

Building Solidarities

A Case of Community Radio in Jharkhand

Even as the government is dithering over legislation to facilitate the functioning of community radio in India, a few community-based organisations have initiated radio projects that seek to deploy communication technologies for development and community empowerment. This paper is based on a study examining the functioning of one such community radio initiative in India: 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' that is broadcast once a week on an AIR station in the Palamau district of Jharkhand.

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Organisations experimenting with participatory communication for social change across the world have found radio to be the most important medium for development and social change. A recent Rockefeller Foundation report asserts that community radio is "one of the best ways to reach excluded or marginalised communities in targeted, useful ways", and in giving them a 'voice' that matters most in development communication [Dagron 2001]. Experiences from Latin America, dating as far back as mid-1940s, have demonstrated the potential of community radio for social change. More recent legislative history of countries like Australia, the US, Canada and Ireland offers us durable examples where community media are operating on a self-managed, democratic basis [Pavarala and Kumar 2001]. Even more pertinent for the Indian context are the experiences of the less developed countries of the world that are allowing community radio stations to function as autonomous media spaces for people. Nepal and Sri Lanka in India's immediate neighbourhood already have community radio in some form or the other.

In India, however, radio stations still remain centralised, government-controlled, and lacking in editorial independence.¹ AIR has had some historic experiments in development. It also has a network of local radio stations in districts for serving the local communities but the stations have not proven to be locally relevant as they are not community-run [Mukhopadhyay 2000]. Several non-profit and development organisations have been campaigning to get permission to set up low-cost local radio broadcasting facilities to support their community development work and to get communities access to means of representation. Even as the government is dithering over legislation to facilitate the functioning of community radio in India, a few community-based organisations have initiated radio projects that seek to deploy communication technologies for development and community empowerment.²

The Bangalore-based media advocacy group, Voices started an audio production centre, 'Namma Dhwani' (Our Voice) in 2001 at Budikote in the Kolar district of Karnataka and has been narrowcasting programmes made by rural men and women trained in basics of radio production. The community at Budikote is currently in the process of setting up a cable link through which they intend to transmit their programmes.³

The Deccan Development Society (DDS), a non-governmental organisation working with poor, rural women in the Zaheerabad area of Medak district, AP for over a decade, set up, with assistance from UNESCO, a community radio station. A couple of young dalit women from the area produce programmes and manage the station. As their request for a licence to broadcast

has not yet been acceded, the DDS women take the audiotapes of their programmes for narrowcasting in the villages [Pavarala and Narsamma 2000]. More than 300 hours of programming has been done so far and put together in a magazine format that includes talk, interviews, discussions, folk songs, and other forms of entertainment available in rural Telangana. The Kutch Mahila Vikas Sanghathan (KMVS) in Gujarat operates on a model different from that of the above initiatives. The organisation built on its long presence in the area doing development work with women and trained some of them to be community reporters for a radio programme. In 1999 the group started airing a 30-minute programme made by them in the Kutchi language on All India Radio's Bhuj station by purchasing a commercial slot. The organisation has been growing in strength in the last four years. Its most recent programme, 'Kutch Log Ji Bani' (The Voice of Kutch) has gained immense popularity and aroused the aspirations of the community, with special investigative features and emphasis on local issues such as water, panchayat, literacy, alcoholism, mid-day meal, and health care facilities [Kumar 2003].⁴ Yet another project worth mentioning for the media hype it had generated recently is 'Mana Radio' (Our Radio), an experiment of the World Bank-funded Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty of the government of Andhra Pradesh. Located in Orvakal village of Kurnool district, a short-lived low-wattage (500 m radius) radio station run by women belonging to various self-help groups in the village actually went on air in October 2002. In February 2003 officials of the union communications ministry seized the equipment and shut down the broadcast as it was done without a licence.

This paper is based on detailed evaluation research undertaken to examine the functioning of one such community radio initiative in India. Broadly modelled after the KMVS project, 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' is a community radio programme supported by the National Foundation for India and produced by community representatives of Alternative for India Development (AID), an NGO. The programme is broadcast once a week on AIR Daltonganj in the Palamau district of Jharkhand.

Jharkhand: The Geographical Context

The state of Jharkhand became a functioning reality on November 15, 2000 after almost half a century of people's movements around Jharkhandi identity, which disadvantaged societal groups articulated in order to augment political resources

and influence the policy process in their favour. The Jharkhandi identity and the demand for autonomy was not premised solely on the uniqueness of its tribal cultural heritage, but was essentially a fallout of the failure of development policy to intervene in socio-economic conditions of both the adivasis and non-adivasis in the region.

Hence, even at present, the dynamics of resources and the politics of development largely influence the socio-economic structures in Jharkhand, which has been carved out of the relatively 'backward' southern part of undivided Bihar. According to the 1991 Census, the state has a population of over 20 million out of which 28 per cent is tribal while 12 per cent of the people belong to scheduled castes. Jharkhand has 21 districts, 211 blocks and 32,620 villages out of which only 45 per cent are electrified while only 8,484 are connected by roads.

Jharkhand is the leading producer of mineral wealth in the country, endowed as it is with vast variety of minerals like iron ore, coal, copper ore, mica, bauxite, graphite, limestone, and uranium. Jharkhand is also known for its vast forest resources. This paradoxical development profile of Jharkhand is combined with the fact that distortions in distribution and access to resources have made little difference to lives of ordinary people. However, the people of the region are politically mobilised and self-conscious and are actively seeking better bargains for the state. The people in Jharkhand have the advantage of being culturally vibrant, as reflected in the diversity of languages spoken, festivals celebrated, and variety of folk music, dances, and other traditions of performing arts in the region.

The Palamau district, where the AID's community radio project is located, has a population of about 1.5 million (15 per cent SC and 10 per cent ST). With its headquarters in Daltonganj, the district is divided into 16 administrative blocks, including Daltonganj, Lesliganj and Panki. Developmental infrastructure in Palamau needs drastic improvement: roads are in poor condition; electricity supply is erratic; the public distribution system is irregular; and, hand-pumps are the only source of water both for agriculture and household usage. Palamau is a neglected area developmentally and is generally underserved by media. One of All India Radio's 76 local FM radio stations has, therefore, been located in Daltonganj and local communities in the region are familiar with its programmes.

People living in the district earn their livelihood out of minor forest produce and grow basic crops like paddy, wheat and lentils. Rampant deforestation has led to ecological changes, which have adversely affected both the natural wealth of the region as well as the lifestyles of the communities. Most live on the edge of poverty, with more than 70 per cent of women illiterate and a sizable number of men dependent on migratory-labour-opportunities to earn their living. Poverty, however, has not hampered their aptitude for song-writing, musical compositions, folk theatre, and information dissemination in non-formal styles. It is in this context that AID started functioning in the area about a decade ago, mobilising rural communities for participatory development and self-empowerment.

A Brief Profile of AID

Alternative for India Development (AID) is a non-governmental organisation that emerged as an umbrella unit for several smaller community-based groups. Many of the groups and

individuals who became part of AID were involved in mass struggles against corruption led by Jayaprakash Narayan (JP) in the mid-1970s. Students, inspired by JP to believe that real development must first take place in villages, formed the Chatra Yuva Sangarsh Vahini (Student Youth Struggle Force) initially in Bihar and later in other parts of India. The movement aimed to fight against injustice, corruption, illiteracy, poverty, exploitation, and unemployment. AID was founded in 1982 by a group of Vahini activists and social scientists, who felt the need to have an organisation that could provide support and technical assistance to volunteers and other grass roots movements working for transformation.⁵

According to AID documents, the organisation is committed to sustainable development, basic education and health, and adequate livelihood for the disadvantaged through their active participation in analysis of problems as well as decision-making. AID's larger philosophy of development emphasises grass roots democracy, decentralisation, equality, respect for women's rights, an end to caste discrimination and non-violence (<http://www.aidindia.net/aboutus.htm>).

AID-Jharkhand, a subsidiary of Alternative For India Development, covers 1,622 villages and a population of 837,500 people. It has been working in Palamau for almost a decade now, through youth groups, women's groups, and community organisations, on education, reproductive health, micro-credit for women, child marriages, and alcoholism.

AID preferred to start its community radio pilot project, initiated and supported by the National Foundation for India (NFI), in Palamau because it is an area with poor communication infrastructure and lack of electricity. For most of the villages their only contact with the outside world is through radio. With a majority of the population illiterate, the print media has negligible presence. Television and video are yet to make inroads into the region. Even on radio, barring a very few regional programmes, hardly any programming caters to the rural population. The main aims of the community radio programme of AID are:

- To enable people to produce programmes locally
- To build expertise among rural people to speak about everyday issues affecting their lives
- To do the above in their own language
- And, to rejuvenate local art forms and culture

Table 1: Number of Programmes by Subjects Covered in 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein'

Subject Category	Interview	Drama	Discussion	Song	Total
Literacy	3	4	6	3	16
Dowry	2	6	1	2	11
Superstition	1	7	3	-	11
Childmarriage	1	4	1	3	9
Health	1	5	1	1	8
Alcoholism	2	2	2	1	7
Forests and environment	-	1	2	4	7
Agriculture	-	-	4	2	6
Development schemes	1	-	4	1	6
Gram swaraj	-	2	2	1	5
Child and bonded labour	-	2	1	2	5
Corruption	-	2	-	1	3
Migration	-	1	1	1	3
Women and gender	-	1	1	-	2
Gambling	-	1	1	-	2
Public distribution	-	-	2	-	2
Veterinary	1	-	-	-	1
Day care	1	-	-	-	1
Rural banking	-	-	1	-	1

Note: Based on data available for 43 episodes from August 2001-May 2002.

Interviews with AID representatives suggest that the organisation views community radio primarily as a pedagogical tool to extend the development goals of AID and to use this as a mass medium to highlight local issues, through local language and culture. During one of our focus group discussions in a village, Suresh Kumar, the community radio coordinator of AID, offered the following explanation to an elderly woman who wanted to know why the radio project was started and by whom:

AID, which has its office in Lesliganj, wants more and more people in the villages to be educated. AID desires that all villages and villagers develop equally, that people give up bad habits and work hard, that government officials come and help in solving your problems, and that every person leads a happy and peaceful life. For this purpose, AID, along with Manthan Yuva Sangathan of Ranchi and NFI of Delhi have started the programme 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein'.

Community Radio Project

From August 5, 2001, the National Foundation for India, in collaboration with Alternative for India Development-Jharkhand and their technical partner, Manthan started airing a community radio programme on the local All India Radio FM station at Daltonganj. The 30-minute programme, Chala Ho Gaon Mein is broadcast every Sunday on FM band at 7.15 pm and covers 45 villages in Lesliganj and Panki blocks of Palamau.

National Foundation for India (NFI), a national level grant making and fund-raising non-governmental organisation, supports development activities, focusing especially on issues of poverty, illiteracy, and health. NFI also has a programme area for development communication, which recognises the significance of media in facilitating grass roots level work for social change and community empowerment. Following the Supreme Court judgment in 1995, which emphasised people's right to the airwaves, NFI got interested in promoting initiatives with direct participation of the communities in the use of media, with the belief that access to media could empower marginalised groups. In the absence of state policy for an independent community radio sector in India, NFI decided to avail the state infrastructure for experimenting with community radio for development at the grass roots level.

As a first step, members of NFI's gender programme visited Bhuj in Gujarat in March 2000 to study the community radio project of KMVS. The KMVS visit not only reinforced NFI's faith in radio as an effective medium, particularly among the non-literate communities, but also highlighted the need for building the capacities of community members to handle an entire range of activities related to community radio [NFI 2001].

Initially, NFI linked the community radio project with its gender equity and justice programme and decided to work with an NGO whose areas of activity were familiar to NFI. Workshops conducted by NFI with NGOs addressed three facets concerning community radio, namely, community radio as a tool for development, presentation of community development projects using radio, and technical training for radio production. At a content development workshop held subsequently at Lesliganj, a media activist group from Ranchi, Manthan Yuva Sangathan, was invited to join the project as a production planner and also to provide technical training for the community representatives to build their capacities in radio production over a period of time.

Among the volunteers who had gathered from villages across Lesliganj and Panki blocks, AID identified 16 community representatives, including four women, to form the core group

of the project. Each volunteer was asked to identify two more villages in addition to their native village for which he/she could act as a local reporter-cum-motivator. At the end of the workshop, 45 villages were identified as target area for the first phase, a project coordinator was selected, and a technical team was also put together. The Lesliganj workshop was also devoted to identifying focal issues for the radio programme. It was decided that the issues to be highlighted in the community radio programme would be of wider interest and those chosen by the community. The core issues identified by the community volunteers were: adult literacy, education for the girl child, child marriage, practice of dowry and related domestic violence, health and hygiene issues, rural development and livelihood schemes. The volunteers also arrived at Chala Ho Gaon Mein as a suitable title for the programme.

These 16 volunteers were divided into four groups, according to their choice of villages. Each group was asked to choose one central issue and make recordings in the field using portable cassette recorders. Manthan provided the initial operational training for field recording. These field recordings were then used as basic study material at a five-day long training workshop conducted by Manthan in Ranchi. At this workshop the volunteers were acquainted with the techniques of audio presentation and production. The aptitude of the volunteers was assessed so that they could be selected for specialised aspects of programming. The field recordings of the four groups and studio exercises conducted at the workshop formed the basic raw material for the first set of four 30-minute programmes of the project. The radio dramas developed by the community volunteers and the content of the field recordings apparently amazed even the resource persons at the workshop. AID took these four programmes to selected villages for narrowcasting. This process helped in assessing the acceptability of the programmes, testing the impact on local communities, and in designing advance publicity for the community radio initiative.

After a month of narrowcasting, another two-day workshop was held in Lesliganj to integrate the community radio initiative with the ground level work of AID. The project coordinators suggested that the period of narrowcasting be limited to three months as the novelty of the initiative lies in broadcasting. Title music for the programme was composed by some of the villagers who came to see the progress of the project at the workshop. During the various narrowcasting sessions in the villages, many villagers expressed their desire to participate in the community radio initiative and utilise it for social education. NFI eventually requested AIR Daltonganj for a 30-minute commercial slot on Sundays at 7.15 pm for 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' and the first episode went on air from August 5, 2001.

Sudhir Pal, Manthan Yuva Sangathan, Ranchi explains that the present structure of the programme was influenced by feedback obtained during the narrowcasting sessions as also by the technical requirements. As an example he states that people rejected the professional AIR narrators of the programme, and created the characters of 'Phulwa behen' and 'Raju bhaiya' as presenters. These characters have now become so popular that children in the villages frequently play act the two roles. The structure of the episode currently is as follows: drama (10 minutes), folk songs (5-6 minutes), 'chaupal' (discussion) (5 minutes), 'vikas ke saathi' (rural news) or 'lok katha' (folk tales) alternately (3-4 minutes), and letters (2 minutes). Earlier episodes had interviews with professional experts on various subjects. A content analysis of the 43 episodes broadcast by the time our field work

shows that the issues covered most commonly include: literacy, dowry, agriculture, superstitions, child marriage and alcoholism (Table 1).

Sudhir Pal informs that the reporters now record about two-and-a-half hours for a 30-minute episode, but only three members of the core team have some post-production ability. The post-production process is digital and AIR is finally handed over a CD of the programme. No audio-cassettes of the final edited version are available. According to the project coordinator, Suresh Kumar, the production schedule follows a system whereby he holds planning meetings with the community reporters at the end of every month to list out issues for four episodes, about eight weeks in advance. These issues are then prioritised and finalised in a meeting of all AID programme coordinators. After consultations with Manthan's production controller in Lesliganj, the final recording schedules and instructions are passed on to the community reporters in the first week of each month.

Methodology

This study sought to evaluate certain key characteristics and basic norms of the initiative as stated by the project:

- (1) The project would be conducted through regular interaction with village communities.
- (2) Decision-making would be with the communities so that the process of dialogue and participation in the developmental planning for the region is facilitated.
- (3) Programmes will be in the local Magdhi-Bhojpuri dialect using local styles of communication.
- (4) The programmes will help define the real and felt needs of the people.

The above norms prompt queries such as: To what extent is community involvement discernible at various stages of the project? Has an internal democratic process been strengthened in any manner? Do grass roots issues and indigenous ideas get transformed into radio programmes? To what extent does the participatory process of community radio help in raising the consciousness and understanding of the community about social reality, problems and solutions?

In a region where the number of radio receivers in a village barely reaches double figures, where poverty largely determines lifestyles of the people, the acceptability of a community radio initiative had to be assessed carefully. A qualitative approach to audience responses, focusing more closely on the core issues of concern for the communities, was, therefore, chosen accordingly. Some of the critical questions considered while conducting the audience research included the following:

- (1) Listeners' profile and listening patterns: Who are listening to the programme? How do they listen to the programme: in groups or alone at home? Has the programme listening generated more communitarian feeling among villagers?
- (2) Technical problems in the reception of the programme, if any.
- (3) Responses to the content, including the subject matter, language, and formats of the programme.
- (4) Does the programme generate any follow-up discussion at village level leading to awareness/sensitisation about the issues and themes tackled therein?
- (5) Any gains in terms of the problems faced by villagers in their day-to-day lives; any action taken by authorities?
- (6) Sense of ownership and/or sense of participation among volunteers and listeners.
- (7) Perceptions of rural audiences about the role community radio

(programmes) can play in empowering them to participate and negotiate in the process of development in their villages.

Focus group discussions were conducted in the sample villages, covering the concerns indicated above. Following discussions with the project coordinator and the community reporters, the sample villages for focus group discussions were selected on the basis of geographic and demographic variations. This was done to ensure representation of the different communities in the 45 villages of the two blocks of Lesliganj and Panki covered by the community radio project. Of these 45 villages where the radio reporters work, it was decided to select at least one village each from among those chosen by the reporters.

Keeping in mind the ratio of villages in the two blocks, it was decided to select nine villages in Lesliganj and three in Panki. Selection of villages in Panki ensured that perceptions of listeners who are farthest from the radio station were also included. Thus, the research team covered villages, which were located about 20 km-60 km away from the Daltonganj radio station. Since there was a mixture of tribal and non-tribal (dalit) villages, it was decided to include both types of villages in the sample. The composition of the focus groups was then decided along variables of: tribe, caste, gender, and age. Since literacy was not very high in the region, it was not considered as a major variable. Similarly, as most of the members of the focus groups belonged to a lower socio-economic status, class was not considered a variable (Table 2).

These discussions with groups of 7-10 persons each, assembled for the purpose, were recorded and transcribed for detailed analysis. There were in all 77 people who participated across 12 focus group discussions. In addition, in each village the research team interacted informally with scores of others who formed curious spectators for the focus group discussions.

In order to understand the internal dynamics of the production and implementation of the community radio project, the research team also conducted in-depth, open-ended interviews and discussions with the 12 community reporters, the AID project coordinator, the AID-Jharkhand (Palamau) project manager, station director of AIR Daltonganj, and the Manthan production coor-

Table 2: Villages where Focus Group Discussions were Conducted

Village/Block	Description of Group
Goradih Khas Lesliganj	Mixed Gender Group
Rajhara Lesliganj	Older tribal men
Purushotampur Panki	Tribal men
Mahe Dema Panki	BC men
Bhalmanda Lesliganj	Women's group
Kundari Lesliganj	Older women
Harsangra Lesliganj	Young men's group
Chandaigir Lesliganj	Women's Self-Help Group
Nawadih Lesliganj	Young girls' group
Cheri/Chaparna Lesliganj	Listening session
Barunahi Panki	Tribal men
Pipra Lesliganj	Men's group

dinator. These interviews and discussions were also recorded and transcribed. In addition, the study analysed relevant documents, feedback forms, and letters from listeners.

Project Evaluation and Analysis of Audience Responses

Reception of the programme

The research team travelled to nearly 15 villages in the Lesliganj and Panki blocks of Palamau district, although the focus groups were actually conducted in 12. Few of these villages had electricity and were marked by substandard roads and other basic infrastructure. Widespread illiteracy means that newspapers hardly play a role in their lives. Some of the younger, literate men, who travel to nearby towns, occasionally bring back regional or local newspapers with them. Television, although negligible, has made its appearance in the region, with some young men who have migrated to Punjab and UP for employment returning home with television sets that are battery-operated. So radio, as a post-literate and inexpensive medium, becomes the only link to the outside world for the poor and deprived communities. In fact, it is obvious that in regions such as these, which are under-served by other media, local or community radio serves as a lifeline.

There seems to be a culture of radio listening in the area, as was evident from the sight of farmers returning from or going to their fields, with radio sets slung on their shoulders. Twenty-eight year old Nandakishore of Harsangra village spoke of how radio provides 'manoranjan' (entertainment) while they work. A blacksmith in Pipra village said that the radio was always on when he was at work, although he could not recollect much of the content. However, it is difficult to obtain any reliable figures of the number of FM receivers in each village. Focus group discussions revealed that there is one FM receiver available for approximately every three households in nine of the 12 villages studied (Table 3).

In many of the villages, several people reported that they have converted their existing radio sets into FM receivers because they wanted to listen to Chala Ho Gaon Mein. A Manthan representative told us that FM radio sets were available for as little as Rs 100 and the chip to convert existing radio sets into FM receivers costs as little as Rs 40. Cost and affordability are factors that are somewhat difficult to assess. Rajinder Oraon of Purushottampur claimed that he had to spend as much as Rs 125 to convert his radio set, while another man in the predominantly dalit village of Goradih Khas complained that many times the choice may be between buying batteries for the radio or paying school fees for the child. The programme coordinator of AID estimated that approximately 100 new FM radio sets have been bought in about 40 villages since the programme, 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' started broadcasting on AIR. In Harsangra village, for instance, we were informed that eight new FM receivers were bought in the village since the programme started. Thus, even though confirmed numbers are unavailable, it is clear that the programme has generated a fair degree of enthusiasm among the people, motivating them to invest in a FM receiver.

Residents of each of these villages who participated in our focus group discussions reported that the signal of the Daltonganj FM station was quite clear, although there were occasional glitches during broadcast. This was true of even the farthest village, Barunahi, which is a predominantly tribal village, about 60 km from the radio station.

People we met in almost all the villages we travelled were happy with the Sunday evening time slot for the 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' programme. It is slotted after the news, which has a high listenership, and at a time when both men and women are relatively free from work. The young adivasi men in Barunahi felt that the duration of the programme should be increased, while the young women of Nawadih village wanted two episodes to be broadcast a week. Thirty-seven-year old Surajdev Prasad Yadav of Rajhara village suggested that a second episode could be broadcast on Wednesday, which is a wage day and a holiday. Listeners in many villages expressed their disappointment that if they missed the broadcast on Sunday evenings, there was no other opportunity to catch it again.

Listening Context and Listener Profile

Of the 77 people who participated in our focus group discussions across 12 villages, 51 (66 per cent) owned FM radio sets. These people tend to listen mostly at home, either with family members or with friends and neighbours who may not own a radio set. Men who have occupations that require working at home (e.g. blacksmith) as well as women who are homemakers do their work with the radio playing in the background. The radio set is also frequently taken out of the house by the men folk into the neighbourhood to listen collectively in small groups. However, larger and more organised group listening sessions are occasionally arranged by AID to create awareness, to elicit feedback, and to invite participation in programme production.

Most of the men who owned radio sets reported that they listen to radio regularly, especially 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' on Sunday evenings. Many of them said they try to finish their work and assemble around the radio set by 7.00 pm on Sunday, waiting for Chala Ho to start a quarter of an hour later. However, the frequency of listening as well as the degree to which they listen attentively to the programme varied according to age, literacy, and socio-economic position. Chandrika Bhuinya, a 35-year old dalit labourer in Goradih Khas village shouted at us angrily: "Can we eat radio? Nothing will come out of all this. People here don't have land, water, or electricity while all the upper caste villages around us enjoy all these facilities".

Similarly, the case of Nanhu Bhuinya, a 65-year old man of Rajhara village, reinforces our observation during the field trip that radio listening and enthusiasm for a particular programme are less evident among those struggling to meet basic needs. When asked if he listens to radio, he replied: "We have nothing to eat or drink. There are no wells or roads. Kids are going hungry. What do we gain from listening to radio? Can a radio drama

Table 3: Number of FM Radio Receivers in Focus Group Villages

Name of the village	No of Households	No of FM Receivers
Rajhara	500	150
Purushottampur	30 (in 1 hamlet)	12
Mahe	14	4
Dema	30	10
Bhalmanda	117	30
Harsangra	40	21
Chandaigir	95	21
Pipra	200	35
Barunahi	23	4
Nawadih	105	38
Total	1154	325

Source: Based on information provided in focus group discussions.

reduce our hunger? It's another matter if listening to radio can solve these problems".

Most of the tribal men in the focus group discussion held at Barunahi village in Panki block did not own a radio set or; even those who did said that their work pressures do not allow them to listen regularly or attentively. Walking long distances searching for daily work leaves them little time to 'indulge' in radio listening.

Further, among the men, those who are younger and relatively more literate seem to listen to the programme more regularly. Many of the elderly men, even those who said they listen fairly regularly, seem to be alienated from the programme as could be seen from their poor recall of the content. In striking contrast to the older tribal men, the younger literate men of Rajhara village listened to 'Chala Ho' regularly and exuded a great deal of enthusiasm for the programme. Thirty-seven year old Surajdev Prasad Yadav, who has completed his B A and has participated in radio productions on AIR, is an avid listener. "I have a radio set at home and like listening to 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein'. Every Sunday at 7.00 in the evening, I set aside all my work and sit down to listen to the radio. Once when I had to go out of the village on a Sunday, I walked out restlessly searching for a radio in the evening. I finally found a group of people sitting together listening to the same programme and I joined them".

The younger men, nearly half of whom were literate, in the focus group at Harsangra village were keen listeners and demonstrated very good recall of programme content. They were aware of the community radio process put in place by AID and seemed to be involved with the activities of the radio reporter assigned to the village. Their palpable enthusiasm is also related to the fact that the village and some of its residents figured in at least four different episodes of 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein'. From this as well as examples of other villages such as Nawadih and Purushottampur, one could draw the conclusion that the more a village participates in programme production, the more its residents would listen and pay attention to the programme.

Chala Ho and Gender Dimension

A significant factor in radio listening is gender. In fact, people closely connected with the project at the field level admit that there are three areas in which women's involvement in 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' is still unsatisfactory. Women do not listen as much or as attentively as men; their participation in programme production is minimal; and, women's issues are not covered adequately in the programme.

The habit of group listening by men, with friends or neighbours, as well as the domestic division of labour ensures that women rarely get an environment conducive for listening. As a result, many women said that they are not able to listen to the broadcast attentively ('dhyan se nahi sun paate') and during the focus group discussions it was obvious that this has not only affected their ability to recall the content of the programme, but also rendered them incapable of stating any benefits from the programme. One woman said that they would start listening only when there is some benefit ('faida') to the village.

Women do not have access to radio as they do not get time from work and men take the radio set outside the house to listen with friends. Chatni Devi, a 50-year old agricultural labourer of Kundari village in Lesliganj block, said: "We have FM radio at home. I try to listen every Sunday. But I can only listen while doing housework. When my husband or his brother takes the radio outside the house, I can't listen".

Kunti Devi of Bhalmanda and Biphni Devi of Chandaigir, among many other women, echoed this problem. Thirty-year old Malti Devi, member of a recently formed Self-Help Group in Chandaigir village, explained: "We have a radio at home, which can receive FM. But I don't get to listen much because the younger brothers of my husband keep taking the radio set outside the house to listen with their friends. I listen sometimes, but I have so much work that I can't listen with concentration".

Those women who have a radio set in their homes get a lot of neighbours and other visitors during the broadcast. And in the small, cramped physical spaces, the cultural constraints on women almost make it impossible for them to sit in the midst of all the men and listen to the programme attentively. In the one organised group listening session observed by the research team at Cheri village in Lesliganj block, there were about 50 men, women, and children. The men occupied all the space close to the radio set, while barring a few, most women preferred to sit at the back. Mid-way through the broadcast, some of the women lost interest and started discussing domestic issues.

Older women, like their male counterparts, seem to be alienated from the radio programme, 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein'. None of the elderly women gathered for the focus group discussion at village Kundari could provide any details about the programme and nor could they cite any benefits from it. There was not much in the content that was relevant to the lives of these elderly women, many of whom were widows abandoned by their sons who migrated to greener pastures for employment. One of the women felt that if there was some kind of women's group or collective ('sanghatan') in the village, it would provide a more conducive environment for reception of radio.

Kamala Devi, who joined the discussion at Kundari towards the end, demonstrated a high recall of at least two different radio dramas, one of which was about the dowry problem and the other on over-population. She was a younger woman who was married into a literate family and insisted that the programme has many benefits. This was also true of Bhalmanda where 35-year old Kamuda Devi, the only literate woman in the group, was a regular listener and was able to recall many programmes. Similarly, at Chandaigir village, we met the secretary of the women's self-help group, 18-year old Kamala Devi, originally from Chhattisgarh. She was literate and eloquent about 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' and its benefits. At Rajhara village, after we finished our focus group discussion with older tribal men, we ran into Sonamati, an articulate middle-aged woman, who was involved in 'van samitis' (forest protection committees) and 'mahila sanghatans' (women's collectives). She was enthusiastic and articulate about the role of the radio programme in various development efforts in the region. She represented for us the potential for building participation of women in radio production where there was some amount of prior mobilisation and conscientisation of women.

Listenership of 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' among women seems to be tied in also to their participation in programme production. At the group listening session in Cheri, where women generally took a backseat, the few who took a keen interest in the proceedings turned out to be women who had participated in one or more episodes of the programme. At Nawadih, the adolescent girls, who formed our focus group, had participated a number of times in 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' – in discussions, drama, Lok geet (folk songs), etc. They recalled for us in great detail a short play they had recorded on the issue of post-natal health of the mother and the child. The active participation of these young girls in programme production owed, in large measure, to the

tireless efforts of the community reporter who works with them. In fact, the role of the community radio reporters in the project is rarely limited to 'reporting' on village affairs; they are, to varying degrees, involved in constantly motivating people, especially women, to participate in the production of programmes. This, however, given the feudal structure, has not been very easy.

Surendra Thakur, the reporter for Harsangra village, among others, narrated his experiences with mobilising women's participation in radio plays: "Recording a radio drama involves a lot of practice and rehearsals. Some plays require women to play the roles of wives. They would say 'how can we become some strange man's wife' and hesitate to come forward to take on such roles. So we persuaded women members ('didi log') of our own group to take the lead and show the other women that there is nothing wrong. Gradually some women started feeling that if this programme is being made for the good of our village, then they too should participate".

Shilwanti Biranchi, the dynamic reporter at Bhalmanda village, told us that she made her own family members participate in plays and other programmes for 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' before others could be convinced that it was not only harmless, but could also be fun. Another reporter, Prakash Narayan had his wife act in a drama in order to overcome the resistance from women to participate in the programme.

It seems obvious that one way in which women's participation can be enhanced in both programme production as well as listenership is to increase the amount of woman-centred programming on 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein'. AID's programme coordinator for community radio, Suresh Kumar spoke of their efforts to include the gender dimension in every programme. For instance, an attempt is made to involve at least one woman in each radio discussion. And many of the issues they take up, such as, dowry, child marriage, literacy, reproductive health, etc, have a distinct gender dimension.

Local Appeal of the Programme

When asked what makes them listen to 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' regularly, many people felt that it is the local content of the programme and the language in which it is broadcast that attracts them. Prakash Narayan, one of the community radio reporters, asserted that Chala Ho was very different ('sab se bhinn') from other radio programmes because the people's language used promotes active listenership ('apni bhasha apni ore kheenchti hai'). Except for the news, which is in Hindi, the rest of the programme uses a mixture of Bhojpuri and Magadhi, the lingua franca of the region. Moturam, a 60-year old adivasi from Rajhara village, compared mainstream radio to 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein': "There is a big difference between programmes broadcast from Patna and Delhi and 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein'. Those programmes are in 'pure' ('khari') Hindi, while Chala Ho uses the language of the village, understood even by every child in the village."

The language of broadcast in Chala Ho clearly evokes a sense of pride in local culture and identity. Surender Kumar, an 18-year old resident of village Harsangra who studied till the ninth standard, emphasised the relevance of the language that sets apart the programme. "The Akashvani programmes are all in Hindi. Their language and ours are spoken differently. Chala Ho is in our local ('dehati'), broken ('tooti-phooti') language, so we understand it well. Our people are able to participate in the programme because it is in our language. This brings name to

our village." Rajender Oraon, a tribal youth from Purushottampur, said that the formal language of mainstream media is not understood easily by the non-literate whereas 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' is easily accessible to everyone.

The programme's popularity is to a large extent because of its focus on locally relevant issues. The community reporters of AID travel in and around the villages, carrying back with them reports of local problems and developments, folk songs and folk tales from the region, and record plays on local issues with performers from the villages. When broadcast, these issues strike a chord in the listener, not only invoking instant recognition of familiar names and places, but also forging a solidarity among those placed in a similar socio-economic situation. Prakash Narayan, one of the community reporters, says it is his responsibility to highlight people's problems at the village level and help give a voice to the marginalised. The programme, he adds, is also aimed at giving opportunities for suppressed artistic talent ('dabe hue kalakar') in the villages.

Keshav Ram, a 25-year old literate man from village Mahe in Panki block, pointed out the importance of local production: "One major difference between Chala Ho and other programmes on radio is that one can never tell whether the other programmes are getting made in the city or the village, whereas Chala Ho is our own, local programme. They go from village to village recording news of the village."

A young social worker, Rabinder Kumar from village Cheri thinks that the familiarity of the participants in the programme serves as a source of encouragement to others. "When people you know perform on radio, we also feel encouraged to participate in the programmes. We develop an interest because we relate to them better".

Fourteen-year old school student, Akanksha Rani of Nawadih village was most enthusiastic about Chala Ho and insisted that the programme would motivate people to work for the village. "When people listen to the programme about the problems of the village, they are inspired to do something for the development of the village. People could then sit together and come up with a plan to tackle the problem. Gradually, our problems could be solved in this fashion."

Forging Solidarities: the Intangible Benefits

We asked why people would want to listen to the programme even when their own village and its problems do not figure prominently. While people were eager to have the problems of their village being represented in the programme, they offered a much broader understanding of the functions of a radio programme such as 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein'.

The following exchange among members of the focus group at Mahe-Dema reveals their hope that the programme can help forge some kind of solidarity among the marginalised sections.

Keshav Ram: Even if there is no benefit to our village, other villages in the neighbourhood are gaining something from the programme. At least it is the poor somewhere who are getting benefit.

Loki Mahato: When we hear on the radio that another village's problems have been solved, we will also make an effort to do something about our own situation.

Tilak Singh: We hope that when someone else could develop, so will we. We feel happy that some development is taking place somewhere.

In order to assess what people are deriving from the programme, beyond the tangible benefits, we asked all the focus groups, "How

would you feel if this programme is stopped from next week? What difference does it make to your lives?" Apart from those who reacted with utter disbelief at the suggestion, responses ranged from the more philosophical to those who felt it would stop all development in the area. Shashikant Mahato, a 22-year old visually impaired man in village Pipra, thought that the programme promoted an atmosphere of debate and discussion on important issues, such as illiteracy and child marriage. In his words, the programme has 'brought light to those who have been living in darkness' ('andhkar mein jo log rahte hain, unko prakash milta hai').

Fifty six-year old Jogeshwar Singh, a small farmer in village Dema, retorted angrily to our hypothetical question: "Close down the programme, no problem. If the programme is coming today, we listen. If that were to be stopped, we would not even come to know what's happening outside."

Radhakrishna Oraon, a 25-year old teacher in AID's non-formal school from Purushottampur, predicted dire consequences if the programme were to be stopped. "It will certainly make a lot of difference. Word does not reach from one village to the other. Society will remain just the same – poverty and unemployment. We eagerly wait for the programme every week. We like it. If you stop broadcasting this programme, our villages will become weaker. People gain some experience from listening to the programme there is some influence."

Sixty-year old Loki Mahato of Mahe was confident that the programme has had a positive effect on the lives of the people: "When all of Jharkhand listens to us, including the minister and the MLA, everyone will come to know that the people of our village are now awakened. Through radio, we started understanding each other's problems better and we started tackling them together. We got new strength."

An educated young man, Ajay Kumar in village Cheri called Chala Ho 'a tonic' for the people in the region. Prakash Narayan, one of the community reporters for the programme, suggested that a significant gain from Chala Ho is the coming out of women from their homes to participate in public life. This view finds its echo in the opinion expressed by 21-year old Sanjukta Devi, who is an active member of a self-help group in village Cheri. "We women were earlier very inhibited. When the men used to sit outside for discussions, we used to sit inside. Today, after this programme, we feel we too have a voice and are confident to come out of the house to even take part in processions".

Addressing Social Problems: Tangible Benefits

While many villagers claimed tangible benefits from listening to the programme, such benefits were not only unverifiable, but it may also be unrealistic to expect such concrete results in just one year of the programme. Many of the people we met during focus group discussions, with the exception of the elderly and some women, identified the major issues on which the programme is made, viz, alcoholism, dowry problem, superstition, bribery, literacy, and child marriage.

Several people claimed, for instance, that consumption of alcohol in the villages has come down after the programme started. Loki Mahato of village Mahe asserted that Chala Ho is gradually having an influence on several critical problems of the area, including the drinking problem, which has been a major issue in rural life, economic and social. "The programme had a lot of impact here. Many people here who used to drink three to five bottles of liquor now run away even from its smell."

Suresh Kumar of AID spoke of a dramatic intervention made by the organisation in which several people were invited to record a song against alcoholism. The song involved people swearing on their mothers that they would give up drinking liquor. He said the organisation tried to take advantage of this public pledge and urged those people to stand by it.

The tradition of 'tilak'/'dahej' (dowry) is quite deeply rooted in the culture of the region and it is unrealistic to expect that the programme would make a dent in that so soon. However, it is apparent that the programme has managed to put the issue firmly on the agenda and that people are at least discussing the problem. Thirty-year old Kamoda Devi, the only literate woman in the focus group we assembled in Bhalmanda village, hoped that the programme would make a difference. "If I take dowry for my son now, I will realise the problem later when my son has a daughter and he has to give dowry. So it is important to stop this practice. If this can be done through the programme, it will be good for society."

The adolescent girls at Nawadih village also condemned the practice as a blot on society and hoped that the radio programme can address the issue. At village Cheri, 19-year old Chintamani said confidently that specific episodes of Chala Ho on the dowry problem are already beginning to make a difference in the thinking of women about the need for collective action. "Prior to the radio programme, we girls were never even allowed to go outside the home, leave alone participating in meetings. After this programme started, we got together and formed a young women's group. Now we all sing together, attend meetings, and discuss issues. A lot of change has come in our attitudes."

Surendra Thakur, one of the community reporters, offered an example of a specific outcome of Chala Ho in the area of gender equity "Before this radio programme started, people used to send only their sons to school and make their daughters work at home. However, after this programme started talking about treating sons and daughters equally, many parents came forward and, with our help, enrolled their daughters in school. The teachers, who expected to be paid for such things, did not demand any money because of our presence."

The pathetic condition of government-run primary schools and of delinquent teachers was discussed repeatedly in various focus group discussions. Rajmani Yadav, another community reporter, narrated this episode where the threat of doing a radio programme helped solve a problem in the school. This incident is also illustrative of the perceived power of the medium. "One of our school masters used to siphon off the grain meant for the children's mid-day meals. When many people in the village complained about this, we made a surprise visit to the school. We raised this issue with him and told him that there are other complaints as well regarding lack of books and benches for students to sit. We told him that we have recorded all these things and will broadcast it on radio. He pleaded with us not to do it. We put him on alert and agreed not to go on air for now."

According to some participants in our focus group discussions, Chala Ho has also addressed the issue of superstitious interventions against illnesses and brought about some changes in health practices. Ajay Kumar, a 21-year old postgraduate in history at Cheri village, pointed this out clearly:

"In the old days people used to bank on faith healers to invoke spirits, even for such diseases as malaria, and never got the patient any medical treatment. Now after listening to radio dramas on the subject, more people are beginning to take patients to the hospital instead".

While most of these examples of specific outcomes from the programme were related to AID's chosen focus areas, residents of several villages told us that there are other basic problems on which episodes of 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' should be made. Some of the issues they cited as more basic and on which they would like to see more programmes include: roads, water, electricity, land, employment, hunger, poverty, and drought. The programme does touch upon some of these problems occasionally, but it seems like, given the political disquiet generated by Maoist groups in the region, AID is compelled to stay away from contentious issues such as land re-distribution.⁶ In the focus group at Mahe-Dema, an interesting suggestion was made to broadcast prices for their produce in the local markets. The idea was, as one participant put it, one could listen to the rates on the Sunday evening programme and take one's produce to the Monday market.⁷ Ramcharitrasa, a 55-year old backward class resident of the same village, drew attention to the need for discussing the problem of middlemen. "We would like to discuss on radio the problem of middlemen. We never even get to hear about the funds for new facilities that come to the village. The middlemen gobble up all this and the work is also not done properly."

The fact that many of the people we met during our focus group discussions even came up with an inventory of additional issues on which radio programmes should be made, shows that people have tremendous faith in the medium to solve their problems. If they could come together as a collective, deliberate on their problems and, then, make programmes on these issues, that would make the radio stronger and more effective. Many felt that concrete benefits would flow from the programme if it were heard by authority figures such as the block development officer, the MLA, or a minister. They saw the programme as an important tool to reach out to the outside world.

Degree of Participation in the Process

Awareness among the listeners about the process involved in implementing AID's community radio project is varied. While most of the listeners seem to be knowledgeable about the fact that the programme is made by recording dramas, discussions, etc, right in their villages (rather than in distant studios), this knowledge seems to vary according to the degree to which the reporters are active in their assigned villages. If the reporters frequent their assigned villages, people develop a sense of familiarity with him or her and tend to come forward with programme ideas and suggestions. Most of the reporters selected by AID work quite hard to cover about three to four villages each, motivating people to participate in programme production, developing story ideas and scripts and recording, and get paid a meagre amount of Rs 400 a month. Many of these villages are not well connected by roads and public transport. As a result, although there may not be too many villages for each reporter, the distance between them and the difficult terrain make it a tough job, especially for the women reporters.

Very few of those who participated in our focus group discussions displayed any awareness of the post-production process, which takes place in Ranchi at the premises of Manthan. Some thought the recorded tapes are sent to Delhi or Patna for broadcast, while a handful of literate youth said that they knew the programme is 'cut' suitably and broadcast from Daltonganj. Except for a couple of people, who had gone to the radio station to participate

in some recording of folk songs, none of them has ever been to the AIR station at Daltonganj. There is still a fair amount of awe about the medium and we did not get the impression that the project was doing much to demystify the technology to its audiences.

If the overall process involved in a participatory media project such as 'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' could be divided into three phases, viz, definition of problems, production and post-production, the coordinators of the project themselves admit that none of the phases are yet marked by full participation of the people. It is evident that the focal areas for the broadcast were not identified through any specific participatory need assessment. AID's own programmatic agenda, mentioned earlier in this report and the experiences of field workers seemed to have generated the priority issues for the radio programme. With the content parameters already set by the programme, the community members do, from time to time, offer new suggestions directly to their respective reporter or through letters to the programme. People are actively encouraged to submit scripts, songs, or drama plots, etc., and participate in issue-based discussions or perform in cultural items. However, as already discussed above, there has been a mixed response to this invitation, with women and the non-literate still quite reluctant. As individuals with their own cultural talents for singing and other performances, the reporters end up taking a lead role in producing many of these programmes.

The programme has a long way to go before people can identify with it as a radio of their own and feel confident to use the medium for self-expression and empowerment. The language of broadcast, the issues discussed and the production process certainly help in forging a closer relationship with this programme as against mainstream media. But a higher level of participation in different phases of the project, in true spirit of community radio, is not yet visible. It is perhaps not feasible to even expect to see a fully participatory community radio project in such a short time. Participation is indeed a gradual process and several facilitating factors, such as literacy, fulfilment of basic needs, and gender equity, need to be addressed.

Conclusion

'Chala Ho Gaon Mein' is indeed a unique experiment in using media technologies, especially radio, for development and empowerment of marginalised, rural communities. Designed as a community-driven project, it takes on a special significance in an economically deprived area, marked by illiteracy and the relatively indifferent attitude of the state as well as the mainstream media towards the problems of the region. Within a short time, the programme has generated a great deal of enthusiasm among the people. Listeners not only feel that the programme is geographically and culturally more intimate to their lives, but also gradually, a sense of attachment to the programme is beginning to build up. Suppressed local artistic talents have come to the fore, women caught up within feudal social structures are beginning, albeit very slowly, to find a voice of their own, and there is a sense of optimism that the radio programme would help solve many of the intractable problems of the people.

However, after having studied the structure of the programme carefully and having interacted with audiences, community reporters, programme managers and project coordinators, we offer the following recommendations and suggestions in the spirit of making the programme more participatory and to strengthen the hands of those involved in programme production.

(1) Although there is some kind of culture of radio listening, the number of radio sets capable of receiving the FM signal is still too low. While it might be unviable to distribute radio sets, efforts could be made to increase the number of listeners. This could be done by strategically placing a few community radio sets, which by promoting group listening followed by deliberations on the issues raised, could build more meaningful democratic spaces within the villages.

(2) In a community radio project of this nature, it is suggested that structure should not supersede process. The rigid structure of the fixed format, the painstaking rehearsals, the over-emphasis on quality, the relative lack of freedom for reporters, professional orchestral accompaniments, etc, should not result in robbing community radio of its flexibility and render it completely professional.

(3) As the current practice is only to make a digital master on a CD, it makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to use episodes of the programme in non-broadcast listening. We, therefore, suggest that copies of the episodes must be made in audio-cassettes for narrowcasting and repeat listening in places such as schools, panchayats, and other village-level collectives, especially of women.

(4) Audio tapes could also be used as audio documents to enhance interaction between block-level officials and villagers, who otherwise feel that government officials rarely visit them or pay attention to their problems.

(5) Conscious attempts should be made to provide a more relaxed and comfortable listening environment for women, perhaps through self-help groups (SHGs) or other such collectives at the village level. Audio tapes could be played at their regular meetings. This would facilitate more attentive listening and promote discussion among women.

(6) Community participation should be enhanced in identification and definition of issues as well as in programme planning and production. Participatory need assessments should be taken up periodically.

(7) In terms of programme content, greater attention should be paid to the problems of the elderly (loneliness caused by migration of children, financial insecurity, etc). It is important also to acknowledge the knowledge and contributions of the senior members of the community to village life. Increasing the value and prestige of the elderly would help generate enthusiasm for the programme and reduce their current alienation from the broadcast.

(8) The degree of alienation from the programme is at its most glaring with respect to the post-production work, which is currently done in distant Ranchi. Many of the reporters themselves have not been involved in the post-production process. This number should be gradually increased, as being cut off from the end phase also has an effect on their performance and quality of output at the field recording stage. Further, we suggest that establishing the digital editing facility closer home, either in Lesliganj or Daltonganj would help bridge this gap.

(9) In order to build a sense of identification and ownership among members of the community, we suggest that community visits be periodically arranged to the post-production centre, the radio station and the AID office.

(10) Conscious efforts should be made by all the community reporters to involve as many villages as possible in programme production as it has been observed that those villages, which have contributed to programme content also tend to be more committed audiences.

(11) Minimum wages should be paid to those who take time off

from their work to participate in programmes. In a situation where their talents have been vastly undervalued, this nominal compensation would also serve as recognition of indigenous talent.

(12) Considering that the community radio reporters undertake a range of work of such critical importance for the project, measures should be taken to strengthen their capacities. The possibility of raising the remuneration, providing transport (at least bicycles for women reporters), and increasing the number of recorders should be given attention. Finally, without seriously disrupting the existing social hierarchies in the villages, AID could explore the possibility of issuing identity cards for reporters to enhance their credibility and accord some prestige to the work they are doing. These cards could also serve as some kind of security in an otherwise politically insecure environment. [EWT]

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Notes

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- 1 For a detailed analysis of the history of state policy in broadcasting in India, see Kanchan Kumar's article in this section of *EPW*.
- 2 The recent announcement by the ministry of information and broadcasting of a policy for issuing of licences to community radio turned out to be a false alarm. The MIB guidelines clearly limit the policy to established educational institutions and do not permit non-governmental organisations to enter the field.
- 3 For details about the 'Namda Dhvani' programme, see Ashish Sen's article in this section of *EPW*.
- 4 The first radio programme by KMVS called 'Kunjai Paanje Kutch Ji' (Sarua Crane of Our Kutch) won it the prestigious Chameli Devi Jain award. Its second phase was a programme called 'Tu Jiriyo Ain' ('Tu Zinda Hai' in Hindi), which was broadcast for a brief while to address issues of relief and rehabilitation after the devastating earthquake in 2001.
- 5 I owe much of my understanding of the history and evolution of AID to interviews and discussions with Ramraj and Suresh Kumar of the organisation's Jharkhand branch.
- 6 An argument between a poor dalit resident of Goradih Khas village and an AID worker revealed how radical demands for land reform place reformist NGOs in a dilemma.
- 7 The feasibility of this suggestion, however, needs to be examined as the production schedule currently involves planning and producing at least four episodes at a time.

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