Chapter 3
The Relevance of Rabindranath Tagore and Paulo Freire for Participatory Communication



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Abstract Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), Asia's first Nobel Laureate, and the Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Freire (1921–1997) are part of a global network of pioneering educators who have striven to create non-authoritarian learning and dialogical communication systems, which are appropriate to their respective contexts. This chapter attempts to assess the relevance of Tagore's ideas on education and Freire's conscientization method in the field of development communication, especially participatory communication.

Keywords Tagore · Freire · Non-authoritarian learning · Participatory communication · Dialogue · Conscientization

Where the mind is without fear
and the head is held high
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken
up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the
depth of truth;
Where tireless striving
stretches its arms towards
perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason
has not lost its way into the
dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward
by thee into ever-widening

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thought and action–
into that heaven of freedom,
my Father,
Let my country awake.

—Rabindranath Tagore

In February 2019, I was invited to give the keynote address at the International Conference of the Asian Congress on Media and Communication (ACMC) on "Media and Communication in Sustainable Development", held at the Visva-Bharati University in Santiniketan, India. Though I had heard of Asia's first Nobel Laureate and poet, Rabindranath Tagore, before, this was the first time that I got deeply exposed to his ideas and work. The physical presence at the university he established and meeting his followers and students made me reflect on my first encounters with the Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Freire and his friends and colleagues. They both seem to have a lot in common with regard to their philosophical perspectives on education and their advocacy of non-authoritarian modes of dialogical learning.

This paper attempts to highlight some of their ideas and their relevance for development communication, especially participatory communication.

3.1 Rabindranath Tagore's Philosophy of Education

Tagore was born in one of the most respected families in Bengal. The experiences during his formative years form, to a great extent, the basis for his thoughts and philosophy. However, he did not write a central educational treatise. Therefore, his ideas must be collected through his various writings (such as Tagore, 1912, 1915, 1916, 1966, 2003) and educational experiments at his "home" university, Santiniketan (Banerjee, 2017).

Tagore realized at an early stage in life that the main obstacle in the path of India's progress is the lack of education: "The prevalent colonial education system of that era was designed to produce loyals to the British government, Indian in blood and colour but British in thoughts, beliefs and opinions. The education offered through this system was neither modern i.e. at par with the developments in the western countries, nor was it relevant to the Indian context. Moreover, the medium of instruction was English which alienated the masses, dividing the Indian people into two classes, the privileged English speaking class who received education and the masses that did not" (Bose, 2016). Contrary to Gandhi who stressed the need for Indian self-sufficiency in every sphere of life, "Tagore saw the need for international cooperation and sharing. In the modern age, the poet insisted, India must learn from abroad, for example, in science, as well as look inward. Tagore believed that India had a message for the world, but he thought India must also incorporate others' messages into her own cultural repertoire" (Chatterjee, 1991).

Tagore strongly condemned the prevalent education system that only partially developed the intellect and completely neglected the development of the human body. He argued that the human body must systematically be engaged in some fruitful work. Therefore, he emphasized sports and games in school education. Through physical activities children come in contact with nature and obtain the nourishment for the body, happiness of the mind and satisfaction of the natural impulses of childhood.

The intellectual development of the child should not be primarily based on knowledge from books. According to Tagore, the prevalent education system put too much stress on memory and promotes rote learning, something he called in the tale "The parrot's training" http://www.tagoreweb.in/Render/ShowContent.aspx?ct=Stories&bi=4A57AB73-A4A0-40D5-551D-9502E9CD11FD&ti=4A57AB73-A4A0-4FB5-251D-9502E9CD11FD. The power of thinking, creativity and imagination had to be developed through the free exercise of the mind. Tagore stressed that education should promote *creative self-expression.* He suggested that such creative self-expression can be achieved through life crafts, music, drawing and dramatics.

With the foundation of the Ashram School at Santiniketan in 1901, Tagore wanted to establish another education system based on the ancient Indian forest schooling system. He believed that the forest school is a model for a typical Indian system of education comprising of the three basic elements of non-duality, friendship and fulfillment of one's duties; and integrated it with *Sadhana* (*disciplining one's senses and one's own life*). However, he modernized this model by bringing in science and other modern attitudes.

"The purpose of education is not merely the enrichment of one's self with pure knowledge, but also development of bonds of love and friendship between men. Tagore says that education is the development of the intellectual faculties of human beings along with the physical, moral as well as religious aspects. Thus, it is the integral development of human personality so as to create men and women who will work for welfare of the society and for the progress of the nation" (Bose, 2016). For Tagore, the connection between self and the world is a spiritual achievement and the highest aspiration for the development of our personality. This belief has its roots in Indian philosophy and is expressed by the ancient words: *tat tvam asi*—"That art Thou" or "the individual soul is the All, the Ultimate Reality". Tagore draws the conclusion that all learning potentially contains a spiritual aspect. He, therefore, argues that the best way to teach such connection with the world and thereby help to develop children's personalities is not through textbooks but through the influence of the students' relationship with teachers and the impact on their personality and, most importantly, the influence of the "atmosphere" or context (Kupfer, 2016).

Also, the special role of teachers and their relationship with the students needed to be revised, because, Tagore claimed, the aim of education is to establish a harmony between the learner and their environment. Tagore advocated that a man through the process of education should be able to come out as a harmonious individual in tune with his social and spiritual mindset. The ideal teacher will be full of self-realization and he will not follow a premeditated process. Tagore always gave importance to the intrinsic relationship between a teacher and a student. Because he believed that a student must come to companionship with his teacher so that he can learn the

ethics and follow his immediate role model in front of him always. Therefore, he set up hostels so that students stayed with their teachers nearby in Santiniketan (Chattopadhyay, 2017).

The highest education is that which does not merely give us information but makes our life in harmony with all existence. Tagore's ideal atmosphere is not defined by a top-down prescription of principles. Rather, he believes that students and teachers alike should create and be inspired by this atmosphere continually and collaboratively, for example by engaging in care of nature and the local community, by offering hospitality to international guests and by participating in hands-on learning. Only through living principles of care, creativity and aspiration do these principles become established as a matter of course and common sense (Kupfer, 2016).

Tagore avoids professionalization in the sense of fixed structures and prescribing systems. He believes that de-institutionalization is a prerequisite for more personal encounters and influences and for living, creating and learning holistically. Yet this also implies that the quality of the school and its educational abilities depend on the personalities of those who live there. Furthermore, Tagore argues that a school without fixed structures works well only when it is small, for which reason he repeatedly has had to reduce the number of students in his school.

Tagore's focus on "atmosphere" that allows spontaneous ad hoc teaching and that embraces the previously mentioned "method of nature" which Tagore believes to be the best educational practice for children, is unusually strong, but not completely absent in other philosophies.

The three basic tenets of Tagore's educational vision are (Quayum 2016):

(1) *freedom for the learner*,
(2) *creation of an environment* that enables the student to develop a healthy kinship with nature, and
(3) cultivation of the pupil's creativity, imagination and *self-expression.*

Tagore believed that education should not only "instruct" but also "inspire"; "it should not simply impart knowledge in an abstract way, but also encourage the individual to be creative, imaginative and morally aware" (Quayum, 2016).

In general, Tagore envisioned an education that was deeply rooted in one's immediate surroundings but connected to the cultures of the wider world, predicated upon pleasurable learning and individualized to the personality of the learner. He felt that a curriculum should revolve organically around nature with classes held in the open air under the trees to provide for a spontaneous appreciation of the fluidity of the plant and animal kingdoms, and seasonal changes. Nature walks and excursions were part of the curriculum and students were encouraged to follow the life cycles of insects, birds and plants. Class schedules were made flexible to allow for shifts in the weather or special attention to natural phenomena and seasonal festivals.

Therefore, some (O'Connell, 2013) call his education philosophy a *theory of subconscious learning*. He never talked or wrote down to the students, but rather involved them with whatever he was writing or composing. The students were allowed access to the room where he read his new writings to teachers and critics, and they were encouraged to read out their own writings on special literary evenings.

In teaching also he believed in presenting difficult levels of literature, which the students might not fully grasp, but which would stimulate them. In addition, he also encouraged them to create their own publications and illustrated magazines. The children were encouraged to follow their ideas in painting and drawing and to draw inspiration from the many visiting artists and writers (O'Connell, 2013).

"Tagore felt that education divorced from the streams of life and confined within four walls becomes artificial and loses its value. He believed in self-imposed discipline which is not imposed from outside but drawn out from within" (Pushpanathan, 2013). This could be called a form of *cosmopolitanism* (Appiah, 2006) in which "a person [is] situated in one nation but, nonetheless, has to share the world with citizens of other countries" (Tagore, 2003: 81); or in which the individual embraces his/her own culture but still acts as a responsible "citizen" of the world (Kaushik, 2020). "For him (Tagore) independence lay both in denunciation of imperialism and retention of the channel of learning and exchange. Roots of cosmopolitanism of Tagore lie in this double move of Tagore. He dwells more on the interdependence of cultures than anything else" (Kaushik, 2020: 3).

"Tagore adopted a two-fold approach to realise this particular mission. He would routinely send the young students out to serve their poor neighbours who were from different castes and religious communities. This would induce them to overcome their prejudices and adopt a spirit of service, sympathy and sacrifice at an early age. He would also seek to bring scholars from all over the world to the university so that the students could be exposed to different cultures, customs and value systems, and learn from people who were different from them and yet shared a common human identity. He believed that there was much to learn from all cultures, as much from the different Asiatic communities as from the West" (Collins, 2008).

By extension, Tagore's village reconstruction work had two similar principles:

(a) Without trying to impose ideas from outside, the workers should slowly build up their program on the basis of the experience gained in the field. There is nothing like drawing on one's own resources.
(b) Tagore decided that rural problems should be approached from a holistic or integrated and not piecemeal perspective (Chattopadhyay, 2014), or what Charvak (2016: 5) calls "bottom-up self-governing". Marsh (2015: 195) has argued that Tagore's "vision is compatible with the aims and development of the Transition Movement, which is motivated by a recognition that the capitalist machine is running out of control, to the detriment of planet and people. This reading of Tagore reveals that, in effect, he advocated a withdrawal from the capitalist system, 'back to the future', not to a rustic existence bound by rigid cultural constraints, but to local cooperative farming, progressive education and renewed culture and creativity" (see also Polk & Servaes, 2015).

Tagore tried to translate many of his ideas into concrete action, "for regeneration of the society not only through knowledge generation but also its communication to the masses. For this he took help both of the conventional and non-conventional channels of communication. He believed that an educational institution as a true center of

learning should gather and accumulate knowledge from all parts of the globe, assimilate the same into the body of its own national learning and culture and disseminate it through different channels for the benefit of the nation. Knowledge has a significant decisive role in the realization of individual, national and international goals. So it should be our endeavour to relate education as a unique medium of knowledge generation and dissemination to the real life, needs and aspiration of the people. It is a powerful instrument for the social, economic and cultural transformation necessary for the realization of the social goals" (Ray, 2017).

3.2 Paolo Freire's Conscientization Methodology

Also, the Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Freire (1921–1997) has always argued from a holistic approach where knowledge must be understood from its pedagogic, political, scientific and human perspectives (Freire, 1994b). He forcefully criticized the so-called "banking system of education". Banking education maintains and even stimulates the contradiction through the following attitudes and practices, which mirror an oppressive society as a whole (Freire, 1983):

(a) the teacher teaches and the students are taught;
(b) the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
(c) the teacher thinks and the students are thought about;
(d) the teacher talks and the students listen meekly;
(e) the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
(f) the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply;
(g) the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
(h) the teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;
(i) the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she and he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students; and
(j) the teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.

Freire's "educational banking system" has a lot in common with Tagore's "Parrot's model" (Kundu, 2018; O'Connell, 2013).

Although Freire's pedagogy is not a method per se, he offers suggestions to achieve his primary learning objectives of freedom and humanization. For example, he suggests that "by speaking about their fears or insecurities, educators gradually move toward overcoming them, and at the same time, they gradually win the confidence of learners" (Freire, 1974: 48). When educators open themselves to the risk of conscientization, they enable their students to embrace change as well. Through the process of problem posing and dialogue about real, relevant issues, students can achieve a level of critical transitivity where they "perceive the challenges of their

time" (Freire, 1974: 32) as a first step toward transforming their world (Dale et al, 2005, Mari Sáez, 2020).

As a "revolutionary pedagogy", Freire (1970, 1973, 1974, 1994a, 1997) gradually developed an epistemological framework based on what he called "conscientization", a cogno-emotional cycle that can be described as follows:

- It is characterized by being OF the oppressed and not FOR the oppressed, which means that research must break away from what Freire defines as the banking education model.
- It is based on vulnerability as ontology, which means that it is through hope, faith, humility, love, trust and indignation that the discovery of a shared reality reveals itself.
- It is formed by circular, dynamic, variable and contextualized processes created through dialogue and collective reflection and action (praxis) where no person is an object of any other participant, but rather subject–subject relationships are established.
- It is accompanied by a process of conscientization based on individual and collective awareness about power structures, cultural structures and dialogic structures.

This can be visually shown in this synthesis of Freirean epistemology (drafted by Fernández-Aballí Altamirano, 2016: 680) (Fig. 3.1):

Fernández-Aballí Altamirano (2016: 681) explains: "Freire invites us to recognize ourselves within our research as emotional beings; negating the strength of emotionality as ontology, according to Freire, dehumanizes and distorts the ways in which research is undertaken as well as our understanding of the systemic complexities of communication research. Freire argues that only the recognition of love, indignation, faith, trust, hope and humility in our quest for wanting to know and wanting to transform can unveil the biases induced by power within research. Hence, from a Freirean perspective, rigor in research is not acquired through the negation of our emotional selves, but rather through the rescuing of our emotionality tied to the undertaking of the journey from the naive zone to the critical zone". And Arvind Singhal (2001: 15) adds: "Freire emphasizes that the themes underlying dialogic pedagogy should resonate with people's thematic universe, that is, with issues and experiences of salience to them, as opposed to well-meaning but alienating rhetoric. Once the oppressed, both individually and collectively, begin to critically reflect on their social situation, possibilities arise for them to break the 'culture of silence' through the articulation of discontent, and through action".

Therefore, Freire's conscientization method is oriented to bringing the individual to critical reflection about his own living conditions, whereby he breaks through the "culture of silence" and actively participates in a historical process. The right to participation and emancipation regarding the social, cultural and historical reality is a fundamental right for everyone. The basis of the conscientization method forms the philosophical and socio-critical notion that individuals must be able to achieve their essential goal—being a subject—and that the social structures, social relationships and interpersonal relationships that interfere with it must be changed. The absence of

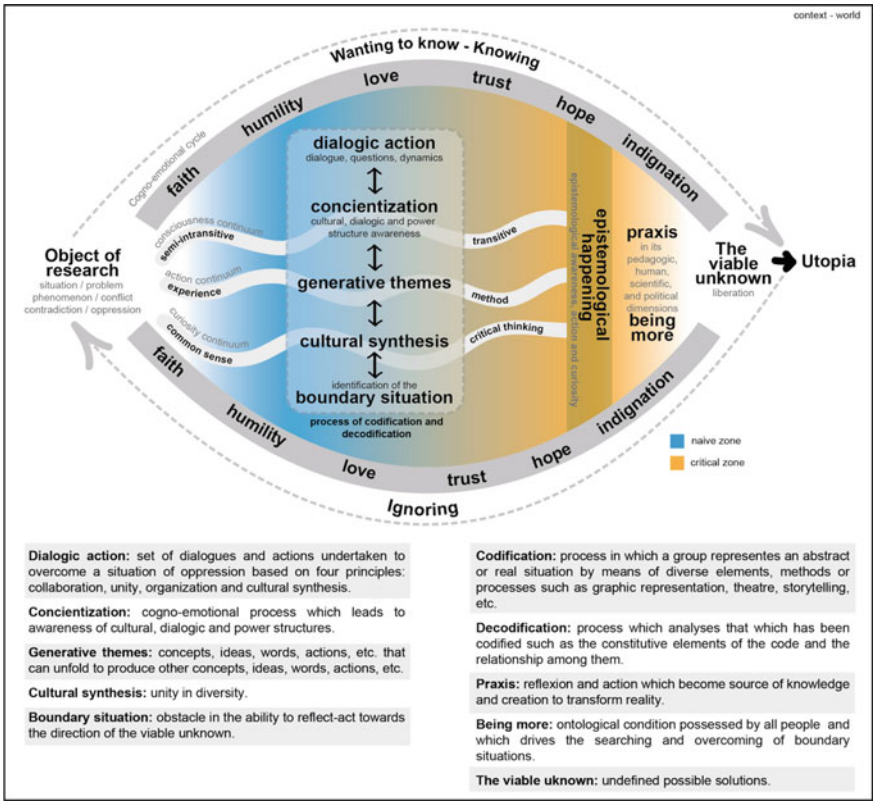


Fig. 3.1 Cycle of knowledge creation based on Freirean epistemology

any form of a guideline for the political organization of those who are conscienticized is partially resolved by Negt and Kluge (1973). In his method, he tries to bring the marginal people in the society to see their individual need as a collective need that can only be satisfied in the context of organized groups or social movements (for more applications of Freire's epistemology and methods, see McLaren & Lankshear, 1994 or Srampickal, 1998).

3.3 The Relevance of Participatory Communication

Tagore and Freire's ideas on education, learning and conscientization can inspire us to find a way out of the current impasse in the field of development communication. Too much hope and importance remains on technological and instrumental solutions**.** In our own work (see Servaes, 2007, 2013; Servaes & Malikhao, 2017) we counted *13 different devcom approaches* which currently remain being used and applied

(Table 3.1). Some of these are more traditional, hierarchical and linear, while some are more participatory and interactive. Most contain elements of both. **From an epistemological and ontological perspective, that doesn't always make sense but in practice that seems to be a given**.

Therefore, generally speaking, we see two approaches: one aims to produce a common understanding among all the participants in a development initiative by implementing a policy or a development project, that is, the *top-down* model. The other emphasizes engaging the grassroots in making decisions that enhance their own lives or the *bottom-up* model. Despite the diversity of approaches, there is a consensus in the early twenty-first century on the need for grassroots participation in bringing about change at both social and individual levels.

Participatory communication stresses the importance of the cultural identity of local communities and of democratization and participation at all levels—international, national, local and individual. It points to a strategy, not merely inclusive of, but largely emanating from, the traditional "receivers". Paulo Freire (1983: 76) refers to this as the right of all people to individually and collectively speak their word: "This is not the privilege of some few men, but the right of every (wo)man. Consequently, no one can say a true word alone—nor can he say it for another, in a prescriptive act which robs others of their words".

In the international and development communication fields, one often also refers to UNESCO's positions on participation, which start from a more applied perspective. It distinguishes between access, participation and self-management of communication projects (Berrigan, 1977, 1979):

- *Access* refers to the use of media for public service. It may be defined in terms of the opportunities available to the public to choose varied and relevant programs and to have a means of feedback to transmit its reactions and demands to production organizations.
- *Participation* implies a higher level of public involvement in communication systems than mere access. It includes the involvement of the public in the production process, and also in the management and planning of communication systems. Participation may be no more than representation and consultation of the public in decision-making.
- On the other hand, *self-management* is the most advanced form of participation. In this case, the public exercises the power of decision-making within communication enterprises and is also fully involved in the formulation of communication policies and plans.

However, one should note some differences between Freire and Tagore. The UNESCO discourse includes the idea of a gradual progression. Some amount of access may be allowed, but self-management may be postponed until sometime in the future. Freire and Tagore's ideas allow for no such compromise. One either respects the culture of the other or falls back into domination and the "banking" or "parrot" mode of imposed education. The UNESCO discourse talks in neutral terms about "the public". Freire talked about "the oppressed". Finally, the UNESCO discourse puts the main focus on the institution. Therefore, a participatory or community radio

Table 3.1 Major communication for social change approaches

Extension/diffusion of innovations as a development communications approach	
Modernization Diffusion Top-down	To inform the audience or to persuade a behavioral change in a predetermined way
Network development and documentation	
Modernization Diffusion Top-down	Computerized satellite telecommunication Internet Distance education
Information and communication technologies for development (ICT4D)	
Modernization/dependency Diffusion Top-down	Internet Telecenters Digital divide (ITU)
Training/education and capacity building/strengthening	
Modernization/dependency Diffusion Top-down	Professional/institutional development Technical assistance
Social marketing	
Modernization/dependency Diffusion Top-down	Social applications of commercial marketing techniques
Edutainment (EE)	
Modernization/dependency/multiplicity Diffusion/participatory Top-down	Hybrid forms of education/information and entertainment From awareness to attitude change
Health communication	
Modernization/dependency/multiplicity Diffusion/participatory Top-down/horizontal	From cure to prevention (WHO) Mixed strategies determined by the problem and context (UNICEF, UNAIDS)
Information, education and communication (IEC)	
Modernization/dependency/multiplicity Diffusion/participatory Top-down/horizontal	Population and family planning (UNFPA) From attitude to behavior change
Institution building	
Modernization/dependency/multiplicity Diffusion/participatory Top-down/horizontal	Infrastructure building Policy and planning (UNESCO) Advocacy
Knowledge, attitudes and practices (KAP)	
Modernization/dependency/multiplicity Diffusion/participatory Top-down/horizontal	Knowledge and attitude in enabling environments
Development support communication (DSC)	

(continued)

Table 3.1 (continued)

Extension/diffusion of innovations as a development communications approach	
Modernization/dependency/multiplicity Diffusion/participatory Top-down/horizontal/bottom-up	Needs assessment/information gathering Decision-making/strategy development Implementation Evaluation (FAO, UNICEF)
HIV/AIDS community approach	
Modernization/dependency/multiplicity Diffusion/participatory Top-down/horizontal/bottom-up	UNAids Contextual, integrated strategic approach
Community participation	
Dependency/multiplicity Participatory Horizontal/bottom-up	Sustainable and resilient development Active participation/advocacy Structural change

means a radio station that is self-managed by those participating in it (Hadl, 2007; Manyozo, 2012). Tagore spoke highly of the library as a storehouse of knowledge and an integral part of the educational system that can help people "who look beyond their books, who have vision, who are seekers, who possesses an all-encompassing interest and delight in the direct knowledge of things" (Dutta, 2017).

3.4 Challenges to Participatory Communication for Social Change

An overarching problem of participatory approaches in development is that no matter which methodological approach is taken by one institution, the effectiveness of one becomes a rationalization for its implementation in other contexts. The implementation then runs the high risk of becoming devoid of context-specificity and being conducted by poorly trained facilitators.

There are top-down approaches to participatory communication, although this is not a genuine form of participatory communication. Top-down approaches do, however, have a role in, for instance, crisis and emergency situations. However, when this approach is implemented, it needs to be sustained by grassroots social movements.

The role of the facilitator in development projects implementing the participatory communication approach is crucial to the long-term success of a project. It is often the case that the "experts" in development agencies are internationally recruited staff who do not have extensive understandings of the localities in which they create programs for implementation. Jens Friis Lund and Moeko Saito-Jensen (2013: 110) show how short-term evaluations of participatory initiatives are prone to overlooking the dynamic nature of social relations and ongoing power struggles among social groups. These short-term evaluations are widespread and result in misguided policy

interventions, effectively rendering the participatory approach as useless and even damaging.

A less addressed but equally valid form of communication in participatory processes is *silence*. Silence may indicate disapproval, discomfort, confusion, apathy and so on as silence creates the space for communication through other means. Body language—a major non-verbal form of communication—requires careful dissecting as these expressions are socially and culturally conditioned (Fuglesang, 1982). Silence *can* be a form of non-participation, but it should not be immediately dismissed as such. Michelle Brear (2018) argues that silence is not necessarily an intentional form of non-participation, but rather a manifestation of marginalization. In other words, silence oftentimes has to do with power and politics; it can be the result of social inequalities, which allows powerful actors to directly silence and dismiss the voices of the powerless. Mistaking silence as a form of non-participation becomes counter to the aims of participatory communication. To take from Bourdieu's theory of governmentality, if individuals begin to govern—or silence—th

emselves in situations where they are taken out of their social contexts and are actively encouraged to communicate, then it should be the goal of a facilitator to effectively disrupt that silence.

Therefore, Chambers (2007) emphasizes the importance of well-trained facilitators who are committed to learning and encouraging participants to express their own views and represent their own identities in media content. Some of them could be non-local experts with extensive experience. Kennedy (2008) clearly distinguishes between three roles to be played by change agents: a social broker, social advocate or social mobilizer (see Table 3.2 from Kennedy, 2008: 165–166). His preference is for the social mobilizer, "because he has done his job well, he is redundant" (Kennedy, 2008: 164) (See also Kennedy, 2020).

The participatory communication approach is thus fundamentally threatening to elites—even more so in rigid hierarchically organized societies. Instances of elite capture of participatory initiatives are well documented although there are differing accounts of the role elite capture may have on social change (Massey, 2012; Nash, 2005). What is clear is that elite capture is very likely within any development initiative which fails to fully account for the dynamics of power relations within a given group. After all, dismantling power within a certain context requires extensive knowledge of that context, but also a commitment to effecting long-term social-structural change. Structural change involves the redistribution of political and economic power. This is impossible to occur as a result of only one (stand-alone) participatory communication initiative.

There is a need to ensure that the power dynamics that development agencies claim to have dismantled cease to become strengthened again after the project has ended. The policy can only be effective when it is properly communicated to and understood by those who it targets. Therefore, the development of another communication model has to take place in relation to overall societal emancipation processes at local, national, as well as international levels (Servaes, 1999).

Table 3.2 Potential roles of change agents

Social broker	Social advocate	Social mobilizer
Pity	Sympathy	Empathy
Social intervention	Social intervention	Social invention
Interpretation	Interpretation	Intense invention
Citizens are consumers	Citizens are consumers	Citizens are producers
Passive-reactive	Passive-reactive	Active
Autocratic	Majority rule	Consensus
Vertical: top-down	Vertical: top-down	Horizontal: two-way exchange
Overt dependency	Insidious dependency	Collaboration leading to independence
Directed social change	Directed social change	Non-directed social change
Issue or program-oriented	Issue or program-oriented	Ongoing process of change
Focus on the expertise of the broker	Focus on the expertise of the advocate	Focus on citizen competencies
Maintains status quo (no expectations raised)	Encourages social change (raise expectations)	Encourages social change (raise expectations)
Expert sets agenda	Expert sets agenda	Citizens set agenda
Expert controls parameters of discussion	Expert controls parameters of discussion	Citizens control the parameters of discussion
Do not expect an attitude change	Encourage external attitude change	Encourage internal attitude change leading to citizen action
Expert controls time frame; sets pace	Expert controls time frame; sets pace	Citizen control time frame; sets pace
Expert acts as spokesperson	Expert acts as spokesperson	Acts as coach, advisor, collaborator
Indirect communication (once removed)	Indirect communication (once removed)	Direct communication
Serves as “go-between” between two or more	Acts on behalf of constituents/citizens	Mobilizer of other people’s competencies
Technology and technical skills controlled by specialized expert	Technology and technical kills controlled by specialized expert	Technology and technical skills controlled by citizens—with assistance
Mass media	Mass media	Personal media
Editor/Gatekeeper	Reporter/Journalist	Teacher
Leaves no legacy of skills, tools and strategies	Leaves no legacy of skills, tools and strategies	Leaves a legacy of skills, tools and strategies
No respect	Respect citizens once they get organized	Respect citizens for what they are

(continued)

Table 3.2 (continued)

Social broker	Social advocate	Social mobilizer
Compensates for what is lacking	Compensates for what is lacking	Assists to recognize what skills and talents already exist
The assisted are the objects of process	The assisted are the objects of process	The assisted are the subjects of process
Product-oriented	Product-oriented	Process-oriented
Expert controls content, structure and context	Expert controls content, structure and context	Citizens control content, structure and context
Problem-solving model	Problem-solving model	Collective visioning model

3.5 Conclusion

Tagore felt that to uplift the quality of life of rural communities, the rural population should be brought within the circumference of formal, informal and non-formal learning so that the people themselves could appreciate and enhance their own cultural traditions. Mahatma Gandhi experimented with the same thoughts when he came out with his concept of basic education. His scheme placed supreme importance on knowing through doing, which he visualized as craft-oriented (Bagchi, 2018). To Paulo Freire, *conscientization* is the most important aspect of education. Conscientization is a political-education process that enables the masses to overcome "false consciousness". This is absolutely necessary for the oppressed masses to get rid of the "Culture of Silence" or what Tagore called "The Parrot's Model" (Kundu, 2018). In today's twenty-first century the concepts of lifelong learning and learning for life are extremely relevant to keep oneself going and meet the latest requirements of a technology-driven society. However, a reliance on locally organized participatory communication may be equally important and probably far more democratic to achieve those goals.

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