportunities for the beneficiaries to interact.

Whereas many advocates of PDC approaches (Besette, 2004; Stuart, 1994; Thurston et al., 2004) also consider it crucially important to inform all involved stakeholders fully about the development process, they simultaneously emphasise that the communication system needs to facilitate the interaction among all stakeholders. Consequently, they do not refer to a one-way action, as communication is implemented in the UDO initiatives, but to a two way interaction. The underlying reason for the UDO staff interpretation might be, as previously discussed, the attitude of the development workers. This perception of the communication flow was also prevalent among the beneficiaries (Volunteer L), which may be another consequence of experiences with other agencies. Nevertheless, a one-way flow of information constrains the

beneficiaries from raising any questions, and they might then not be able to understand fully the development process. A one-way communication also constrains the beneficiaries to express their perceived needs. Therefore, a one-way flow of communication negatively influences the establishment of trust and interest in the initiative and consequently decreases the likelihood of a successful implementation of a PDC approach.

The statement of PMH also shows that not every stakeholder is involved in the meetings but only the “people who are with status in those communities” (PMH, in-depth interview, May 15, 2007). Similar findings were made in the sweet potato project where people are appointed by the chief or councillor. Since only selected people can participate in the meetings, only those people have a say and have a chance to clarify issues, which contradicts an ideal PDC approach (Bessette, 2004). The remaining community members may not fully understand the development initiative, which inhibits their participatory communication.

The variety of languages in Papua New Guinea, in particular in the urban settlements (Crocombe, 2001; Nagai, 1999) is another factor constraining the two-way communication exchange between UDO staff and beneficiaries, as well as among beneficiaries (FWW). The project team usually approaches the community members in either Tok Pisin or English for two reasons. First, due to the wide variety of languages it is unlikely that the field staff speak the local language. Second, the community members, especially in the settlements, often do not speak one common language, so that Tok Pisin serves as working language.

However, the use of either Tok Pisin or English negatively impacts the equal participation of all people involved. People without Tok Pisin or English language skills, who are most likely the most vulnerable ones (Crocombe, 2001), are less likely to participate when communication activities are in Tok Pisin. To avoid this unequal opportunity to participate, UDO

staff collaborate with local translators, as suggested by Balit (2004), Bessette (2004), and Thurston et al. (2004). However, whereas several scholars (Balit, 2004; Bessette, 2004; Thurston et al., 2004) argue that a local translator generally limits language barriers in communication activities, FWW experienced constrained communication between UDO and the project beneficiaries through an intermediary translator. Consequently, when people are unable to communicate in one common language, the information exchange between them is hindered; people do not fully understand the PDC process, cannot express their perceived needs, and have less interest and trust in the initiative. In turn, they participate less. As discussed in Chapter 2, several scholars (Melkote & Kandath, 2001; Muturi & Mwangi, 2006; Thurston et al., 2004) argue that a communication specialist facilitating the communication between all participants is essential for the implementation of a PDC approach. However, although FWW had exactly this role of facilitating and coordinating the literacy programme, the additional language issues transcended the reach of a facilitator and complicated the implementation process.

## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

This ethnographic study set out to investigate the crucial factors influencing the implementation process of PDC in the development projects of an international NGO in Papua New Guinea. Furthermore, the following four sub-questions were formulated:

- How is the PDC model employed in the development initiatives under investigation?
- What are the issues and factors impacting the PDC implementation process?
- How are these factors interrelated?
- What are the underlying themes influencing the implementation of PDC?

The study indicates that the PDC level is different in the four investigated projects. The literacy project has the highest PDC level, since the initial planning of the project was done in collaboration with the project community. Here, the PDC model of Bessette (2004) is followed most closely, and participation is seen as the end-goal. In the remaining three projects, the implementation process is reversed. These three projects follow the usual donor-driven funding scheme whereby a project proposal is written in accordance with a donor funding opportunity; all three were designed without the beneficiaries. Here, the project implementation contradicts an ideal PDC approach in which development is understood as a bottom-up process. All three projects integrate possible participatory channels: drama groups in the HIV/AIDS project, workshops in the women's livelihood project, and participatory technology development meetings in the sweet potato project. However, the participation is considered as (and implemented as) a means to achieve other development goals: only the execution of the activities involves the beneficiaries. The development communication in these three projects can be identified as participatory diffusion.

Analysis shows that the process of implementing a PDC approach in the specific context of the four development projects in Papua New Guinea initiated by UDO is shaped by a complex, interwoven set of ten factors and three themes. Each of the factors influences the implementation process and does not act independently. All of them are grouped around the three themes a) attitudes and behaviour of UDO staff, b) meeting perceived needs, and c) trust level between UDO and the beneficiaries.

PDC approaches can only be implemented when these three themes provide an environment supportive of PDC. The findings disclose that it is crucial that the UDO field staff have a positive attitude toward PDC approaches to facilitate an environment that enables beneficiaries' participation. All project managers considered the beneficiaries to be active stakeholders, but their understanding of what defines an active stakeholder differed. Two of the three project managers of the participatory diffusion projects considered empowering the beneficiaries as a main objective of the initiatives. However, one of these project managers considered directing the initiative to be the role of the project managers. He also mentioned difficulties in translating the instructions of the project proposal into PDC activities, and did not understand how the beneficiaries could contribute to the identification of appropriate communication strategies. The two other project managers seemed to see the personal benefit and the facilitation of the project implementation through PDC techniques, rather than the self-development of the project community. This lack of appreciation for truly empowering PDC activities among the three project managers may explain the low PDC levels in their projects. In contrast to the relevant literature that considers meeting the needs of the beneficiaries a requirement for the implementation, the findings of this research indicate that it is essential that the need must also be perceived to be a need *by the beneficiaries*. Communities who refused to

participate did not consider the needs met through the UDO initiatives to involve issues that needed to be changed. The only insurance to successful implementation of PDC is that the beneficiaries recognise the need to empower and motivate themselves. Additionally, a level of trust between the development organisation and the beneficiaries is key in PDC, since trust motivates people to participate continuously.

The ten interrelated factors include:

1. Communication context,
2. Experience of UDO staff,
3. Organisational culture,
4. Donor-driven project design,
5. Socio-cultural background of development worker
6. Needs analysis,
7. Collaboration with existing groups,
8. Expectations of communities,
9. Acceptance of development workers by the community,
10. Leader-support.

#### Attitudes and Behaviour of Staff toward PDC

The attitudes and behaviours of staff are influenced by four factors: the organisational culture of UDO, the experience of staff, the socio-cultural background of staff, and the project design. The important role of the actual organisational culture of UDO in the PDC implementation process is a surprising result, as only a few authors of previous studies emphasise its influence. The organisational culture of UDO, apparent in the form of mission and vision statements and general guidelines about procedures, impacts the organisational support of

PDC. Through communicating with other members of the organisation, staff members learn their roles in the organisation and the kinds of actions that are expected of them by the other members. Although the stated organisational culture of UDO integrates beneficiaries' involvement and partnerships between UDO and [?]the local beneficiaries, the organisation does not fully translate this stated mission into practice. The lack of skills and appreciation of the approach, and the dependency on the donor agency are reasons for it. The financial dependency on donors means that the project is often designed to fit the funding criteria, even if this implies that the stated organisational culture is not followed. The conclusion, therefore, must be that the current organisational culture of UDO, at least in part, negatively influences the implementation process of PDC in UDO's development projects in Papua New Guinea. Recent management changes promise to lead the organisation towards successful participatory community development in the future. Interestingly, all project-based activities initiated by the UDO project teams of the three participatory diffusion projects developed through dialogue with the beneficiaries, and are more participatory than the general design of these projects. This leads to the conclusion that the attitudes and behaviours of staff are also biased by the project design that follows the logic of participatory diffusion.

The organisational culture also determines whether staff are trained in PDC skills. A further interesting finding supported by the literature is the link between the knowledge and experience of staff, and their attitude toward implementing a PDC approach. Training in PDC skills can therefore foster the implementation of PDC approaches. Another factor influencing the attitudes of the Papua New Guinean field staff is their socio-cultural background. The prevalent *Wantok* system provokes that Papua New Guinean field workers may privilege people of their

kinship, and can constrain the implementation of a development approach where all beneficiaries participate equally.

### Meeting Perceived Needs

Whether the perceived needs of the beneficiaries are met depends on five interrelated factors: needs analysis, the afore-mentioned donor-driven project design, collaboration with existing groups, expectations of beneficiaries, and communication context.

A community-specific needs analysis among the beneficiaries is central to identify the perceived needs of the community. However, research on the needs of a community, although an integral part of a PDC approach, is often not carried out before the implementation, and many project proposals were written in the support offices outside of Papua New Guinea—a finding also supported by the literature. The donor-driven project design of the HIV/AIDS, the women's livelihood, and the sweet potato projects prevented an appropriate needs analysis before the project proposal was written. Due to UDO's financial dependency on donors, not only are the organisation's own goals for participation compromised, as already pointed out, but also because the specific focus of a project is mainly designed to fulfil the donor requirements, this design may not fulfil the perceived needs of the project community. These reasons explain why these three projects that follow a typical funding scheme do not necessarily meet the perceived needs of the project communities. The collaboration with existing groups in the community creates a supportive environment for the implementation of PDC. Already existing groups have a commonly perceived need. Since the projects aim to help target groups from the communities, the infrastructure of existing groups facilitates communities' participation of specific target groups. Church groups were found to be particularly supportive for participatory approaches, because they are considered to be open to the public.

Another factor influencing the PDC implementation was the expectations of the project communities, in particular the monetary expectations linked to participation in development projects. UDO staff experienced that community members are more likely to participate when they are compensated for their time and effort on the project. Since money may be the perceived need of the beneficiaries, this finding is not overly surprising. Payment is particularly crucial when their participation in the project is so time-consuming that their ability to earn money is hindered. Interestingly, none of the active volunteers mentioned time or money issues, which leads to the conclusion that beneficiaries are willing to participate on an unpaid basis when their perceived needs are met through the project.

#### Trust Level

The establishment of a level of trust between UDO and the beneficiaries is influenced by six factors: acceptance of staff by a community, socio-cultural background of staff, leader-support, donor-driven project design once again, collaboration with existing groups, and communication context.

A trust level can only be established when the development workers are accepted by the project communities, which is determined by underlying factors such as the characteristics, behaviours, attitudes, and credibility of the development workers. The collaboration with the leader or existing groups in the community further facilitates the establishment of trust in the development initiative and the development workers. In particular, the initial contact with the local leader of the community is important in the Papua New Guinean context. Who the critical authorities are differed across the projects. The study further shows a link between the attributes of the local leader and the applicability of a PDC approach. Although the implementation of an ideal PDC approach might be constrained through the indisputable superiority of the local leader,

the enthusiasm of the leader figures in the studied projects fostered the establishment of trust and participation in the initiatives. The findings suggest that the ideal PDC approach may not be appropriate when the local cultural norms and traditions clearly involve respect for the leader figure. The socio-cultural background of the field staff can increase the trust level of the community members, particularly when the field staff come from the same village and belong to the same *Wantok* kinship group—an argument that is further supported by a well-established concept in the field of relationship theory. The donor-driven project design also impacts on the trust level, since it dictates whether sufficient time is allowed to establish a relationship between the UDO team and the beneficiaries. By the time good relationships and a level of trust are established, most of the projects already are being phased out.

The general communication context between the UDO project team and the beneficiaries hinders the successful implementation of PDC. UDO staff and beneficiaries both emphasised that the beneficiaries have to be fully informed about the project to foster their participation. All projects integrate mechanisms of two-way communication. However, in contrast to PDC advocates who promote fully informing all stakeholders in a two-way interaction manner, the purpose of the two-way UDO communication activities is often to transfer information in a one-way flow from UDO to the beneficiaries. Furthermore, only selected people are involved in meetings. Additional constraints for a two-way interaction arise through the variety of languages in Papua New Guinea. The use of Tok Pisin as working language negatively impacts the equal participation of all people involved. Expectations raised through experiences with other development agencies, or any emerging issues during the project implementation cannot be clarified, as a consequence of the poor communication interaction. The establishment of a trust level is constrained, and the beneficiaries are hindered in expressing their perceived needs.

## Summary

The analysis shows that all the factors are highly interrelated. The major themes—attitudes and behaviour of staff, meeting perceived needs, and trust level—are crucial to implementing a PDC approach, but also other factors have essential roles and impact on several other factors. The communication context generally forms the base for PDC but is not sufficient for a PDC implementation. The time-restricted, donor-driven project design creates the ground on which the project is implemented but does not promote the implementation of an ideal PDC approach. The funding agency has therefore a major position in the PDC implementation. This study reveals that the Papua New Guinean cultural context provides an environment for PDC approaches. However, the organisational culture and the dependency on funding policies hinder employing a PDC approach that follows guidelines, such as the ones developed by Bessette (2004). The main decisions will, therefore, be made by UDO staff, and not by the beneficiaries themselves.

These findings are specific to the context of UDO in Papua New Guinea. They can form the basis for further investigations in Papua New Guinea in the development initiatives of other organisations, or in further projects of UDO in other countries.

## References

- Agunga, R., Aiyeru, S. B., & Annor-Frempong, F. (2006). Communication for local participation in project planning: A study of rural development workers in Ghana and Nigeria. *Journal of Development Communication, 16* (2), 1-14.
- Akpan, P. I. (2003). Basic needs to globalization: Are ICTs the missing link? *Information Technology for Development, 10*(4), 261-274.
- Anyaebugnam, C., Mefalopulos, P., & Moetsabi, T. (2004). *Participatory rural communication appraisal. A handbook* (2nd ed.). Rome: SADC Centre of Communication for Development Harare and Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
- Apentiik, C. R. A., & Parpart, J. L. (2006). Working in different cultures: Issues of race, ethnicity and identity. In V. Desai & R. B. Potter (Eds.), *Doing development research* (pp. 34-43). London: Sage.
- Atkinson, P., & Coffey, A. (2002). Revisiting the relationship between participant observation and interviewing. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 801-814). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Balit, S. (2004). Listening to rural women. *Journal of Development Communication, 15*(2), 69-79.
- Bessette, G. (2004). *Involving the community: A guide to participatory development communication*. Penang: Southbond and International Development Research Centre.
- Binns, T. (2006). Doing fieldwork in developing countries: Planning and logistics. In V. Desai & R. B. Potter (Eds.), *Doing development research* (pp. 13-24). London: Sage.
- Bolman, L. G., & Deal, T. E. (2003). *Reframing organizations: Artistry, choice, and leadership* (3rd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

- Brender, L. (2005). Writing at riverside health services: n ethnographical study in entrepreneurial communication. *Business Communication Quarterly*, 68 (3), 335-339.
- Brown, D. S., Brown, J. C., & Desposato, S. W. (2007). Promoting and preventing political change through internationally funded NGO activity. *Latin American Research Review*, 42(1), 126-138.
- Bruce, E. (n.d.). *Project Positive Living: A proposal for PLWHAs and affected communities*. [Unnamed Development Organisation] Melanesia.
- Brydon, L. (2006). Ethical practices in doing development research. In V. Desai & R. B. Potter (Eds.), *Doing development research* (pp. 25-33). London: Sage.
- Bryman, A. (2001). *Social research methods*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cadiz, M. C. H. (2005). Communication for empowerment: The practice of participatory communication in development. In O. Hemer & T. Tufte (Eds.), *Media and glocal change. Rethinking communication for development* (pp. 145-158). Buenos Aires: CLACSO.
- Canary, D. J., Cody, M. J., & Manusov, V. L. (2003). *Interpersonal communication: A goals-based approach* (3rd ed.). Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's.
- Centeno, J. G., Anderson, R. T., Restrepo, M. A., Jacobson, P. F., Guendouzi, J., Müller, N., et al. (2007). Ethnographic and sociolinguistic aspects of communication: Research-praxis relationships. *The ASHA Leader*, 12(9), 12-15.
- Chang, L.-Y. (2006, July, 23-28). *Rethinking participation in development communication: A dialogue with the Diffusion Model*. Paper presented at the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) 25th Conference and General Assembly, Cairo.

- Chapman, D., & Tenenoe, T. (2005). *World Vision in Papua New Guinea: Future engagement analysis and options*: World Vision Australia.
- Chilisa, B., & Preece, J. (2005). *Research methods for adult educators in Africa*. Hamburg, Germany: UNESCO Institute for Education.
- Chitnis, K. (2005). *Recasting the process of participatory communication through Freirean praxis: The case of the comprehensive rural health project in Jamkhed, India*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association, New York.
- Clampitt, P. G. (2005). *Communicating for managerial effectiveness* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Collis, J., & Hussey, R. (2003). *Business research: A practical guide for undergraduate and postgraduate students* (2nd ed.). Houndsmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Conrad, C., & Poole, M. S. (2004). *Strategic organizational communication: In a global economy* (6th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing.
- Corbetta, P. (2003). *Social research: Theory, methods and techniques*. London: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Crocombe, R. (2001). *The South Pacific*. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific.
- DeVries, K. O. (2004, January 19). Wan Smolbag Theatre - Vanuatu. *The Drum Beat*. Retrieved March 15, 2007 from [http://www.comminit.com/drum\\_beat\\_232.html](http://www.comminit.com/drum_beat_232.html).
- Donge, J. K. v. (2006). Ethnography and participant observation. In V. Desai & R. B. Potter (Eds.), *Doing development research* (pp. 180-188). London: Sage.

- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (1995). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Figuroa, M. E., Kincaid, D. L., Rani, M., & Lewis, G. (2002). *Communication for social change: An integrated model for measuring the process and its outcomes*. New York: The Rockefeller Foundation.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Gewertz, D., & Errington, F. (2004). Toward an ethnographically grounded study of modernity in Papua New Guinea. In V. S. Lockwood (Ed.), *Globalisation and culture change in the Pacific Islands* (pp. 273-284). Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Goldbart, J., & Hustler, D. (2005). Ethnography. In B. Somekh & C. Lewin (Eds.), *Research methods in the social sciences* (pp. 16-23). London: Sage.
- Golooba-Mutebi, F. (2005). Witchcraft, social cohesion and participation in a South African village. *Development and Change*, 36(5), 937-958.
- Government of Papua New Guinea, & United Nations in Papua New Guinea. (2004). *Papua New Guinea - Millennium Development Goals Progress Report 2004*. Retrieved October 8, 2007 from [http://www.undg.org/archive\\_docs/5835-Papua\\_New\\_Guinea\\_MDG\\_Report.pdf](http://www.undg.org/archive_docs/5835-Papua_New_Guinea_MDG_Report.pdf)
- Guerrero, L. K., Andersen, P. A., & Afifi, W. A. (2001). *Close encounters: Communicating in relationships*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Habermas, J. (1984). *The theory of communicative action, Vol.1: Reason and the rationalization of society*. Boston: Beacon Press.

- Huesca, R. (2002). Participatory approaches to communication for development. In W. B. Gudykunst & B. Mody (Eds.), *Handbook of international and intercultural communication, 2nd ed.* (pp. 499-517). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ivahupa, S., Brown, D., Bourke, R.M., Henderson, S., Guaf, E. (2007). *Farmer evaluation and multiplication of sweet potato varieties on the North Coast of Papua New Guinea: Technical Report.* [Unnamed Development Organisation] Papua New Guinea.
- Jacobson, T. L., & Storey, J. D. (2004). Development communication and participation: Applying Habermas to a case study of population programs in Nepal. *Communication Theory, 14*(2), 99-121.
- Jensen, K. B. (2002). The complementarity of qualitative and quantitative methodologies in media and communication research. In K. B. Jensen (Ed.), *A handbook of media and communication research: Qualitative and quantitative methodologies* (pp. 254-272). London: Routledge.
- Jorgensen, D. L. (1989). *Participant observation: A methodology for human studies.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Kiiti, N. (2005). Indigenous knowledge: An effective communication and education resource for addressing HIV/AIDS among young people in eastern Kenya. *Journal of Development Communication, 16*(1), 40-50.
- Lerner, D. (2000). The passing of traditional society (1958). In J. Roberts & A. Hite (Eds.), *From modernization to globalization: Perspectives on development and social change* (pp. 159-168). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

- Li, Y. (2005). *Broadening the scope of development communication campaigns: Advocate for advocacy*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association, New York.
- Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2002). *Qualitative communication research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lockwood, V. S. (2004). The global imperative and Pacific island societies. In V. S. Lockwood (Ed.), *Globalisation and culture change in the Pacific Islands* (pp. 1-39). Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Maisonneuve, G. (2006). The women's movement in Papua New Guinea as a vehicle to enhance women's participation in development. *Contemporary PNG Studies: DWU Research Journal*, 4, 10-30.
- Makoba, J. W. (2002). Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and Third World development: An alternative approach to development. *Journal of Third World Studies*, 19(1), 53-63.
- Mango. (2005). *Donors*. Retrieved September 13, 2007, from <http://www.mango.org.uk/guide/introduction/responsibilities/donors.aspx>
- Matbob, P. (2006). The challenges of the provincial governments system in PNG: the needs for strengthening decentralization. *Contemporary PNG Studies: DWU Research Journal*, 4, 1-9.
- Mefalopulos, P. (2005). Communication for sustainable development: Applications and challenges. In O. Hemer & T. Tufte (Eds.), *Media and glocal change. Rethinking communication for development* (pp. 247-260). Buenos Aires: CLACSO.

- Mefalopulos, P., & Grenna, L. (2004). Promoting sustainable development through strategic communication In D. Hamú, E. Auchincloss & W. Goldstein (Eds.), *Communicating protected areas* (pp. 24-31). Cambridge, UK: IUCN.
- Melkote, S. R., & Kandath, K. (2001). Barking up the wrong tree? An inward look at the discipline and practice of development communication. In S. Melkoko & S. Rao (Eds.), *Critical issues in communication - looking inwards for answers* (pp. 188-204). New Delhi: Sage.
- Melkote, S. R., & Steeves, H. L. (2001). *Communication for development in the Third World: Theory and practice for empowerment* (2nd ed.). New Delhi: Sage.
- Mercer, C. (2006). Working with partners: NGOs and CBOs. In V. Desai & R. B. Potter (Eds.), *Doing development research* (pp. 94-103). London: Sage.
- Morris, N. (2003). A comparative analysis of the diffusion and participatory models in development communication. *Communication Theory*, 13(2), 225.
- Morris, N. (2005). The diffusion and participatory models: A comparative analysis. In O. Hemer & T. Tufte (Eds.), *Media and glocal change. Rethinking communication for development* (pp. 123-144). Buenos Aires: CLACSO.
- Muturi, N. (2005). Communication for HIV/AIDS prevention in Kenya: Social-cultural considerations. *Journal of Health Communication*, 10, 77-98.
- Muturi, N., & Mwangi, S. (2006, 23-28 July). *Participatory communication theory and practice: The case of a Caribbean gender project*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the International Association of Mass Communication Research, Cairo.

- Nagai, Y. (1999). Developing a community-based vernacular school: A case study of the Maiwala Elementary School in Papua New Guinea. *Language and Education, 13*(3), 194-206.
- NZAID. (2007). *Papua New Guinea strategy 2002-2007*. Retrieved September 12, 2007 from <http://www.nzaid.govt.nz/library/docs/nzaid-png-strategy-0207-long.pdf>
- Onabajo, O. (2005). Planning and executing grassroots [sic] campaigns among women groups in Nigeria: A participatory communication approach. *Journal of Social Sciences, 11*(2), 121-126.
- Overseas Development Institute. (1995). *NGOs and official donors*. Retrieved September 12, 2007, from [http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/briefing/odi\\_ngos.html](http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/briefing/odi_ngos.html)
- Papua New Guinea Tourism Promotion Authority. (2007). *National Capital District Port Moresby*. Retrieved September 13, 2007 from <http://www.pngtourism.org.pg/pmg/export/sites/TBA/provinces/ncd/>
- Parks, W., Gray-Felder, D., Hunt, J., & Byrne, A. (2005). *Who measures change? An introduction to participatory monitoring and evaluation of communication for social change*. South Orange, NJ: Communication for Social Change Consortium.
- Pickard, M. (2007). Reflections on relationships: The nature of partnership according to five NGOs in southern Mexico. *Development in Practice, 17*(4-5), 575-581.
- Quebral, N. C. (2003). Development communication in Southeast Asia. *Journal of Development Communication, 14*(1), 65.
- Reilly, B. (2004). State functioning and state failure in the South Pacific. *Australian Journal of International Affairs, 58*(4), 479-493.

- Rogers, A. (2006). Participatory diffusion or semantic confusion. In M. Harvey (Ed.), *Media matters: Perspectives on advancing governance and development from the Global Forum for Media Development*. Paris: Internews Europe.
- Rogers, E. M. (1962). *Diffusion of innovations*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.
- Rogers, E. M. (2003). *Diffusion of innovations* (5th ed.). New York: The Free Press.
- Romer, K., & Renzaho, A. M. (2007). Re-emerging conflict in the Solomon Islands? The underlying causes and triggers of the riots of April 2006. *Journal of Peace Conflict and Development*. Retrieved September 12, 2007 from <http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/docs/Conflict%20in%20Islands%20FINAL%20E-DIT.pdf>.
- Schramm, W. (1964). *Mass media and national development: The role of information in developing countries*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Servaes, J. (2001). Introduction: Participatory communication (research) for social change: Old and new challenges. *Journal of International Communication*, 7(2), 5-13.
- Servaes, J., & Malikhao, P. (2005). Participatory communication: the new paradigm? In O. Hemer & T. Tufte (Eds.), *Media and glocal change. Rethinking communication for development* (pp. 91-119). Buenos Aires: CLACSO.
- Shahjahan, M., Khan, Y., & Haque, S. (2006). The 'know yourself' adolescent reproductive health communication programme in Bangladesh. *Journal of Development Communication*, 16(2), 35-47.
- Singirok, J. (2004). Whether or not Papua New Guinea is a failing state. In N. Sullivan (Ed.), *Governance challenges for PNG and the Pacific Islands* (pp. 98-107). Madang, PNG: DWU Press.

- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London and Dunedin: Zed Books Ltd and University of Otago Press.
- Snyder, L., B. (2003). Development communication campaigns. In B. Mody (Ed.), *International and development communication: A 21st-century perspective* (pp. 167-188). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Strathern, A., & Stewart, P. J. (2002). New Guinea. In A. Strathern, P. J. Stewart, L. M. Carucci, L. Poyer, R. Feinberg & C. Macpherson (Eds.), *Oceania: An introduction to the cultures and identities of Pacific Islanders* (pp. 40-74). Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- Stuart, T. H. (1994). Participation for empowerment and sustainability: How Development Support Communication makes a difference. *Media Asia*, 21(4), 213-220.
- Tehrani, M. (1999). Rethinking development. In M. Tehrani (Ed.), *Global communication and world politics: domination, development and discourse* (pp. 83-112). Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner.
- The World Bank. (2007). *News and broadcast: Civil society*. Retrieved September 12, 2007 from <http://go.www.worldbank.org/B0QTF7BG60>
- The World Bank (2004). *What is development communication?* Retrieved 19 August, 2006, from <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTDEVCOMMENG/0,,contentMDK:20240303~menuPK:34000167~pagePK:34000187~piPK:34000160~theSitePK:423815,00.html>
- Thurston, W. E., Farrar, P. J., Casebeer, A. L., & Grossman, J. C. (2004). Hearing silenced voices: Developing community with an advisory committee. *Development in Practice*, 14(4), 481-494.

- [Unnamed Development Organisation]. (2007) *Core values*. Retrieved September 12, 2007 from [http://www.wvi.org/wvi/about\\_us/who\\_we\\_are.htm#2](http://www.wvi.org/wvi/about_us/who_we_are.htm#2)
- [Unnamed Development Organisation] Development Resources Team. (2005). *LEAP: Learning through evaluation with accountability and planning* (1st ed.). [Unnamed Development Organisation] International.
- Waisbord, S. (2001). *Family tree of theories, methodologies and strategies in development communication: Convergences and differences*. New York: The Rockefeller Foundation.
- Waisbord, S. (2005a). Five key ideas: Coincidences and challenges in development communication. In O. Hemer & T. Tufte (Eds.), *Media and glocal change. Rethinking communication for development* (pp. 77-90). Buenos Aires: CLACSO.
- Waisbord, S. (2005b). *Misunderstanding communication: Reflections on the experience of communication programs in the polio eradication initiative*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association, New York.
- Wan Smolbag Theatre. (2007). *Wan Smolbag Theatre*. Retrieved 2007, March 15 from <http://www.wan-smolbag-theatre.org/>.
- Watkins, K. (2006). *Human development report 2006*. New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).
- Watson, A. (2006). Facilitating training in communication and development in Papua New Guinea. *Contemporary PNG Studies: DWU Research Journal*, 4, 31-46.
- White, R. A. (2004). Is "empowerment" the answer? *Gazette: The International Journal for Communication Studies*, 66(1), 7-24.
- Wilkins, K. G., & Mody, B. (2001). Reshaping development communication: Developing communication and communicating development. *Communication Theory*, 11(4), 385.

- Willis, K. (2006). Interviewing. In V. Desai & R. B. Potter (Eds.), *Doing development research* (pp. 144-152). London: Sage.
- Wilson, M., Warnock, K., & Schoemaker, E. (2007). *At the heart of change: The role of communication in sustainable development*. London: Panos.
- Yin, R. K. (1994). *Case study research: Design and methods* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Yoon, C. S. (1996). Participatory communication for development. In G. Bessette & C. V. Rajasunderam (Eds.), *Participatory development communication: A West African agenda*. IDRC & Southbound. Retrieved April 22, 2007, from <http://www.southbound.com.my>

Appendices  
Appendix A: Agenda of Field Research

Week	Day	Date	Location	Interviews	Field Interviews	Special Activities during Participant Observation
1	1	Tue, 08.05.07	Port Moresby			Meetings, Field Visit UDO projects
	2	We, 09.05.07	Port Moresby			Meetings in both offices
	3	Th, 10.05.07	Port Moresby			Meetings in both offices
	4	Fr, 11.05.07	Port Moresby			Office work
2	5	Mo, 14.05.07	Port Moresby		5 Workshop Participants, Pastor	Field Visit women empowerment project
	6	Tue, 15.05.07	Port Moresby	PMH		Office work
	7	We, 16.05.07	Port Moresby	FWW		Field Visit HIV/AIDS project
	8	Th, 17.05.07	Port Moresby	PMW		Office work
	9	Fr, 18.05.07	Port Moresby			Running a workshop
3	10	Sun, 20.05.07	Madang			Meeting
	11	Mo, 21.05.07	Madang		AA, FWS	Meetings
	12	Tue, 22.05.07	Madang		Farmer 1	Field Visit Potato Project
	13	We, 23.05.07	Madang		FWP, Farmer 2, Farmer 3	Field Visit Potato Project
	14	Th, 24.05.07	Madang	PML	Volunteer L	Field Visit Literacy Project
	15	Fri, 25.05.07	Madang	PMP		Office work
4	16	Mo, 28.05.07	Madang			Field Visit Literacy Project
5	17	Tue, 05.06.07	Madang/ Port Moresby	AS, SMD		Meetings
	18	We, 06.06.07	Port Moresby			Meetings



## Implementing participatory development communication

My name is Birgit Hermann. I am currently enrolled in the Master of International Communication programme at Unitec New Zealand. To complete the degree I have to conduct a research project and write a thesis. My research topic looks at the factors that influence the implementation of participatory development communication in the [UDO] projects in PNG. I have approval of [UDO] PNG to carry out the research.

The aim of my project:

I would like to find out how [UDO] PNG understands participatory development communication and how participatory development communication is intended to be applied and actually applied in the community empowerment initiatives in the Port Moresby settlements development programme. By taking part in this research project, you will be helping me to understand the factors influencing the application of participatory development communication in this [UDO] development initiative.

I request your participation in the following way:

I would like to interview you and talk about:

which participatory development communication tools and strategies are applied in the [UDO] projects and what are their aims and objectives

how communication activities are applied and how you participate in them

what problems and issues arise when applying participatory communication in the projects

Your interview will take about 45 minutes and we will meet at a place of your choice. I will audiotape the interviews and will transcribe them (typing the conversation out) later. All features that could identify you will be removed and the tapes used will be erased once the transcription is done.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form. You can still withdraw from the project once the interview took place. However, since I will be in PNG for a limited time, any withdrawals must be done within one week after I have interviewed you. You are free to ask to see the transcription of your interview before the interview analysis takes place.

Your name and information that may identify you will be kept completely confidential. All information collected from you will be stored on a password protected computer at Unitec New Zealand for five years and can only be accessed by you, me and my supervisors.

Please contact me if you have any concerns about the project, via email (birgithermann@gmx.de) or phone (+64-21 1019469). You may also contact my supervisors at Unitec New Zealand. My supervisors are Dr. Linda Beamer, email lbeamer@unitec.ac.nz or phone +64-9-815 4321 ext. 8893 and Dr. Evangelia Papoutsaki, email epapoutsaki@unitec.ac.nz or phone +64-9-815 4321 ext. 8746.

### **UREC REGISTRATION NUMBER 2007.682**

**This study has been approved by the UNITEC Research Ethics Committee from 28/03/2007 to 29/02/2008. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Committee through the UREC Secretary (ph: +64-9-815 4321 ext 7248). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.**





## Kamapim wok bung or toktok bilong Senis

Name blong mi em Birgit Hermann. Mi skul long Unitec New Zealand. Mi wokim masters blong mi long International Communication program. Long pinisim dispela skul, mi mas wokim dispela wok painim out, na writim wanpela buk.

Dispela wok painim out, em bai lukluk long ol samting, we I halivium long wok bung na wok kamap or toktok blong Senis. Dispela bai lukluk long how [UDO] PNG, I strongim dispela tingting long Port Moresby PNG/ Madang PNG. Mi kisim pinis tok orait long [UDO] PNG long go het long dispela wok painim out.

Aim blong dispela wok painim out:

Mi laik painim out long how, [UDO] PNG I wok wantaim ol settlements. Halivium blong yu long dispela wok painim out, bai mekim mi save or klia long ol samting I halivium long wokim dispela wok bung blong [UDO], wantaim ol PNG settlements. Dispela em tingting blong [UDO], long wok bung na toktok I Kamapim senis.

Mi laik yu bai halivim mi olsem:

Mi laik toktok wantaim yu na ol narapela lain long wonem ol samting or toktok [UDO] community I wokim or putim insait long community, olsem kirap tingting blong ol.

Wonem ol dispela toktok or samting [UDO] PNG I wokim we yu bihainim na wokim wantaim ol.

Tingting blong yu long ol dispela toktok na wok, [UDO] community I putim insait long community blong yu

Dispela toktok wantaim yu, bai kisim olsem 45 minutes, na bai mi toktok long yu insait long one pela house insait long ples (settlement). Bai mi recordim dispela toktok na putim long pepa behain. Olgeta samting, we yu toktok long em, bai mi bagarapim behain long mi ritim na putim long pepa.

Bai yu putim han mak long wanpela pepa, sapos yu, laik halivim mi long dispela wok painim out, sapos yu, laik halivim mi long dispela wok painim out. Yu ken lusim dispela wok painim out, insait long wanpela wik yu stat, sapos yu les long go het, long wonem, mi tu I no nap stap long pela taim hia long PNG. Yu free long askim long lukim ol sampela wok halivim blong yu bipo mipela I putim olgeta wok painim out wantaim.

Name blong yu, na olgeta mak blong yu bai mipela I haitim gut tru. Olgeta toktok, mipela I kisim long yu, bai stap long one pela toktok hait blong computer, we nogat man bai save. Dispela computer bai stap long Unitec New Zealand long 5 pela yia, na yu tasol wantaim, me na ol bos blong mi ken save.

Plis ringim me long dispela telephone number (+64- 21 1019469) sapos yu gat askim long dispela wok painim out. Yu can ringim tu ol bos blong mi tu sapos yu gat askim long ol dispela telephone number:

Dr. Linda Beamer; telephone number: +64-9-815 4321 ext 8893

Dr. Evangelia Papoutsaki; telephone number: +64-9-815 4321 ext 8746

**UREC number blong register 2007.682**

**Dispela study em I tok orait I kam yet long Unitec Research Ethics Committee long dispela 28/03/2007 I go long dispela 29/02/2008. Sapos yu gat askim long dispela wok painim out, yu ringim dispela Committee or UREC secretary long telephone (+64-9-815 432 ext 7248). Wonem kain tingting yu givim I nupela or I gat hevi, em bai stap hait na wok painim out bai go het, inap mipela I tok out long yu long ol Kamap blong ol dispela wok painim out.**

