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## ***Abstract***

Media development for development has brought into question the modernist ideology and theory which has underpinned the development of capitalist Western media institutions and more broadly the ideas of transplanting Western institutions in the global South. The assumption behind imposing these institutions is that the Western national media model has helped to achieve good governance and democracy in the West and therefore will do the same in the South. However the national media model often falls prey to states and markets and hence oligopolies have formed around media outlet ownership which limits plurality and moreover the content is swayed by market forces. Ultimately society is not well informed or represented by the national media, if at all. On that basis this paper considers community video media as a more democratic alternative, which ultimately afford communities political agency. To support this claim in theory community media frameworks are drawn on from Manyozo (2012) and an extension to his work is put forward considering the geopolitical concept of a sphericule. Moreover the arguments are supported with qualitative data generated through participant observations and eleven semi-structured interviews during a three month research based internship in Goa, India with the NGO Video Volunteers. The analysis further draws on the work of Manyozo (2012) in the way that he delineates community media from national media development. My findings conclude that community media is an effective political advocacy mechanism, at least within the context of Goa. However media development must be informed by the contextual dynamics and the people that produce and consume it. Ideally for a democratic media model the media consumers will also be the producers.

# **Re-thinking media development: Exploring the role of locally produced Community media, as a political advocacy mechanism for democracy**

## ***1. Introduction***

Can 'the media', be re-conceptualized as the voice of, by and for the people rather than a voice 'to' the people? Can the media truly represent society and enhance genuine democracy? These are serious questions within the field of International Development and as such deserve serious attention; the call for attention to rethink the role of the media along with the information and structures which develop the media is widely acknowledged (Curran, 2000; Hemer et al., 2005; Kidd et al., 2005; Mansell, 2010; Manyozo, 2012; Fraser, 1990; Quebral, 1988; Scott, 2014).

When thinking about 'the media', traditional Westernized images of a mass, abstract, national level institution arise, often characterized by sensationalism, corruption and popular entertainment. This is a very different image to the normative framework of an ideal media model, which place it as the fourth pillar of the state. The ideal media model in theory, is free from state powers, market forces and in its plurality provides genuine representations of society to the state. The media should also provide valuable information to society and hold politicians to account with its watch dog function; the overall aim being to facilitate good governance. However the contention is that the national media has been refeudalized (Habermas, 1992) in that it has often fallen prey to capitalist states and markets and hence the theory and the reality often do not coincide. The following arguments suggest, the ideological and theoretical foundations of dominant western media institutions are the basis of its failings in the pursuit of good governance and democracy. This premise is particularly apparent where Western institutions have been imposed on the global south (Curran, 2000; Hemer, Tufte, & Eriksen, 2005; Kidd, Barker-Plummer & Rodriguez, 2005; Mansell, 2010; Manyozo, 2012; Fraser, 1990; Quebral; 1988).

This paper uses two media development frameworks put forward by Manyozo (2012) as a foundation for a theoretical rethink, supported by empirical data. The aim of theoretical framework is to build on and extend Manyozo's (2012) community media development strand by considering the contextual elements of community media; this is done by drawing on the following concepts: public sphere (Habermas, 1989), sphericules (Gitlin, 1998) and definitions of community media (Manyozo, 2012). The theoretical analysis advocates for a political economy which is informed by a media model that is owned, managed and initiated by civil society at the community level and hence accurately reflects the voice of the polity.

Considering the contextual relevance for media development (Manyozo, 2012; Scott, 2014), the methodology chapter introduces the context in which the data was generated through qualitative research. The data was generated in Goa, India during a three month research internship based on community media with the Non-Government Organisation (NGO) Video Volunteers; the methods for generating the data were participant observation and semi-structured voice recorded interviews. The data is analysed by interpretative manual coding and also using Manyozo's (2012) three points of distinguishing community media from national media. The analysis demonstrates two local Goan communities, using Community Video Media (CVM) to deal with problems that have stemmed from the state in one case and the market in the other. The findings reveal both the antagonism, and the interdependency of community media; which, within the context of Goa at least affords people at the local level the means to politically advocate their lives as they see fit. However as the following theoretical chapter argues this decentralized media model may not be suitable for any context, this is evidenced by the negative effects of media developments during the Rwandan genocide. As such a central argument in this paper is that media development must be informed by the people and contextual dynamics where it is produced and consumed; and ideally the media producers will also be the consumers.

## **2. Conceptual Framework**

### ***Reconceiving the role of the media – an extension to the work of Linje Manyozo (2012)***

There is a strong call to rethink the concept of media development, particularly in developing regions, mainly as a post-colonial critique of the modernist theoretical foundations which have informed the development of traditional mass media and its role in the ideal democratic nation state (Curran, 2000; Hemer et al., 2005; Kidd et al., 2005; Mansell, 2010; Manyozo, 2012; Fraser, 1990; Quebral, 1988). The basis for rethinking media development is that it should be informed by the context in which it functions; critiques against national-level media models (Norris, 2010) justify the attention that both scholars and development practitioners call for. As a basis for the following 'rethink' this chapter focuses on two media development strands put forward by Manyozo (2012): the 'good governance' strand, and the 'community strand'; the good governance strand is interpreted here as national media in order to delineate the media product from the level at which it is produced and consumed. The aim of this chapter is to develop the community media model in theory, then in the following analytical section (4), with empirical data.

At the risk of what Mansell (1982) calls 'superficial revisionism' "because all this 'new' thinking in development and development communication has failed to unsettle the dominant political economy paradigms of development itself" (Manyozo 2012:22), the discussion builds on and extends the community strand framework in theory in this chapter and with context (chapter 4) as a contribution to unsettling the hegemonic media paradigms. The theory underpinning community media is reconceptualised, drawing on the following concepts: the public sphere (Habermas, 1989), a sphericule (Gitlin, 1998) with the aim of republicizing the refeudalized public sphere.

The chapter concludes that in theory the development of a community media model, in which the consumers are the producers, is more democratic than national media. Due to contextual relevance, it is an effective political advocacy mechanism at the community level. As a part of the framework extension and media development rethink the term Commedia is adopted from here onwards in place of community media; this conflation is explained along with a variety of other terms used in this paper in the opening paragraph. It is argued in theory that commedia affords communities, particularly in developing regions, the agency to set political agenda as they see fit rather than remaining at the mercy of a feudal national media system that hold state and market interests far above their own relevant concerns.

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### *2.1 Terms and concepts: Development, media and media development, commedia, good governance and political advocacy:*

International development is rooted in the ideology of modernity and its mission is to civilize the global south, including imposing the liberal democratic nation state (Bayart, 1986; Brett, 2008; Mamdani; 1996; Manyozo, 2012; Scott, 2014). The ideal state comprises four main pillars: executive power, an elected legislature, an independent judiciary and a free media; furthermore “the media are widely seen as the Fourth Estate, referring to the media as an institution alongside other branches of government, which together provide a system of checks and balances to control political officials and prevent misuses of power” (Norris, 2010:140). In an ideal political economy analysis the media (at the national level) is an organized system for national communication between states, markets and society as a whole. However in contrast to national media the term ‘commedia’ is adopted throughout this paper in place of ‘community media’; I have conflated the term in relation to the way the concept is defined - as media that is of, for and by a community; owned, managed, produced



and consumed by the community (UNESCO, 2013). As an expression of the community the media becomes a part of the community, hence 'commedia'.

Media development is the process that shapes how the communication system functions and the role of the media (Manyozo, 2012; Norris, 2010; UNESCO, 1980:291). One supposed role (Manyozo, 2012) of the national media is the facilitation of good governance, which in plain terms is governments making good decisions for society; on the other hand political advocacy, as argued here, is about society deciding what the best policies are. These two terms, as used here, are both concerned with the power of decision-making; in political economy analysis the important difference between the two is who makes the decisions: the state, society or is a consensus conceivable.

## *2.2 National media for (good) governance*

The good governance strand of media development that Manyozo (2012) discusses is based on the media model of the nation state and its pursuit of deliberative democracy for good governance; according to such liberal modernist ideals a normative national media model performs four main roles:

As a watchdog mechanism; which functions in two ways. Firstly by holding politicians to account it exposes decision-making processes in order to evaluate their policies, hence by informing citizens the decision-making process is improved; secondly, and on a larger scale, it exposes crime and corruption (Norris, 2010).

In agenda-setting and representation: in a democratic (free) market economy the media represents public opinion (Curran, 2000) and as such "the media play a vital role of channelling citizens' concerns to decision makers in government by providing information about urgent social problems" (Scott, 2014:105).

Informational: to make informed and unbiased decisions, society needs “widespread public access to multiple pluralistic sources of information” (Norris, 2010:8).

The public sphere: this is a conceptual space that the national media facilitates in functioning democracies in which all people are considered equal and where civilians deliberate public issues equally to legitimate the state authority through public consensus (Arendt, 1957; Habermas, 1989; Manyozo, 2012; Norris, 2010).

This is a very brief description<sup>1</sup> of a normative model of national media; however it is sufficient these purposes. The point is that for this theoretical model to be successful it must function under optimal conditions; that is the media must be “independent (free from state and of course market) and pluralistic” as well as impartial and professional: under this assumption the “media have promoted good governance and democracy in the West, and it will also promote the same in the south” (Manyozo, 2012:129).

There are fundamental problems with this model in reality, whether that reality is in the North, the East, the South or the West; the idea that there is an environment in which the national media are ever truly free, impartial, plural and professional is limited to rhetoric as “numerous factors can [and do] limit the effectiveness and capacity of the news media to meet these standards” (Norris, 2010:19). As Norris (ibid) shows in Fig 1.2, the limitations of this national media model, fall under three broad categories: the role of the state, the role of the market and the role of the media professionals. The freedom of the media can be severely limited by a state’s legal framework, and if the state is characterized by weak institutions the media is not likely to expose corruption due to practices such as rent seeking and violent intimidation (ibid: 20). In consideration of the market role, the plurality of media institutions can be limited by oligopolies, and commercial pressures often produce popular entertainment rather than hard news and issues representative of societal concern (ibid). Finally, the profession standards of those working in the media industry, social diversity in

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<sup>1</sup> For a full description of the national level media model see Scott (2014) or Norris (2010)

the field and training facilities can all severely limit the process and product of the national media (Norris, 2010:20-1).

Of particular interest here are the limitations of the Eurocentric national media in its attempt to promote good governance and democracy in the South, as noted earlier the 'assumption' is that transplanting Western models of governance (and by implication, national media) will achieve democracy and political harmony (Manyozo, 2012). A fundamental element of Western democracy is the public sphere, as articulated by Habermas (1989). This concept has received widespread criticism, most notably from Fraser (1990), and Habermas (1992) has reviewed his original position on the public sphere, claiming that it has been refeudalized in the Western capitalist economy. On this note the argument turns to two critical flaws in Western media development and the transplanting governance systems, historically known as Colonialism, while the contemporary term for critics is 'international development'.

### *2.3 Post-modern & post-colonial critique*

#### *Refeudalization:*

The public sphere is "an ideal and normative site, space and moment in social life when communities and societies [come] together to dialogically and rationally debate issues affecting them and propose action solutions." (Manyozo 2012:131); however knowledge monopolies resulting from profit-centred capitalist ideals have led to a refeudalization of the public sphere and hence consumption has replaced rational consensus and critical debate (Habermas, 1989:158; Manyozo, 2012:134). As Warner (2013:285) aptly explicates, for Habermas refeudalization was a pincer-like set of forces, on one hand modern capitalism turns society on mass into 'unthinking consumers' and on the other the state wants us to be an 'unthinking mass of citizens'. The result being, refeudalization of the public sphere means: news does not reflect what society thinks is valuable important and informative; the

watchdog is chained and muzzled. Information represents state and market rather than society, and the public sphere is closed for debate.

Habermas (1989) claims within the public sphere, all citizens have equal opportunity to discuss political issues, regardless of social distinctions. Fraser's (1990) essentially feminist critique challenges this on the reality of social inequality in the public sphere and moreover whether or not the public can deliberate a rational consensus about what is important.

Capitalist ideals have tied national media to the market and the state; oligopolies have formed around media ownership; journalists and editors are no longer impartial, and hence if the media is not free, impartial and pluralistic in idealized Western democracies (Habermas, 1992; Warner, 2013). In this case how can national media institutes being transplanted from the West to the South possibly facilitate good governance in developing states characterized by the weak state institutions imposed by colonialism? Particularly when capitalism can lead to the convergence of power in the media, the market and state (Manyozo, 2012:121).

#### *Post-Colonialism:*

A main flaw in imposing democratic ideals is that it is oxymoronic to dictate freedom; telling people they are free to speak suggests they are only free to speak when given permission and hence not truly free. For centuries the Western centric international community (IC) has dictated how the global south should live, from colonialism to contemporary 'international development' (Manyozo, 2012). Dominant media development practices facilitate modernisation: the neoliberal model of state and society is imposed uncritically on the global South in the pursuit of good governance, which it has supposedly achieved in the West (Manyozo, 2012:151). This uncritical development approach disregards the agency of indigenous knowledge communication systems (IKCS); the undermining of indigenous

institutions has led to aid dependency and elitism and perpetuates transnational inequality, which could be interpreted as a form of media imperialism (Scott, 2014; Manyozo, 2012).

#### *2.4 Commedia development for political advocacy: role reversal.*

Considering the fundamental critiques of the National media model and its role in facilitating good governance in the South, the discussion turns to the community framework of Manyozo (2012) and *commedia* in an attempt to unsettle the dominant western media development approach. This section defines *commedia* and discusses how it differs from national media to demonstrate its role as a contextually-appropriate political advocacy mechanism.

##### *What commedia is and does.*

*Commedia* is a form of political organisation that provides an amplifier for community members' voice in the form of a political advocacy mechanism; it is a whole media system owned by and serving the interests of "geographical or ideological communities (including communities of practice)" (Manyozo, 2012:124). *Commedia* is media of, for and by a community, amplifies opinions about context-specific issues and facilitates public debate (UNESCO, 2013). Moreover *commedia* is free from the state and market forces, is produced in the local language for community consumption on issues that they themselves decide (Saeed, 2009:470; UNESCO, 2013). Manyozo argues that *commedia* must provide a platform on which the concept of development and, more broadly, political institutions can be deliberated and challenged (2012:10). Unlike national media models underpinned by Western modernist theories, *commedia* models prioritize social value over political supremacy and economic gain (Yunus, 2007; Sen 1999). The functional objective in *commedia* development is "to strengthen citizen access to and participation in local community development initiatives including traditional governance systems" (Manyozo,

2012:125); ultimately affording community members agency to politically advocate contextually relevant bureaucracy.

### *2.5 Difference between commedia and national media development.*

The two media development frameworks Manyozo (2012) argues have different foundations and hence the role each model assumes in the functions of everyday political life are vastly different. National media development in the 'good governance strand' (Manyozo, 2012:129) has its foundations in liberal modernism. As such the role of national media is to strengthen the state and promote good governance in developing countries; however this structuralist approach to media development lacks genuine contextual consideration and fails to account for social agency in local knowledge governance systems (LKGS) (Manyozo, 2012; Scott, 2014). On the other hand commedia development is founded on traditional governance systems and its role aims to validate community participation and mediate local development and in this way is a, contextually relevant political advocacy mechanism (Manyozo, 2012).

There are three crucial factors which distinguish commedia development from national media development (Manyozo, 2012:126-7). First, full project ownership and management promotes ultimate participation; second, IKCS are indispensable for intra-community dialogue; and third, commedia development plays a crucial role in enhancing social capital, local livelihoods and local development (Manyozo, 2012; Quebral, 1988; Servaes, 1996; SIDA & Jallo, 2007). In other words these three aspects of commedia equate to the production of a community voice through dialogue based on local knowledge for community led development initiatives.

At the core of political advocacy is the concept of voice: the articulation of needs and desires by person/s on their own or others' behalf (Downey and Fenton, 2003; Jernigan, and Wright, 1996). At the political level this translates to the freedom to raise agendas on societal

development objectives. Ultimately the argument here is that media advocacy mechanisms amplify the community polity voice and, as this voice stems from IKCS, local governments not only hear the polity voice but also listen and act on its demands. Hence the democratic value of commedia is that the community voice directs the political economy as opposed to a 'refeudalized' national media producing generic national information, which treats society as a homogenous body of non-thinking consumers (Habermas, 1992; Warner, 2013).

The development of commedia initiatives are not only becoming more common but also gaining credibility in the media world and on the political stage as "[n]ew media have been widely used by radical groups of both Left and Right to advance their political projects" (Downey and Fenton, 2003:1); this move to decentralize media initiatives has gained credibility due particular groups looking to mediate and amplify their unique interests. Decentralization has also become a common form of governance for similar reasons such as regional and local unique traditional structures and cultures; drawing the arguments in to the context of developing countries, since the decolonization of India, state decentralization has become more prominent as a recognized form of governance (Raju, 2006). However, the distribution of the legitimate use of power through decentralization is often one-sided, meaning that the decentralization has been more about extending the long arm of the state to gain rents rather than providing public facilities and social services (Raju, 2006). Almost as a consequence of these 'not so ideal' forces, commedia has arisen as a means of subverting dominant hierarchical structures and is therefore "oftentimes antagonistic towards the state and market" (Manyozo, 2012:124). This political antagonism, particularly between the local and national levels of the state is problematic as there is a risk of factionalism and national fragmentation; however the antagonism is also ambiguous due to the need for political harmony and interdependency between society, and the local and national state (Downey and Fenton, 2003; Hemer, et al., 2005; Manyozo, 2012).

## *2.6 Challenges to commedia development*

### *Fragmentation*

Theoretical analysis of new media developments has raised concern within the field, particularly around the idea that the decentralization of the media, rather than strengthening civil society's voice, will lead to a fragmented and even conflicted polity (Downey and Fenton, 2003). Communities of social, political and or economic interest may not reach rational consensus on national policy at the community level. Furthermore, in post-conflict regions that are fragile and prone to civil or ethnic violence, the presence of politically aligned commedia outlets can stimulate further unrest; one of the severest cases being the Rwandan genocide with the Mille Collins radio station accused of inciting and facilitating violence through hate speech and mobilising "populations for mass slaughter" (Allen and Stremlau, 2005:2). In the Rwandan case the government imposed media pluralism on the advice of the IC about how the media landscape should appear; the problem was not that a pluralistic media is a bad thing but simply that it was not a good thing for Rwanda at that time (Allen and Stremlau, 2005). Western development ideology has often led to the implementation of initiatives that are ill-conceived in their lack of contextual information; hence ignorant of contextual dynamics, result in 'unintended' outcomes and unforeseen consequences (Ferguson, 1994) as in Rwanda. Having argued that a commedia model, which is free from market and state ties and moreover is owned, managed and initiated by local communities is desirable for democracy, it is clear that this is not always the case, yet it does strengthen the argument for media development policy which is has multi-directional flows of information.



## *2.7 Glocalism or idealism: local, national and global democracy*

Hemer, Tufte, and Eriksen (2005) pose a solution to the challenge of fragmentation adopting an ideology of glocalism as one way in which the conflicts between global level rights and ideals, national level laws and local level knowledge might be resolved, “[s]ince the local and global have become irreversibly entwined in people’s experience,” (Downey and Fenton, 2003:193). Even though community-level autonomy is desirable in terms of endogenous political accountability, no community is independent and considering the global prevalence of capital markets and the ever developing nation states, communities cannot function independently. Yet at the same time the intricacies of locally-relevant politics cannot be accurately considered at the national and global levels. So while policy integration is necessary at different levels of the state, it should also encompass an equal and multidirectional flow between the sites of governance. In the commedia development framework Manyozo (2012), glocalism can be understood as both an amalgamation of globalization and local values and a hegemonic challenge to dominant expanding capitalist market values. Manyozo (2012) conceptualizes media development within a political economy framework; as I have argued, for this political economy to function democratically communities must be able to politically advocate their lives through the media as means towards democracy; yet clearly the fragmentation argument poses a significant challenge to the development of a conceptual commedia model. As the Rwandan case proves and more over according to Manyozo (2012:150-1) successful media development must be informed by the contextual dynamics for a successfully functioning democratic media model which accurately reflects and represents the polity. Considering these arguments, along with the call to rethink media development and media roles the following paragraphs attempt a theoretical contribution to this challenge.

## *2.8 Extending the frameworks: Republicizing sphericule media*

One of the main themes to emerge from the theory of media development and aside from the need to rethink the theory, is the call for a contextual grounding (Manyozo, 2012; Norris, 2010; Scott, 2014). The *commedia* strand argued by Manyozo (2012) does this to the extent of drawing attention to the conceptual level of the community; however the arguments here aim to build on this framework with a brief theoretical addition which highlights the agency and crucial dynamics within the geopolitical space of the local community level.

Drawing on the ideal public sphere role (Habermas, 1989) of national media and the definitions of *commedia* that states *commedia* is a form of political organisation serving geopolitical communities of interest and practice (Manyozo, 2012), leads to Gitlin's concept of "a sphericule" (1998), which is understood as fragmentations of the public sphere. The concept originally held a negative connotation for Gitlin (1998) due to the concerns raised about fragmentation earlier; moreover concerns held that fragmentation leads to a weakening of democracy due to a non-engagement of national level politics (Putnam, 1995:2000). However as Cammaerts finds "fragmentation does not per se exclude strategic cooperation between very different civil society associations" (2007:265); in a sphericule as at the community level people are linked by social concerns and interest and as such these sphericule communities can be understood as "an active democratic encounter of citizens who reach across their social and ideological differences to establish a common agenda of concern" (Gitlin, 1998:173). Conceptually this enables communities such as those at the community level to cohere around the unique political, social and economic interests, in a more concise geo-political space; hence issues that may have been refeudalized in the greater public sphere can be theoretically considered 'republicized' – meaning societal concerns are once again deliberated democratically by society. Following this logic the production and consumption of sphericule *commedia* is also republicized, by "distinct groups organized around affinity and interest" (Gitlin, 1998:173); the community voice is intensified

and amplified due to community members' vested interest and the conceivable direct returns at this level in their geopolitical and socioeconomic space.

The media consumers can themselves be the producers and hence have the agency to shape the political institutional structures. This concept is argued in a similar vein to the theory of structuration (Giddens, 1984) in that it aims to tackle the longstanding disjuncture between the fragility of citizenship and the state with its legitimate power. In this sense also taking on a Freirean pedagogy approach - Freire (2000) asks 'who knows more about dealing with struggles than those who are struggling?' In this case, we ask, who knows more about the needs community life than community members?

Having laid out a normative yet brief model of national media, it is clear to see that in the theoretical foundations of this model, there are fundamental weaknesses of modernist origin and hence in its structuralist development the mediated roles this model plays are also affected; Habermas (1989) laments refeudalization of the public sphere and that liberal modernist ideals have proved to be not so ideal in their colonial beginnings in the global south. From this standpoint and following the frameworks of Manyozo (2012) the arguments here have sought truer democracy through rethinking the development of a commedia model. A model which plays the role that is decided by a community and is contextually relevant; a sphericule model which is antagonistic enough that it is fractured from state and market ties, yet at the same time glocal enough to facilitate interdependency between different levels of state and society. This has all been in the aim of unsettling dominant hegemonic media paradigms.

The model of commedia articulated is merely theoretical and while it may be useful for enhancing democracy and political advocacy in varying contexts including the community level, what is important is that just as the liberal modernist national media model has been criticized for not being a-one-size-fits-all media panacea for achieving political harmony, no other media model should be seen in this way either. In essence the argument here is that

political institutions are likely fail unless initiated, designed, implemented, controlled and owned by the people that the mechanism directly affects. The need for contextually grounding media development frameworks has been a key argument throughout this chapter; hence subsequent chapters discuss the methodology and analysis of qualitative empirical data generated on a community video media (CVM) model used by two communities in Goa, India in support of the arguments for a sounder model of commedia as a political advocacy mechanism.

### **3. Methodology**

In an attempt to understand commedia in practice, I gained a three-month research based internship in 2013 with a commedia NGO called Video Volunteers (VV) in Goa, India; I chose VV due to their approach as facilitators of community-led media development initiatives. My role with VV involved generating qualitative data on two community video media projects. Ethical clearance was obtained from the University of East Anglia before starting the research and the research methods employed were semi-structured interviews and participant observation. All participants were fully informed and it was made clear to each person there was no obligation to participate. All interviews were conducted with full consent, on the understanding that the data gained would be kept securely and presented anonymously.

#### *3.1 Case study: Goa, India and Video Volunteers.*

A brief history and overview of India's media reveals just cause for researching and 'rethinking the media' in this context. Manyozo traces development communications in India to "traditions of folk media and indigenous knowledge communications that go as far back as before the arrival of the earliest explorers and missionaries" (2012:35). However traditional forms of governance in India have been supplanted, in the main, by colonial and liberal modernist movements for more modern forms of governance.

With modernist and neoliberal thinking underpinned by capitalism and increased state intervention, the Indian media provides a clear example of a 'refeudalized' media and public sphere (Habermas, 1989). As Goswami articulates,

*“India adopted neo-liberal economic policies in early 1990s, the communication policies underwent a drastic change. The state-controlled media agencies (...) Television was the major victim of this market oriented media policy. Slowly, the villages started disappearing from the visual media. So did the issues inflicting the marginalized rural population.”*

*(2007:3)*

Considering Goa’s state media, Goswami’s (2007) neo-liberal concerns are echoed by Noronha (2011) discussing developments in the Goan media landscape since independence from the Portuguese in 1961; both find that the institution has largely fallen prey to state and market forces:

*“In the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s, a monopoly-type situation pre-vailed amidst the media here. (...) the arrogance of the past has given way to an approach of almost pandering the reader. But is this real choice as far as the reader goes; or is it just more of the same?”*

*(Noronha, 2011:8)*

Noronha concludes that due to the state control “Goa badly needs a free, effective and pro-people media.” (2011:12). Moreover VV argues that “India is the world’s largest democracy. However, policies are often put in place without vital information flowing to a majority of its citizens (...) If information flowed upwards, we could better tackle issues like rural corruption or gender inequality” (VV, 2013)<sup>2</sup>. These issues demonstrate why scholars and practitioners have argued that media development and media institutions in particularly in developing countries need a rethink both in theory and context.

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<sup>2</sup> Further evidence of India’s media landscape see Manyozo (2012:35), Saeed (2009) and Varshney (2013)

VV claim to empower community voices through a Community Video Media (CVM) model which includes the journalistic training they provide to individuals who have an interest in video activism and local development related concerns. The two week training program, teaches people how to conduct video interviews, investigate community raised issues and how to use these videos to engage with local state officials in order to set agendas the respective community has decided. The videos are also screened to the local community in order to raise awareness and enhance social capital. Essentially this enables community members to become Community Correspondents (CC's) and produce their own form of media, for their own consumption. This commedia model and the geopolitical space in which it is used reflect many of the elements which were argued for in the theoretical commedia model, in the previous chapter. In particular as a political advocacy mechanism which is both antagonistic to the state and market yet still facilitates the necessary interdependency between state levels, the market and the community, as demonstrated in the next chapter.

During the three months I spent with VV, I researched two separate communities who had used this CVM model to resolve the local village concerns. The which videos which had already been made were: 1) an 'Illegal slaughter house' which caused health concerns in a local village and 2) was related to the mal-practices of the Goan Forestry department in maintain protected forest land. Both videos were made in Goa; these videos were chosen because they were recently completed projects within Goa. While VV work throughout India I chose to limit my geographical coverage for the following reasons: 1) as my time was limited I chose to gain a deeper by focusing the research projects and similarly to allow participants to become familiar with my presence so I could build good rapport and give them time to validate any information gathered; 2) VV's head office is based in Goa, and to understand their processes I felt it necessary to participate in VV's work space as much as possible; 3) Goa is alleged to be the most developed state in India, which is considered the worlds' largest democracy and yet is still labelled a developing country (Government of Goa, 2013). Therefore Goa provides a unique study site as it is both developed and developing and has

significant media infrastructure, although the 'state' level media still seems to fall short of Western liberal democratic ideals and peoples media needs, particularly at the village level.

### *3.2. Method of generating primary qualitative data*

For the participant-led interviews I used a semi-structured questionnaire (appendix 6.2) and a guide and voice recorded interviews. I conducted eleven interviews in total; the interviews were arranged by the CC's who acted as my key informants by introducing me to community members who had participated in making the videos or were closely connected to the issues. Considering the methods I employed, Marshall argues that '[choosing] "between quantitative and qualitative research methods should be determined by the research question, not by the preference of the researcher" (1996:522). The reason for using these qualitative methods, is that as argued in the previous chapter (2) the central aspects of comedia and political advocacy are 'voice' and democracy (equal participation); hence the aim to get the community members personal opinions about how their voice has been mediated and used to advocate the changes they have called for, this necessitated a qualitative approach due to the rich, detailed and subjective nature of the enquiry.

The semi-structured questionnaire was designed as an open guide to maintain continuity throughout the research while facilitating participant-led dialogue; yet still allowing autonomy within the scope of inquiry. The sampling method, was purposive due to the specific nature and limited context, I also used a snowball technique as I was able to ask participants if there was anyone else I should talk to. This does bias the data as I was only had access to the people I was introduced to and who agreed to be involved. For example in the illegal slaughter video – 'the piggery' case I was unable to interview the piggery owners, due to the sensitive nature of the issue. While and in the forestry case the so-called perpetrators were unavailable or unknown apart from one of the State Forestry Officials (SFO); yet after agreeing to the interview having been fully informed, claimed to be unaware of the video or the community issue that had been raised.



### 3.3 Ethics

This issue draws in on the ethical considerations; during the interview with the SFO, I reminded him, that he was free to end the interview at any time as well as ask for the data generated in that interview to be deleted or validated within the time frame stipulated on the consent form. However he claimed he had “nothing to hide” and was happy to continue discussing forestry related topics; further denying all knowledge of the video and the community concerns. This was a difficult position for me to be in as I had been informed by several other participants that the SFO was involved and certainly had been made aware; to this end I had no option other than pose the community concerns to the SFO in a hypothetical situation to gain his opinion on CVM. All data generated was kept securely and either anonymized or deleted post-analysis for ethical purposes; the names of the interviewees have been changed to Int1, Int2 and so on, and any other names that come up in conversation here are pseudonyms. Detailed geographical, professional or social information has been generalized, for example the SFO is a pseudonym; hence any information about specific tasks roles, or exact location has been erased.

### *3.4 Analysis method*

Having transcribed and anonymized the data, a combined process of manual coding and interpretive analysis was employed. The manual coding was implemented using the three points of distinction between mass media and commedia posited by Manyozo (2012).

1. “First is the promotion of self-management as the highest form of participation” (Manyozo, 2012:126)
2. The value and centrality of IKCS for “developing interpersonal communication processes” (ibid)
3. “The importance of media projects in improving social capital, local livelihoods and local development” (ibid).

The purpose of using the three points above to analyse (section 4) the data is that it showcases CVM in practice but more over in terms of a model that is unlike national, the aim is to test the data to reveal if commedia in context reflects the theoretical proposition of an effective democratic political advocacy mechanism. Manyozo (2012), Norris (2010) and Scott (2014) discuss commedia and call for further empirical data on the topic; these arguments, are limited in the concept of CVM and hence this paper contributes to the existing literature by adding video media to the commedia discussion. Furthermore the following chapter will anecdotally draw on the extended theoretical sphericule framework put forward in section (2.3); with the aim of testing the extended frameworks within the concept of a concise geopolitical space, which as argued earlier is both an antagonistic and interdependent space.

#### ***4. Analysis: Community Video Media advocating democracy in villages, forests and piggeries***

As discussed in the previous chapters the aim here is to empirically evidence the political agency that the Community Video Media (CVM) model used by the Community Correspondents (CC's) in Goa, affords individuals and communities in terms of a political advocacy mechanism. Theoretically the commedia model is sound, whilst the reality as demonstrated by the national media model can be problematic. Hence the following paragraphs consider the reality the Goan context, in relation to commedia. This chapter starts with a brief review of Video Volunteers (VV) as an organisation that facilitates commedia; there after the two projects that were researched are laid out: project 1. 'The Piggery', and project 2. 'The Forestry'. The context will highlight the challenges, as well as a main theme in the data: how commedia enables communities to negotiate complex power dynamics in a democratic way.

Having established the context, the arguments turn to the "three fundamental" (Manyozo, 2012:126) differentiating factors between commedia and national media as a means of interpreting the data and hence to elucidate the amplified voice, agency and political advocacy. Overall the aim of this paper has been to, rethink and reconceptualise media development in theory and through analysis of empirical data; ultimately exploring the role of the media at the local rather than national level. The findings reveal minimal evidence against the commedia concept and the CVM model in practice as a political advocacy mechanism. While there are socio-political challenges within the Goan context, such as the antagonisms between the national and local state, society, and the market, the CVM model seems to cut through them in these two cases at least.

#### *4.1 Goa, Video Volunteers and the two case studies: The Illegal Piggery and The Forestry issue*

As a research site Goa provides a complex and rich setting of diverse power struggles; a seasonal economy which is constantly in flux due to environmental, global, national and local forces, a diverse set of languages spoken, multiple religions, variable economy, socio-economic divides along both caste and class. More over as noted in the previous chapter even though Goa is considered the most developed state in India, the state still carries the hall marks of many developing regions; such as weak state institutions, poor health and educational infrastructure and limited social protection.

VV is an international NGDO, whose bureaus are run by local media activists and according to their mission statement they claim to facilitate “locally owned and managed media production” and further they envision “locally relevant and locally produced media” (VV, About; 2014). The community led video projects are chosen, organised and filmed by community members who have received journalistic training through VV.

VV's CVM model is designed so when a community has an issue they contact their CC, who video records the relevant factors. The video footage is edited, published online and put on to compact discs by VV, for CC's to then screen back to the community. The videos are on average four minutes long; each video includes interviews of the people involved to get their opinion in their voice. At the end of each video the CC makes a 'call to action', this is a direct appeal to the relevant person/s to engage with the story; the call to action maybe be directed towards the community or towards a relevant state official in which case the name and phone number of that official are usually given out for the viewers to then contact the official in order to raise the particular agenda. Within this geopolitical sphericule, the 'call to action' is a vital part of the political advocacy mechanism as it sets the agenda out in clearly terms.

However a brief analysis of this model does raise variable problematic issues: CC's may not cover all angles of a story, either due to lack of investigation or personal bias to the issue. CC's maybe subject to local power dynamics and therefore people with a different take on the story may be excluded. Furthermore the video editing and production is done out of context by editors who may have personal biases to the topic or maybe unable to relate to the issue. Finally there is the tenuous concern within all media models of sustainability (Manyozo, 2012:126); as this model is locally owned and managed, the concern of social and political sustainability is limited. However the financial aspect here less clear as VV is supported by the International Community to a large extent (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Poorest Areas Civil Society (PACS) Programme, Department for International Development (DFID)); VV has also managed to get some of the videos aired in the main stream media and draw revenue from these collaborations. Yet this form of income arguably undermines the whole model as it risks being subject to state and market forces and refeudalization. Considering the economic sustainability of comedia one area for further research is a hybrid model which VV claim one of their Community Video Units (CVU's) have managed to become "75% sustainable" (Manish, 2009).

Political advocacy as discussed in the theory section is based on the concept of an amplified community voice; in the same way that a central tenet of the Habermasian Public Sphere is based on 'rational consensus'. Both concepts raised significant criticism on the question of whether or not heterogeneous civil society could be rational (Fraser, 1990). However as the extended theory on comedia in a public sphericule argues, rational consensus and public reason can be obtained in communities of interest (Gitlin, 1998); on that basis many of the concerns raised in the previous paragraph are 'less concerning'. The concepts of voice and consensus shall be explored further within the data on the following two projects.

Turning now to the two CVM projects under study; both cases reveal the significant agency this CVM model affords communities in terms of political advocacy. In the first case the community were able to raise the agenda on a market related issue that was affecting the community health; in the second instance the community were able to advocate their concerns with regard to a state led forestry management initiative. Interestingly in both cases there was no coverage by the national media, even though participants in both communities had apparently contacted the state newspapers with their story; furthermore in both cases there was a positive change for all involved including the state and the market actors.

*“The Piggery” – “Illegal Slaughter House Endangers Saligao Community”* (Pednekar, 2013)

In the first case under analysis which is known locally as ‘the Piggery’ issue, a local catholic family expanded an unlicensed, hence illegal, pig slaughtering business to levels where the waste generated from the business started affecting the health of the local community; as one of the participants I interviewed explained:

*“So they used to let all the blood flow over here. And if you watch, have you watched the video?... My god, it’s like a time-bomb, here, for disease... I told them, ‘Baba see what y’all doing is really bad, because it’s harming not only me, but the entire village at this ward level, and also the children are passing by this area, you know?’ At the same time, it’s close by, if you go to the school, then the garbage, you could even get the smell of this garbage in the school, you know? ... I even brought the priest from church to explain to them about, ‘Baba see, what y’all doing is not right, stop it’. They just wouldn’t.”*

(Int1, Piggery)

According to all six respondents who I discussed this issue with, including the current Sarpanch (head of the Panchayat, the local governing body) the video was the main factor in a “multi-pronged attack” that the Piggery owners changed their process and started

“complying with all of the ... rules from the health department” (Int2, Piggery). In this case the CVM model used simultaneously with signature petitions and formal letters of complaint has amplified the community voice and achieved positive change where previous attempts such as involving the local religious institution, had failed.

*“The Forestry’ – “Forest Department Laying Goan Forests to Waste” (Goankar, 2012)*

The second case under analysis is set in a protected wild life sanctuary which is also home to the Adivasi Indians, a schedule tribe of South Goa; they have lived sustainably in this forest area for many generations and depend on many of the forest products for their livelihood. One of the respondents I interviewed, explained with pride, when telling me about living in the forest

*“years back from here, so many people, so long... father will telling the story, 500 years back people staying here. My father is staying here, I am also, my sons also staying here... and not going anywhere”*

(Forestry, Int3)

And as the CC states in the opening line of the video “[t]he animals of the jungle and the tribal people staying nearby, are dependent on the jungle in its natural form” (Gaonkar, 2012). These forest products are a vital source of medicines, food and livelihood in general for the local communities and their cattle. However according to these community members, the forestry commission guards and foresters were cutting down indigenous trees, destroying vital habitat and planting other non-indigenous trees which have neither, nutritional or medicinal value, without consulting the local people (Gaonkar, 2012). The value of this video was not only that it stopped the forestry commission cutting indigenous trees and planting non-indigenous trees but moreover it helped to create an extensive awareness in the local communities that this issue was happening as these participants explained:

*“After watching the video, I seen that some of the trees in the forest were brought from abroad, and like Acacia...these are not good trees for the forest. That’s why they made the videos for the awareness among the peoples that’s what your rights are and ... what foresters have to do for them.”*

(Int6, Forestry)

**Interviewer:** *So, has the video changed the story with the trees?*

**Int3:** *“Now, they are not cutting the trees. What they need is to plant more trees- without cutting, they are planting the new trees. Earlier, they took out and then plant new trees...so they stopped that.”*

(Int3, Forestry)

The CC who filmed this project told me he turned to commedia after being unable to get his stories published by the local newspaper, due to the papers link with local politicians and the conflicting political interests. Clearly the news media was not covering issues relevant to local communities; hence the value of CVM is that it is news by the people who live it.

Both of these cases demonstrate the concept of sphericule media as these communities have cohered as “an active democratic encounter of citizens who reach across their social and ideological differences to establish a common agenda of concern” (Gitlin, 1998:173). And by using video media as a medium have resolved the issues in a manner that is relevant to and compatible with local social, economic and political dynamics. Taking the point further Manyozo (2012:124) argues commedia is often antagonistic to corporate, state



and market institutions; this argument is in line with what Fraser (1990) described as 'counterpublics', a concept also developed from "The public sphere" (Habermas, 1989) similar to that of a 'sphericule' (Gitlin, 1998) and as these cases show this form of media affords communities the agency to subvert the hegemony of dominant western capitalist institutions; yet at the same time it is arguable that while being antagonistic these commedia events have ultimately served in the best interest of the market, by improving standards and processes for both the Piggery and the Forestry Commission (Carpentier, N., Lie, R., & Servaes, J., 2003; 4).

#### *4.2 Data analysis using Manyozo's (2012) three distinctions*

In re-thinking commedia development as a political advocacy mechanism, this final chapter empirically analyses how commedia differs from the dominant institutional national media. The following arguments are divided into three sections based on how Manyozo (2012, 126/7) distinguishes commedia from national media; firstly, arguing in line with Quebral, (1988), Servaes (1996) and SIDA and Jallof (1997) in regard to the postcolonial critique, Manyozo states: the most effective models, are self-managed, locally owned and have the support of local communities who can identify with the media. On the second point attention is focused on the importance of Indigenous Knowledge Communication Systems (IKCS) with the aim of developing 'communication between people' (UNESCO, 1980), however this notion is problematic on an imperialistic level. The final distinction for analysis considers the improvement of social capital, livelihoods and local development through commedia projects (SIDA and Jallof, 2007; Manyozo, 2012:127). Throughout this analysis the concepts of agency and voice will be explored to argue that in this context CVM affords Goan communities political advocacy where news media has failed.

The first area of distinction that Manyozo argues is that “self-management [is] the highest form of participation”, claiming that effective media models are “owned and managed by local communities”, hence they have local community support and the community should “identify with it” (Manyozo, 2012:126; Quebral, 1988; Servaes, 1996; SIDA and Jallof, 1997)

Self-management in this model can be seen in several ways; there is the organisational aspect, in this case VV. This Non-Governmental Development organisation (NGDO) is as the terminology suggests, independent from the government, furthermore in terms of actual ownership the organisational focus is on social capital not economic capital, the organisation functions in such a way that it provides a facility for community members to initiate, manage and amplify their concerns in relation to the local and national state, market forces and importantly in relation to intra-community and inter-community structures and functions of everyday life.

In the first interview on the Piggery, the respondent told me he had met the CC through a previous community issue about the protest against erecting of a mobile phone tower in a residential area; following that meeting he stated “when I had this problem where right in front of my doorstep, I said, Sulo is the best person” (Int1, Piggery). Hence demonstrating the community support for this media model but more over both management and participation in the process

The dynamics of the Piggery issue further enhanced the community engagement and hence participation in this project as the CC had to stay at Int1’s residence in order to capture footage of the 04:00 am slaughter and the CC also left her camera with Int1 on occasions when she was unable to be on site to film interviews or footage of the Piggery. Hence revealing the community support and arguably the dynamic nature of this model which allows for the development of ‘participatoriness’ (Manyozo, 2012:127; Jallof, 2005).

In the Forestry case, media ownership, management and community participation are seen in the way that local knowledge about living in forests sustainably and protecting vital forest products has been mediated, to contrast and evidence the failings of the state led initiative. The community members decided what issues to raise based on their local knowledge about the forest and the close relationship these people have with the forest; the video is their story, about their livelihood. The content for this video was gathered by a community member who had come to be known as a 'reporter' who was not afraid to tell the community's stories as a local teacher who participated told me:

*"that guy is not scared of reporting this issue, so what he did was good, without getting scared, he put what is the truth of the story, and it has made a lot of difference in the problem. And he showed us this film, this video, so it made a lot of difference because of that"*

(Int5, Forestry)

The development and consequent analysis of this model demonstrates its success in ownership, management and identification and can aptly be described as a medium for community cohesion in which the media are the 'expression of the community, rather than for the community.' (Carpentier, N., Lie, R., & Servaes, J., 2003, 5; Berrigan, 1979: 8)

Leading from considerations of 'expression' on to the second point, raised by Manyozo (2012) who argues in line with UNESCO (1980) that Indigenous Knowledge Communication Systems (IKCS) are vital channels for developing 'communication between people'. This is certainly a valid argument in relation to contextual realities however, I find this notion is problematic as it risks and bears the hallmarks of imperialistic and modernist ideals. The point is that IKCS are precisely indigenous processes, and hence the media is developed in such a way that they fit 'with' IKCS rather than having omniscient aims of 'developing them'.

Considering the value of IKCS in the VV CVM model, in the opening discussion I had with Int1 (Piggery) I was explaining the contact details were on the consent form if there was any need to be in contact, without a moments' hesitation he responded "of course Sulo is the main person that I contact". This communication did not need to be developed by anyone outside the community, the media model is clearly flexible enough in the self-management that pre-existing communication systems. However that considered there was an interest dynamic which I was never able to fully clarify; the issue relates to a community meeting known as 'Gram Sabha', this aim of this meeting is to provide a forum to discuss any local concerns which with the advice of village elders should be resolved. Gram Sabha can be described as a typical IKCS and hence this raised the question of 'why have these communities adopted the CVM model if they have Gram Sabha to deal with issues like the Piggery and the Forestry?' Answers to this question varied from, people not having time to attend the meeting which is not held on regular intervals, or not being aware of the date and venue of the meeting but the most interesting issues that came up are summed up here:

*"having Gram Sabha, you know, they are more are like, a little bit like, one sided like, but then if you have all these videos, clippings, photographs, that is far better, because that is real proof, of what was done... with that photograph or videos, is clears or it views a good idea"*

(Int1, Forestry)

What this participant and many others were explaining was that power dynamics in this public meeting are obstructive so if a particular issue or opinion does not sit well with the village elders or prominent families then it is not discussed and even if it is discussed the matter is usually discredited; however CVM provides what almost all interviewees described as real evidence or proof and hence there is a belief, rightly or wrongly that this medium is beyond dispute, regardless of processes like editing and hence affords people with agency and social capital.

The point here about this real community owned proof being able to inform traditional and local governing institutions is demonstrated very clearly in these statements from the Sarpanch (head of local state) in relation to the Piggery issue:

*“in the video, we could see practically what was happening on a daily basis there. We could see what was happening even before our visit and we could see what happened on the day of our visit. So, in fact, the video has helped us take a better decision.”*

*“I feel that it was good in my absence. See, I’m a local. They know I’m the head of the village. We cannot interfere in somebody else’s problems, unless we hear something, of course, unless their problem is general and I can see it with my own eyes. So only if I hear from the complainant again, then the file will be reopened, that’s how we work”*

(Int3, Piggery)

The Sarpanch genuinely recognized the value of CVM as a political advocacy mechanism, considering this community voice helped the local state make a better decision; moreover the Sarpanch appreciated this commedia being community owned, as it enabled the community to make decisions without undue influence which might happen in the Gram Sabha for instance.

The issue of social capital is also raised in the third distinction from national media in that commedia should aim to improve social capital, livelihoods and local development (SIDA and Jallof, 2007; Manyozo, 2012:127). Considering the livelihood element first, possibly the strongest theme running through the data was that of ‘awareness’; the awareness that

stemmed from this 'real evidence' comes not only from the process of making the videos but mainly from the community screenings and the consequential discussions it stimulates. The following quote came from a participant who was particularly passionate about living in the forest and was very proud to be involved in this project, he explained:

*“Earlier, I had somewhat idea about this problem, but others didn't have any knowledge about this problem...only after the video, they came to realize that this is a problem.”*

(Int3, Forestry)

The following quote from the second interview from the Piggery reveals the development of social capital through the CVM model, considering how long the problem had been ongoing before the community were able to resolve it:

*“the problem over here... that the piggery owners were causing...not just now, but over decades. Of course, it culminated now, because they revved it up to industry proportions”*

(Int2, Piggery)

There were various attempts to deal with this issue, including petitions, formal letters of complaint to the Panchayat (local governing body), and as Int1 explained even the local priest was unable to resolve this issue. So not only did the Piggery video provide a medium for social coherence, but moreover in drawing the community together the video aided in resolving the issue, through stimulating social capital and ultimately improving the livelihood of all involved including the Piggery owners.

The last point is particularly relevant in the distinction between CVM and national media as it demonstrates the way CVM can improve local development and livelihoods but moreover it ties in with the points on IKCS, identity, voice, awareness and contextual relevance; the point here is about language, as this participant stated:

*“When this video was screened, there were older people, our fathers, grandfathers, who are not educated enough. And since the video was being played in the local language, in Konkani, they felt this is the first time they’re seeing something like this and their problem is being told, which explains that they were very much interested in to it.”*

(Int4, Forestry)

The state language in Goa is Konkani however state media in Goa, is dominated by Hindi and English, clearly underpinned by neo-liberal ideology, governed by state forces and driven by capital markets (Noronha, 2011), as such it is obvious to see how CVM in this case can and does represent the people; moreover affording them a relevant voice with which to advocate in the political realm, community led development initiatives which the whole community can relate to and engage with.

In summary this chapter has looked at two particular contexts, presented community opinion on commedia and essentially brought empirical data to test the theory. I believe that although the data sample is small and purposive, the depth of the statements and ultimately the fact that these communities have turned away from national media and towards commedia, is telling. It proves that at least in this context CVM and as such commedia is an appropriate, relevant and democratic mechanism for raising political agendas and enhancing social capital.

The Indian and more specifically Goan context reveals a geopolitical space with diverse and challenging social, political and economic challenges, which community members have to negotiate on a daily basis. In order to have their voices heard and societal issues represented to the state the national media should according to the neoliberal model be effective at dealing with this task. However there are serious 'feudal' problems in the Goan national media model, and these weaknesses in turn have forced communities not only in Goa but all over India to turn to commedia as a reliable, trustworthy mechanism. The fact that this model is: for, of and by the community renders commedia, truly representative, accurate, relevant and of course democratic.



## **5. Conclusions**

The origins of the development industry, have led to promotion of the national level media model for good governance regardless of contextual dynamics which, aside from being entirely narcissistic, as Manyozo argues it also jeopardizes the “multi-stakeholderism” (2012:150). Following the frameworks of Manyozo (2012) along with an array of supporting theory, it has been argued that the normative model of mass media falls short of the democratic goal in practice due to refeudalization and being underpinned by modernist ideology. Furthermore that commedia may provide an alternate and more appropriate model for political harmony through the concept of political advocacy. However as I have argued throughout this paper the development of any media model must be informed by contextual dynamics, in particular as noted in chapter two (2.2.2) the case of the media’s influence in the events of the Rwandan genocide proves that a commedia model may not always be appropriate. The antagonisms and fracturalism that can result from decentralizing the media and more broadly the state do pose significant concerns; however these concerns can be resolved when actors within local level societies, local states, national states and the International community adopt a dynamic glocal approach, which encompasses equal and multi-directional flows of communication.

Considering the value of context within the international development field I went to research and gain the community opinion on their media, I wanted to understand if, how and why commedia works according to the people that use it and not just in theory. The opinions I gained during the three month research internship have enabled this paper to contribute an empirical data analysis of a commedia in practice, based on primary qualitative data collected in Goa India.

The commedia model has been 're-thought' in theory and through the analysis of empirical data as a micro-media model based on the concept of a public sphericule, which argues for media consumers to be the producers and hence in theory everyone has a stake by virtue of being a community member. Even though the theory may not suit every context the evidence drawn from empirical data suggests that at least within the Goan context the CVM commedia model plays an effective democratic political advocacy role which has even managed to gain the support of the local state regardless of the subversive and antagonistic nature of commedia.

## **6. Appendices\***

### *6.1 Areas for further consideration beyond the scope of this paper*

Considering the emphasis of local context, there is one aspect that poses an interesting question in relevance to political advocacy and that is where does advocacy fit in the national or international scheme? VV puts videos on line for anyone with an internet connection to see. Is this 'poverty porn' or is it previously 'un-mediated' communities claiming a stake on an international platform? Is it showing strength or weakness? Does anyone ten thousand miles away care? One respondent told me they had no idea that the video of them being interviewed had been published, but claimed "it's a good thing", as it raises awareness for others to learn from. When I questioned the director of VV whether might be considered 'poverty porn', he told me, that it was not; instead it was 'marginalized' people showing strength and action and claiming their space on the world wide web.

## 6.2 Consent form

### **Consent form to take part with Video Volunteers impact assessment research project:**

#### **Exploring the effectiveness of locally produced video media.**

My name is [REDACTED] and I am an undergraduate student from the University of East Anglia in the UK. I am here doing research on media effectiveness.

My research is looking at the ways video media helps people improve their quality of life, and what people have managed to do by using video media. The reason I am interested in asking these questions is because I hope to use your answers in an anonymous format as impact evaluation data for Video Volunteers and as research for my dissertation. My dissertation is an investigation of the effectiveness of participatory journalism at the local level in developing countries.

I want to understand these things by talking to people about their everyday life experiences and if you agree to take part in the research I would like to talk with you several times over the next 3 months about your experiences with Video Volunteers organisation.

You are free to decide if you want to talk with me. In addition, the date, time and place for these meetings would be for you to decide depending on when is most convenient and where is most comfortable. While you talk with me there will be a research assistant there who is known to you who will help me while I am learning Konkani. If you are uncomfortable at any time you can choose not to answer or discuss any question and you are free to stop the meeting at any time. In addition, please be assured that there are no right or wrong answers; it is an account of your lived experiences that relate to the work of video volunteers. It is your own words and opinions that I am interested in.

You have my assurance that your name or any information that could identify you or your family will not be shown in any of the writing, which comes from this research. In addition all the information that you give me will be treated as private and confidential and will not be shown to or discussed with others. If you feel that you no longer want to take part in the research or if you do not want any or all of the information you have given me to be used, then you can tell me at any time.

#### QUESTIONS AND CONTACT DETAILS

Should you have any questions now or at any other time about this research, and your participation please feel free to ask. You may also contact my manager Radhika Gupta at

Video Volunteers 1224 26/3, Rua St. Joao, Gaum vaddi, Anjuna On Anjuna-Arpoora road Goa – 403509 Phone: +91 9657004865 Email: [info@videovolunteers.org](mailto:info@videovolunteers.org).  
Landmarks - Next to Bhumika Temple, 100mts from Splash Water Park

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE AND HAVE MEETINGS DIGITALLY RECORDED  
(Respondent's Copy)

The research information was presented in written form and read by/to me. Anything I did not understand was explained and all my questions were answered. I understand I can withdraw my participation at any time and any or all of the information which I give before 20 September 2013.

I, \_\_\_\_\_ agree/disagree to participate in the study and agree/disagree to have the meetings digitally recorded.

Signature/Mark of Respondent:

Date:

Signature of Researcher/Research Assistant:

Date:

.....

**AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE AND HAVE MEETINGS DIGITALLY RECORDED  
(Researcher's Copy)**

The research information was presented in written form and read by/to me. Anything I did not understand was explained and all my questions were answered. I understand I can withdraw my participation at any time and any or all of the information, which I give before 20 September 2013.

I, \_\_\_\_\_ agree/disagree to participate in the study and agree/disagree to have the meetings digitally recorded.

Signature/Mark of Respondent:

Date:

Signature of Researcher/Research assistant:

Date:

### 6.3 Semi-structured questionnaire

Interview questions **guide** for semi-structured interviews with video volunteer participants:

1. What was the video about? have you seen it?
2. Who made the video?
3. Did you contribute to the video?
  - a. If yes how?
  - b. If no, why not?
4. What difference do you think the video has made?
  - a. If so what?
  - b. If none, why?
5. Would you like another video to be made on this story?
  - a. If yes what would be different?
  - b. If no why?
6. Do you think video is the best way to deal with this story?
  - a. Yes why?
  - b. No why?
7. What other ways do you think this story can be changed (how, according to you, can this video be used to bring about the desired change?)
8. Who responded to this video
9. How many people saw the video
10. Whose duty is it to change these things? (would you like to have been more involved in the production and impact process?)
11. Does the respondent feel like her voice/message has been communicated in the video?
12. Did you have a chance to review/validate the video?

#### 6.4 Transcript: interview 1 Piggery

I have included this transcript as an example; this has been edited for anonymity purposes.

##### **Interviewee 1 (Int1): Piggery**

Meeting place: Int1's residence

Upon meeting Int1 at the time and place of Int's choice, I formerly introduced myself as a research student from the UK, I explained my interest in the value of media and verbally explained the consent form before giving Int1 the form to read. After Int1 confirmed a clear understanding and gave informed consent to audio record the meeting I turned on the recorder at which point we had begun discussing Int1's community involvement.

**Int1:** Now I'm working closely with the school because I was schooling here till the 6<sup>th</sup> standard; that's the convent school. I was there with them (saying hello to someone else). So, I go there to help and there are some children I taught from here in the convent and I saw the potential, yes, they have the potential of taking part in competition, because here what happens is, they have on the school level, then they have it on the district level and at the local level and then it goes to the state level. So, if you qualify on the school level, then you go to the next step and next step... And then you represent your school at the state level. So, you see, after, we were celebrating, there were about 10/15 of them. So that's how I do it, social service.

**Researcher:** That's great!

**Int1:** Yeah

**Researcher:** I'm just going to put that there [recorder], get that out of the way. You're welcome to take the bottom copy [consent form], if you want it. You'll just need to tear it off...

**Int1:** Yeah, I'll do that, certainly. Can I get you something to drink? Fresh lime with salt?

**Researcher:** Maybe later, but I'm ok for now... And I'll leave that copy [consent] with you, as well, so that you know, if you ever need to...

**Int1:** Get in touch... of course Sulo the main person?

**Researcher:** Yeah, and you're always welcome to get in touch, or whatever. Good, so, just a general, kind of open...

**Int1:** Discussion.

**Researcher:** Yeah, I'm really interested in what you thought about that video, what happened, you know, how you became involved...?

**Int1:** Yeah, are you going to record that, or do you want me to...

**Researcher:** It's ok it's on.

**Int1:** So, what happened is, I've been knowing Sulo for quite some time, because we've had this problem with the control tower for mobile phones.

**Researcher:** Ah, ok, so you were involved in that...

**Int1:** So that's time, because this was quite a problem also because what happened is, they wanted to have this huge tower, it's about 50 feet, right in the middle of a residential area, ok? So, I was always there, I'm the president of the local Citizens' Forum, so any problem that's inconveniencing people in our village, we are there... to put things right. So, that's the time I came across Sulo, and when I had this problem where right in front of my doorstep, I said, Sulo is the best person, and I told Int2 [I was introduced to int2 straight after this meeting], who is very close to me, also, and Int2 said, "Yes. Why don't we put it on video, so it gets widespread, what should I say... uh ... uh... coverage, so the people are aware what exactly is happening in this place."

So then I got in touch with her and I also have been doing this with the camera and recording, myself, also. So, she came a few times and we came to that place, because what happened is they used to bring garbage and burning this garbage, and I'm dead against garbage. So it's stinking always, stinking. You could not pass this area. Every person passing in this area would hold their noses, because they used to bring the garbage, just spread out all over. We had rodents, we had eagles, crows and all the things being thrown, you know, the way they carry, crows and all. Like, we have these jam sachets, small, plastic ones, all being dropped here, secondly, the pigs. There's a small green roof, I don't know if you can see, down. So they used to let all the blood flow over here. And if you watch, have you watched the video?

**Researcher:** Yeah

**Int1:** My god, it's like a time-bomb, here, for disease. I was very kind to them, I said, see, as a good neighbor, I will do my best to go make them understand about this, I told them, 'Baba see what y'all doing is really bad, because it's harming not only me, but the entire village at this ward level, and also the children are passing by this area, you know?' At the same time, it's close by, if you go to the school, then the garbage, it will even get the smell of this garbage in the school, you know? The rotting garbage smell and all that. So, I told him once. I even brought the priest from church to explain to them about, 'Baba see, what y'all doing is not right, stop it'. They just wouldn't.

So the last resort is now, make a memorandum, sign as many people as possible, and then, give it to the respective authorities, and take it from there, let's see what happens. So I gave it to the health department, which is the main person, the main body which governs all these things, like slaughtering of pigs and this and that, so health wise. Then I gave it to a local body, Panchayat here, was in charge to see that everything is in order, and they came for an inspection on the 4<sup>th</sup> of April. There was a general inspection by the animal husbandry; the health and a local body, that's the Panchayat. So they came down and they had an inspection, and I told them, I said, "see, this is what is happening over here." And before that what happened, they got rid of that, what happened, they always send information that they're going to come for inspection, so, what happened they got wind of that, they cleared



all the garbages over there. Within 3 days, they packed it, I don't know where they threw it, but they did, so this place was much more better so that you could really breathe in fresh air. And then see how it is, so nice, Wonderful.

So I got around 250 signatures, I could have still got more if I could stand here and take all the children, but I want 1000. I said, let me take care of the elderly people only, you know, because those people are really affected, everybody is passing over here. I went to the appointment, I went to the Sister also at the Convent she said, "Yes. This is a real nuisance, I am always ready to help. So she also had signed on the thing, she also gave an interview to the video volunteers, and then we took it from there.

So they [Panchayat] came, they saw, and I told them, this is it. I have to stop them [Piggery owners] bringing this garbage because we are trying to get rid of our village's garbage first, which is, you know, you can see all around there is garbage thrown on the roadside and here and there. So we are trying to solve the problem and you are doing bad to us by bringing garbage from outside into our houses. This is not right. We made them understand.

So I say [to the Panchayat], I don't want it verbal, I want it in writing. Make sure they [Piggery owners] give it in writing and swear that they will never, ever bring garbage into this place. For which, so far, now April 4<sup>th</sup> was the inspection... April, May, June, July, August has come. 4 months, I have not still received a reply, I mean a copy of what they have sent of the report... because after the inspection, they [Panchayat] usually make a report. And then they should send a copy; and I being the person who has done this thing, I should have gotten the report. I went 3 times to the Panchayat, so far... nothing. So I have prepared a letter now, which I am going to give them tomorrow saying, "You are the most incompetent people I have ever come across. That it doesn't take 4 months to give a simple report to me. And it's not that I have not gone there. I've been there 3 times. After going the 3 times, then I told the secretary, "I'm not going to come back, you will have to send the report to me." Which, so far I have not received, and my waiting is over, I'm putting a letter to them, to the Panchayat, to the Sarpanch [head of Panchayat] saying, this ... I should not remind you about this. You should know your job. If somebody's telling you to do something, that means you don't know your job. And that's what I mention in the letter. So it's height of incompetency and in.. what should I say, they are not able to...

**Researcher:** Not able to...

**Int1:** Simple things, it's just a matter of one page. All they could have done, and (they say), "just come by"... I've been there. Every time, it is, "No, no, I'm busy, I'll tell him to get ready..." Second time I went, "No". Third time I went, "No". I said, "I'm not coming back, you have to bring it to my place. Of course, the garbage (saying hello to someone), the garbage thing is gone, the slaughtering is going on, but now the blood is not all there. They have made a pit to put all the blood there and I don't know, whatever, but at least I can breathe clean, fresh air. The main thing is because Video Volunteers came, they were able to expose it much more so that everybody could see what is actually happening. Because telling somebody, it doesn't help. When you see, for real, the facts, what is taking place, then people are going to believe you. And that is where Video Volunteers has helped me a lot.

**Researcher:** Ok. So, who was involved in making that video?

**Int1:** Sulo is the main person. She came here twice. She stayed over here one night, just to get [record] the screams of the pigs, because 4:00am - 4:30am like that, they start screaming, you know, the pigs... because they're being slaughtered. It's very bad. So we were trying to get it filmed, because they [Piggery owners], on a minimum, 10 pigs a day are slaughtered. It might go on, depending on the month, even up to 25 pigs. Because we, when Sulo came, it was 18, I counted 18. Because they're all kept in that place over there, what happened is the pigs are black and the ground is black, I could not get the video in the dark. You know, I took Sulo and I showed her, but she could not get it filmed. She could not get this because the background, there's not enough light either, you know.

So the animal husbandry center, you see, is the local permissions council for slaughtering, so permission has to be from the local body, that's the Panchayat. They are the ones who're responsible of giving the permissions. The health does not have it, the health is concerned only when it is causing a hazard; they can intervene and say, "This, this, this..." But the local body is one who is in charge of giving permissions and oversees whatever, to carry on this business.

Now, you see this vehicle that just came past us now?

**Researcher:** Yeah.

**Int1:** Now garbage is coming. Did you get a slight sniff of the garbage?

**Researcher:** Yeah I did.

**Int1:** It is coming, but very, very less. And they just bring... what happens is they have pigs, so they bring all the leftovers from the hotel [to feed the pigs], that's fine, I don't mind, as long as you do not make a mess over here.

**Researcher:** Yeah

**Int1:** You manage it well, fine, no problem with that.

**Researcher:** Ok, ok. So, it was yourself, Sulo and who else made this video?

**Int1:** And, of course, I have another person, by the name Max, I don't know if I mentioned this or not, Max is the one, also, who, you know, who started doing it on the computer, storing all of the pictures and everything. At the same time I also started, because what happened, I used to be right on top of my house [taking photos], when they used to burn garbage, which they always denied. And, as evidence, I, every time, they used to burn, you see, you can see the smoke, you know, all the toxins, the thing that's going out, the smoke that's going out. So, that's the thing they say is nothing, but I used to see everything from top. I had a fantastic bird's eye view, everything was being recorded, so I used to do that too. So I also said to Sulo, this is for you, also [footage], you also can add to that, to your video of course. Then one day, we went there to see for real, and we have something called a Ward Member. A person who's the head of this ward, who looks onto these problems and all that, so I brought him, and I brought a few other people from our ward, we went there. And, they

saw what the mess was. That's all, we went ourselves... and everything was on video. That was evidence enough. They can't deny as much if we have the evidence there.

**Researcher:** So the video really made a difference?

**Int1:** It did, It did, because people see, it. But then also, people living abroad who are from our village, were aware of what is happening here. Same thing with the tower, also. Many people are not aware, so that's all.

*(A vehicle stopped in front of Int1's yard, and a man gets out who is obviously well known and on very friendly terms with Int1. They exchange several greetings, and talk for a while then Int1 introduces me)*

**Int1:** He's the Ward Member we took. He's the main man who helped me a lot, because without him, I could do nothing. He's the one, "Yes, you must do something about it, yes. I am coming, and I will be with you." (they speak in Konkani for another moment) Come on, meet David.

**Researcher:** Nice to meet you...

**Int1:** I was just telling him about you, his name is Nandu, Nandu. He's our local Panch. Telling him you want information on this rubbish thing, so he's doing research, he's from England. He's doing research on how all this, video thing affects people. So I said, it did help us, when we get the video footage, there is concrete evidence that this is really happening over here. He's also the one who said, "Yes, I'm with you 100%. Let's go, do something about it."

**Researcher:** Ok, so you were also involved in making the video?

**Nandu:** Yeah, yeah.

**Int1:** He was there in one of the interviews also. Yes, he is there also, in the interviews.

**Researcher:** Ok, and you think that the video made a difference?

**Nandu:** Yeah, it made a little difference

**Researcher:** Little?

**Nandu:** Yeah.

**Researcher:** What more could it have done?

**Nandu:** At the moment, even we didn't go that side to see that place, but last time we went there, everything was clear.

**Int1:** It was clear, it did help.

**Nandu:** There was blood running and everything that side.

**Researcher: to Nandu** Ok, and do you think that it could have done something different?

*(although I asked Nandu the question Int1 cut in)*

**Int1:** No, I don't think so, because this is the best exposure that is given, and the health authority, we give them a video of this. It's not that we just show them. We give them a copy of that so that, actually, it's good that we give a copy of that, and the local Sarpanch has seen it. So, here it was also shown, so in a way, when people saw this, they couldn't believe it themselves, that this is happening now-a-days. I said, yes, I'm not telling you anything that's rubbish. When I see something, yes, I'm in it and I'm going to do something about it. Now it is up to you to decide.

*(Nandu said he was busy and quickly left)*

So, that was the action, and yes, things changed after that. I hope it continues, because I'm going to go back otherwise, I'm not going to keep quiet. Ok, slaughtering pigs is fine, as long as they are taking their precautions of taking care of all the waste and the blood and everything. It should not go on the road. They weren't bothered about it. I told them how many times, it's not that they're blind, they don't know. It more that it does not matter [to the Piggery owners]... it's 'cheltay' that sort of attitude. It doesn't matter, it is ok... It is not ok!

**Researcher:** What is that word? Cheltay

**Int1:** Cheltay, that's in Hindi it means anything will do, it'll do, no problem. So, I said, see, I pointed out all this things, and said, it's not right. And it's high time y'all take measures to make sure that everything is managed in the proper way. I have no problem. Here, it's a business, fine, I understand, but don't make a nuisance of it you know. It should not be a nuisance for others. Everything you do is fine, I'm not against you slaughtering, I could have stopped it if I wanted to, I could have stopped this whole thing if I went further, but I said no, it's ok, fine, as long as they are managing the stuff and keeping the hygiene, fine.

**Researcher:** So do you think that the video hasn't helped to get your report?

**Int1:** Well, that is report, I mean, the video could not bring them, because the video is just to make them aware, to see that... to see for sure that this is happening over here. The report was from the main head of the village, to send me what has been written over there, and to send me a copy. This is what we've come to make note of, and they've been told what is to be done – which I've not got so far. So anyway, I will tell you really fast. The moment my letter goes, then they'll start getting up. Because then I become very sarcastic about this, I put it in a very sarcastic way.

**Researcher:** Ok, so you think that writing the letter will have more effect than the video?

**Int1:** Yeah, because if I don't write the letter and get the reply, I can say, ok, this thing is forgotten now, these people got back to their usual thing. That's why I waited, waited, waited to see and I even went there, but so far that report has not come to me. So now I have got to give to them in writing and I'll receive it, that's for sure.

**Researcher:** And you don't think writing a letter about the piggery would have been better than making a video?

**Int1:** Uh, no. No. Because what happens is, see, when you have a video, it helps people to see for sure, about what is happening. In the writing, it's like I can write anything; but when you have it in video, yes. It's evidence, 100% that this is happening. I can tell so many

people that this is happening, but when they see the video, yes. Concrete evidence, nobody can..

**Researcher:** Nobody can argue.

**Int1:** Exactly. And you have it for certain over here.

**Researcher:** So, I'm interested now... You said that the Panchayat is not giving you the report...

**Int1:** Yeah, which should have come to me soon after the inspection, another week's time or so 4<sup>th</sup> of April was the inspection. It is not a 10 page document, just making a note of what was said there and what action has to be taken by the people and them, that should have come to me, but it has not come to me, so...

**Researcher:** So the video hasn't managed to achieve that...

**Int1:** Well, I don't think the video should have been directly involved with this thing. The video was just to get them aware, and showing them concrete evidence, that is the part of the video. At the same time making it go around, and so that people get aware. More and more awareness is built up, these things go on, where nobody checks sometimes and they just go on. We see here action was taken, and yes, it has helped to a certain extent, where this garbage has stopped, and this thing with the blood flowing in to the drains, has stopped totally, which is good.

**Researcher:** Ok, so they can't help to get your report.

**Int1:** No, no. And the video cannot get the report, because he stopped... the main thing is his job is to give it to me, that's all. You know, just to show him. After seeing that, they made a decision that is going to call for a joint inspection with the health authorities, the animal husbandry and the Panchayat, that's the local body. We'll see. That is what we achieved, with the help of the video. Because when they saw it for real, they said, ok, come on, let's get our asses moving; we have to do something about it... and they came. Now, the report is simply because I should know for my information, what has been said and what has been recorded, and what has been sent to them, that's all. For my record. So that in the future, I can say, 'Baba this is the report', that is, if they get back to this garbage thing. So I can say look here Baba, this is what the report had said... What is happening here? Please check it here. So I can always go back to them once I have the report in my hand, because what was said in the report has to be followed by them.

**Researcher:** Ok, so the story is not complete yet, because...

**Int1:** No, because I still do not know what has been given to them, what has been said in the report, that has not yet come to me. So once I get that, that's what I told Sulo, once I get a copy, I'll give you a copy of the report also, so that, you know, you can have it for a record... you can show the action initiated by the local body, and you will have that document. That will also go on the net, cause all the letters, the signatures... everything has gone on the net. We have recorded all that thing.

**Researcher:** So, once there is a report, you'll make another video?

**Int1:** Ah, well, I'll see how things are. Because now, there's too much greenery, you can't see anything (chuckles to himself). You see, everything is come up nice now.

**Researcher:** The monsoon

**Int1:** Yeah, the monsoon, so... you can't make out anything, so once the grass is there, then is the time that you really know when something is happening for real... because now what happens is with the rain, everything gets washed off, everything is clear, so...until October. In November/December, when the rain stop, then we'll see if there is anything that has been done that side.

**Researcher:** So, this issue is really seasonal dependent.

**Int1:** Yeah, I think that it is going on as usual, there is no seasonal as such, because there's lots of demand for pork... hotels, everywhere, solid demand, solid demand. Just imagine, just to start, they would slaughter about 3 to 4 pigs, maximum was 4 or 5. That depending, like they used to have this feast for the church and all, so people buy usually that type of meat, at some point or another depending on local things. So people mostly go to buy that pork on that particular day, so there's more... So they knew the dates, then they'll slaughter more. Usually it's on Saturdays, there are more slaughtering, because there's more demand for that on Saturday and Sunday. On the other weekdays, it's not so much... maybe 7-10 pigs. Other than that, it's more than 15 plus. My main concern was... Baba see was that if y'all are doing something, fine, but make sure it doesn't become a health hazard, basically that. And if you have seen the videos, you should have seen that there was blood that was stagnant, and right next to the school, there was blood that was stagnant and you could see the pong was coming straight to my house.

**Researcher:** I know, I saw the video...

**Int1:** And at the same time, they send the pigs over here, again, same thing, early morning, you know, the stench of the pigs, the smell is terrible. I mention everything in the video. I could not even keep my doors open because of this. But now, yes, after that thing, after the video and after the action taken because of the video, action was taken, because there was proof, for them, yes. That's why the local Panch... I mean, Sarpanch, he's the head, he said yes. I didn't know that this is happening, and he saw the video and said, "My god," and I said, "Yeah. Did you think I was telling you some lies? No, this is what's been happening..."

**Researcher:** And, who exactly responded to the video? Which people responded?

**Int1:** The main people are, the Health Department, the Sarpanch, that's the head of the village, and *(There's a motorcycle in the background that is very loud. I can't hear his answer here)*. I don't think they saw the video, because it was not given to them.

**Researcher:** I'm sorry, who?

**Int1:** The Animal Husbandry.

**Researcher:** Ah, they didn't see the video.

**Int1:** They didn't see the video, because they are concerned more of, you know, where the animals are concerned. The stock with the bringer's right and all that stuff. They also, next time, they are usually aware if you want to put up a farm or raise pigs, they come into the picture, because they make sure that everything is, you know... you get the right sort of stock. Everything is maintained, the distance between your houses and all that thing. They are concerned with that; that part of work. They cannot stop people from slaughtering pigs. They are not concerned with that; but even then, they came, they came to see. They said, this is not right; It should be so much distance away.

**Researcher:** Ok, so those are the people that responded; and how many people do you think, all together, saw this video?

**Int1:** Well, I wouldn't know a number, because once it was on the net... there's plenty of them

**Researcher:** And being on the net makes a difference to you?

**Int1:** Oh, it does, it does, it does. Cause what is happening, behind my back yard, nobody knows abroad, that it's happening locally. Like this tower thing, also, nobody knew it was in there. It's just such a nice place, and see, it's just mere decency and courtesy to ask your next door neighbors, "Is it ok to put this big tower here, in the residential area?", which they'll never do because they'll hush up. Hush-hush, everything over night, happening things. So that is what, you know, made people angry. And when everyone is such good neighbors, it is easy, you know... "See, David, we are putting up a tower here, is it ok?" ask the neighbors first. No, nothing was done. And that's why there is more of an opposition than good will. Yes, it's going to serve, but you must see the long term effects, because, to say, it is causing a lot of disturbance in the minds of people also. I have one over there, there you can see there's a tower [pointing]. That was lower, so the same person, the same person increased the height because he couldn't get lower there. And again, and again it was, because this is.. they call it 'cow shed', 'cow shed' this thing, what happened, this can be moved. It's not a permanent structure here. This one, they want to put up the permanent steel structure, it is still massive... and they start telling us it's a green tower and I said, I don't care what tower it is, I was strong with them, because once I believe in something, yes, it's got to be moved from here, it 's got to be moved. I was the main person, if you want to see the videos, also, I was shouting the slogans and everything.

**Researcher:** Yeah, I've seen it

**Int1:** So, that way. When it's right, it's right. It's wrong, it's wrong. I stand for the truth. That what sets you free, when you speak the truth. When you fight for the truth, yes, there'll be a revolution, but you'll triumph.

**Researcher:** Ok. So I'm curious now, you know, you talked about it being on the internet and maybe some international people see it. What is their influence locally?

**Int1:** Well, they cannot do anything from there, unless they are staying here. They can pressurize people, you know, they go to the people... "look here, this needs to be stopped. This is not right," they can to a certain extent, if they are here. But being there, it's just that they're aware that this is happening. It's just building up awareness, that these things can be

exposed and certain things can be taken care of, like it has happened here. I was just keeping quiet at first but then I just couldn't bear the stink; and I said, enough is enough. I went to them, I spoke to them so many times, I even brought the elders from my ward to speak to them. They met a man who says, you see, this is what is happening, this is not right, but they wouldn't listen, because for them it is greed; blinded by the money. They don't care a dime for what people say. They say "we are the one doing business, it's our problem", but they woke up, they woke up. And yes, it's clean, this thing now, everything is fine, we don't have to bear the stink... now let's see, when, come season time, usually October is the time, October, November, December, January, February, March, the season time has a lot of this leftovers from hotels, and they used to pick up all that and dump it over here. Yeah, fine, you have waste from your pigs, fine, but then, don't strew around all the plastic and bottles and this and that... and then burning was the worst, because I just can't bear that smoke thing. And I showed them. When I was with Sulo, we had gone there and we could see the smoke and I said, "You see how it's blowing towards the school? School children are being affected by that." So we have very good evidence of what is happening...

**Researcher:** On video.

**Int1:** On video. So, when you see it on video, you have to believe it.

**Researcher:** Ok, and you were the one videoing.

**Int1:** Yeah. Uh, Sulo was doing it, Sulo was doing it. I used to also do, because Sulo can't be here all the time, so I said, bring this, give me your camera, so anytime there's smoke, I run upstairs, to video it. Anytime the garbage being burned, get the picture. So, everything was being recorded. So I was like one of the staff also, helping her do that, because I had to do it, no? Nobody else can, because I'm the closest proximity over here. And I have the access, I just go over the wall and see everything... and birds eye view's from top, like the eagles sweeping down, and the dogs and the crows. My goodness, it was mad here, really.

**Researcher:** And, how long have you been here?

**Int1:** Ever since my birth. And what happened, I was abroad for about 15 years, yeah, from '89 'til 2003. Then I came down with my family, we had our old house. This is a new one, built it, 2006, then I went away again for another 15 months and I came back, because I was missing my family. I was working out there, in a hotel.

**Researcher:** And coming back to this story, you've seen the video... do you think that your message was put across on the video the way you intended it?

**Int1:** Yes, yes, very much. My main concern was that action has to be there, and action was there, because after seeing the video, the main person in the village, he said, "My god!", this is the words he used eh... "my god this is what's happening?" So, yes, we'll fix up with all the 3 bodies, that is the health department, animal husbandry and panchayat. I said, "good". And that's what we did, so it did make an impact on him [piggery owner].

**Researcher:** I mean, like, your interview, when you spoke, and the way the final edit was cut, you were happy with that?



**Int1:** Yes, it was great. Very much. Because what I wanted to say, I said, and I think everything was there. Simple as that. What I basically wanted was action, and yes, action was taken. Because the person concerned, saw the video, and he immediately said, ok. We'll fix an inspection, so that is good. He could have said, no, just me, only my office will be there, but he called all the offices, because he really wanted something to happen.

**Researcher:** Who was that?

**Int1:** The Sarpanch. He's called the Sarpanch. He has given an interview, also I think, about this thing. He has also spoken to Sulo. He is very much into doing away with the garbage. But you know, I guess people are just losing their sanity, I guess. It's more of the educated people who are throwing the trash. You see in cars, they live with in flats. So you know, they don't have a proper infrastructure for the garbage thing. The person that is building a building is really worried about getting tenants in his building, and the garbage thing is just... zero.

**Researcher:** So does this video want to help change things on a bigger scale?

**Int1:** It can help, of course it can help. Because if these local bodies involved... see, what happens is, there is no proper infrastructure for managing garbage. Now, if there are bins placed, ok we have a certain spot where people throw it. If there's something in place, and that something in place goes to some other place, then things can happen. But if there's no place where this thing can be dumped, where will people dump? And they dump especially in places where they say, "Please do not dump garbage here". So you see how ignorant people are; they read the message, and yet they do it.

**Researcher:** Ok. So, do you think that there should be another video made about the garbage?

**Int1:** Wonderful yes, there's lots of things that can come out of it, a lot of exposure, but the people over here also are so lazy. The people concerned are the people in government. They are the ones who are who have to take initiative.

**Researcher:** So it's their duty to do...

**Int1:** Definitely. They have to go an search a place where they can manage to do this garbage, like dumps, and segregation center, then getting it burned and all that stuff. Nothing's in place. Nothing's in place. And they are cool about it, ok, 'cheltay'... we'll do it. People are there, keep them there, we'll promise them we'll do it.

**Researcher:** So if it's their duty, why were you involved in this video?

**Int1:** Well, because secondly, it was just in my backyard. I went to them, I told them, but they were paying no heed to my voice or at the same time the elders. Then I said, ok, come on, let me do it on this scale, so that everybody gets it. I sent letters to the minister of health, I sent the local MLA [Member of Legislative Authority], all that and then to the police station, and then to the health, and pollution control body, even they came, huh, even pollution control came... they even came here to see the place. And they saw enough clues; they couldn't say anything about it because everything was cleared by then. And then they came to see, because I put that noise pollution with the pigs and this blood, and ground/water

pollution, plastic bags and all that, so all this was pollution, 3 kinds of. Noise smoke, sound, water, everything.

**Researcher:** Ok, wow. And did you have a chance to validate this video?

**Int1:** Yes, because Sulo showed it to me before they put the edit. And I said, everything's fine in this, most of this we've seen... Twice, I think I've seen it twice.

**Researcher:** And, so, tell me again, you were telling me that you're the head of the local...

**Int1:** Yeah, we have something called the citizens' forum, that is like a committee that sees that, you know, things are running right in our village. So, anything that's not being done properly, we try to intervene and we voice our concern, basically that... like watch dogs... watch dogs.

**Researcher:** And do you think somebody else would have taken up this issue, or just you?

**Int1:** Being the best neighbor hahahaha, I had to. Nobody else. Everybody was waiting for me to put the foot forward.

**Researcher:** Ok

**Int1:** They say, we cannot do it, because you're the first person being affected the most. So, if you take initiative, we are there 100% behind you, and that's what was said. They said, you do the letter and everything, and we are there to support this thing. They know the problem, because everyone has to pass by this road, even the children going to school. Everyone used to go and come, holding their noses. Even in the evening, I saw them holding their noses. So everybody was aware that this stinks, so they were glad that something was being done... and that is why I'm here.

**Researcher:** Well, I think that's all for today. And I will try and write this up and look at the data... and then if I get a chance, would you like to review that, or...

**Int1:** I think what I've said is said, and I have trusted you to write it.

**Researcher:** Well, you've got the contacts, so if you have any questions or you want to add something...

**Int1:** Ok. Feel free to add.

**Researcher:** Yes, please do. Thank you very much for your time.

**Int1:** My pleasure, David. Can I get you some fresh lime to drink now?

**Researcher:** Yes thank you

(After Int1 goes to get drinks)

**Researcher:** So, I was just looking around the back way to see if we could go there [to the piggery].

**Int1:** Not advisable... because they'll simply get agitated now. And there's nothing much now that's left because the mess that was there, has been all cleared up. That was a big relief... especially the rubbish, and the blood that would flow, which has totally stopped. They have been there since long back, but you know, as I said, let it go. Nobody's saying anything about it. Nobody's complaining about it. Because they know, I was very good to them, I am not their enemy, I do say hi to them, because I like to keep in their good books. It's not that I have done something out of... which is not right, it is very much right, and they are realizing this, because all the people are against the garbage and all. You see, they're four brothers, so nobody wanted to voice their concern against them so I had to do that... and yes, they realized what I did is not totally wrong. I could have done some worse if I wanted to, but I said, ok, this is enough, as long as they are clearing everything and they are taking precautions, I'm fine with that. Keeping the environment clean, basically what I want.

**Researcher:** So your relationships now with them are a little bit...

**Int1:** Yeah. Not 100%, but we're getting there slowly.

**Researcher:** And how do you know this guy who came earlier?

**Int1:** He's our local ward Panch. We have something called the Panchayat, and the Panchayat, it's a body of members, that are wards. There are about 16 wards in our village. So each ward has one main person who's elected, not just chosen, he's elected. In fact, I was one of those who stood for election this year, but he won it. Cause the non-Catholic and Catholic politicians... there is very... this much [population].

**Researcher:** To who? Who's more...

**Int1:** Non-Catholics. Yeah, they are more than we are. It's... ours are 50 and theirs 100. So that's the difference there.

**Researcher:** They're Hindu, you're Catholic and they know you are Catholic.

**Int1:** Yes. Of course. It doesn't matter, I tried. Whatever it is, there's nothing like trying. There were four of us who stood, so I was the second highest, so... that's it.

**Researcher:** And the guy, you know him well?

**Int1:** Yeah, he's ok, no problem. I mean, he's done a lot of improvement like last week, the fixing of lights. He's the one person who also has to be aware of what's going on in the ward... being concerned with certain things, like all the rules and regulations. He's doing a good job, so far. He's also in the garbage fight, he also tries his best to, you know... we had a garbage collection also, sometime back. I take part, but really, I don't know... People are so, so insane, they just don't care. You know, but, people are not too keen on doing all this. They find it easier to dump it in the bag and just throw it... Who's going to take time to segregate plastic? The easiest thing is to just dump everything. The only thing is, if there are fines, hefty fines... yes, things will improve. Otherwise, no chance. I don't see any improvement as long as there's no something that's proper in place, definitely. I see how terrible it is. Fine everybody, then we'll see what happens.

**Researcher:** And so, in terms of this garbage segregation, the videos have helped, or they haven't helped?

**Int1:** In certain areas, they have, to a certain extent, but it's 75/25. 25%, people are for it, 75%, who cares a damn, better to dump it. First of all, there's no proper infrastructure for collection of the garbage. But there is stiff opposition for that as well, so we need to see about that, because what happens is it falls in a certain jurisdiction ok. So, the site is a hill on top, in this village, and there's two other villages on the boundary, so they are saying, we are dumping it in their village, across the boundary. But what happened, is underground sewage is there, so it's just contaminating the underground water there, and there's a spring over there, so, in the long run, it is affecting all of us. See y'all may be dumping it on that side, but things are happening inside here, underground. There's a very strong opposition now, because of the minister, and this and that, but it was the powers that be are not ready to do the action. That's the way it is.

**Researcher:** There's no... Have you had a chance to maybe try and do some local media on that?

**Int1:** Plenty was done, plenty was done on that.

**Researcher:** And nothing changed?

**Int1:** Nothing changed, nothing changed. The people concerned are not ready to take initiative, so what can the people do, tell me, these are the laws in India... for everything, there's a loophole; and the people who do that know the loophole very well. So, why no action being taken, because the people on top who have to take the action are not ready to take the action. So, what is it good of doing all this exercise of making complaints and this and there's no action, zero. That is why things are happening, nobody gives a damn. This is what is happening now-a-days. The politicians, themselves are involved in all of this, so how can they expect the people to vote on them. They should be setting us examples; they are the ones who are involved in all this. Take the head of the MLA's son, he's involved in the drug business, bribing cops and extorting the prostitutes... so if the people who are supposed to make the law are involved in doing this, what will be the state of the affairs...

**Researcher:** So, whose responsibility is it?

**Int1:** The politicians.

**Researcher:** It's not society?

**Int1:** Society too, to a certain extent, but if the society is going to approach these people, who have to maintain the law and order, and not proper themselves, who are they then going to go to? Some people are going to complain and say, "What do police do, they themselves are doing these things." So that sort of mentality. And you know, because the people here are 'cool'... it'll happen someday. The Konkani word for this is 'susegat' [the essence of Goan culture being, relaxed and peaceful].

**Researcher:** Susegat, I know it very well.

**Int1:** I saw that you are trying to learn Konkani, also. Konkani is very easy to learn... very easy. You'll learn it very fast.

**Researcher:** Yes of course.

End of interview; the following conversation was Int1 teaching me Konkani.

6.5. *Ethics form: Part B*

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