

Yearbook 2009

YOUTH ENGAGING WITH THE WORLD

MEDIA, COMMUNICATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

EDITORS: THOMAS TUFTÉ
& FLORENCIA ENGHÉL

The International Clearinghouse
on Children, Youth and Media

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Participatory Communication Processes as Infusions of Innovation

The Case of 'Scenarios from Africa'¹

Karen Greiner

Abstract

Based on field research conducted in Senegal, this chapter describes how 'Scenarios from Africa', an HIV/AIDS communication process has generated extensive youth engagement – 105,000 participants in 10 years – and has expanded the role of young people from recipient or target of informational campaigns to agents and creators of health communication content. I examine how the Scenarios from Africa script writing contest serves as a mechanism for catalyzing and channeling the ideas of creative young people, resulting in a culturally situated "infusion" of innovative ideas. My analysis stems from field notes, transcripts of interviews with contest participants, the "Scenarios from Africa" founders, Senegalese contest organizers, and a thorough review of actual and archival "Scenarios from Africa" written and audio-visual materials. The aim of this chapter is to contribute to our understanding of how participatory communication processes can generate engaging health communication content by tapping into the innovative ideas of young people.

The task of an organizer is to set up structures so people can participate.

(Mike Prokash, United for a Fair Economy)²

Walking through the halls of Gaële Nannon Diral, a community center in the outskirts of Dakar, one can see a variety of HIV/AIDS prevention messages targeting young people – the community center's main draw. One framed poster sponsored by the Senegalese Minister of Health reads: "Being faithful: a measure of security." Another poster, sponsored by the U.S. Agency for International Development, shows a young man joggling by a scantily clad woman, who is beckoning him to approach. "Abstaining until marriage: It's my way to say no to ISTs, HIV and AIDS", the text reads. Arriving at the end of one hallway one then comes across

an unframed Scenarios from Africa poster. The poster features the names of the winners of the 2005 Scenarios from Africa script writing contest. The names of several local teenagers have been highlighted: these are the 2005 grand prize winners who prepared their entries with the help of Gaële Nannon Diral staff. On the bottom of the Scenarios poster, in large block letters, are the words: "Congratulations to the winners!" The contrast between the posters produced by government agencies (whether Senegalese or U.S.) and Scenarios from Africa reflects a difference in how communication about HIV/AIDS is approached by each entity. The government produced posters are message driven, feldly and marriage are the chosen themes and young people are the target. The sponsors of the posters are well marked, and yet it remains unclear how the content and design of the messages were developed or chosen. The Scenarios from Africa poster lists the names of young people who submitted prize-winning original scripts about HIV/AIDS and provides a website address to view the films created from the scripts. From the Scenarios poster we gather that films about HIV/AIDS have been produced using as content the ideas submitted by young Africans across the continent. Here young people are *producers* of content, and the young participants, and the result of their talent, are the focus of the poster.

The centerpiece of the Scenarios from Africa approach to communication is the contest, a popular mechanism for inviting young people to be innovators and agents of change in their own communities. In *What Pragmatism Means*,



Aida Sene, Fatmata Ba, Aminata Ba, Kadi Diaw, Maguette Lo and Oulmata Sy, Scenarios Contestants and 2005 TV5 Grand Prize Winners at the Gaële Nannon Diral community center in Yeumbeul (outskirts of Dakar).
Photo: Karen Greiner

William James suggests that "there can be no difference anywhere that doesn't make a difference elsewhere" (379). In this essay, I argue that the "Scenarios from Africa approach" to HIV/AIDS communication, and in particular the use of the contest mechanism, is different in several important ways from traditional "message driven", diffusion/dissemination approaches that promote behavior change at the individual level. However, rather than presenting a binary, "either/or" argument, I hope to illustrate how the Scenarios from Africa approach to communication can supplement what I am calling traditional, message driven approaches to HIV/AIDS prevention. With 22 million people living with HIV in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS, 2007), it is clear that carefully crafted messages are still necessary to help raise awareness about modes of HIV transmission and means of prevention. Yet in addition to developing informational messages of prevention, it is important that "target populations" also have opportunities to participate in meaningful ways in interventions developed for their benefit. The Scenarios from Africa approach to HIV/AIDS communication goes beyond "messaging" by inviting extensive participation in the creation and dissemination of culturally appropriate content about HIV/AIDS. The Scenarios from Africa approach, I contend, offers a model (rather than a recipe), of how to create mechanisms for young people to become active producers, rather than mere beneficiaries, of HIV/AIDS communication interventions. By creating a structure people can participate in, the Scenarios from Africa process offers a community based activity in which the "community" shifts from setting/target to agent/resource (McCleroy et al. 2003: 529).

Theoretically, I position the highly participatory and invitational³ nature of the Scenarios from Africa approach as an inversion of the classic "diffusion of innovations" model developed by Everett Rogers, and many other scholars⁴ (See Rogers 2003; Coleman et al. 1966; Deuschmann & Danielson 1960; Deuschmann & Fals Borda 1962; Katz 1961, 1962, 1999; Valente 1995). This theoretical perspective will be developed in conversation with the narratives of several Scenarios contestants, many of whom have gone on to participate in other aspects of the Scenarios process. Based on the quantity and quality of youth participation in the Scenarios process, I am calling the Scenarios process a mechanism for eliciting and channeling an "infusion of innovation" from young people.

In the sections that follow, I provide background on the history and people behind Scenarios from Africa and elaborate on what I am calling the Scenarios from Africa approach to HIV/AIDS communication. Further, I clarify my use of key terms like "participation" and "infusions of innovation" while theorizing how the Scenarios approach differs from other communication interventions, and – to paraphrase Gregory Bateson – in what ways these are "differences which make a difference" (318).

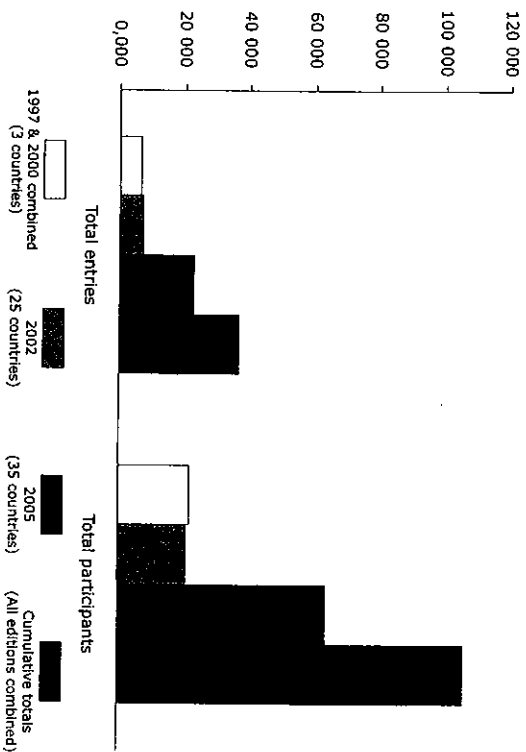
My analysis is based on archival research, interviews with the founders of Scenarios, and five weeks of field work in Senegal during which I engaged in direct observation and conducted interviews with more than two dozen individuals involved with the Scenarios process, including several contest participants.

Background on Scenarios from Africa

Scenarios from Africa is a communication process⁵ that involves a contest for African youth under the age of 25 who are invited to submit scripts about issues of HIV/AIDS based on their understanding of the epidemic in their own communities. Contestant scripts are evaluated by national and international juries comprised of a wide variety of individuals including people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA), HIV/AIDS specialists, educators, former contest winners, and representatives from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working primarily, but not exclusively, in HIV/AIDS prevention, testing and stigma reduction⁶. Contest winners' original ideas are turned into short films by renowned African directors and after being dubbed into several African languages⁷, are distributed free of charge to broadcasters, government health agencies, educational institutions and non-governmental organizations across the continent. To date, there have been five completed "editions" of the Scenarios contest held in Africa (1997, 2000, 2002 & 2005). Now held in 35 African countries,⁸ the contest has grown steadily since its inception in 1997, reaching more than 105,000 young people by then end of the fourth edition in 2005.

Since 1997, 31 Scenarios films, varying in length from 2 to 15 minutes, have been produced based on winning contest ideas (Global Dialogues 2007: 3). As of February, 2008, 90,000 copies of the films have been distributed VHS cassettes, CD-Roms, or DVDs to community based organization and government agencies

Figure 1. Youth participation in Scenarios Contests, 1997-2005



Source: Global Dialogues, SFA 2005 final report.

in Africa as well as to the European headquarters of corporations with offices in Africa.⁹ The most recent final report issued by Global Dialogues confirms that Scenarios films have been broadcast on 100 television stations in 35 countries of sub-Saharan Africa, as well as on local stations serving immigrant African populations in Europe and the United States. (Global Dialogues 2007: 3).

The entire Scenarios from Africa process (contest, jury, film production and distribution) is implemented by hundreds of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community based organizations (CBOs) across sub-Saharan Africa. The process is co-ordinated by Global Dialogues, a British charitable organization founded by Kate Winskell and Daniel Enger in 1996, and was first inspired by "3000 scenarios against a virus",¹⁰ a scriptwriting contest held in France in 1992 (Winskell & Enger 2007: 6). Global Dialogues has been responsible for securing the financing which supports the bulk of the activities implemented "in the field" by local organizations (dissemination and collection of contest materials, organization of writing mentorship programs, etc.). Scenarios from Africa has been supported financially since 1997 by a variety of organizations¹¹, the most long-standing and consistent contributors including: Comic Relief (UK), the UK Department for International Development, the UK National Lottery's Charity Board, the Pfizer Foundation, and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) (Winskell & Enger 2007: 6). The Scenarios process also includes a research component: the National Institutes of Health is currently¹² funding a systematic analysis of a sample of the 22,000 stories submitted during the 2005 contest cycle with the aim of gaining insight into young people's representations of HIV/AIDS and to compare the representations of young people from different African countries with contrasting epidemiological profiles (CRISP database 2008)¹³.

In their comprehensive article on Scenarios from Africa, Scenarios founders Kate Winskell and Daniel Enger describe Scenarios process as being comprised of "three basic steps": 1) the contest, 2) selection and analysis of the scripts, and 3) production and distribution of the films created from the winning script ideas (2005: 3). The conceptual model of the Scenarios process offered by Winskell and Enger lists two primary goals: reduced transmission of HIV and reduced stigma for people living with HIV/AIDS (2005: 4). These primary goals notwithstanding, Winskell and Enger describe the Scenarios process as one with several additional intended outcomes, including increasing dialogue and reflection (2005: 4) and putting young people "in a position such that society in general becomes the beneficiary of their knowledge, creativity, and energy" (Winskell & Enger 2005: 12). In her article on participatory communication, Cecilia Peruzzo notes that one of the most important yet oft overlooked means for fostering community involvement is as simple as the creation of multiple avenues and channels (1996: 175). What Scenarios from Africa has done since 1997, via the contest mechanism, has been centered around the creation of channels to elicit youth participation in the HIV/AIDS communication process.

The Scenarios contest, they write: "is designed to help break the silence around HIV and to generate dialogue and debate between young people themselves,

as well as between young people and a range of other interlocutors in their communities" (Global Dialogues 2005c: 2). Scenarios co-founder Daniel Enger offered this comment on the intentions of Scenarios organizers:

Some people argue that the contest should be seized as an opportunity to teach young people key information of the day. I increasingly realize that the contest is ideally a moment for young people to explore, learn and express themselves on their own terms, and for the massive and diverse Scenarios contest team to listen to the young participants and to learn from them. The focus is on learning, not teaching – a mindset that might not come naturally to many who occupy leadership positions in education, health, the media and government.¹⁴

The Scenarios founders describe dialogue as "guiding philosophical principle, a *modus operandi*, and a primary outcome" of their activities (Winskell & Enger 2005: 7). A post-contest survey conducted in 2005 with more than 300 contest participants in three countries¹⁵ reflected that:

- 82.32% of survey participants had spoken about HIV/AIDS with others while creating their contest entries;
- Those who had discussed HIV/AIDS with others during the contest had spoken on average with 5.86 different people about the epidemic;
- 61.09% of all survey participants said they had discussed HIV/AIDS with a certain person(s) for the first time in their lives as they prepared their entries;
- 52.06% of the survey participants said that, while creating their contest entries, they sought information at a local HIV/AIDS resource center; and
- 82.59% of respondents reported having read documents on HIV/AIDS to learn more about the epidemic as they prepared their contest entries. (Global Dialogues 2005a: 9-10, 2005c: 2).

This essay draws seeks to give texture to these statistics by calling upon the voices of contest participants in Senegal, a country with 10 years of experience hosting Scenarios contests. The reflections of participants of several editions of the contest in Senegal will help illustrate their involvement with the Scenarios process, which will provide insight on the myriad ways in which the Scenarios approach creates opportunities for participation and dialogue for and among young people.

In this next section, I provide a glimpse of what forms "participation" in the Scenarios process can take. I refrain from major commentary on the narratives, preferring to leave them intact by withholding analysis until the end of the last interview.

Participant voices

The first contest participant⁶ I interviewed was Diarra Diakhate, who was 17 and a junior in high school when he entered the first edition of the Scenarios from Africa Contest (then called Scenarios from the Sahel) in 1997. His entry was chosen by an international jury as one of 13 to be turned into films by renowned African Directors. His ideas were used as the basis for the film "Just Once"⁷ (Pour Une Fois), directed by Idrissa Ouédraogo.

I got the entry form at ACI (African Consultants International, a non-governmental organization in Dakar). Actually, I got two entry forms, because I had many ideas. Like many people my age, I thought: It's a contest, so of course I want to participate. But I didn't think about winning – I just wanted to participate and I wanted to submit comic strips as my entry. I drew a story about a man whose wife has HIV, and the man wants to have sex with his wife, but he doesn't have condoms and he says "I don't care", he still wants to have sex – but the woman insists that he needs to wear a condom so he won't get HIV. But the husband can't find condoms anywhere – everywhere is sold out. When he finally gets back to his house he realizes that all along the wife had condoms but she wanted to see if he was determined enough to do what was necessary to get the condom – and of course, he is upset that all along she had a condom but in the end they wind up in bed together.

I asked Diarra why he decided to draw a story about an HIV positive woman with an HIV negative husband. He replied:

At the time I was writing the script – there was still very little information available about this topic – everyone was talking about prevention – how to avoid transmission – I wanted to go a little farther and talk about people who are already living with HIV – to talk about issues affecting this group of people.

Diarra now works in the document center at Africa Consultants International. His duties include the dissemination of educational materials, including Scenarios Films, to other NGOs and government agencies throughout Senegal. According to Diarra, the Scenarios Films are frequently requested. "Since the films are free, they are very easy to distribute – I often slip them in with other materials that people ask for. But the fact that they are free might also mean that people don't take care of them as they would if they had paid for them."

When I asked him what final comments he had about his participation in the Scenarios process, Diarra said that what he most enjoyed about participating was "the spirit of competition and a sense of curiosity it inspires." With a sly smile, he added: "But I would like to see the age limit increased so that 'old guys' like me could still compete." Although he can no longer win prizes, Diarra accepted the invitation of the Scenarios team in Senegal to continue participating in the contest as a jury member.

The grand prize winners⁸ of the 2005 Scenarios from Africa contest was a team of 16 young people from Yembeul, on the outskirts of Dakar. At the time of their contest participation, several of the team members were working as outreach workers at health center in the Gallee Nanon Diral community center. In December 2008, I interviewed six of the sixteen team members, who jointly related the process of their participation in the contest:

The Scenarios coordinator Gabriel Diouf called the center (Gallee Nanon Diral) and told us that a contest was starting. We went to meet him to get the contest entry forms and information about the contest. We decided to meet every Saturday for one hour to share information and work on our script. When we would then go home, and we would all think some more and then when we would get together we would share more ideas. Seinabou Diop, the supervisor of the health program (at Gallee), was very supportive in helping us and providing information. For our contest entry, we didn't just submit a script; we also submitted a poem and some songs.

In our story, we talk about a small business owner, who instead of worrying about making money, really cares about the well-being of his employees. One of his employees gets diagnosed with HIV and he hears her crying, so he comes to ask her what's wrong – and he comes and sees her crying, and he sees that she is holding a paper that has a positive test for HIV... and the boss consoles her and tells the woman that he wants her to take some time off and he tells her he will support her. The thing to retain from our story is that it is important to help people who are living with the virus and that even if people have HIV they can still work. In our story we are trying to talk about the discrimination and stigmatization of people living with HIV. A lot of our ideas for the script came from things we would hear in the news, and also things we hear about AIDS in the neighborhood.

When I asked for any final comments about the contest, one young woman responded: "In the neighborhood we also hear people say that AIDS doesn't exist. If we had to write another script we should probably talk about the importance of testing."

Three years after winning the contest, many of the original team members are still doing outreach work at the Gallee Nanon Diral health center, including the six young women I interviewed. The women lead twice-weekly "conversation clubs" about HIV/AIDS and sexual/reproductive health with groups of teenagers aged 13-16.

I met another contest participant, Lamine Sagna, one sunny afternoon in mid-December at the Alliance Française in Dakar. I was introduced to Lamine by Gabriel Diouf, the national coordinator of Scenarios in Senegal. Lamine described his participation in the two contests, which began in 2000:

I first participated in the contest when it was still called "Scenarios from the Sahel." One of the friends of my older brothers came to talk to me about participating in the contest. He was volunteering with an HIV outreach organization, and he knew

that I love literature, and that I love writing, and so he told me about the contest. I already had some stories I was working with before hearing about the contest. For that entry I adapted what I was writing to talk about HIV. I wrote about a young football (soccer) player who contracts HIV and loses his career. I tried to portray the cruel character of the epidemic at that time. After the contest, I started volunteering at the organization with my brother's friend. During the sessions we held for other young people I got a lot of ideas for other stories. In 2003 I entered the contest again and wrote a love story, about a businessman who falls in love with a girl who is HIV positive. She is afraid to tell him at first but then she finally does and they eventually get married and adopt a baby. The second time I entered the contest it was a lot easier because I had a much more information because of my volunteer work.

At the end of the interview I asked Lamine what comments or suggestions he had regarding the Scenarios process. His response came quickly: "I think all of the contestant's scripts should be published." There are a lot of scripts that can't be made into films", he said, "but that doesn't mean that they aren't all good stories."

When I left Lamine, Gabriel Diouf was just pulling up a chair to his table. "I'm going to ask Lamine to help us organize this year's contest", he announced. I later learned that Lamine had agreed. For his continued participation, this time as team member, he would be receiving a small budget for materials and transportation.

Another look at participation

Direct participation has been heralded as a necessary correction to models of development and communication that view change and innovation as always emanating from the core (or the global North) out to a periphery (or global South). Rural sociologist Robert Chambers has dedicated his professional career to promoting increased participation of local communities in development efforts. In his book *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last*, Chambers describes the objective of development as "well being for all" and argues that a key component in achieving well being is participation (9). Sustainable development approaches, he writes, should include: "facilitating participation, with approaches which are bottom up with processes of learning, rather than top-down with blue prints" (11).

Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's designation for the "top-down" approach in his field was the term "the banking method" of instruction. The banking method limits the role of the "recipient" to that of a passive storage receptacle while the teacher's task is to "fill" the students with the contents of his narration" (1993: 71). Participatory approaches attempt to reverse the top-down, core-periphery flow of information and innovation. And yet, as many have acknowledged, not all forms of participation are necessarily liberating. Take, for example, the com-

mon practice in business of inviting employees to a meeting at which management presents new ideas and asks for employee "participation", which invariably takes the form of rubber-stamping what has already been decided upon. In other words, power dynamics in the workplace, as in international development, often do not allow for genuine participation.

Chambers concedes that the popularity of participatory approaches have created a "fad", which has led to occasions when participation is "co-opted and contorted" by donors who in some cases "demand" an inclusive approach. Uma Kothari, a contributor to the book *Participation: The New Tyranny?*, echoes Chambers warning by suggesting that participatory approaches in international development settings are often used as a means of control. She writes:

Those people who have the greatest reason to challenge and confront power relations and structures are brought, or even bought, through the promise of development assistance, into the development process in ways that disempower them to change the prevailing hierarchies and inequalities in society... (2001: 143).

For Kothari, participation can become a form of "inclusionary control" which only serves to induce conformity (2001: 143).

The young people I interviewed were (and are) eagerly and voluntarily involved in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Their engagement exceeds, and in some cases, precedes, their direct participation as contestants in Scenarios from Africa. The invitational nature of the Scenarios process made it possible – and attractive – for these motivated youngsters to put their creative talents to use in the creation of culturally appropriate and youth-friendly HIV/AIDS communication content. The contest mechanism is not used to convoke or persuade young people to participate: it merely creates the *potential* for participation. The success or failure of the contest (and the subsequent films) begins with Scenarios' young participants. The porous nature of the Scenarios process allows for participation to continue beyond the life cycle of one contest. I use to term "porous" to convey the idea of a process with multiple and continuous entry points and opportunities for involvement.

Interviews with the Scenarios founders and a review of their annual reports reveal that Diarra, Lamine and the team from Gallee Naron Dirol are not the only contest participants who have made "multiple entries" into the Scenarios process. Ten years after submitting a script for the 1997 contest, participant Olga Quédraogo took the initiative to create audio versions of several stories which were previously only available in visual formats.¹⁹ A 2002 contest participant, Sandra Nsamibi Nzali of the Democratic Republic of Congo, helped disseminate information about the Scenarios contest when she was invited to speak on the radio in Belgium.²⁰ In 2007, the Scenarios team in Burkina Faso received 3 different scenarios from a young man from the Comoro Islands living in Egypt. He told the Scenarios team that he had heard about the contest through Radio

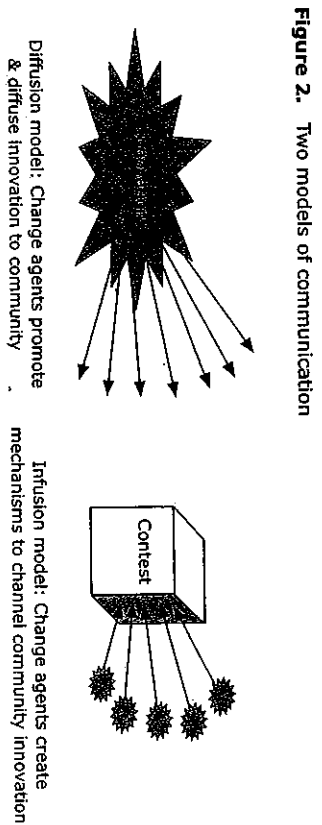
France International (RFI), and that he intended to mobilize his Egyptian friends to take part.²¹ Several people living with HIV/AIDS serving as Scenarios mentors in Burkina Faso bravely volunteered to appear as actors in a Scenarios film about living with HIV.²² The depth and breadth of participation catalyzed by the Scenarios process reflect the variety of interests, skills and talents, which young Africans can put into action when provided an outlet.

Global dialogues co-founder Daniel Enger describes the unanticipated and unplanned benefits of the participants' contributions to the Scenarios process as being a product of trust. For Enger, trust means "having faith in everyday people's capacity to take a process (contest) and a tool (films) and run with them in a direction you might never have thought of – or perhaps even agree with."²³

Two models of communication

Everett Rogers defines the diffusion of innovations as the "process in which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system (2003: 5). Typically, diffusion interventions involve an effort to promote the adoption of an idea, technology or practice, which is perceived as new by the target community. In many cases, those promoting adoption of an innovation are the creators/marketers of the innovation, or government agencies. Examples of diffusion interventions include the Egyptian government's oral rehydration therapy (ORT) campaign aimed at reducing infant mortality from diarrhea-related dehydration (Rogers 2003: 380; see also Abdulla 2003), and the successful promotion by a local community association of solar energy in rural areas of the Dominican Republic (Rogers 2003: 31; see also Lesnick 2000). Generally speaking, diffusion interventions are perceived by the change agents who promote them as attempts to spread the adoption of ideas, technologies or practices which are deemed socially beneficial by the change agents. In some cases, diffusion techniques are employed by corporations attempting to gain a market advantage over competitors, as occurred when the makers of VHS version of the VCR recorder triumphed over its BETA competitor (Rogers 351). The purpose of diffusion campaigns is to persuade targeted groups (citizens, consumers, etc.) to adopt the innovation promoted by change agents.

The Scenarios from Africa approach to communication inverts this process in several ways. The term "infusions of innovation" is used to describe the Scenarios process because 1) the directionality of communication is inverted (coming in instead of going out), and 2) the locus of innovation is inverted (coming in the community rather than the change agent). The contest mechanism invites and channels "infusion", thousands of entries submitted by over 105,000 participants, of creative ideas "innovation". The difference in these two processes, in very simplified form, can be visually depicted in this way:



The innovativeness of the contest participants is most apparent in the films created from their scripts. The storylines reflect the humor, compassion, perceptiveness and ingenuity of the young people who generated the content of the films. Contestants like Diarra, with his comic strip entries and the team from Yembeul, with their poetry and songs, pushed the boundaries of what formats script ideas could take. The term "infusions of innovation" aims to capture both the quantity and quality of youth participation in the Scenarios process. Youth participation ranged from contestant, to juror, to contest organizer, to actor, to audio producer and voice actor. Each of the contest participants I interviewed continued or began HIV/AIDS outreach work after the contest cycle was over. Although the number of participants interviewed is small, their stories provide a textured look at youth participation in the Scenarios process within and beyond the contest cycle. Evaluations of the Scenarios process provide many more testimonies of young people – contestants, mentors and organizers alike – describing their pride and satisfaction at being able to contribute to the fight against HIV/AIDS in their communities (See Gannon 2001, 2003; Global Dialogues 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d; and Hounnou, 2005).

Conclusion

Several representatives of the local organizations who lend their energy and talent to help organize the Scenarios in Senegal stated that one of the most valuable lessons from their experience was how much there was to be learned from young people.²⁴ The Scenarios process provides the opportunity for young people to be innovative and to contribute to their communities in meaningful ways and provides their elders with an opportunity to experience them as such. In her joint article with Daniel Enger, Kate Winskell echoes this observation. She writes:

Without doubt, young people are key beneficiaries of the Scenarios process. However, that process also serves to put young people in a position such that society

in general becomes the beneficiary of their knowledge, creativity, and energy (Winskell & Enger 2005: 12).

The question of assessing the importance and relevance of extensive and varied youth participation returns us to the matter of trust. A willingness to adopt or adapt the Scenarios approach to communication requires trust in the enthusiasm, capacity and creativity of young people. When adult organizers are ready to relinquish strict control of social change interventions and begin creating mechanisms that invite meaningful youth participation, an infusion of innovations just might follow.

Notes

1. I would like to thank Kare Winskell and Daniel Enger of Global Dialogues, Gabriel Diouf of Senegal Senegal and Gary Engelberg and the entire staff of Africa Consultants International for their incredible generosity and support before, during and after my fieldwork in Senegal. I am also indebted to Arvind Singhal for his unflagging support and mentorship.
2. Cited in Boyd, 2002: 252 and personal interview with A. Boyd, August, 2008.
3. My use of the term "invitational" is influenced by the writing of rhetoricians Karen Foss and Cindy Griffin. (See Foss & Griffin 1995).
4. Diffusion of innovations research has a long and rich history. For in-depth bibliographies and summaries of diffusion of innovations research see Häider, M. & Kreps, G. L. (2004); Hornik (2004); and Rogers, Singhal & Quinlan (2008).
5. I use the term "process" rather than project for several reasons: 1) Scenarios founders Kate Winskell and Daniel Enger give preference to this term (See Winskell & Enger, 2005); 2) the effort and participation involved with Scenarios contest implementation, jury sessions, film production and distribution far exceed the scope of a traditional time-bound project; and 3) the Scenarios process is deliberately decentralized in nature, with many collaborators but no central project office or exclusive project staff (beyond the Scenarios founders, who dedicate what available time they have to assist the Scenarios process).
6. Several organizations assisting with the implementation of the contest and/or using the product of the contest (the films) are not directly involved with HIV/AIDS work but rather address the needs of populations that can be affected: street children, sex workers, young people, immigrant laborers, etc.
7. The films are currently in sixteen languages: 1) a "Sahel" version, with Dioula, Hausa, Moore, Pular, Wolof (+ English, French, Portuguese), 2) "West African Coastal" version, with Fon, Igbo, Mina, Twi, Yoruba (+ English, French, Portuguese) and 3) "Great Lakes" version, with Kinyarwanda, Lingala, Swahili (+ English, French, Portuguese, with plans to add two additional East/South African languages). Source: Global Dialogues (2007). Report on the production, dubbing, distribution and use of the Scenarios films, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso: unpublished report.
8. The contest is strongest in 16 "core countries" (up from 8 in 2002): Benin, Kenya, Namibia, Swaziland, Burkina Faso, Madagascar, Niger, Tanzania, Cape Verde, Mali, Nigeria, Togo, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Senegal, Zambia (Global Dialogues, 2005: 6).
9. Personal correspondence with Daniel Enger, February 4, 2008.
10. The contest, originally titled: *3000 Scenarios Contre un Virus*, was sponsored by CRIPS (Centres régionaux d'information et de prévention du sida - CRIPS), Médecins sans Frontières (Doctors without Borders) and AESSA (Association des enseignants du séminaire de l'Hôpital Saint-Antoine). See <http://gateway.nlm.nih.gov/MeetingAbstracts/mef?term=102209193.html>
11. Other donors and sponsors include: United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), UK Department for International Development (DFID), the Futures Group International (Mali), PLAN International

(Senegal), Peace Corps/USAID (USA) and the World Health Organization, Swatch (Switzerland), Rainbow of California (USA), CRIPS, Newcastle Sporting Club (UK), the Edward Thompson Group (UK), PLAN/Burkina Faso, Groupe Accor Air France, DFI International, Radio France Internationale (RFI), TV5Monde and Africa Consultants International (Winskell & Enger, 1999: 12; personal interviews with K. Winskell and D. Enger, Nov., 2007).

12. Project dates: September, 2007-August, 2009.
13. This grant was mentioned in a personal interview with Kare Winskell, November, 2007. See: http://crisp.ctn.nih.gov/crisp/getdoc?dockey=7338270&grant_num=1R03HD054323-01A1&query=&ticker=73726401&audic_session_id=357036922&p.keywords=Personal+correspondence+with+Daniel+Enger, February 22, 2008.
14. Personal correspondence with Daniel Enger, February 22, 2008.
15. Countries where youth were surveyed: Burkina Faso, Senegal and Togo. N=339, average age of the survey respondents = 17.49 years, 52.21% female. Global Dialogues (2005), Scenarios from Africa Final Report, Appendix 9: Post-contest survey of participants: 1-2.
16. Contest winners names were provided to me by Scenarios team members. I was unable to access the names of participants who were not awarded prizes because all scripts had been collected and sent to Atlanta Georgia for narrative analysis.
17. There are 28 films from the first 3 editions of the Scenarios contest are available for online viewing at: <http://www.globaldialogues.org/Films.htm>
18. In each participating country, "national winners" are selected by a local jury and then advance to the international round where a second jury assesses their entry. In 2005 there were 30 international winners. The grand prize is awarded to the most highly rated contest among the international winners.
19. As related in an interview with Global Dialogues co-founder Daniel Enger November 25, 2008.
20. Personal correspondence with Daniel Enger, February 4, 2008.
21. *Ibid.*
22. As related in an interview with Global Dialogues co-founder Daniel Enger November 25, 2008.
23. Personal correspondence with Daniel Enger, February 22, 2008.
24. This comment was made by several interviewees, including Engelberg, Diouf, Konare and Digte, December, 2007.

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Interview Schedule

- Kate Wanskill Co-Founder, Global Dialogues, Atlanta, GA: November 24-25, 2007
- Daniel Enger, Co-Founder, Global Dialogues, Atlanta, GA: November 24-25, 2007
- Gabriel Diaga Diouf, Scenarios from Africa National Coordinator, Representative (Kolda & Dakar Region) Africa Consultants International (ACI), Dakar: November 30 & December 31, Kolda: December 3, 13, 14, Mbour: December 24, 2007.
- Fatimata Ba, Aida Sene, Aminata Ba, Kadi Diaw, Oulmata Sy, Maguette Lo, Scenarios Contestant and 2005 TV5 Grand Prize Winners, Yeumbeul: December 1, 2007
- Daur Wade, Africa Consultants International (ACI), Dakar: December 1, 2007
- Cheikh Ndongo Fall (Thiès Region) Africa Consultants International (ACI), Dakar: December 1 & December 4, 2007
- Diana Diakhata, Scenarios Contestant, December 3, 2007
- Alpha Ibrahim Ndiaye, President and Adama Watt, Mamadou Ndiaye, Massata Ndiaye, Abdou Aziz Ndiaye, Representatives, Association Nationale pour le Bien-être de la Population (ANBEP), Pikine: December 6, 2007.
- El Hadi Malick Seck, Assistant Peace Corps Director (APCD), Health Sector, United States Peace Corps, December 7, 2007
- Mamadou Ba, Director, Avenir de l'Enfant, Rufisque: December 10, 2007
- Abdoulaye Konaté, Representative (Kaolack Region) Africa Consultants International (ACI), Dakar: December 10, 2007
- Moustapha Dieng (Ziguinchor Region) Africa Consultants International (ACI), Dakar: December 13, 2007
- Lama Ba, Program Officer, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), Ziguinchor, December 13, 2007.
- Sadick Sall, Program Officer, Projet d'Appui à l'Enseignement Moyen (PAEM), Kolda: December 14, 2007.
- Gary Engelberg, Director, Africa Consultants International, December 3, 10 & 31, 2007.
- Oumar Pam, President, Regional Union of Popular Theater and Music, and Regional Coordinator of the Association of Traditional Communicators, Kolda: December 14, 2007.
- Assane Ndioune, Representative, CISERM/Bandia, Ziguinchor: December 24, 2007.
- Mádamame Ngom, Representative, RASPEMS, Dakar: December 26, 2007.
- Lamine Sagna, Scenarios Contestant and two-time National Winner, Dakar: December 26, 2007
- Michel Diagne, Co-founder, Institut pour le Développement Local, Dakar: December 26, 2007.
- Simon Pierre Sagna, Program Officer, SIDA Service, Dakar: December 27, 2007.
- Mocarr Fall, Representative, Fédération des Réseaux d'Information, Education and Communication (FRIEC) de Pikine, Pikine: December 28, 2007.