How effective is community radio in meeting the needs of remote communities in Nepal?
Case study of Okhaldhunga, Nepal

Centre for Development and Emergency Practice (CENDEP)
School of the Built Environment
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How effective is community radio in meeting the needs of remote communities in Nepal? Case study of Okhaldhunga, Nepal

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Abstract

Communication is fundamental to human life in every part of the world. The evolvement of modern technologies has made it more sophisticated and accessible than ever before, greatly increasing potential for economic and social impact. Today, many groups are working to harness the power of communication technology to bring social change and meet people’s needs. For example, community radio initiatives around the world are giving poor people ‘a voice’, enabling them to instigate their own change such as advocating for rights or promoting social learning and dialogue. For many remote communities, radio remains the most accessible technological medium available.

In the country of Nepal, community radio has grown extensively and rapidly. Yet the needs of people remain pressing, with Nepal ranking 138 from the bottom on the Human Development Index (HDI) (UNDP, 2010). It is hard to measure the effectiveness of community radio in meeting needs, with little documented primary evidence and few community radio indicators to assess change. To address this information gap this dissertation reviews the effectiveness of a community radio station in the poor and remote area of Okhaldhunga, eastern Nepal - referred to by local villagers as ‘the forgotten district.’

The study uses qualitative and quantitative research to perform a community-based needs assessment. It highlights the underlying issues of a weak economy, infrastructure and caste system. It also highlights social and family networks that strengthen communities. The research then investigates how the community radio station is responding to these needs, presenting findings alongside the potential ‘role of radio’ (HCR 2002). The study uses a set of community radio indicators (James 2004) in collaboration with ‘five conditions for social change’ (Dagron and Tufte 2006) to identify limitations and constraints, and review effectiveness. The dissertation concludes with key recommendations for the station to: increase networking, increase learning and, most importantly, increase community involvement. It makes recommendations for donors to reduce control and increase community participation.
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All photographs are taken by Theodora Hannides, unless otherwise stated.
**Acronyms**

AMARC  
World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters

CAI  
Creative Associates International

CIMA  
Centre for International Media Assistance

CIBAR  
Conference of International Broadcaster’s Audience Research Services

C4D  
Communication for Development

CRSC  
Community Radio Support Centre

DFID  
Department for International Development (UK)

FAO  
Food and Agriculture Organisation

FCHV  
Female Community Health Volunteers

GDP  
Gross Domestic Product

HDCS  
Human Development Community Services

HCR  
Health Communication Resources

HDI  
Human Development Index

ICMS  
International Centre for Media Studies

ICT  
Information Communication Technologies

IMF  
International Monetary Fund

IFAD  
International Fund for Agricultural Development

MDG  
Millennium Development Goals

NGO  
Non Government Organization

NHDR  
Nepal Human Development Report

NPSC  
(Government of Nepal). National Planning Commission Singh Durbar

ODI  
Overseas Development Institute

PRA  
Participatory Rural Appraisal

RRA  
Rapid Rural Appraisal

SLA  
Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

UMHT  
United Mission Hospital in Tansen

UN  
United Nations

UNDP  
United Nations Development Program

UNESCO  
United Nations Educational and Scientific Organization

UNPF  
United Nations Population Fund

VDC  
Village District Committee

WSIS  
The World Summit on Information Society

WBI  
World Bank Institute
Definitions

Skip Interval
The number of houses between each household interviewed.

Ward
The word used by Nepalis for the villages within the Village District Committees (VDC). Each VDC has nine wards.

Village District Committee (VDC)
The sub-district. Okhaldhunga district has 57 VDCs, one of which is also called Okhaldhunga VDC.

Dalit
‘A group of people who are religiously, culturally, socially and economically oppressed. They belong to different language and ethnic groups’ (UNDP 2009).
Communication is increasingly recognised by many agencies as a development tool - with the ever-evolving world of information technologies (i.e. radio, internet, mobile phones) being used to mobilise social change. Whilst information technologies have now reached unprecedented levels, large disparities still exist between richer and poorer nations, (ITU 2009) regions and people groups. In most African and Asian countries, many of the poorest people still live in rural areas (Satterthwaite 2003). In remote areas, radio is often the only medium available that is pervasive, accessible and affordable (Girard 2003). However, despite the abundance of radios and receivers in the world, using them systematically to help fight poverty remains a challenge and is inter-woven with the structures, political will and motivations that govern society (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrado 2002, p.1)

There is much literature on the potential of community radio, in particular to bring social change, as its sole focus is the community as opposed to profit (Myers 2008). There is also research that evaluates the impact of particular radio programmes on society. However, there is little documented primary research into the overall effectiveness of community radio stations - and few tested measurement tools to assist this. The need for documented primary research, and useful indicators to measure effectiveness, was highlighted in a global assessment of community radio, conducted by the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters in 2006 (AMARC 2007).

This dissertation seeks to partly fulfil this information gap by reviewing the effectiveness of a particular community radio station with selected indicators, documenting the findings, and making recommendations for future community radio initiatives.
The area chosen for study was Okhaldhunga, eastern Nepal. Nepal provides an interesting setting to study ‘needs’ and community radio, with its diverse cultural, political and geographical landscape. Years of political unrest, poor living conditions and a lack of democracy have led to civil unrest. It is against this backdrop that community radio activists began fighting for change. After fifty years of government-controlled radio, Nepal became the first country in South Asia to have an independent community radio station, in 1997 (Banjade 2006). Following the new political constitution of 2006, over a hundred community radio licences were granted in a fifteen month period (Pringle and Subba 2007). However, according to UNESCO (Pringle and Subba 2007) the rapid growth has been ‘haphazard, unbalanced and far from strategic’ (2007, p 14) rarely driven by broadcasting or audience need. The lack of regulation often results in ‘survival of the fittest,’ narrowing the chances of small community owned stations to grow or survive. UNESCO (Pringle and Subba 2007) expressed concern that community participation includes only the elite, thus re-enforcing existing inequalities.
The fieldwork in Okhaldhunga was conducted in November 2009. Okhaldhunga is one of the poorest districts in Nepal - cut off from others due to a lack of roads and a poor infrastructure. A research team, comprising of the author, development practitioners and researchers from the International Centre for Media Studies (ICMS), conducted a community-based needs assessment and reviewed the station’s effectiveness in meeting needs. The findings, combined with desk research, are used to inform recommendations for future community radio initiatives. The field research was sponsored by a UK-based charity, Feba Radio, who helped fund the radio station in Okhaldhunga in partnership with local Nepali Non Government Organisation (NGO) Human Development Communication Resources (HDCS). Feba was interested in helping to build the station’s capacity and using the results of the needs assessment to inform programming strategy.
1.1 Aim

The aim of this dissertation is to review the effectiveness of community radio in meeting the needs of remote communities in Nepal.

1.2 Objectives

- To assess the needs of a remote community in Nepal
- To review the community radio station’s effectiveness in meeting these needs
- To identify limitations and constraints that hinder the radio station’s effectiveness
- To make recommendations for:
  - The radio station
  - Future radio initiatives

1.3 Outline and Structure

This dissertation begins with a literature review (chapters 1 and 2) that explores the concept of ‘poverty’ and ‘meeting needs’ with particular focus on Nepal. It looks at some of the underpinning theories and concepts behind development practices and communication strategies. It explores how these have evolved and influenced participatory forms of development and communication that exist today, with particular focus on community radio.

Chapter 3 introduces the research methods used. The findings of the community needs assessment are discussed in chapter 4; and the findings of the station’s effectiveness are discussed in chapter 5. Chapter 6 uses indicators to assess the station’s effectiveness in light of its constraints and limitations. Chapter 7 draws overall conclusions from the findings and analysis. Chapter 8 gives recommendations for the radio station and donors of community radio initiatives.
This literature review begins by introducing some of the underpinning theories that have influenced interpretations of poverty, and responses to ‘needs’. It gives an overview of some of the ‘needs’ in Nepal, the underlying structures and systems that trap people in poverty. It reviews some of the approaches and practices in ‘meeting needs’ within evolving understandings of ‘poverty’.

The second section examines some of the overlap between development and communication theory that influences practice today; and provides a background to the evolvement of communication development.

The final section draws on theoretical understandings to review some of the current state of the art of the specific communication medium, community radio. It places these in the broader context of communication development, and examines indicators used to measure effectiveness.
2.1 Development Theory and Practice

2.1.1 Poverty

Interpretations of ‘poverty’ have evolved over time, and often underpin development agencies’ strategies and responses to ‘needs’. Western modernist interpretations of development understood poverty largely in terms of economic growth, with a need for poorer countries to ‘catch up’ with industrialised ones (Waisbord 2000; Clark 2006). Under this Western paradigm, outsiders were the perceived experts at the ‘top’ of society, who dictated to those at the ‘bottom’. ‘Measuring poverty’ or progress relied on macro level economic indicators like Gross Domestic or National Product (Salvatore Monni & Alessandro Spaventa, 2010).

As understandings of relative poverty were introduced, inspired by the work of Runciman and Townsend (Maxwell 1999), many agencies realised that monetary and economic indicators were not sufficient on their own. The need for poor people to ‘connect to’ society began to be recognised (Hicks 1979). UNDP’s Human Development Index (HDI) is an attempt at broadening the measurements of poverty - though human rights and political inequalities are not yet included.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Table 1 - Income or Consumption Poverty</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Human (under) development</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>(Lack of) capability and functioning</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Social exclusion</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Ill-being</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Vulnerability</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Livelihood not sustainable</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lack of basic needs</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Relative deprivation</strong></td>
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Source: ODI Poverty Briefing (Maxwell 1999)

Today, more is understood about the multi faceted nature of ‘poverty’, which includes many different dimensions (table 1) and is inter-woven with the culture, systems and structures that govern particular groups, areas and countries.
2.1.2 Nepal

Nepal is one of the poorest countries in the world, ranking 138 out of 169 countries on the Human Development Index scale (UNDP 2010). This small country covers an area of almost 150 kilometres (Manandhar and Manandhar 2002) with a growing population of over 29 million (World Bank 2009). Nepal is landlocked between China and India; its mountainous and hilly terrain and weak infrastructure pose costly challenges for service delivery and economic activity (Bhatt 2006).

Years of political and civil unrest have severely impacted the country’s economy, infrastructure and society at both the macro and local level. After a ten-year Maoist insurgency, a formal peace agreement was signed in 2006 and the country was declared a republic in May 2008 (Robins 2009; Singh 2009). However, the political transitional period has been slow, disruptive and unstable (ADB 2009). The fragile political environment has resulted in failure to elect local bodies, posing a severe constraint on governance and development at the local level - where labour unrest increases tensions. Nepal’s prospects of reducing poverty hinge on lasting peace and stability (ADB 2009).

Macro level indicators do reveal progress in development. The 2010 Human Development Report reveals Nepal to be one of the ‘top ten HDI’ movers - making significant progress in the non-income dimensions of poverty, i.e. education, life expectancy and health (UNDP 2010, p16).
The 2010 Millennium Development Goals Progress Report for Nepal acknowledges a reduction in overall poverty figures but highlights the disparity between groups and areas, which are hidden when viewing aggregate figures:

Studies should be conducted to dig deeper into the structural disparities across ethnicities, social and economic backgrounds, geography and gender to address the hidden social issues. (UNDP and NPCS 2010, p 6)

Nepal’s HDI score masks the extremes of poverty depravation; it decreases by almost one third when it includes inequalities in the areas of income, health and education (using the new Inequality-adjusted Human Development Indicator (IHDI) (UNDP 2010). Nepal’s National Human Development Report (2009) highlights that, on average, people in urban areas have the highest human development whereas those in the mountains have the lowest (2009, p33). Life is more challenging for those born into lower caste groups or minority religious groups - with Muslims and Dalits scoring the lowest in terms of development (UNDP, 2009). Gender discrimination against women crosses monetary and cultural boundaries and exists even in well-off and educated families (UNDP et al 2008).


2.1.3 Approaches and Practices

Basic Needs

Various approaches and strategies have evolved to respond to needs in poor countries like Nepal, influenced by evolving theories and concepts of poverty. In the mid seventies and eighties, Western development practitioners worked on the idea that if the basic needs of poor people could be met, poverty could be alleviated. This strategy, known as the basic needs approach, was incorporated into development policy agendas and programmes in the eighties (Clark 2006). This was under the auspice of Paul Streeten and Mahbub at the World Bank (Clark 2006) who argued that the basic needs of all people must be the central objective to development if the needs of the masses, opposed to the elite, were to be met (Streeten et al 1981). However, in Nepal, despite investment and promotion of the basic needs strategy, a lack of practical implementation led to antagonism from disappointed and disillusioned villagers, tired of seeing little improvement in quality of life from development programmes. Structures and systems on the ground, that favoured the elite, resulted in development benefit being reaped by the rich, not the poor (Devkota 1994). Basic needs are entwined with basic rights - that is ‘social guarantees against actual and threatened deprivation of at least some basic needs’ (Shue 1996, p18) - and, in the case of Nepal, governed by class and status. Although development approaches today still emphasise the need to meet basic needs, (Jonsson 2003) the approach alone is recognised as insufficient as it does not allow for some of the deeper complexities of poverty and depravation (Johannsen al. 2007).

_Dhani lai vikas ayo Garib lai ka mayo._ (Development comes for the rich; work comes for the poor.)

A Ramghat woman

(Devkota 1994)
Participatory Approaches

Under the Western paradigm of development, approaches were governed by outsiders who defined the needs of local people and responses to them (Waisbord 2000). In Nepal, this ‘top down’ approach mirrors the political structure (appendix 2) that works from centre to region to district, but not the village level (Devkota 1994), meaning that often villagers are the last to know about development projects in their area. The result in Nepal, and countries elsewhere, was often inappropriate, unrooted and unwanted projects that resulted in failure (Chambers 1997). Development was, and often still is, viewed as a ‘commodity’ delivered by superiors (Devkota 1994).

The failure of many top down approaches in different countries helped contribute to a new, participatory approach that involved local people in the development process. Participatory approaches developed from various events and processes in different parts of the world that do not follow a sequential order but are ‘like flows in a braided stream, intermingled’ (Chambers 1992 p5).

The more practical advances came out of independence struggles and initiatives on the ground in parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America, where local grass roots initiatives revealed that participatory approaches assisted social change in their communities far better than a top down, Western approach (Dagron and Tufte 2006).

Research into farming systems that recognised the knowledge farmers had of their own systems and livelihoods were another strand of the development of participatory approaches. Heavily influenced by the work of Robert Chambers (2008), Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) provided an innovative ‘people-centred’ way of doing research, placing ‘evidential value’ over precision (Duraiappah, Roddy et al. 2005). Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) was a further development that included participatory analysis of results - as opposed to the external analysis of RRA.
In Nepal, people’s participation in development is a recognised principle, going back at least as far as the 1970s, when the government initiated participatory programmes with the help of donor aid (Pratt and Studies 2001). However, implementation of these programmes was often in the form of ‘mobilisation’ of villagers - using them as ‘development mules’ rather than involving them in the process (Devkota 1994), thus simply re-packaging the ‘top down’ approach and local dependency on outsiders for change.

PRA is believed to have been introduced in Nepal in the early nineties (Pratt et al 2001), spreading rapidly in different sectors and in different ways. However, in many areas the popularity of PRA led to it being adopted in a fashion-like, prescriptive way, run by perceived PRA ‘experts’ (Gibbon and Shrestha 1998). As warned by critics in other parts of the world, ‘routine and prescribed procedures’ displaced ‘adaption, innovation and open-ended curiosity’ (Guijt and Cornwall 1995) with participatory approaches being engrained in policy but not practice (Cook and Kothari 2001).

Livelihoods Approaches

Livelihoods approaches encompass some of the complexities and understandings of poverty, aiming to be participatory, sustainable and dynamic, to work on multi-levels, and to be conducted in partnerships (Ashley and Carney 1999). The concept of ‘livelihoods’ in development according to Chambers and Conway (1991) brings together ‘capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living.’ A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope and recover from shocks and stresses, and ‘maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation’ (1991, p6). The various Sustainable Livelihood (SL) frameworks start with people at the centre, surrounded by their assets - the central drivers of community change (Moser 2006). Assets include those that are tangible (i.e. livestock) and intangible (i.e. skills); inter-connected are the various influencers that weaken or strengthen livelihoods - shocks, stresses, vulnerabilities.

Sanderson’s (2008) framework (figure 11) includes people’s basic needs for survival, what they need to meet these (resources), and what helps or hinders their access (discrimination).
The holistic nature of the SL approach encompasses the different dimensions of the multifaceted nature of poverty, although it has presented a tension for practitioners between the desire to generate rich local data and universally-comparable information for policy level analysis (Mdee 2002)

**SL Framework in Nepal**

The SL framework could be a useful tool to assist the broader picture of needs in Nepal. The independent study undertaken by the author (2009) to review appropriate tools for the needs assessment recommended using the framework initially, drawing on Oxfam’s analogy of an ‘acupuncture approach’:

...a good acupuncturist uses a holistic diagnosis of the patient followed by very specific treatment at key points. Holistic diagnosis does not mean needles everywhere! (Oxfam, NRAC 99, cited in Ashley & Carney, 1999. P18)
2.2 Communication Development: Theory and Practice

2.2.1 Introduction

Misunderstanding communication is as dangerous as misunderstanding development; both are at the core of fifty years of failures in a perspective of human development that is inclusive and brings justice and democracy to all. (Dagron and Tufte 2006)

There are many parallels between the evolvements in development theory and the communications theory that underpins media practice today.

Communications theory has many strands. For the purposes of this review, the author is primarily interested in the relationship between media and society since this underpins the aims of the dissertation (reviewing the effectiveness of radio in addressing the needs of society).

Communication that is used to bring about social change has different labels: ‘development communications,’ ‘Communication for Development’ (C4D), ‘devcom’, etc. For some, such names pose problems as their roots are seen attached to the colonialist thinking behind communication used after the Second World War. The formal definition by the United Nation’s defines Communication for Development as:

...two-way communication systems that enable dialogue and that allow communities to speak out, express their aspirations and concerns and participate in the decisions that relate to their development. (1997 A/RES/51/172)
2.2.2 Development Communication

The history of development communication varies according to different cultural perspectives. South African lecturer and author Manyozo (2006) acknowledges six independent schools in his historical account. Much of the literature written in English conveys the history through Western lenses, heavily influenced by one particular school - the Bretton Woods institutions (such as the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, or IMF).

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the Western paradigm of development upheld that the role of mass media was to inform the recipients (in developing countries) of the necessary information needed to instigate behavioural change (to become like developed countries). This one-way form of transmitting information - information provider to information recipient - was based on the more linear models in communication theory such as Shannon and Weaver’s mathematical communication model (1949). This persuasive use of media had its roots in propaganda used during the Second World War, building on early communication theory based on the hypodermic needle model (Severin and Tankard 1988). This worked on the premise that a passive population could simply be ‘injected’ with ideas that would instigate behavioural change. Such approaches complimented the ‘top down’ approach to development, as the key role of society was neither acknowledged nor understood. Rogers’ innovation model (1962) helped theorists understand how, and at what rate, ideas move and spread through a community. It served the modernist paradigm, with the media acting as both channels and indicators of modernization (Waisbord 2000).
2.2.3 Critics of the Western Paradigm

Filipino author Nora Quebral (2006) was one of the early critics of the Western paradigm of development communication, stressing that development is ‘no transplant’ (Quebral 2006). It was Quebral who first coined the phrase ‘development communications’ in 1971 defining it as:

*The art and science of human communication linked to a society’s planned transformation from the state of poverty to one of dynamic socio-economic growth that makes for greater equity and the larger unfolding of individual potential...or something to that effect.* (2006, p 101)

Although her interpretation is still heavily connected to economic growth it was a radical interpretation at that time. Quebral is named the ‘mother of development communications’ in non-Western literature that acknowledges the participatory forms of *development communication* happening in other parts of the world and criticises the appropriateness of the western paradigm for all. (Dagron and Tufte 2006; Manyozo 2006) Dagron and Tufte (2006) translated key texts into English for the first time in an attempt to ‘minimise the imbalance’ (Dagron and Tufte 2006) of a dependence on English texts. Pasquali (1963) was an early critic of the sender/receiver communication model, highlighting its inability to establish dialogue with a ‘deaf sender’ and ‘mute receiver’ (Pasquali Antonio 1963, as cited by Dagron and Tufte 2006).

As development practitioners recognised the failure of top down approaches to bring change in developing nations, so communication theorists began to recognise the limitations of their linear communication strategies to bring change. Key influencer and shaper of the innovations model, Ernest Rogers, noted the ‘passing of the dominant paradigm’ (Rogers 1976).
The United Nations Educational and Scientific Organization’s (UNESCO) ‘McBride’ report in the nineteen eighties, *Many Voices One World* (UNESCO 1980), helped create awareness of communication as a basic human right for everyone, opening up debate and discussion around participatory development communication. The Bretton Woods School agencies and institutions began to incorporate participatory approaches into their understandings of communication development, using the term defined by the 2005 Communication for Social Change (CFSC) Consortium (Byrne 2005):

...a process of public and private dialogue through which people themselves define who they are, what they need and how to get what they need in order to improve their own lives (2005, p 3)

### 2.2.4 Development Communication Today: Current State of the Art

The need for two-way participatory communication that gives a voice to the poor is recognized by many agencies (i.e. UNESCO 2007; AMARC 2007; FAO 2007) as being central to communication for social change. Yet how this is implemented and measured is questioned. (Dagron and Tufte 2006; Restrepo-Estrado 2002).

Macro level indicators that measure the spread of information technologies do not reveal who is using them and how. Such measurements mask the disparities between social groups. Yet, as with economic indicators, ‘technology indicators’ are easier to implement and use. Dagron and Tufte (2006) criticize UNDP’s debate on *communication for development* for its focus on technology at the expense of society. As Fraser and Restrepo-Estrado (2002) argue, the main obstacles lie not in a lack of technology but in the ‘lack of political will, and in policies that fail to recognise the importance of communication as a social process that can help to bring change and development’ (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrado 2002, p. 69).
2.3 Radio

2.3.1 Introduction

There are examples of many different kinds of media that have been used to bring about social change, i.e. theatre, audio, video cassettes, internet and radio. However, many agree that radio is the most often ‘utilized and successful medium for social change’ (Dagron 2001, p 11). Girard (2003) surmised:

More than ninety years after the world’s first station was founded, radio is still the most pervasive, accessible, affordable, and flexible mass medium available. In rural areas, it is often the only mass medium available. (2003, p7)

There are four main sectors into which radio broadcasting loosely falls: state-controlled public service, commercial or privately-owned, community radio, and international radio. (Myers 2008) However, there are no clear dividing lines and many stations do not fall neatly into one category. For example, according to UNESCO (Tabing 2002), community radio is one that is operated ‘in the community, by the community and for the community’. (2002, p 11) There are many stations that fit much of this criteria but not all of it - particularly in relation to ownership.


2.3.2 Community Radio

*Each community radio station is a hybrid, a unique communication process shaped by a few over-arching characteristics and by the distinct culture, history, and reality of the community it serves.* (World Bank Institution 2007, p. 12)

There are some broad definitions of community radio, however much literature focuses on the principles or characteristics that usually or ‘should’ accompany community radio rather than rigid definitions, to allow for the dynamic and flexible nature of community radio stations. AMARC and UNESCO include key characteristics of community radio to be ‘access, participation, self management, community mandate and accountability’ (Mtimde et al 1998; Tabing 2002).

‘Participation’ is often highlighted as a key characteristic, distinguishing community radio from most other kinds of media (Mtimde et al 1998). However, ‘participation’ can operate on many levels and it is worth noting that the AMARC and UNESCO do not include ‘ownership’ as a key characteristic, but rather ‘self management’. The issue of community ownership is contentious - many community radio operators talk about the community ‘owning the station’ but this is often in reference to a *feeling* of ownership rather than *actual* ownership. In reality, there is often an external NGO or group that at least part-funds the station, and thus exercises influence or even control. More purist interpretations do not include such stations in their definitions of ‘community radio’ which is often, according to Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002), used ‘rather loosely and ignores the key principles of community ownership and control’ (2002, p 70).

Community radio, like all media, can be used to serve both positive and negative causes - to promote or to distort truth. However, whilst all media is susceptible to manipulation, the structure of community radio can make it more vulnerable to appropriation by negative political forces (Myers 2008). One of the most documented, and extreme, examples of this is radio Mille-Collines in Rwanda, used to spread propaganda and ‘hate messages’ before, and during, the Rwandan genocides (Bratic 2008; Gordon 2004)
2.3.3 Community

According to UNESCO (Tabing 2002), the ‘community’ can be ‘territorial or geographical’ or ‘a group of people with common interests, who are not necessarily living in one defined territory’ (Tabing 2002, p11). Similarly, the AMARC defines it as a ‘collective or group of people sharing common characters and or interests’ (Mtimde 1998, p13). The key factor in the various definitions is that community is an identified ‘group’, not simply a mass of people that the broadcasting signal happens to cover.

2.3.4 Community Radio

The beginnings of many community stations emerged, uniquely, from a desire for social change. It is not easy to trace the history and evolvement of community radio since licensing laws are not and have not always been commonplace. Much literature (O'Connor 1990; Huesca 1995; Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada 2002; Dagron 2005) cites the miners’ radios of Bolivia in the 1940s as one of the earliest examples of radio for social change. Over twenty radio stations (Bresnahan 2007) operated together, forming a kind of trade union to fight for the rights of miners who worked in dangerous conditions, exploited by a rich elite minority.

Other forms of social injustice, and resilience to military dictatorships across different parts of Latin America, also served as drives for radio initiatives that ‘gave a voice to the people’ and provided an alternative to the state run media (Dagron 2005). It was not until much later that the passing of dictatorships in Africa and Asia opened up previously-state-controlled airways to private and commercial stations allowing new forms of participatory communication for social change to emerge (Dagron 2005).
2.3.5 Community Radio and Social Change

Community-based radio is considered by many (Dagron 2001; Patil 2007; UNESCO 2001; AMARC 2007) as one of the best ways to reach and empower marginalized and remote communities for social change. According to Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002), other types of media ‘do not compete’. It has the advantage of being low in cost. It can preserve cultural identity, significant with the globalisation of information and satellite communications (Dagron 2001). Subject to the political and social environment, it can act as a platform for debate, discussion and ideas - giving people ‘a voice’. As German writer Brecht (1932) dreamed in the nineteen thirties, it can make the listener not only hear but also speak (Brecht 1932).

According to health media NGO Health Communication Resources (HCR), the role of radio can be categorised under tasks: to inform, to advocate, to educate, to promote social learning and dialogue, and to entertain (HCR 2002). HCR combines these with goals from the Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion (WHO 1986) to orientate radio-programming towards the health and development of society. These can be helpful indicators to identify the potential of radio, used alongside limitations and constraints in society.
2.4 Limitations and Challenges of Community Radio

2.4.1 Sustainability and Ownership

Sustainability is recognised by many (AMARC 2007; Myers 2008; Clark 2007) as a huge challenge in community radio. Creative Associates International’s (CAI) assessment of forty UNESCO-funded community stations’ capacity identified ‘sustainability’ (particularly financial) as one of the biggest challenges (Clark 2007 p14).

Financial stability relates to issues of legislation and regulation as well as issues of ‘ownership’ and ‘support’. Whilst Fraser and Restrepo-Estrado (2002) argue that community radio owned by NGOs is not community radio at all, others argue that it is not possible for community radio in poorer countries to ever be completely sustainable (Hargreaves 2010 pers.comm., 30 November).

Most sources agree that sustainability to some level is desirable, recognising that donor support can create a mindset of dependence and detract attention away from community needs to donor desires (Clark 2007). Although there are often restrictions on income generation for community radio stations, many stations have found ways of generating at least part of their necessary income.

Social sustainability relates closely to issues of ownership. It is much harder to ‘introduce’ sustainability and ‘transfer’ ownership than to initiate it from the beginning. However, research shows that the community is still often not the main driver of their station. A 2007 evaluation funded by the Department for International Development (DFID) highlighted this. The evaluation researched the contribution of radio programming towards the Millennium Development goals in Madagascar, it found a weakness of the station to be the NGO control over content - resulting in a disconnection between communities’ needs and content - with only five percent of listening groups reporting to participate in programmes (Metcalf, Harford et al. 2007). Although local ownership from the beginning may be a slower process, it greatly increases chances of sustainability. The political, social and economic structures within a society are the over-riding parameters that can help or hinder a community radio station’s growth.
2.4.2 Networking

The 2006 AMARC global assessment examined some of the key barriers to community radio’s social impact. It identified a lack of networking as a fundamental weakness of many stations. This, combined with the lack of primary documentation, hindered shared learning and sustainability.

The AMARC report (2007) also highlights the challenge of involving community radio practitioners and stakeholders in social action. Fardon and Furniss (2000) discuss the challenges of a lack of education, experience and bias of the radio producer as a development worker. However, the underlying assumption that community radio practitioners should operate as development workers in some form is questionable. It does not equate with common interpretations of roles by media practitioners – who are there to present issues rather than solve them. Participatory forms of communication encourage the media to be a platform for dialogue and discussion within the community.

2.4.3 Legislation and Regulation

In many countries’ legislation, community radio does not have its own category and falls in the same bracket as larger commercial stations. It is therefore subject to the same taxes and licensing fees, but often is restricted in the ways it can generate income under ‘community’ status, i.e. advertising is often not permitted (Myers 2008). The 2007 AMARC global assessment report highlights a lack of proper legislation as the most significant hindrance to community radio social change. Media oppression and military threats are identified as barriers to the development of stations (2007, p 7). According to Myers (2008) there is a clear need for ‘more independent and more professional regulatory bodies and better legislation that favours freedom of information, diversity, pluralism and the protection of broadcasters’ (2008, p 5).
2.4.4 Creating the Right Environment

There must be a willingness for cooperative work and to pool resources and enthusiastic consensus that the people want their own radio in order to advance the community. (Fraser and Restrepo Estrada 2001)

A ‘willingness’ from the community to start a station is a basic, yet often overlooked, requirement by outside groups who desire to ‘plant’ a community radio station. As development history has shown, failure to involve local people in development initiatives often results in failure. According to Dagron and Tufte (2006) there are five ‘essential conditions’ (table 2) that need to be present for communication to be effective for social change - although they recognises it is a ‘live process’ (Dagron and Tufte 2006). These can be used as broad theme indicators when evaluating community radio. (See appendix 3 for full details.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2 - Condition for Social Change</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community participation and ownership</td>
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<tr>
<td>Language and Cultural relevance</td>
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<td>Generation of local contents</td>
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<td>Appropriate technology</td>
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<td>Network and convergence</td>
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2.5 Effectiveness: Criteria and Indicators

Effectiveness is not easy to define, or to measure, since it is subjective to opinion. However, within the humanitarian sector there is consensus among some groups that effectiveness is the ‘extent to which the activities funded under the action achieve their purpose, or whether this can be expected to happen on the basis of the results’ (OECD 1999; AidCo 2001)

2.5.1 Indicators: Community radio

The majority of literature on evaluating community radio stations measures the impact of particular radio programmes (i.e. Metcalf, Harford et al. 2007) rather than the effectiveness of particular radio stations themselves. Many of the indicators are based around quantitative measurements - such as hours of broadcasting and numbers of specific programmes - and do not measure the impact on society. Quality indicators, though less rigid, are a more appropriate tool for community radio that is by its nature centred on participation (AMARC 2007; James 2004). The need for effective qualitative indicators to measure the effectiveness of community radio is noted by many (Myers 2008; AMARC 2007; Fraser and Estrada 2001).

The Community Radio Performance Assessment System (Mainali et al 2009) was launched in 2009 by the Nepali Community Radio Support Centre (CRSC), supported by UNESCO. The indicators are for community radio operators to determine the extent to which they are meeting their goals using accumulative scoring under specific headings (Mainali et al, 2009). A weakness of this tool is the omission of the community as a source, and recommendations for single sources of data collection. It is therefore limited in measuring the station’s effectiveness and does not meet the requirements that ‘measurement must be people centred’ (AMARC 2007).
The heavy reliance on documentation for research evidence could also severely limit the tool in small community radio stations where documentation is not always available. An effective radio station could ‘fail’ on many of the benchmarks simply for lacking written evidence. However, there is acknowledgement in the manual that the tool is ‘not complete’ and the process will be ‘continuously developed with experience and changing context’ (Mainali et al 2009, p. 21).

Heath Communication Resources (HCR) developed a qualitative radio indicator evaluation tool (James 2004), field tested in Bali in 2007 (Waters, 2008). This tool is simpler, and less detailed. It is limited in that there are no bench marks for community radio operators to judge their performance against others. However, the indicators encourage a more ‘people-centred’ approach, relying on the community as a source - closer to the requirement of being ‘qualitative and people centred’ (AMARC 2007).

This study will use the HCR (James 2004) indicators as one of the tools to review the effectiveness of a community radio station in Nepal, in collaboration with Dagron and Tufte’s (2006) five conditions for communication social change environment categories. It will document and distribute the findings as a way of contributing to the information gap in ‘shared learning’ of community radio stations.
3.1 Research design and process

The research study used a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches to assess community needs and the radio station’s response to them. These were chosen following the author’s independent study (2009) that reviewed appropriate tools and methods to gather data in the context of Nepal. Qualitative research formed the primary research method, allowing the researchers to spend more time with people. This fits with the ideology of community radio and the Nepali culture, which places great significance on relationships. A small-scale questionnaire was used as a secondary tool to give an overview of needs and the station’s activity on a broader scale. The district committee and the village chiefs gave permission for the research study. Only villagers who gave prior consent were interviewed, and names are not used or published. Some analysis was done in the field with the research team and community. The author developed this further using a capacity and vulnerability matrix (reviewed in the independent study, Hannides 2009).
The study used a flexible research design. The inter-connected design process and methodologies are illustrated in figure 3.

*Figure 4 Research Design*
3.2 Quantitative Research

A survey from the International Centre for Media studies (ICMS), that was previously used for audience research in Uganda, was used as a template. The questionnaire adhered to the internationally-recognised standards of the Conference of International Broadcasters’ Audience Research Services (CIBAR). The questionnaire was adapted to include needs-based assessment questions, and the local context. This was carried out using:

- A sustainable livelihoods framework (Sanderson, 2009)
- Local knowledge (key informants on the ground)

ICMS co-ordinated and led the survey on the ground. A team of fourteen Nepali interviewers travelled in pairs, covering two to three Village District Committees (VDCs) each, completing a total of 983 interviews. The aim was to provide a confidence level of 95 percent and a confidence interval of +/- three percent. However, this was not the result (see limitations section). Villages were selected randomly around Okhaldhunga using ‘random rooting’ to select houses.

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1 Meaning that the data would give a 95 percent certainty that the answers received in the survey would not have been different even if every person in Okhaldhunga District had been interviewed, with the possibility that the variance would not have been more than three percent on any question, either positive or negative. (ICMS 2010)
2 Interviewers start at a central point, and then agree on a direction. They agree on the skip interval (the number of houses between those being interviewed).
3.3 Qualitative Research

The qualitative research used the quantitative survey to form the basis for more in-depth research. Purposive sampling was used to select VDCs in consultation with the hospital team; the criteria was to include variations of caste, and rich and poor households. These two variables were chosen on advice from the hospital team as two main factors that affect the standard of quality of life in Okhaldhunga. Three teams of two visited a total of 31 wards in seven VDCs (appendix 1) over a 14-day period. Unlike the quantitative research, the aim of the qualitative research was not to apply it to the whole district, but rather to get a more detailed understanding of issues affecting communities.

The collection method for the qualitative research was in the form of:

- Participatory Rural/Rapid Appraisal (PRA) - community mapping, gender mapping, transect walks.
- Household interviews.
- Key informant interviews with community members (village chiefs, Female Community Health workers, hospital directors).
- Direct observation.
- Hospital interviews with in and out-patients.
- Semi-structured interviews with community members.
- Meetings with the radio station team.

3.3.1 Participatory Rural Appraisals

Participatory Rural Appraisal was recognised in the independent study review (Hannides 2010) and literature review as being a good tool for flexibility, participation and empowerment. PRA does not require heavy resources - a strong advantage in the remote area of Okhaldhunga. PRA was also recognised as being open to errors by the investigator and bias in analysis. Combining the quantitative research helps improve reliability of data, and combining various methods helps reduce the risk of misinterpretation and bias.
3.3.2 Household Interviews and Community Mapping

The author’s experience of working in Nepal correlated with the findings of the independent research study (Hannides 2009); family and societal networks are paramount in people’s lives - people are rarely alone. However, Nepalese culture is also very much a ‘shame culture’. The study (Hannides 2009) recognised that these two cultural factors could work against each other in the research. Fear of bringing ‘shame’ on the family can hinder research done in group settings, but individual interviews can prove challenging in a society where people are rarely alone. Therefore, the author triangulated household interviews with different community groups and key informant interviews to increase data reliability. Recognising the issue of gender inequality (UNDP 2010), men and women were interviewed separately where possible.

3.3.3 Key Informants

The long-standing mission hospital in Okhaldhunga (serving four districts) provided key informants from the public health unit who were able to give information on community needs and problems, and the medical unit was able to give information about sicknesses. The key informants consisted of local Nepalis and ex-patriots living in the community. The former director of Okhaldhunga hospital and current director of World Vision Nepal served as a key informant and advisor in Kathmandu prior to the research. Female Community Health Volunteers (FCHVs) also served as key informants. FCHVs work at the community level, serving as a bridge between government health posts and the community. Other key informants included a local headmaster and schoolteachers.

3.3.4 Direct Observation

Direct observation was used to verify data collected in the other research activities. Each researcher kept a diary, and the author correlated and verified these during analysis. Direct observation was used only in conjunction with other methodologies, noting that perception influences results (Walliman 2006).
3.3.5 Hospital Interviews with In and Out Patients

During the first few days of the research, a festival occupied villagers’ time. So the researchers spent time at the local hospital interviewing patients. This meant that data was also collected from villagers living further away, and gave insights into health issues. The information was not used to make conclusions about health in any particular village, since the sampling size from each was too small. Rather, it was used to contribute to the broader picture of the health issues of men and women.

3.3.6 Semi-structured Interviews with Community Members

Each researcher was given a semi-structured interview guide to facilitate community interviews and discussions (see appendix 4). Questions were based on the quantitative survey to allow cross checking. The use of a recorder was left to the discretion of each researcher, and only used with permission from the interviewee.

3.3.7 Meetings with Radio Station Staff

Prior to the needs assessment, meetings were held with the radio team at the station. The purpose of these meetings was to identify the team’s perception and response to the needs around them, their goals and limitations, and areas of research that they would like investigating. Follow-up meetings were held, after the research had taken place, to discuss results and share ideas. One of the radio station producers helped conduct the research, thus making the whole process more participatory.

3.3.8 Indicators

Health Communication Resources’ station ‘indicators’ (appendix 5) were given to each researcher to individually fill in, based on their observations and findings. The author then correlated these six individual responses and found there to be almost 100 percent agreement. Areas of disagreement were discussed. The ‘tasks of radio’ (HCR 2002) were used as a framework to analyse the potential of radio (section 2.3.6 and appendix 6). This framework was used in the initial radio training workshops for the radio producers, and so provided a familiar framework for discussion following the research.
Communication for Social Change indicators (Dagron and Tufte 2006) were used in the analysis process (see table 2 and appendix 3).

3.4 Limitations

In the quantitative survey, every question was not answered. The number \( n \) of respondents who answered the question is shown on the graphs. As the quantitative data does not have the 95 percent certainty hoped for, the data can only be applied to the areas visited, relying on evidential value rather than precision.

Data Bias

During analysis, the author found that not all caste groups were represented in the quantitative data (the lowest two sub groups of dalits were omitted - figure 4). It is likely (not confirmed) that this was due to the interviewers feeling uncomfortable visiting areas that were of different caste groups. The interviewers were of mid-high caste - the only ones available - so the research went ahead. The qualitative research was therefore more representative, though covering a smaller sample, and relied upon more in the analysis.

Figure 5 - Cultural Background of Participants in the Quantitative Survey

Source: ICMS (Dam 2009)
Researchers’ Bias

It is not usual for broadcasters to evaluate the station they work for, due to the risk of introducing a bias in the responses. However, not including the station staff would have resulted in them receiving secondary information, rather than receiving first-hand exposure of people’s needs and comments. A hopeful outcome of the research was to help build capacity of the station, therefore the research team decided it would be beneficial for one of the producers to also conduct the research. Unlike British custom, Nepali custom does not follow the same ‘political correctness’ or ‘polite white lies’. Therefore, when people recognised the producer from the station they spoke openly and honestly, with older people even reprimanding him about things they did not like.

Qualitative data was generated using field notes from the research team. However, the author recognises that, despite efforts to avoid bias (i.e. triangulating data between different researchers of different ethnicity), words attached to experiences are ‘inevitably framed by our implicit concepts’ (Miles and Huberman 1994).
Objective: To assess the needs of a remote community in Nepal

Chapter 4 Results of Needs Assessment
4.1 Introduction

The research from the needs assessment was divided according to common themes found in the data. The potential use of radio was analysed for each theme using the ‘five tasks of radio’ (see section 2.3.6) as a framework. Highlights and summaries are given below. Themes were grouped under main headings and summarised. A capacity and vulnerability matrix was used for further analysis. It is important to keep in mind the bias towards middle-higher castes found in the quantitative data, as mentioned in the limitations section (section 3.4).
Key findings: Overview

4.2 Infrastructure

The poor infrastructure in Okhaldhunga makes life challenging, and was ranked by the men as the number one problem. The poor electricity network limits even the richest households to only four hours of electricity each day. Villagers from the poorest households must walk to the bazaar for electrical outputs. There is only one main (paved) road in Okhaldhunga but it does not reach all the villages. Some villages are connected by stony footpaths, though not all. For villagers in the most remote areas, it is a day’s walk to the bazaar and access to health services, schools and institutions is challenging - particularly for the most vulnerable groups. The narrowest footpaths permit only one person, making transportation of goods and people problematic. Four men are needed to carry patients on a stretcher to hospital.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Role of Radio: Roads</th>
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<tr>
<td>Radio producers can advocate for change by interviewing District Committee members about the need for roads. They can share positive stories of pooling resources to facilitate action that can educate and promote social learning. Programmes can inform people about local NGOs working in the area.</td>
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Access is further limited during monsoon seasons when paths are susceptible to landslides and flooding. The poor maintenance of existing paths results from a lack of district level support, interest and responsibility.
4.3 Living Conditions

The ‘environment’ was frequently reported as a reason for poor health. Indoor cooking, use of kerosene and lack of chimneys contributed to respiratory problems. The poorest families live in a single room in one house.

4.3.1 Sanitation

Garbage disposal is challenging for many communities, without a central point for collection or disposal. Burning the rubbish in fields was the preferred option for those who had a system, contributing to air pollution. The majority of high caste households visited had their own outside latrine. Lower caste households used the fields, with the exception of those with latrines built by the Mothers’ Union (See section 4.4.3). Some villagers reported a belief that toilets were dirty and wasted land. The need for public toilets was identified by many as a major concern.

Potential Role of Radio: Water & Sanitation

(See appendix 7 for more details.)

Radio programmes can educate people about the importance of responsibilities in communities, interviewing communities who have established groups that maintain their water tanks and promoting dialogue and change. They can educate people about the need for good sanitation. They can promote social dialogue and understanding in telling positive stories where the local Mothers’ Union group has promoted change.

4.3.2 Water

Lack of water supply was ranked by most people as one of their top five problems. The richest people have their own, working outdoor tap; poorer households share taps with neighbours. In one community, 100 households share only one tap. The poorest households are reliant on animal feeding ponds in the summer months, when the taps are dry. Root causes were identified using a problem tree (see appendix 7). Lack of ownership over the water tank results in poor maintenance and poor water supply. Lack of knowledge and resources also contributes to poor maintenance. A lack of voice and access to District Committee members prevents people from receiving pipes.
4.3.3 Health

Women in Okhaldhunga identified poor health and insufficient access to health services as their biggest need. The main hospital in Okhaldhunga serves four surrounding districts and treats around 30,000 patients a year (UMHT 2001). For more complicated surgery or treatment, patients must fly to the capital city, which is very costly. However, for many people, hospital treatment is too expensive and inaccessible, so they ‘self medicate’. Government-run ‘health posts’ are intended to supply villages with medicines. (See appendix 8 for health care structure.)

Sicknesses

The majority of women give birth away from the hospital, and a small minority have a traditional birthing attendant with them, making maternal health a major concern for villagers. Local women explained their difficulties with gastric problems, caused by long periods without food. The hospital frequently treats wounds and injuries to men who fall from trees. Villagers reported frequent incidences of diarrhoea; respiratory problems; sore throats and common colds; typhoid; worms; and wound infections. At the hospital, a special unit is dedicated to the many patients with tuberculosis.

Public Health

The public health unit at the hospital highlighted issues of domestic violence and alcohol abuse - stemming from depression and stress - as a major concern for which they provide community programmes. Reporting domestic violence or crimes is counter-cultural and not considered a plausible option by villagers according to key informants at the hospital.

Sub Health Post

Generally, people used their sub health post as their first port of call. However, this was criticised as being poorly-equipped and not easily accessible.

‘The sub health post is only good for getting paracetemol - nothing else’ (villager quote)
Okhaldhunga Hospital
People went to Okhaldhunga hospital for ‘more severe’ problems, and said it provided good services. However, for the many people living in remote areas, accessibility was a major issue. The poorest households cannot afford hospital treatment and many do not know about the free service available to them (and pregnant women) at the hospital.

Dhami/Jhanitir
People reported visiting witchdoctors to treat infections and cancers for which they were prescribed herbs such as thyme. They also visited the witchdoctor to treat dizziness and fainting, for which they were prescribed herbs, rice or ginger, and received spells. Successes and failures were reported from these treatments (which were cheaper than the hospital).

Female Community Health Volunteers (FCHVs)
FCHVs were available in every ward visited and generally helped the women - particularly with pregnancy issues. However the FCHVs interviewed said that the 15 days’ training they received was not enough for the scale of problems within their communities.

“We want more training. 15 days is not enough”
(FCHV worker)

Potential Role of Radio: Summary
Radio programmes can promote social learning and dialogue around health issues. Interactive phone-in programmes with health experts can educate on issues like self medicating, family planning, oral re-hydration and safe birth methods in the home. Interviews with District Committee members about supplies for health posts can advocate for improvement. The station can make Public Service Announcements to inform people about the hospital’s free treatments. In collaboration with the hospital, health programmes can educate about safe water methods (for example, the hospital grow moringa seeds for this). They can advise on how to make homes safer and healthier - to lower respiratory problems caused by smoke. Educational health songs can provide entertainment and education.
Religion and culture

Religion and culture are central to everyday life. The predominantly Hindu society interact well with the Buddhist community, sharing much religious practice, contrary to the minority Christian groups who are more segregated from the community, with some reports of being ostracised. Family, relationships and community are also fundamental to every part of life and serve as a primary asset to those who are included, or as a constraint to those who are rejected - for example those who marry outside of their own caste.

*Figure 6 - Child receives blessing*

[photographer: Dam,. T (2010) ]
4.4.1 Caste System

The Nepali caste system is complex and intertwined with ethnicity, revealed by a person’s surname and standard of living. Most of the higher castes interviewed reported that the caste system was no longer a problem, contrary to feedback from lower castes who reported over-domination by higher castes. There was much evidence that prejudice between groups still exists. There is also a hierarchy within major caste groups. There was evidence of exploitation and marginalisation of lower castes. However, there was also evidence of progress and interaction in some areas (see case study).

Case Study: Caste Integration (Ketuke, ward 4)

A village chief (from a higher caste) told the author how he tackled the caste problems in his village. He invited people from lower castes into his home. When the people in his community saw this, they were surprised. His actions influenced them. Slowly, they started to change and began to integrate.

4.4.2 Education

A lack of education was highlighted as a major cause of problems in Okhaldhunga. Women have a secondary status to men and male children are prioritised for education. Although many people saw the value of education, the immediate need of putting food on the table was often prioritised for poorer families who needed their children to work in the fields. Over half of the people interviewed in the quantitative survey said they did not have a formal education, yet more than half said they send their own children to school, showing progress.
4.4.3 Cooperatives and NGOs

There are some foreign agencies working in Okhaldhunga, and some that visit. Long-term projects were viewed with less scepticism and had more success (see appendix 9). Some local cooperatives exist in the community. The most prominent being the Mothers’ Union - a group of local women who instigate change and tackle behavioural problems such as the frequent alcohol and gambling-related crimes. For example, the Mothers’ Union tackled issues of domestic violence by circling houses where wives were being beaten and shouting at the man. The Mothers’ Union also collect money from community members and use it to build toilets, footpaths, livestock for the poor and hydro plants.

4.4.4 Governance

Years of political unrest have taken their toll on Okhaldhunga, which is predominantly a Maoist territory. Deep fear in many villagers prevented them from speaking about the political situation. Generally, people’s perceptions of the local (male-governed) District Committee were low because it failed to respond to community needs and members rarely (if at all) visited villages. The ‘shame culture’ prevents many people from reporting crimes, not wanting to reflect badly on their family. Village disputes are often taken to the village elder who is highly regarded in society.

Potential Role of Radio: Society

Radio programmes can promote dialogue through sharing positive stories of caste interaction; educational programmes made with teachers can help those who miss school. Village elders and Mothers’ Union members can advise on community interaction. Radio can advocate for better governance through dialogue and discussion programmes with District Committee members and village elders. Radio can inform villagers about community groups and co-operatives that they can be involved in. Programmes can promote social dialogue around gender issues through interactive discussion- interviewing fathers who are proud of their daughters.
4.5 Livelihoods

The predominant livelihood in Okhaldhunga is farming. The main harvest is maize, rice and wheat; other vegetables, which vary according to area, include sweet potato, chilly, onion, garlic, beans and lentils. However, poor irrigation systems, lack of farming equipment and a poor infrastructure make farming a difficult and physically-demanding livelihood. Poorer families do not grow enough food to support themselves, and borrow money from richer ones to buy food from the bazaar, which they must pay back with interest. Those who cannot pay their debt work the land of their debtors. Access to land, land ownership and rights are governed by caste ranking, and a cause of dispute and division. (see appendix 10)

It is predominantly the women who work in the fields. Male-orientated jobs include porters and labourers, with a small sector working in institutions. However, a lack of employment for men was continuously stated as a major problem - attributed to depression, stress and alcohol abuse. Villagers said that men were forced to migrate - for months or years at a time - to other countries, leaving families behind. The women reported that they want a cottage industry (knitting and sewing) in their village but do not have the resources or finances available to them.
4.5.1 Assets and Ownership

Land, livestock and grinding mills are the most productive assets owned in the community, dictated by caste and status; the more fertile land is owned by the richer groups. Lack of resources causes difficulties for farmers who are reliant on seed loans from the agricultural office that must be paid back with interest.

More developed villages have their own community hall for gatherings - a primary asset for communication, along with temples and village homes. People within villages rely heavily on word of mouth for communication. A slow postal service exists for communication outside the district. Some VDC headquarters have a public pay phone and communal television. Radio is the primary source of information; rich households have their own radio sets and mobile telephones, and poorer villages share a radio set. The very poor cannot afford to buy assets such as batteries or electricity for radios. Equally, they cannot afford to buy school materials for their children, according to Dalit workers, one year’s stock of school books is equal to one fifth of their year’s wages. Government schools lack books, pens and chairs.
4.5.2 Constraints on Livelihoods

Land and livestock are two primary assets. The following factors cause strain on livelihoods.

Table 3 - Constraints on Livelihoods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical Pressures</th>
<th>Social Pressures</th>
<th>Attitudes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Climate change</td>
<td>1. Caste system/ethnic group influencing who has the more fertile land and access rights</td>
<td>1. Belief that personal situations cannot be changed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Poor infrastructure</td>
<td>2. Political infrastructure</td>
<td>2. Religious fatalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Landslides</td>
<td>3. Disputes over land between families or groups, preventing collaboration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Poor health, preventing some from working on the land</td>
<td>4. Gender inequality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Livestock suffering sickness, disease. Crop damage (i.e. worms)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Lack of knowledge about when to plant which crops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Lack of resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attitudes

A fatalistic mentality prevents many villagers from instigating change themselves, with many instead frequently asking for outside help - development being viewed as a commodity (Devkota 1994). Clearly, this viewpoint was stressed more in the presence of foreigners who are seen as potential money sources, but it was also observed. Pride was identified as an interesting paradox, encouraging both a denial of problems and mental strength to cope. Issues of gender inequality mean that women are under extra pressure to care for the family as well as working in the fields, leading to increased health problems and decreasing productivity.
4.5.3 Coping Mechanisms: Society

Society links and groups are strong, and a primary coping mechanism against some of the constraints and pressures - for example, those with disabilities are supported by other community members. The cooperatives in the community, particularly the Mothers’ Union serve as a strong asset working to advocate change, maintain peace and educate communities. Music, song and storytelling provide educational ways of sharing knowledge (see appendix 11) as well as providing entertainment during the candle lit evenings. The frequent religious festivals strengthen community life and relationships.

Role of Radio: Livelihoods

Radio can inform people of where to get farming advice on best agricultural practice, crops and disease control. They can use information from the agricultural office to educate people on these issues.

Programmes can advocate for the marginalized by interviewing people from different castes and broadcasting positive stories of land sharing. They can play health songs to educate and share knowledge and stories from the Mothers’ Union. Radio can promote discussion around land access and ownership rights. In providing stories of positive change, programmes can challenge the fatalistic ‘ke gali’ (what can we do) attitude.
The Capacity and Vulnerability matrix (figure 5) illustrates the vulnerabilities and capabilities under six defined categories, though they are inter-related and connected.

**Figure 7 - Capacity and Vulnerability Matrix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VULNERABILITY</th>
<th>Capacity/livelihood strategies.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical/ Material</td>
<td>- Poor infrastructure, lack of roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Poor access to lifeline services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Poor water supply/access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Lack of resources (i.e. education, agriculture, health)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Poor soil fertility, lack of knowledge (when to grow crops)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Avoidable injuries (falling out of trees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Poor health and sanitation, unsafe environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Human capital (work for food, walk to market, walk to alternative water supply)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Some families able to sell excess produce (milk, grains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Some farming knowledge (when to grow crops)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Agricultural centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Communication ‘centres’ (i.e. market place, community hall, temple)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Rural capital, livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Lack of working technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Poor electricity network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Poor garbage disposal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Hyro-plants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social/ Organisational</td>
<td>- Poor governance, lack of DC support, political influencers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Poor planning and infrastructure, poorly-maintained roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Empowerment issues, lack of ‘voice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Grass roots-level leadership (village elders, Mothers’ Union)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Religious festivals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Co-operatives. Community radio</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Lack of knowledge and formal education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- ‘Shame’ culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Lack of employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Limited access to electric power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Weak communication networks beyond district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Education through stories and songs, local knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Co-operatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Strong local communication networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Sharing of resources and health costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Strong local and family networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Motivational/Attitudinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Land disputes: access, ownership &amp; rights.</td>
<td>- Lack of responsibility/ownership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Caste system</td>
<td>- Lack of male desire to work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Child labour</td>
<td>- Lack of farming knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Over-reliance on traditional medicine</td>
<td>- Social stigma around health issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Alcohol abuse, domestic violence</td>
<td>- Fatalism</td>
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Chapter 5 Station Effectiveness

Objective: To review the community radio station’s effectiveness in meeting the community’s needs.
5.1 Introduction

The research included evaluation questions about the work and influence of the local radio station (Aafno FM) in the community. Quantitative research was used to investigate numbers on listenership, what people listen to and when they listen. Qualitative research assessed the more in-depth feelings and attitudes towards the station.

The results and analysis are informed by:

- The community’s assessment of the station
- The station producer’s assessments of the station
- The field research team’s assessment of the station
5.2 Listenership

The quantitative survey indicated that 63.1 percent of respondents had listened to Aafno FM at some point (figure 8); and that the majority of listeners were educated (though less than half of the respondents said they had an education).

- Do You Ever Listen to Aafno FM 104.8?
  - Yes 63.1%
  - No 36.9%
  (n) = 781

- Listeners to Aafno FM by Education
  - None
  - 1-3 years
  - 4-6 yrs
  - 7-9 yrs
  - 10-12 yrs
  - More
  (n) = 983

Source: ICMS (Dam 2009)

The highest number of listeners, according to people group, was the Tamang (81.6 percent). This group was also identified as having the highest number of radios and mobile phones.

- Listeners to Aafno FM by Cultural Background
  - Chhetri (high caste)
  - Magar (mid-high caste)
  - Tamang (mid caste)
  - Newar (mid-low caste)
  - Kami (low caste)
  - Kirat/L/R
  (n) = 983

Source: ICMS (Dam 2009)
5.3 Reasons for Listening / Not Listening

5.3.1 Ownership and Access
Many people said they did not have time to listen to the radio. Poorer households said that they were unable to listen as they did not own, or have access to, a working radio, or could not afford the batteries.

5.3.2 Quality of Programming
The station has not yet been able to meet the broadcasting standards of the increasing number of stations around them. Many people reported that they found the presenting style dull and ‘not enthusiastic’. They want interaction in request programme.

5.3.3 Ownership and Loyalty
The station staff are all from the community, giving a sense of ownership and pride in the first station in the area. The community want to help the station improve and reach the standards of other stations because they have a sense of ownership. Listeners recommended that the producers listen to other FM stations to ‘hear how it’s done.’

5.4 Programming Value
According to the quantitative survey, the programmes aired on Aafno FM help people to become better spouses and neighbours, and more faithful to their religion. The value the information they receive and would pass it on to friends and family (Dam 2010). The top three requests for more programming were in the areas of health, society and agriculture (figure 9).
5.4.1 Health and Medicine
Villagers valued the health programme the most. One of the station producers has completed two years’ health training. There is a dedicated health slot, featuring information collected at the local hospital. The qualitative research revealed that the health programme had encouraged previously-embarrassed women to go to hospital with birth control problems - thus playing an educational and advocacy role. Effective health programming is a significant accomplishment, as the needs assessment highlighted access to health services as a major problem, restricted by income and infrastructure. The community would still like more health programmes - particularly interactive ones.

5.4.2 Agriculture
Agriculture is the main livelihood in Okhaldhunga, at the time of the evaluation, the station was not making any agricultural programmes. People wanted information related to farming, such as when to plant or harvest crops as well as advice from the agricultural office.

5.4.3 Local News
Many people expressed a desire to hear local information about their community, praising other stations in the area for this.

5.4.4 Social Issues
The station was not found to be addressing many social needs in the community. However, villagers saw the potential of radio in this area and requested programming related to gambling and alcohol. Women would like advisory programmes about domestic violence and programmes for youth to provide entertainment.

5.4.5 Summary
Of the issues identified in the needs assessment, health was the only area being address by the radio station. This is a key issue, and the station’s partnership with the local hospital makes it easier. The other issues highlighted in the needs assessment were not being addressed by the station. The limitations section explores some of the reasons for this.
Figure 11 Aafno Content Requests

- Use of fertilisers
- Organic compounds
- Participatory health programmes
- English programmes
- Science and languages
- Student programmes
- Education
- Religious culture
- Agriculture
- When to plant crops
- When to harvest crops
- Household problems
- Advice for women
- Domestic violence
- Gambling
- Alcohol
- Legal rights for women
- Village Information (clubs/activities etc)
- News
  - How/where to get training
  - Accidents/events
  - Non-political news

Youth

Social issues

Health
Objective: To identify limitations and constraints that hinder the radio station’s effectiveness
6.1 Introduction

It is important to remember, when reviewing the station’s effectiveness, the constraints on the producers. Referring back to the literature review (2.4.2), the station staff are not ‘development workers’ but radio producers who are from the community and share many of the constraints as other community members.

The author has used two sets of indicators, discussed in the literature review as a framework to discuss the strengths and limitations of the station:

- Conditions for social change through community radio (Dagron and Tufte 2006) (section 2.4.4)
- HCR (James 2004) community radio indicators (section 2.5.1)

The data was informed by:

- The constraints identified in the community needs assessment
- Findings from the station evaluation
- Meetings with station staff
- Meetings with the station manager (HDCS)
- Meetings with donor staff
- Conversations with the producer, who helped conduct the research
- The field research team’s assessment of the station’s effectiveness.
6.2 Conditions for Social Change

Dagron and Tufte (2006) identify five broad ‘conditions’ for communication that provide the right environment for social change.

6.2.1 Community Participation and Ownership.
Although the community has a sense of ownership, they do not have actual ownership of the station, which is owned by an NGO based in Kathmandu, who jointly fund the station with an international NGO. Thus, the station does not meet the purest definition of community radio discussed in the literature review (section 2.3.2).

The station producers are all from the local community. However, the rest of the community has little active participation in programming contents. The community residents were keen to be more involved with the station with many saying they would like to volunteer for Aafno FM. A major obstacle identified by the research team was lack of confidence and/or willingness - particularly amongst the female producers - to go outside the studio and obtain interviews.

Sustainability The station has a community license, which means that it is restricted in the ways it can generate income. The initial reliance on the donor has become difficult to break, enforced by the ‘ke gali’ mentality and the management structure which requires financial decisions to go through the donor representative, based in Kathmandu. The donor’s concern about failure works in tension with its desire for sustainability. Ideas from producers on the ground must go through the station manager who is of a higher caste; the hierarchy was evident during meetings, which he dominated when present.

Success and sustainability of the station is also hindered by a false confidence over the station’s success, arising from the disparity of views between listeners close to the station and those further away. This hinders motivation to improve programming quality, despite two new competing stations in the area.
6.2.2 Condition for Social Change: Language and Cultural Relevance
The producers are all from the local community and share the same language and culture. The majority of the small team are from the minority Christian group but the programming philosophy is to centre on issues, not religion. This received criticism from some local church members who wanted Christian content. A Hindu headmaster at a secondary school expressed concern that the station existed to spread Christianity, knowing that the donor organisation was Christian. The station has the challenge of being sensitive to the tensions between different religious groups in the community, the majority of which appreciate the station’s values and presence.

6.2.3 Condition for Social Change: Generation of Local Contents
Currently, the station relies heavily on local folk music which is very popular with the listeners. The station team leader expressed a desire to make more programmes that address community needs. The main hindrance, identified by the station manager, was the electricity and generator problem (continuously breaking down).

6.2.4 Condition for Social Change: Appropriate Technology
The studio is in a local village house and consists of a suitcase studio (laptop, mixing desk, recorder and microphone). The staff run the station themselves, but cannot maintain the generator and one producer takes it to Kathmandu for repairs, leaving the station short of staff and adding financial pressure. The staff would like to buy a bigger generator to increase their hours of broadcasting (to match the commercial stations). They requested money from the donor for this, and solar panels to generate electricity. However, the donor is keen to wean off dependency (section 6.1).

6.2.5 Condition for Social Change: Network and Convergence
The producers are connected to many networks but do not use them to generate contents. There is a reluctance to collect information from service providers and other ‘sources’ as the producers do not see value in collecting information that they cannot broadcast immediately due to electricity problems.
6.3 Indicators

The research team evaluated station effectiveness using a series of indicators, developed by Health Communications Resources for use in community radio contexts identified in the literature review (appendix 6).

6.3.1 Programming Indicators

The research team found the station to be promoting and encouraging an understanding of health issues; but not critically discussing social issues or providing perspectives from marginalized groups. Programmes were not encouraging listener participation; off-air activities or facilitating open discussions

6.3.2 Journalistic Programming Indicators

Journalists helped train a volunteer at the station. They were not involved in community activities with the station. Listener participation was encouraged in one (music) programme. Listeners were encouraged to discuss some issues through radio, but the station did not advocate for community welfare to powerful sectors.

6.3.3 Community Integration Indicators

The community does have a sense of ownership, and feels that the radio station is a good influence, (though not as powerful as other stations).

However, there is little participation from community members, though the local and regional agencies have been given some airtime.

6.3.4 Station Management Indicators.

The preoccupation with the electricity problem that affects the whole of Okhaldhunga, and particularly the hours of broadcasting, prevents the station manager from actively encouraging health and social issues or listener participation. There are no policies in place for this.
Chapter 7 Conclusion
7.1 Needs

The needs of remote communities are varied and complex. In Okhaldhunga, underlying issues such as a weak economy, infrastructure and lack of good governance make it difficult for even those with assets such as finance, education and skills to lead a life that they consider to be of good quality. As also found in the literature review, status is defined by ethnicity, caste and gender, with a large disparity between groups. Those furthest away from the main town have less access to basic services such as the hospital. People from lower caste households have fewer opportunities and fewer assets, further lowering their standard of living. Social networks and family values are strong assets that can uphold the more vulnerable. The Nepali ‘shame culture’ works as both an asset and a constraint, preventing some from committing crimes and others from reporting them. A disconnect from social and family networks is a major constraint in a society where relationships and networks are fundamental to everyday life and livelihoods.

Since issues are complex and interwoven, affecting different community groups in different ways, they require action at different levels and by different people groups. Currently, NGOs, service providers, community groups, village elders and radio stations are working to address some of the issues in Okhaldhunga. However, many of them are working in isolation. A collaborative effort would greatly increase chances of success.
7.2 Effectiveness

*Effectiveness measures the extent to which the activities funded under the action achieve their purpose, or whether this can be expected to happen on the basis of the results.* (OECD 1999; AidCo 2001)

The producers at Aafno FM identified their primary goal as to serve the community and meet people’s needs (BS, 2009 pers.comm., 31 October). The station is a central part of the community, and many villages gather there for conversation and tea. However, the wealth of knowledge and experience of the community is excluded from much of the programme content, as the producers make programmes separately upstairs. Community participation is impinged partly by the ‘ke gali’ mentality, with the view of some, that the community is unable to help itself.

Despite the station’s shortcomings, local villagers were very supportive of the station, wanting to help it do well. Giving the community ‘a voice’ will permit more generation of local contents, encourage dialogue, lift some of the pressure from producers, and increase capacity (see recommendation 2, section 8.1).

The station staff are involved in many local community activities, but do not utilise them to generate programme content. The idea of responding to needs as an isolated entity is naturally daunting. Therefore, one of the author’s recommendations is for the station to increase networking. This will strengthen the station’s capacity and help to build confidence amongst the staff; which is particularly low for the women who are very shy; dominated by their male station manager. His focus on what they do not have (i.e. a good generator) strongly influences the producers who are not aware of the potential of radio to assist social change. False confidence over the station’s success (section 6.2.1) contributes to a lack of motivation. Increasing learning through visiting and listening to other FM stations can help expose producers to the potential of radio, increase knowledge and skill, and hopefully give confidence and motivation to improve.
Chapter 8 Recommendations

Objective: To make recommendations for the radio station and future radio initiatives.
Introduction
The first set of recommendations is predominantly for Aafno FM community radio station, but can be useful to other stations for sharing learning. The second set of recommendations is for donors of community radio stations, based on the lessons learned in this study.

8.1 Recommendations for Aafno FM Community Radio Station

Three initial recommendations are made for the community station. They are:

1. To increase learning
2. To give the community a voice
3. To increase networking

They are designed to work alongside each other to address some of the underlying issues whilst giving more tangible results in the immediate. They include practical steps to be built on as confidence, motivation and skill increases.
**Recommendation 1: Producers increase learning ‘on the ground’**

**Issue**
The quality of programmes is not of a good enough broadcasting standard when compared to other stations in the area.

**Underlying Factors**
Producers have a false assurance of the station’s ability and success.

There is little motivation within the staff to improve programmes. Only the team leader expressed motivation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practical Steps</th>
<th>1. Station producers listen to other FM stations in their area.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The management pay the bus fare for the team leader to spend time with other stations and observe.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Level of Difficulty**
The producers have access to radios. They can use the spare time they have when there is no electricity.

There are other stations in the area that it should be easy to visit. The team leader can pass her skills on to the others.

**Potential Obstacles**
The main obstacle is willingness. Investing time in the team leader, who is motivated, can help encourage the others.
**Recommendation 2: Give the community a voice**

This recommendation builds on the community’s desire to get more involved with the station. It suggests practical steps to help producers build confidence to leave the studio. Engaging with the community can address needs as part of an ongoing dialogue and process.

**Issues**

There is a lack of community participation and dialogue, resulting in limited local contents.

**Underlying Factors**

The producers have shown a reluctance to ‘get out of the studio’ due to lack of motivation and confidence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practical Steps</th>
<th>Level of Difficulty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Invite community members to give programme ideas, interviews, and to stimulate discussion.</td>
<td>Community members regularly visit the station. (section 7.2). Producers already attend some local meetings and have recorders. As confidence increases, they can attend specific meetings to gather programming material.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Producers take a recorder to interview community members when they attend local meetings.</td>
<td>Potential Obstacles There may be some reluctance from the producers to ‘pass the microphone’ as they consider it ‘their job’. Encouragement from the community will help.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As confidence increases, they can attend specific meetings to gather programming material.

There may be some reluctance from the producers to ‘pass the microphone’ as they consider it ‘their job’. Encouragement from the community will help.
Recommendation 3: Increase (usage of) local networking

This recommendation starts small, using existing networks, which require less effort to reap benefits. This should help aid motivation, build skills and increase confidence to expand networks (such as with the agricultural office).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Underlying Factors</strong></th>
<th><strong>Main Issues</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The producers have a lack of confidence and motivation to network with other groups and organisations.</td>
<td>The station’s capacity is limited.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They have yet to see the benefits of this, so do not see it as a worthwhile investment of time.</td>
<td>Programme content, idea generation and creativity is limited to the producers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Practical steps</strong></th>
<th><strong>Level of difficulty</strong></th>
<th><strong>Potential Obstacles</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Set up volunteer ‘stringers’ in other villages. They can phone the station once a week with stories and news from their villages.</td>
<td>Given the expressed interest of the community with the station, finding helpers should not be difficult. The producers are already connected to local networks and groups. The team leader has good relationships with the hospital staff and already visits patients. The hospital team expressed desire to further their relationship with the station.</td>
<td>The team leader already carries most of the pressure of responsibility. She can try and delegate tasks but others may need motivating. Volunteers could help overcome this potential obstacle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Engage with local groups that they already have personal contact with (i.e. Mothers Union, District Committee.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Attend the monthly meeting at the hospital for Female Community Health Volunteers to gather health information.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.2 Recommendations for Donors of Community Radio Stations

The author recognises that any involvement of donors questions the authenticity of community radio (section 2.4.1) These recommendations are not to suggest otherwise, but rather seek to improve existing practice.

Recommendations for the donor incorporate steps to influence policy and practice, as well as an envisioning process through shared learning. It intends to increase chances of sustained implementation and organisational change towards participatory methods in community radio initiatives.
**Recommendation 1: Share learning within the organisation**

This recommendation should run alongside the other two to increase the likelihood of implementing policy.

**Issues**

A wealth of experience often exists within organisations, yet learning is often not shared or documented and mistakes are repeated.

**Underlying Factors**

Time pressures often prevent organisations from documenting success and failures. There is often a reluctance to hide, not share mistakes. When practices and processes are not in place to facilitate change, default methods are used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practical Steps</th>
<th>Facilitating change is not easy but is helped by using methods that encourage shared learning and are fun to use.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Use evaluation tools that encourage learning and change in the process such as Most Significant Change (story telling evaluation tool) (Davies and Dart 2007).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Incorporate ‘shared learning’ into future projects and policies.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Potential Obstacles**

Incorporating learning into existing tasks (such as evaluations) can help overcome the obstacle of time pressure. Buy-in from the leadership is needed and they must be included in processes.
**Recommendation 2: Engage the community throughout the whole project cycle**

**Issues**
Time pressures often prevent donors from involving the community in their projects. In the case of Okhaldhunga, the community were not involved at the start of the project which made sustainability and ownership challenging - enforcing a mentality of donor dependency.

**Underlying Factors**
Pressure to meet funding requirements and deadlines from headquarters, for ‘tangible results’, puts pressure on field representatives to push projects forward, often at the expense of community involvement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practical Steps</th>
<th>Level of Difficulty</th>
<th>Potential Obstacles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Establish alternative ways of measuring and showing ‘tangible results’ to allow for a ‘slower start’ that engages the community.</td>
<td>Finding alternative ways of measuring ‘non tangible’ progress (such as ‘establishing relationships’) is more challenging and requires creativity amongst project planners and stakeholders.</td>
<td>Buy-in from the leadership is needed to incorporate policy. An envisioning process through relationships and shared learning can aid this process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Envision donor members and representatives through participatory workshops and training.</td>
<td>Failed past projects and ‘shared learning’ can inspire policy change and desire for workshops and training in alternative methods.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Make participatory approaches part of organisational policy on community radio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Recommendation 3: Broaden initial training activities

It is easy for donors in media projects to focus on the more tangible, obvious needs of assisting with radio equipment and production training, as was the case in Okhaldhunga. Broadening workshop training to include rapid needs assessments will help the station to identify and meet surrounding needs in their own communities. ‘Research’ becomes a continual process of gathering evolving information, rather than a single event.

Issues
Programmes are not addressing many of the local needs and issues.

Underlying Factors
Radio producers are lacking confidence, skill and desire to gather information from service providers and community members. Gathering ‘research’ is seen as an arduous task that needs to be done by ‘outsiders.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practical Steps</th>
<th>1. Put together a participatory needs assessment tool kit.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Incorporate a rapid needs assessment into the radio workshop training and encourage participants to make programming material from the information gathered.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Level of Difficulty | It is not difficult to add a session to the radio workshop training, or to put together a tool kit. Encouraging implementation is the challenge. |

| Potential Obstacles | The donor may have more scientific ideas about research. The ‘programming needs assessment’ is one different way of ‘gathering information’ and can be presented as a way of helping build capacity of producers and making stations more effective. |
Chapter 9 References


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Bibliography


HCR (2002) Foundations in Radio Programming for Health Promotion. Course from HCR in collaboration with the School of Public Health. Western Australia: Curtin University


Appendix 1 – Research team and field sites

Researchers

Ian and Monica Verhaeghe, development practitioners.
Theodora Hannides, development team advisor, Feba UK.
Doctor Robert Fortner, Director ICMS.
Peter Fortner, researcher, ICMS
Tim Dam, researcher, ICMS.
Rabin Shrestha, Aafno producer, Okhaldhunga, Nepal
Yogus Shrestha, student, Okhaldhunga, Nepal
Usha Karki, student, Okhaldhunga, Nepal
Pabita, Noresh (translators)

Field sites visited by qualitative research team

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field sites visited by qualitative research team</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bigutar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ketuke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narayansthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mamkha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumjatar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuntadevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baruneshwar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Appendix 2 – Political Structure
### Appendix 3 – Conditions for Social Change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition for social change</th>
<th>Reason/background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Community participation and ownership</strong></td>
<td>Access is insufficient and often results in manipulations with vested interests. Many development projects have failed due to lack of commitment and participation from the local people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The local community should participate and own both the communication process and the contents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Language and Cultural relevance</strong></td>
<td>Many models still follow the imposed strategies seen in the aftermath of the second world war from industrialised nations to developing ones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural interaction -or the exchanges between languages and cultures- is healthy when it happens within a framework of equity and respect, through critical dialogue, debate on ideas and solidarity.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Generation of local contents</strong></td>
<td>‘Vertical models of communication’ assume lack of knowledge in developing countries. “Access to information generated in industrialized countries is seen as the silver bullet.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning should be through dialogue and mutual growth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Appropriate technology.</strong></td>
<td>Greater dependency can come from technological creations that are inappropriate and not possible to sustain locally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processes should be given priority over technology, which should be adapted to the needs of local people and their ownership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Network and convergence</strong></td>
<td>Isolated communication processes are less likely to be sustainable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialogue and debate in and outside of the community encourages networking, which is key to strengthening communication processes increasing the chances of sustainability and growth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 4 Semi Structured Interview Guide

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE 1

SOCIAL & MEDIA

FAMILY AND HOME

(Assess the level of contentment/aspirations, poverty, caste)

1. **Tell me about your family.**
   (prompts: How big is your family? Do you all live near each other? Who is the eldest? How often do you see each other? Who lives the furthest away? Who do you spend the most time with in your family? What do you do together? (i.e. work, rest, talk etc)

   *(NOTE: Get a feel for family relations)*

2. **What is it like to live here?**
   (Prompts: Have you always lived here? Why did you move? Do you hope you will still live here in five years time? What do you like about your house? What do you dislike? Where would you like to live? (if not here where and why? Do you have your own toilet etc?)

3. **Where do you get your water from?**
   (Prompt: Is it far? Who collects it? How often?)
EMPLOYMENT & WEALTH

4. What do you do in the day time?
   (Prompts: Do you work? – at home/go out, what kind of work do you do? What does your husband/wife do? Who works the hardest – you? 😊)

5. What do you do in the evenings?
   (Prompts: Do you work late? What do you do after work? Do you like to visit friends in the evenings? What time do your children go to bed?)

6. What time does it get dark?
   (Prompts: How much electricity do you have? Do you know when you will have it? Do you plan around it – how?)

7. What does your family like to eat?
   (Prompts: How often do you cook dal bhat? What time do you eat each day?)

8. Where do you get your food from?
   (Prompts: When was the last time you went there (i.e. market/bazaar)? Who gets the food? When will you go again? Would you prefer to go more/less? How do you get there? Who do you go with? How long does it take? Do you enjoy the journey/trip? Do you grow any of your own food? What kind? How much?)

COMMUNITY AND RELIGION

(Assess community relations and social infrastructure/class/gender issues)

9. Who are your neighbours?
   (Prompts: What are they like? What work do they do? Have you always had the same neighbours? Who do you spend the most time with in your community? What do you do together? Who lives in the house at the end of the village? (select furthest point)

10. What are the main problems in the community?
    (Prompts: Do people get on well with each other? When was the last time you heard a fight/disagreement? What was it about? Where was it?)
11. How do people solve problems in the community?
(Prompt: Who do you ask for help with problems? Have you ever spoken to the village chief? What about? Where does he live?)

12. Tell me about the Dashain festival (15 days festival Sept/Oct. Honours the goddess Devi Durga)
(PROMPTS: How did people celebrate this in your community? Did you celebrate it? If no, why not. If yes, how? If yes, was this the last time you went to the temple? How often do you usually go? Who do you go with?)

EDUCATION

(Assess: caste, community relations, divisions)

13. What language do you speak at home?
(PROMPTS: What language do most people in the village speak? Do people speak any other languages - what? Who speaks these? Why?)

14. What is the local school like?
(PROMPTS: Do your children go to school? Did you go? Do you think the school is a good one? Why/why not?)

15. Do you know any children at the local school?
(PROMPTS Who are they? How do you know them? Where do they live? Is the school free to attend? Who pays for books/uniforms/school dinners?)
16. Were you affected by the recent landslide here?
(PROMPTS: I hear there was a road accident recently. Were many people hurt?
How did you hear about it? How do you usually learn about news and events? Who
was the first person you told?)

17. What people do you know outside of Okhaldhunga?
[PROMPTS: Do you know anyone in Kathmandu? How do you communicate with them?
Telephone? Mobile? Is it yours? Whose it it?)

18. Who was the last person you spoke to on the telephone?
[Prompts: Was it your telephone, who’s was it? Where is it? How often do you use it? Do
you know anyone with a mobile phone? What kind? What network do you/they use?)

19. What music do you like?
(Prompt: Do people only listen to Nepali music? What music is the most popular with
children? Where do they/you listen to it? (Do people sing/play instruments? Or do you
listen on the radio? (If yes, Does it belong to you? Whose is it?) (Move to 18 if yes, skip
to 19 if no)

(Assess national knowledge)

20. When did you last listen to the radio?
(Probe: What was playing? Do you usually listen to this programme? What is your
favourite programme? What do you think of Aafno FM generally – is it a good thing?
Were you pleased/surprised when they started? What would you like to hear more/less of)
1. When was the last time you/some one in your family was sick/unwell?

2. Who is the female health volunteer here?
   [Do you know any health workers? Where are they from? When did you see them last?]

3. Where did you/your wife/your mother give birth?
   [Prompt: Did you/they receive any help? Who from? Did you/they get any help when pregnant – what kind? Was this process the same for the other births in the family?]

4. What do you think is the biggest health problem in this village?
   [Prompt: How do people deal with it? What do you think they should do?]

5. What is Okhaldhunga hospital like?
   [Prompt: What did you go there for? If you have not been, why not?]

6. Do people use family planning?
   [Prompt: How many children do people like to have here? What do they do when they want to stop having children?]

7. What do people think about smoking/drinking alcohol?
   [Prompt: Do you/your family smoke/drink? Does it cause any health problems? What?]

8. What kind of vaccines do children have here?
   [Do children receive injections to protect them from sickness? Which ones? What for? Who gives them?]

## Appendix 5: HCR Indicators

### Programming Indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAFNO FM programs promote local health and social issues</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAFNO FM critically discuss social issues and inequalities</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAFNO FM programs provide perspectives of marginalised groups</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAFNO FM programs facilitate open discussion about local health issues</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAFNO FM programs facilitate open discussion about local social issues</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAFNO FM programs encourage listener participation in dialogue regarding local health issues</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAFNO FM programs encourage listener participation in dialogue regarding local social issues</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAFNO FM programs promote and encourage understanding of the issues that affect those suffering from ill-health</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aafno FM programs promote opportunities for participation in off-air activities.</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Community Integration Indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community listeners are motivated to serve the basic needs of their local community through local radio Aafno programs</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The radio station is recognised for what it does to benefit the community</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(small extent)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. The number of volunteers involved in Aafno programs</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. The number of listeners who participate in Aafno programs</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. The number of community groups who are assisted through</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. The number of community members involved in training through the radio station</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. The local and regional agencies which have been given airtime</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The community feels the radio station is a good influence</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The community has a sense of ownership towards the radio station</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other media are commenting on Aafno programming</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aafno products are seen in the community (i.e. stickers, posters etc)</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aafno is involved and support off-air strategies for health promoting and community development programs</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Station Management Indicators</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community listeners are represented in the radio station decision and policy making body</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The station networks with other community organisations (NGO’s, health services etc)</td>
<td>Only hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The station management advocates and supports the radio station in advocacy for community social issues</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The station management encourages and supports policy and programming that increases awareness and knowledge of community health and social needs</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Station management encourages and supports listener participation in programming</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management has policies or mechanisms which allow JP to be involved in local off-air activities that promote a supportive environment.</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Journalist-Programmers (JP) Indicators</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JPs train local community members to contribute to local health programs</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPs train local community members to contribute to social issues</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPs train local organisations to contribute to local Health/social programs</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPs regularly participate in off-air community activities and events</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPs regularly update their knowledge and information resources of local health and social issues</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPs initiate on-air discussions about local health issues</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPs support and encourage listener participation in programming</td>
<td>Y (music prg only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPs advocate for marginalised groups dialogue regarding local social issues</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPs advocate for powerful sectors of society to be more socially responsible for the welfare of the community</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Listener Indicators</th>
<th>Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listeners are encouraged and supported to participate in off air community events.</td>
<td>? (Don’t know)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listeners are encouraged and supported to advocate for the community through radio programming</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listeners are encouraged to discuss community issues through radio</td>
<td>Yes, A little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powerful groups are encouraged to recognise the social situation of community groups and recognise and respect human rights.</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listeners are encouraged to be involved in community activities and events</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Source: Adapted from James and UNICEF (2004): Evaluating Health-Promoting]
## Appendix 6 - Tasks of Radio

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TASKS</th>
<th>OUTCOMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Inform                    | • Campaign or intervention activities have been promoted through radio programming has told people about services and how to access them (i.e. phone counselling, health clinics, social welfare activities)  
• Advertising, Public Service Announcements and consumer-advice programs have helped to increase how much people notice health and social development workers and services. |
| Educate                   | • Specific behaviours have been adopted because of what people heard on the radio  
• Radio programs have raised awareness and knowledge of specific problems or topics.                                                                                              |
| Advocate                  | • Radio has redefined social issues and problems, focusing debate on socio-political or legislative and public policy.  
• Radio programs have highlighted and promoted positive aspects of a recommended campaign and the negative aspects of social issues and problems.  
• Radio program content and impact on communicates has influenced policy-makers.                                                                                           |
| Promote social learning & dialogue | • Radio has promoted peace, consensus building and social capital.  
• Radio has been used to develop a sense of cultural identity, to give communities a voice and opportunity for self-expression.  
• Counselling, or consumer-advice segments on radio talkback, has promoted increased communication and dialogue between health and social development workers and consumers of their services and skills. |
| Entertainment             | • Radio has been a voice of the people. It has helped people psychologically by providing local entertainment; music and culturally related programming.                                                          |

*Source: Tasks of Radio, (HCR, 2002)*
Appendix 7 Problem Tree

Water Supply

EFFECTS

- Taps dry
- People use streams shared with animals
- People walk to next village for water

CORE PROBLEM

- Poor water supply

IMMEDIATE CAUSES

- Not enough pipes
- Not enough taps
- Water tanks damaged
- No one responsible for tanks.
- Lack of knowledge
- Lack of resources
- Beliefs/Cultural Attitude (Ke Gali - what can we do?)
- Lack of District Committee support.

ROOT CAUSES

- Increased workload

External factors: climate/seasonal change.
**Potential of radio: Water**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inform</th>
<th>Lack of education/knowledge. How can people maintain their water tanks? Where can they get help from and how? Interviews with District Committee members on the radio. Interviews with engineers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educate</td>
<td>Lack of ownership of the problem and the water tank is a major problem. Programmes that talk about the need for responsibility in communities can address this. Interviews with people from communities who have established groups maintaining their water tanks can show good examples.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>Poor people have a lack of rights. Radio programmes can promote equal rights. People from low castes have no access to decision makers. Radio producers can act as a ‘middle man’. They can publicise who needs help on the radio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promote dialogue and social change.</td>
<td>Challenge the ‘ke gali’ attitude – ‘what can we do?’. Does it have to be this way? Could we change this, how? What have other people done to solve this?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Public Health : Boiling Water**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Promote social learning &amp; dialogue</th>
<th>Programmes can encourage people to talk about where they get their water from. What are the best ways to collect and store rainwater? Do Moringa trees grow in the area? (the hospital is growing Moringa seeds.) The seeds can be ground into a paste. This can help make water safer.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educate</td>
<td>Programmes can tell people about the dangers of dirty water and boiling water (so that it bubbles) greatly reduces this risk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>Programmes can interview public health workers from the hospital to help with the discussion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 8 - Government health-care structure

**Sub-Health Posts (SHPs)** Grassroots level health institutions at Village Development Committee level

**Health Posts (HPs)** Sub district (Ilaka) level.

Primary Health Care Centers (PHCs) at the electoral constituencies.

**Female Community Health Volunteers (FCHVs)**
Community level, provides frontline local health resources
Appendix 9 – NGO Case Study

Case study Relationships and Sustainable Change (Ketuke ward 9)

An NGO (CSD) visited some wards in Ketuke. The goal of CSD is to promote awareness and develop consciousness for the new paradigm of self-help. However it was only successful in one ward. With the NGOs input the ward had their own community centre with pots, pans and a guitar. They held regular meetings to sort out disputes and there was a sense of community spirit and pride in their achievements – very different to those in other wards. It took a long time to discover the reason why the people here had responded differently to everywhere else. Eventually the Village Chief revealed the simple yet effective reason: the NGO staff had stayed in ward 9 and built relationships with the community. They had only ‘visited’ the others and did not establish relationships. Thus only one ward resulted in change.
## Appendix 10 - Wealth distribution (farming)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wealthiest</th>
<th>Wealth (land and livestock)</th>
<th>People group / caste.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Own (fertile) land. Own livestock</td>
<td>Higher castes: Brahmin Chhetri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grow own food with 40 percent surplus to sell.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employ 1-3 people on land.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magar, Tamang, Chhetri, Rai</td>
<td>Own (fertile) land. Own livestock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grow 50 percent (6 months worth) of own food.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buy 50 percent from the market with money made from skilled trade or livestock produce.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rai, lower sub group Chhetri, Dahl, Katwal, Baniya, Tamung, Rai.</td>
<td>Own (fertile) land. Own livestock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grow own food for 6 months or less.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buy food from loan and trade money.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Repay money with interest, or labour.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Give land away if cannot repay loans (with high interest rate).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(high sub group) Dalits</td>
<td>Own small, unfertile, plot land. Limited/no livestock. (chickens)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grow less than 2 percent own food.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Borrow money to buy food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Work on lenders land to repay loans. (Keep 50 percent of produce.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poorest</td>
<td>No land. Unable to work. No livestock.</td>
<td>Lowest sub group of Dalits, disabled people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dependent on others handouts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 11 - A midwife’s song

The below is a transcript of the song translation, the song was written and sung by a midwife at Kuntadevi health post.

“This is a song according to the present generation.
I am betrayed by God because I am illiterate.
Pregnancy before marriage is a common problem, and postnatal women sometimes try to commit suicide.
Do not deliver your baby in the forest.
There are many deaths due to tetanus so brothers, please help the women to have hospital deliveries.
It is better to have only 2 children, though I am betrayed by God because he did not give me a son.
Men refuse to have vasectomies, why?
Small families are happy families.
Woman, you should use depo [birth control technique/product] for temporary family planning.
Don’t forget, there is a high rate of unwanted pregnancies. Bring your newborns from immunizations to protect them from preventable diseases.
It is not easy for me, and for health workers to provide health care services in the community.
So brothers and sisters, please give me a hand to provide health services in the community.