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Jan Servaes
Editor

Handbook of Communication for Development and Social Change

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With 83 Figures and 60 Tables

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Introduction

This *Handbook of Communication for Development and Social Change* provides a single reference resource regarding communication for development and social change. Increasingly, one considers communication crucial to effectively tackle the major problems of today. Hence, the question being addressed in this handbook is, "Is there a right communication strategy?" Perspectives on sustainability, participation, and culture in communication have changed over time in line with the evolution of development approaches and trends, and in response to the need for effective applications of communication methods and tools to new issues and priorities.

In essence, the coherence of Communication for Development and Social Change (CDSC) is expressed in its different common underlying premises. In all its diversity, such as in theory, method, medium, and region, it is characterized by a number of underlying common values and starting points.

Therefore, the *Handbook of Communication for Development and Social Change* starts from the following premises and assumptions:

- *The use of a culturalist viewpoint*
  By means of such a viewpoint, specific attention is given to communication in social change processes. By putting culture centrally from a user's perspective, other social science disciplines can significantly contribute to the field of Communication for Development and Social Change.
- *The use of an interpretative perspective*
  Participation, dialogue, and an active vision of human beings as the interpreters of their environments are of the utmost importance. A highly considered value is the showing of respect and appreciation for the uniqueness of specific situations and identities in social change environments.
- *The preference for a transdisciplinary approach*
  While interdisciplinary collaborations create new knowledge synthesized from existing disciplines, a transdisciplinary approach relates all disciplines into a coherent whole. Transdisciplinarity combines interdisciplinarity with a participatory approach.

  The field of "sustainability" is, in essence, a transdisciplinary one.

- *The use of integrated methods and theories*
  In the field of Communication for Development and Social Change, it is considered important that the chosen methods should be connected with the used theoretical perspective. This implies that openness, diversity, and flexibility in methods and techniques are valued. In practice, it generally means triangulation and a preference for qualitative methods. This does not mean, however, that quantitative methods are excluded, and indeed an emphasis is placed on evidence-based scientific methodologies.
- *To show mutual understanding and attach importance to formal and informal intercultural teaching, training, and research*
  Tolerance, consciousness-raising, acceptance, and respect can only be arrived at when members of different cultures not only hear but also understand each other. This mutual understanding is a condition for development and social change. In order to prevent all forms of miscommunication, intercultural awareness, capacity building, and dialogue is deemed very important.

A short-hand definition of Communication for Development and Social Change (CDSC) reads as follows:

Communication for development and social change is the nurturing of knowledge aimed at creating a consensus for action that takes into account the interests, needs and capacities of all concerned. It is thus a social process, which has as its ultimate objective sustainable development/change at distinct levels of society.
Communication media and ICTs are important tools in achieving social change but their use is not an end in itself. Interpersonal communication and traditional, group, and social media must also play a fundamental role.

Divided into prominent themes comprising relevant chapters written by experts in the field and reviewed by renowned editors, the book addresses topics where communication and social change converge in both theory and praxis. Specific concerns and issues include climate change, poverty reduction, health, equity and gender, sustainable development goals (SDGs), and information and communication technologies (ICTs).

The *Handbook of Communication for Development and Social Change* integrates 11 clusters of concepts and practices. The parts are as follows:

1. An historic cluster which looks at the origins of the Communication for Development and Social Change field both from a theoretical as well as political/economic perspective
2. A *normative cluster of concepts* (e.g., on sustainability, democracy, participation, empowerment, equity, social inclusion, human rights, and accountability)
3. A *cluster of concepts that sets an important context for communication activities for developmen*t (e.g., globalization, gender, social movements, cultural diversity, and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs))

4. A *cluster of strategic and methodological concepts* (e.g., diffusion of innovations, social marketing, advocacy, entertainment-education, social mobilization, knowledge management)
5. A *cluster of concepts that relate to methods, techniques, and tools* (e.g., (digital) storytelling, (participatory) mapping, monitoring and evaluation, intercultural value differences, empowerment evaluation, social media, oral history, film, video, drama, and art)
6. A *cluster of cases that focus on climate change and sustainable development* (e.g., on youth participation in Indonesia, emergency communication during the 2015 Nepal earthquake, innovative education in Kenya)
7. A *cluster of cases that focus on Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) for development* (e.g., on ICTs for learning in rural communication, strategic social media management for NGOs, online activism in Central Asia)
8. A *cluster of cases that focus on health communication* (e.g., on sustainable health, maternal health in Africa, countering sexual harassment in Bangladesh)
9. A *cluster of cases that focus on participatory communication* (e.g., on natural resource management, conflict and power, capacity building, participatory video)
10. A *set of regional cases and overviews* (e.g., on Africa, Europe, Western journalism education, ASEAN)
11. A *set of specific case studies* (e.g., on entertainment-education in radio in Africa, participatory communication in Afghanistan, Egyptian media, protest in South Africa)

This book shows how communication is essential at all levels of society. It helps readers understand the processes that underlie attitude change and decision-making and the work uses powerful models and methods to explain the processes that lead to sustainable development and social change.

This handbook is published in multiple formats: print, static electronic, and live electronic.

It is essential reading for academics and practitioners, students and policy makers alike.

World Rainforest Day
22 June 2019 Jan Servaes

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The *Handbook of Communication for Development and Social Change* is the collective effort of many distinguished researchers, scholars, and professionals in the field of development communication or communication for social change.

At the editorial level, I was assisted by two excellent associate editors: Dr. Rico Lie, assistant professor at Wageningen University in The Netherlands, and Dr. Patchanee Malikhao, director of the consultancy agency Fecund Communication in Chiang Mai, Thailand.

A number of renowned experts assisted with the selection and peer review of the manuscripts. The nature of their work requires that they remain anonymous. However, I wish to single-out Professor emeritus Royal Colle from Cornell University in Ithaca NY, USA, who has kindly assisted me with the section on ICTD, Information and Communication Technologies for Development, and Dr. Jessica Noske-Turner, lecturer at Loxbourough University London, who assisted as external reviewer.

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Important Note

In all cases where gender is not implicit, we have attempted to combine feminine and masculine pronouns. However, as English is not the mother tongue of the editors and many authors in this handbook, we apologize to the reader if she/he still finds errors.

Contents

Volume 1

Part I Introduction 1

1 **Terms and Definitions in Communication for Development and Social Change** 3
Jan Servaes

2 **Communication for Development and Social Change: In Search of a New Paradigm** 15
Jan Servaes

3 **Key Concepts, Disciplines, and Fields in Communication for Development and Social Change** 29
Jan Servaes and Rico Lie

Part II Historic Cluster 61

4 **Communication for Development and Social Change: Three Development Paradigms, Two Communication Models, and Many Applications and Approaches** 63
Jan Servaes and Patchanee Malikhao

5 **Family Tree of Theories, Methodologies, and Strategies in Development Communication** 93
Silvio Waisbord

6 **A Changing World: FAO Efforts in Communication for Rural Development** 133
Silvia Balit and Mario Acunzo

7 **Daniel Lerner and the Origins of Development Communication** 157
Hemant Shah

8 **The Pax Americana and Development** 167
P. Eric Louw

Part III Normative Concepts **193**

9 **Media and Participation** 195
Nico Carpentier

10 **Empowerment as Development: An Outline of an Analytical Concept for the Study of ICTs in the Global South** 217
Jakob Svensson

11 **The Theory of Digital Citizenship** 237
Toks Dele Oyedemi

12 **Co-creative Leadership and Self-Organization: Inclusive Leadership of Development Action** 257
Alvito de Souza and Hans Begeer

13 **Communication for Development and Social Change Through Creativity** 269
Arpan Yagnik

14 **The Relevance of Habermasian Theory for Development and Participatory Communication** 287
Thomas Jacobson

15 **The Importance of Paulo Freire to Communication for Development and Social Change** 309
Ana Fernández-Aballí Altamirano

16 **De-westernizing Alternative Media Studies: Latin American Versus Anglo-Saxon Approaches from a Comparative Communication Research Perspective** 329
Alejandro Barranquero

Part IV Context for Communication Activities for Development and Social Change **341**

17 **A Threefold Approach for Enabling Social Change: Communication as Context for Interaction, Uneven Development, and Recognition** 343
Gloria Gómez Diago

18 **Shifting Global Patterns: Transformation of Indigenous Nongovernmental Organizations in Global Society** 359
Junis J. Warren

19 **Women's Empowerment in Digital Media: A Communication Paradigm** 379
Xiao Han

20 **Development Communication and the Development Trap** 395
Cees J. Hamelink

21 **The Soft Power of Development: Aid and Assistance as Public Diplomacy Activities** 407
Colin Alexander

22 **Asian Contributions to Communication for Development and Social Change** 421
Cleofe S. Torres and Linje Manyozo

23 **Development Communication in Latin America** 443
José Luis Aguirre Alvis

24 **Development Communication in South Africa** 469
Tanja Bosch

25 **Development Communication as Development Aid for Post-Conflict Societies** 481
Kefa Hamidi

26 **Glocal Development for Sustainable Social Change** 501
Fay Patel

27 **Communication Policy for Women's Empowerment: Media Strategies and Insights** 519
Kiran Prasad

Part V Strategic and Methodological Concepts 531

28 **Three Types of Communication Research Methods: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Participatory** 533
Jan Servaes

29 **Visual Communication and Social Change** 555
Loes Witteveen and Rico Lie

30 **Multidimensional Model for Change: Understanding Multiple Realities to Plan and Promote Social and Behavior Change** 579
Paolo Mefalopulos

31 **Broadcasting New Behavioral Norms: Theories Underlying the Entertainment-Education Method** 595
Kriss Barker

32 **Protest as Communication for Development and Social Change** 615
Toks Dele Oyedemi

33 **Political Engagement of Individuals in the Digital Age** 633
Paul Clemens Murschetz

34 **Family and Communities in Guatemala Participate to Achieve Educational Quality** 647
Antonio Arreaga

35 **Digital Communication and Tourism for Development** 667
Alessandro Inversini and Isabella Rega

Part VI Methods, Techniques, and Tools 679

36 **A Community-Based Participatory Mixed-Methods Approach to Multicultural Media Research** 681
Rukhsana Ahmed and Luisa Veronis

37 **Digital Stories as Data** 693
Valerie M. Campbell

38 **Participatory Mapping** 705
Logan Cochrane and Jon Corbett

39 **Evaluations and Impact Assessments in Communication for Development** 715
Lauren Kogen

40 **Transformative Storywork: Creative Pathways for Social Change** 733
Joanna Wheeler, Thea Shahrokh, and Nava Derakhshani

41 **Recollect, Reflect, and Reshape: Discoveries on Oral History Documentary Teaching** 755
Yuhong Li

42 **Differences Between Micronesian and Western Values** 767
Tom Hogan

Volume 2

Part VII Climate Change and Sustainable Development 793

43 **Communicating Climate Change: Where Did We Go Wrong, How Can We Do Better?** 795
Emily Polk

44 Bottom-Up Networks in Pacific Island Countries: An Emerging Model for Participatory Environmental Communication 815
Usha S. Harris

45 Youth Voices from the Frontlines: Facilitating Meaningful Youth Voice Participation on Climate, Disasters, and Environment in Indonesia 833
Tamara Plush, Richard Wecker, and Swan Ti

46 Key SBCC Actions in a Rapid-Onset Emergency: Case Study From the 2015 Nepal Earthquakes 847
Rudrajit Das and Rahel Vetsch

47 Importing Innovation? Culture and Politics of Education in Creative Industries, Case Kenya 861
Minna Aslama Horowitz and Andrea Botero

Part VIII ICTs for Development **871**

48 ICTs for Learning in the Field of Rural Communication 873
Rico Lie and Loes Witteveen

49 How Social Media Mashups Enable and Constrain Online Activism of Civil Society Organizations 891
Oana Brindusa Albu and Michael Andreas Etter

50 Strategic Social Media Management for NGOs 911
Claudia Janssen Danyi and Vidhi Chaudhri

51 ICTs and Modernization in China 929
Song Shi

52 Online Social Media and Crisis Communication in China: A Review and Critique 939
Yang Cheng

53 Diffusion and Adoption of an E-Society: The Myths and Politics of ICT for the Poor in India 953
Ravindra Kumar Vemula

54 Online Activism in Politically Restricted Central Asia: A Comparative Review of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan 961
Bahtiyar Kurambayev

55 New Media: The Changing Dynamics in Mobile Phone Application in Accelerating Health Care Among the Rural Populations in Kenya 977
Alfred Okoth Akwala

56 ICTs for Development: Building the Information Society by Understanding the Consumer Market 989
Shahla Adnan

Part IX Health Communication **1013**

57 Health Communication: Approaches, Strategies, and Ways to Sustainability on Health or Health for All 1015
Patchanee Malikhao

58 Health Communication: A Discussion of North American and European Views on Sustainable Health in the Digital Age 1039
Isabell Koinig, Sandra Diehl, and Franzisca Weder

59 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Maternal Health in Africa 1063
Alfred Okoth Akwala

60 Impact of the Dominant Discourses in Global Policymaking on Commercial Sex Work on HIV/STI Intervention Projects Among Commercial Sex Workers 1075
Satarupa Dasgupta

61 Designing and Distribution of Dementia Resource Book to Augment the Capacities of Their Caretakers 1091
Avani Maniar and Khyati Deesawala

62 Strategic Communication to Counter Sexual Harassment in Bangladesh 1119
Nova Ahmed

63 Multiplicity Approach in Participatory Communication: A Case Study of the Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Pakistan 1131
Hina Ayaz

Part X Participatory Communication **1139**

64 Participatory Development Communication and Natural Resources Management 1141
Guy Bessette

65 Participatory Communication in Practice: The Nexus to Conflict and Power 1155
Saik Yoon Chin

66 Capacity Building and People's Participation in e-Governance: Challenges and Prospects for Digital India 1177
Kiran Prasad

67 Fifty Years of Practice and Innovation Participatory Video (PV) 1195
Tony Roberts and Soledad Muñiz

68 Reducing Air Pollution in West Africa Through Participatory Activities: Issues, Challenges, and Conditions for Citizens' Genuine Engagement 1213
Stéphanie Yates, Johanne Saint-Charles, Marius N. Kêdoté, and S. Claude-Gervais Assogba

69 Community Radio in Ethiopia: A Discourse of Peace and Conflict Reporting 1231
Mulatu Alemayehu Moges

Part XI Regional Overviews **1241**

70 Political Economy of ICT4D and Africa 1243
Tokunbo Ojo

71 Mainstreaming Gender into Media: The African Union Backstage Priority 1257
Bruktawit Ejigu Kassa and Katharine Sarikakis

72 Idiosyncrasy of the European Political Discourse Toward Cooperation 1277
Teresa La Porte

73 The Challenge of Promoting Diversity in Western Journalism Education: An Exploration of Existing Strategies and a Reflection on Its Future Development 1293
Rozane De Cock and Stefan Mertens

74 Institutionalization and Implosion of Communication for Development and Social Change in Spain: A Case Study 1311
Víctor Manuel Marí Sáez

75 A Sense of Community in the ASEAN 1325
Pornpun Prajaknate

Part XII Case Studies **1341**

76 Entertainment-Education in Radio: Three Case Studies from Africa 1343
Kriss Barker and Fatou Jah

77 The Role of Participatory Communication in Strengthening Solidarity and Social Cohesion in Afghanistan 1355
Hosai Qasmi and Rukhsana Ahmed

78 Sinai People's Perceptions of Self-Image Portrayed by the Egyptian Media: A Multidimensional Approach 1365
Alamira Samah Saleh

79 Protest as Communication for Development and Social Change in South Africa 1381
Elizabeth Lubinga

80 Case Study of Organizational Crisis Communication: Oxfam Responds to Sexual Harassment and Abuse Scandal 1399
Claudia Janssen Danyi

81 Communication and Culture for Development: Contributions to Artisanal Fishers' Wellbeing in Coastal Uruguay 1413
Paula Santos and Micaela Trimble

82 Fostering Social Change in Peru Through Communication: The Case of the Manuani Miners Association 1429
Sol Sanguinetti

83 Communicative Analysis of a Failed Coup Attempt in Turkey . . . 1439
Zafer Kıyan and Nurcan Törenli

84 Plurality and Diversity of Voices in Community Radio: A Case Study of Radio Brahmaputra from Assam 1455
Alankar Kaushik

Part XIII Conclusion **1469**

85 Communication for Development and Social Change: Conclusion 1471
Jan Servaes

Index 1483

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Part I

Introduction

Terms and Definitions in Communication for Development and Social Change

1

Jan Servaes

Contents

1.1 Development Communication 4
1.2 Communication 5
1.3 Development and Social Change 6
1.4 Policies 6
1.5 Culture 7
1.6 Ideology and Power 8
1.7 Identity 9
1.8 Sustainability and Resilience 9
1.9 Communication for Development and Social Change 11
References 12

Abstract

In this introductory chapter, a number of important and frequently used terms and definitions in the field of communication for development and social change are being explained briefly: development communication, communication, development and social change, policies, culture, ideology and power, identity, sustainability and resilience, and communication for development and social change.

Keywords

Development communication · Social change · Policies · Culture · Ideology and power · Identity · Sustainability · Resiliency

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Though most social scientists reckon that the concepts of power, culture, communication, development, and social change are essential for an understanding of the social reality, the concepts are often not explicitly defined and therefore interpreted in different ways. This is mainly due to the complexity and multidimensionality of these concepts. Therefore, by way of introduction, a few words on words we use frequently in this handbook.

1.1 Development Communication

The term *development communication* was first coined in 1971 by Nora C. Quebral (Manyozo 2006). Quebral (1971: 69) defined the field as "the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country and the mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater social equality and the larger fulfillment of the human potential". However, Quebral (1988) acknowledges that the term borrows from contributions made by Alan Chalkley (1968) and Juan Jamias (1975) on development journalism, and Erskine Childers and Mallica Vajrathon's (1968) work on development support communication. Erskine Childers started the first Development Support Communication unit at UNDP in Bangkok in the 1960s (see Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada 1998, or Balit & Acunzo for more details).

Throughout the past century, in separate regions of the globe, and both in the professional and academic world, different definitions of development communication have emerged. We present a brief selection:

> Development Communication is the study of social change brought about by the application of communication research, theory, and technologies to bring about development … Development is a widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement, including greater equality, freedom, and other valued qualities for the majority of people through their gaining greater control over their environment. (Everett Rogers 1976)

> Communication for development is a social process, designed to seek a common understanding among all the participants of a development initiative, creating a basis for concerted action. (UN FAO 1984)

> The planned use of communication techniques, activities and media gives people powerful tools both to experience change and actually to guide it. An intensified exchange of ideas among all sectors of society can lead to the greater involvement of people in a common cause. This is a fundamental requirement for appropriate and sustainable development. (Colin Fraser and Jonathan Villet 1994)

> Development communication involves creating mechanisms to broaden public access to information on reforms; strengthening clients' ability to listen to their constituencies and negotiate with stakeholders; empowering grassroots organizations to achieve a more

> participatory process; and undertaking communication activities that are grounded in research. (World Bank, http://sitresources.worldbank.org, 2006)

> "Communication for Development is a social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is also about seeking change at different levels including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change. *It is not public relations or corporate communication" (emphasis added)* (http://www.devcomm-congress.org/worldbank/macro/2.asp). The Rome Consensus agreed at the World Congress on Communication for Development (Rome, 25–27 October 2006)

These definitions have been interpreted and applied in different ways by organizations working at distinct societal and geographic levels. Both at theory and research levels, as well as at the levels of policy and planning-making and implementation, divergent perspectives were and still are on offer. They are based on different ontological and epistemological assumptions and therefore originate and relate to different worldviews, disciplinary perspectives, and methodological and case-based applications (Servaes 1999, 2008).

1.2 Communication

Communication, as a social process, is constituted in a specific spatial and temporal framework. How people communicate, where and why they communicate, with whom they communicate, what and why they communicate, is a function of historical processes. Communication is nothing more, and nothing less, than the articulation of social relations between people. Consequently, a concern with the communication process necessitates the identification of the web of social relations within which the process of communication is interwoven. Therefore, "a definition of 'communication' is totally subject to the theoretical framework that is to be placed on social interaction" (Thomas 1982: 80).

Several perspectives on communication for development can be identified.

A first perspective could be of communication as a process, often seen in metaphor as the fabric of society. It is not confined to the media or to messages but to their interaction in a network of social relationships. By extension, the reception, evaluation, and use of media messages, from whatever source, are as important as their means of production and transmission.

A second perspective is of communications media as a mixed system of mass communication and interpersonal channels, with mutual impact and reinforcement. In other words, the mass or social media should not be seen in isolation from other conduits.

One could, for instance, examine the role and benefits of radio versus the internet for development and democracy. Both the Internet and the radio are characterized by their interactivity. However, if, as many believe, better access to information, education, and knowledge would be the best stimulant for development, the

Internet's primary development potential is as a point of access to the global knowledge infrastructure. The danger, now widely recognized, is that access to knowledge increasingly requires a telecom infrastructure that is inaccessible to the poor and is controlled by a few powerful technology giants. Therefore, the digital divide is not about technology, it is about the widening gaps between the developed and developing worlds and the info-rich and the info-poor.

While the benefits offered by the Internet are many, its dependence on a telecom infrastructure means that they are only available to a few. Radio is much more pervasive, accessible, and affordable. Blending the two could be an ideal way of ensuring that the benefits accruing from the internet have wider reach.

Another perspective of communications in the development process is from an intersectoral and interagency concern. This view is not confined to information or broadcasting organizations and ministries but extends to all sectors, and its success in influencing and sustaining development depends to a large extent on the adequacy of mechanisms for integration and co-ordination.

1.3 Development and Social Change

The same can be said of the concept of *development*. "The idea of development, if not the word, is as old as the expansion of Europe, and, interestingly enough, in all the interpretations it has been given, there has been present some notion of duty. What has changed has been the answer to the question to whom the duty is owned" (Mair 1984: 1). Therefore, some authors have proposed to get rid of the concept of development altogether: "The term, development, in its current usage lacks the rigorous epistemological, conceptual, and at times, methodological power to be of much value in enhancing our understanding of some of the most complex historical, social, political, economic, and spiritual occurrences of our times" (Mowlana 1986: 1).

Though we have great sympathy with this argument, we don't see how another term could easily replace it in practice. Some suggest to replace "development" with the more neutral "social change." In general, Development or *Social Change* can be described as a significant change of structured social action or of the culture in a given society, community, or context. Such a broad definition could be further specified on the basis of a number of "dimensions" of social change: *spac*e (micro, meso-, macro), *time* (short, medium, long-term), *speed* (slow, incremental, evolutionary versus fast, fundamental, revolutionary), *direction* (forward or backward), *content* (sociocultural, psychological, sociological, organizational, anthropological, economic, and so forth), and *impact* (peaceful versus violent) (for more details, see Servaes 2011).

1.4 Policies

Instead of going for a dispute on terminologies, we rather examine the very policies in order to find out what *communication for development or social change* actually is, while being aware that these policies may express overtly the latent aspirations of

the societies. Therefore, we have distinguished between development "from above" versus "from below" as in essence a consideration of the nature of development itself. 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. Because in an ultimate sense development is a reflection of personal values, conditioned by the societal framework in which one lives. The value a society holds, which themselves change over time, are the ultimate standard by which development or lack of it will be judged.

Development is shaped and done by people – not for people. In order for people to be able to do so, they need to understand "how the system works." Therefore, development or social change should be equated with *empowerment*: the ability of people to influence the wider system and take control of their lives (see Svensson).

1.5 Culture

This discussion is also directly related to the definition of *culture*. Raymond Williams (1981) once said that it is one of the two or three words that are the most difficult to define. One of the first critical reviews of concepts and definitions of culture cited 164 different definitions (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952). According to Thompson et al. (1990) two families of definitions vie for supremacy. Culture is a complex phenomenon that can be interpreted in a narrow or broad sense. One views culture as composed of values, beliefs, norms, rationalizations, symbols, ideologies, i.e., mental products. The other sees culture as referring to the total way of life as a people, their interpersonal attitudes as well as their attitudes.

Therefore, again, we don't attempt to start with a definition, rather a description of how we perceive "culture." In other words, what exactly constitutes a culture, or different cultures? Culture is the collective equivalent of personality, and consequently is not amenable to simplistic classification or "pigeonholing." Cultures have indistinct peripheries, and they shade off into one another in a quite indefinite way. We do not always recognize a culture when we see one. Cultures can overlap, absorb, encompass, and blend. They can be differentiated according to environment, custom, social class, world-view, or *Weltanschauung*. The tendency is to think of another culture as somewhat foreign or exotic, as existing outside of one's national borders. However, some intranational communication can be far more cross-cultural than international communication. Often, for instance, there exists an easily discernable cultural gap between the ruling elite and the masses in many developing nations. In other words, culture varies with the parameters through which we choose to look at it.

The meaning of concepts and symbols, as well as the use of language, as such, is culture bound.

We reject the viewpoint that conceives of culture as only a partial phenomenon of the social reality and thus considers cultural sociology a subdiscipline of the social

sciences. Cultural sociology derives its special character not so much from a specific object field but rather from a specific perspective on society.

In this sense, cultures can be defined as social settings in which a certain reference framework has taken concrete form or has been institutionalized (further elaborated in Servaes 1999). It orients and structures the interaction and communication of people within this historical context. The classic distinction between structure and culture as an empirical duality becomes meaningless. All structures are cultural products and all culture gives structure. This intrinsic bond with a society in which actions are full of value makes all social facts cultural goods. Social facts, like institutions, behavioral patterns, norm systems, structures, and societal models are construed and cultivated in the light of certain values, preferences, or options that have developed in a society in response to certain common needs or problems. Culture has material and immaterial aspects which are part of a certain way of life, passed on, and corroborated via socialization processes (e.g., school, media, and religion) to the members of that society.

1.6 Ideology and Power

The reproduction of any social organization entails a basic correspondence between processes of "subjection" and "qualification." This basic social functioning of subjection/qualification involves three fundamental modes of ideological interpolation. *Ideologies* impact and qualify subjects by expressing to them, relating them to, and making them recognize: (a) what exists and what does not exist (i.e., a sense of identity); (b) what is good and bad (i.e., normalization); and (c) what is possible and impossible (i.e., a logic of conservation versus a logic of change) (Therborn 1980). Ideological interpolations are made all the time, everywhere, and by everybody. However, ideological interpolations tend to cluster at nodal points in the ongoing social process, which one could call ideological institutions, or apparatuses, and which are both discursive and non-discursive.

This process through which meaning is transmitted is never linear. It is linked to *power* in conscious and unconscious ways; it is sporadic and ubiquitous and transcends spatial and cultural boundaries: "Culture is the deposit of knowledge, experiences, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, timing, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a large group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving" (Samovar and Porter 1995: 19). It not only concerns decisions about good and evil and so on but also the way we eat, live, or dress. Ideologies do function in rational as well as irrational, in conscious as well as unconscious forms. The latter, unconscious aspects are, in our opinion, more important though often overlooked. Joseph Campbell (1988) called them "myths" or "dreams" in the sense that a dream is a personal myth, and a myth is the public dream of a society. Myths are therefore culture-bound creations of the human mind and spirit:

> National cultures are structured around myths which explain the origins of the particular grouping, their specific national identities and their concepts of national destiny. Such

> national mythologies seek in grounding in broader cosmic myths, and thus gain a sacred, timeless character. Myths function more at the unintentional, symbol level, defining that what a national society is trying to become. Mythological functions are likely to be especially strong at times of national crisis, rapid change or external threat (White 1988: 19–20).

1.7 Identity

Culture can be taken as the way we perceive and interact with the world, and those with whom we share similar perceptions. It is precisely such shared, often unarticulated and sometimes implicit patterns of perception, communication, and behavior which are referred to as "a culture."

Therefore, various cultures also manifest different identities. Four empirical dimensions can be distinguished in such frameworks of reference: a world view (Weltanschauung), a value system, a system of symbolic representation, and social organization. Worldviews are not static any more than the cultures that enshrine them are static even though values and customs within worldviews can be and are inherited from one generation to another, as are various values and customs. Ideological institutions or apparatuses fulfill a key role here. They are forms of behavior that are crystalized on the basis of social acceptance into more-or-less standardized self-evident routines and which can work as both negative-repressing and as positive-liberating. They exist in strategies of relations of forces supporting, and supported by, types of knowledge which are both discursive and nondiscursive. They form clusters of institutions that have an impact on and influence each other and that are distinct from others by their own identity. The term cultural identity refers to two complementary phenomena: on the one hand, an inward sense of association or identification with a specific culture or subculture; on the other hand, an outward tendency within a specific culture to share a sense of what it has in common with other cultures and of what distinguishes it from other cultures. Like all social processes, these processes are not purely rational or preplanned events. We therefore live, as Benedict Anderson (1983) eloquently puts it, in "imagined communities." In such communities culture must be seen as the unintended result of an interweaving of the behavior of a group of people who interrelate and interact with each other.

1.8 Sustainability and Resilience

Sustainability and resilience are currently two of the many "buzz-words" in the academic community, especially with regard to how we understand processes of lasting social change. Indeed, although there is no formal definition of "sustainability," it remains popular in various political, social, and economic discourses, particularly those of environmental groups as a call to action to raise awareness around the

current depletion of finite natural resources (for recent overviews, see Senaratne 2017; Servaes 2013, 2017).

Sustainable Development is seen as a means of enhancing decision-making so that it provides a more comprehensive assessment of the many multidimensional problems society faces. What is required is an evaluation framework for categorizing programs, projects, policies, and/or decisions as having sustainability potential.

The word is most often associated with being able to meet the needs of the present (socially, economically, environmentally), without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987).

Phra Dhammapidhok (Payutto 1998) points out that sustainable development in a Western perspective lacks the human development dimension. He states that the Western ideology emphasizes "competition." Therefore the concept of "compromising" is used in the WCED definition. Compromising means lessen the needs of all parties. If the other parties do not want to compromise, you have to compromise your own needs and that will lead to frustration. Development won't be sustained if people are not happy.

He consequently reaches the conclusion that the western perception of and road to sustainability, based on Western ethics, leads development into a *cul-de-sac*.

From a Buddhist perspective, sustainability concerns ecology, economy, and *evolvability*. The concept "evolvability" means the potential of human beings to develop themselves into less selfish persons. The main core of sustainable development is to encourage and convince human beings to live in harmony with their environment, not to control nor destroy it. If humans have been socialized correctly, they will express the correct attitude towards nature and the environment and act accordingly. He argues that: "A correct relation system of developed mankind is the acceptance of the fact that human-being is part of the existence of nature and relates to its ecology. Human-being should develop itself to have a higher capacity to help his fellows and other species in the natural domain; to live in a harmonious way and lessen exploitations in order to contribute to a happier world" (Payutto 1998: 189).

This holistic approach of human relates to cultural development in three dimensions:

- Behaviors and lifestyles which do not harm nature.
- Minds in line with (Eastern) ethics, stability of mind, motivation, etc., to see other creatures as companions.
- Wisdom includes knowledge and understanding, attitude, norms, and values in order to live in harmony with nature.

Four dimensions are generally recognized as the "pillars" of sustainable development: economic, environmental, social, and cultural. "The essence of sustainability therefore, is to take the contextual features of economy, society, and environment – the uncertainty, the multiple competing values, and the distrust among various interest groups – as givens and go on to design a process that guides concerned groups to seek out and ask the right questions as a preventative approach to environmentally and socially regrettable undertakings" (Flint 2007: IV).

Recently, the term resiliency has been used by a variety of researchers, policy makers, and community organizers as a more relevant supplant to the term sustainability in the context of development and social change. Hopkins (2008: 54) defines resilience as "the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change, so as to retain essentially the same function, structure, identity and feedbacks." According to Zolli & Healy (2012: 10), a "truly resilient system is able to ensure continuity by dynamically reorganizing both the way it serves its purpose and the scale at which it operates." Thus, strategies of resilience might be developed for economic, social, and ecologic systems. There is no doubt that current global problems such as climate change and the economic crises make the call for "sustainability" and "resiliency" from different groups more urgent.

1.9 Communication for Development and Social Change

In essence, the coherence of Communication for Development and Social Change is expressed in its different common underlying premises. In all its diversity, such as in theory, method, medium, and region, it is characterized by a number of underlying common values and starting-points. These premises, values, and starting-points are (Servaes 2007):

- *The use of a culturalist viewpoint*
  By means of such a viewpoint, specific attention is given to communication in social change processes. By putting culture centrally from a user's perspective, other social science disciplines can significantly contribute to the field of Communication for Development and Social Change.
- *The use of an interpretative perspective*
  Participation, dialogue and an active vision of human beings as the interpreters of their environments are of the utmost importance. A highly considered value is the showing of respect and appreciation for the uniqueness of specific situations and identities in social change environments.
- *The use of integrated methods and theories*
  In the field of Communication for Development and Social Change, it is considered important that the chosen methods should be connected with the used theoretical perspective. This implies that openness, diversity, and flexibility in methods and techniques are valued. In practice it generally means triangulation and a preference for qualitative methods. This does not mean, however, that quantitative methods are excluded, and indeed an emphasis is placed on evidence-based scientific methodologies.
- *To show mutual understanding and attach importance to formal and informal intercultural teaching, training, and research*
  Tolerance, consciousness-raising, acceptance, and respect can only be arrived at when members of different cultures not only hear but also understand each other. This mutual understanding is a condition for development and social change. In order to prevent all forms of miscommunication, intercultural awareness, capacity building, and dialogue is deemed very important.

Therefore, a short-hand definition of Communication for Development and Social Change could read as follows:

> *Communication for development and social change is the nurturing of knowledge aimed at creating a consensus for action that takes into account the interests, needs and capacities of all concerned. It is thus a social process, which has as its ultimate objective sustainable development/change at distinct levels of society.*
>
> *Communication media and ICTs are important tools in achieving social change but their use is not an end in itself. Interpersonal communication, traditional and group media must also play a fundamental role.*

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Communication for Development and Social Change: In Search of a New Paradigm

2

Jan Servaes

Contents

2.1 Three Paradigms on Communication for Development ... 17
2.2 Two Communication Models ... 19
2.3 The Policy Options of the Three Paradigms ... 20
2.4 Globalization and Localization ... 22
2.5 The Right to Communicate ... 22
2.6 The Constraints of the Framework Under Study ... 23
2.7 Conclusion ... 25
References ... 26

Abstract

This chapter outlines three development paradigms which are still being applied in theory and praxis: modernization, dependency, and multiplicity. It then argues that these paradigms determine the way two dominant communication models have emerged. Each development paradigm and communication model leads to divergent policy options at different levels of societal change: local, national, international, global.

The right to communication is presented as a translation of the communication policy of the multiplicity paradigm. This principle, as a fundamental human right, clearly indicates that another communication model necessitates democratization and thus a redistribution of the power on all levels. The point of departure is not an elitist position but development from the grass roots.

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Keywords

Modernization · Dependency · Multiplicity · Diffusion model · Participatory communication · Policies · Right to communicate

Cultural and communication dimensions of development have long been given short shrift: only in the last 40 years or so has it been realized that culture and communication could well have a fundamental impact on the entire question of development or social change.

It is generally agreed that thinking about development and communication as a distinct discipline emerged after the Second World War. Since that time this new field has become increasingly complicated, mainly due to changes in the societal and world system on one hand and the interdisciplinary nature of development and communication studies on the other hand.

Besides this interdisciplinary character of doing communication for development, Bjorn Hettne (1990) reports three more reasons for its complexity. First, more than conventional economics, sociology, or political science, development theory is concerned with structural change. Second, development theory has been closely related to development strategy in order to find solutions. And, third, development theory is more explicitly normative than social sciences in general. In our opinion, the same is true for communication theory analyzed at the macro level. That is the level of communication as a social function in society.

At the risk of oversimplification, we would like to take Karl Erik Rosengren's typology (1981, 2000: 57) as our starting point. Rosengren returns to the old but still basic question of the relationship between culture and social structure. He distinguishes between two extremes: "social structure influences culture" versus "culture influences social structure." For our purposes, we read social structure as social change or development and culture as communication (both software and hardware, thus including technology). Next, Rosengren puts these basic propositions in a cross-tabulation in order to classify the four main types of the relationship: cultural autonomy, culture creates social structure (idealism), social structure creates culture (materialism), and the interdependence or mutual influence between both (cf. Table 1).

Far too often the discussion on the relationship between development and communication concerns mainly the axis materialism-idealism. But, the focus of attention has somewhat shifted more in favor of interdependence-autonomy and from a holistic, overall perspective to a more differentiated one.

As we will elaborate later, most of the communication approaches toward modernization can be placed under the heading of idealism in Rosengren's typology. According to the modernization theory, the developed world played an important role in modernizing and facilitating economic development in the developing world. The mass media were seen as being instrumental in achieving this goal, as it was believed that media messages had a powerful impact in these underdeveloped societies.

Table 1 Types of relations between culture (communication) and society (development)

		Development influences communication	
		YES	NO
Communication influences development	YES	Interdependence	Idealism
	NO	Materialism	Autonomy

2.1 Three Paradigms on Communication for Development

Most authors who are concerned with the problem of development set two views, schools, or paradigms next to or in opposition to each other: "modernization and growth" versus "dependency and underdevelopment." While the first paradigm can be considered the oldest and most deeply rooted view in Western thought, the dependency theory came from Latin America. However, since paradigms in the social sciences tend to build on each other rather than to reject each other radically, a new vision has emerged over the last few decades. It focuses on the elements neglected by the previous paradigms. Therefore, it can be put forward that social sciences are in a pluri-paradigmatic state, thus emphasizing that the multiplicity of viewpoints and associated methodological approaches are the norm rather than the exemption. We have described this new paradigm as another and multidimensional development or in short the "multiplicity" paradigm (Servaes 1999, 2008).

During the late 1940s and 1950s, most development thinkers stated that the problem of underdevelopment or "backwardness" could be solved by a more or less mechanical application of the economic and political system in the West to countries in the Third World, under the assumption that the differences were of degree and not of kind. This mainly economic-oriented view, characterized by endogenism and evolutionism that occurred in the industrialized countries, ultimately resulted in the modernization and growth theory. Development in a given country can be stimulated by importing factors – capital, technology, expertise, and skills – from industrialized nations and by imposing internal measures that support modernized sectors and modernize traditional sectors.

Development in the modernization paradigm is seen as inevitable. It is a spontaneous and an irreversible process inherent in every single society. This need for a more global perspective has been strengthened as the present worldwide crisis shows the degree to which the world economy has become a reality. Therefore, the need for a more contextual analysis becomes apparent. Progressing through discernible, predetermined stages assessed primarily by industrial base and economic criteria, development of this genre implies structural differentiation and functional specialization – capital-centered modes of production. The concept is defined by and for those nations that are developed. And it was also accepted by the elites in developing countries.

In a word, development is the state of being or becoming "westernized." The process of development can be divided into distinct stages showing the level of development achieved by each society. Whereas the cause of underdevelopment

in this paradigm lies in the "backwardness" of the developing society, the stimulus to change and development or growth is exogenous. Hence, culture and social structure, the essence of society, are seen as the primary impediments to its "progress."

As a result of the general intellectual "revolution" that took place in the mid-1960s, this Euro- or ethnocentric view on development, which is generally referred to as modernization, was challenged by Latin American social scientists, and a theory dealing with dependency and underdevelopment was born. This dependency approach formed part of a general structuralistic reorientation in the social sciences. The so-called dependistas were primarily concerned with the effects of dependency in peripheral countries, but implicit in their analysis was the idea that development and underdevelopment must be understood in the context of the world system.

The most basic criticism of the modernization paradigm was that it did not work. Rather than underdevelopment being a stage on the road to development, the dependistas saw them as two sides of the same coin; an underdeveloped periphery was prerequisite for the existence of the developed center. Due to the fact that the periphery is deprived of its surplus, development in the center implies underdevelopment in the periphery.

Therefore, the process of development is analyzed in terms of relations between regions, central and peripheral. Dependency theory asserts that the causes of underdevelopment are external to the underdeveloped nation, that is, global economic structures, while the cure could be found in the nation itself, chiefly through economic and cultural dissociation from world markets and self-reliance.

The dependency paradigm, both in theory and policy, focused almost exclusively on analysis at the international level and bypassed analogous relations of exploitation and inequity intra-nationally, serving to enhance the positions of the many Third World elites handsomely, as well as failing to prescribe any concrete solution.

Both the modernization and dependency paradigms employ an overwhelmingly economic, technological framework of analysis, ignoring cultural, aesthetic, environmental, or other more holistic considerations. Dependency theory is much more a description of structures than a prescription for a sustainable growth or significant social change.

Contrary to the more economic- and political-oriented views of the modernization and dependency theories, the central idea in the multiplicity paradigm is that there is no universal path to development and that development must be conceived as an integral, multidimensional, and dialectic process which can differ from one country to another. In other words, every society must define development for itself and find its own strategy.

At the same time, this also implies that the problem of development is relative. Therefore, according to this paradigm, no part of the world can claim to be developed in all respects. Furthermore, the discussion on the degree and scope of inter(in) dependence is connected with the content of development. According to this view, "another" development could be defined as need-oriented, endogenous, self-reliant, and ecologically sound and based on participatory democracy and structural transformations.

All nations, in one way or the other, are dependent upon one another. Consequently, internal and external factors inevitably influence the development process. Development has to be studied in a global context, in which both center and periphery, as well as their interrelated subdivisions, have to be taken into consideration.

More attention is also being paid to the content of development, which implies a more normative approach. Another development questions whether "developed" countries are in fact developed and whether this genre of progress is sustainable or desirable. It favors a multiplicity of approaches based on the context and the basic, felt needs and the empowerment of the most oppressed sectors of various societies at divergent levels. A main thesis is that change must be structural and occur at multiple levels in order to achieve these ends.

In order to provide a brief overview of the historical development of these three major development theories, we can identify the following number of shifts in scientific thinking:

1. From a more positivistic, quantitative, and comparative approach to a normative, qualitative, and structural approach
2. From a universal, formally descriptive model to a more substantial, change-oriented, and less predictable model
3. From a Euro- or ethnocentric view to an indigenistic view and then to a contextual and polycentric view
4. From endogenism to exogenism and then to globalism and localism
5. From an economic interest to more universal and interdisciplinary interests
6. From a primarily national frame of reference to an international perspective and then to combined levels of analysis
7. From segmentary to holistic approaches and then to more problem-oriented approaches
8. From an integrative and reformist strategy to revolutionary options and then to an integral vision on revolutionary and evolutionary change

2.2 Two Communication Models

In line with linear models of communication formulated in the West, communication was understood as a straight line, from the developed "source" to the underdeveloped "receiver." Congruent with the modernization philosophy, the diffusion and development support communication approaches tend to assign responsibility for the problem of underdevelopment to peoples residing in those societies.

Development as modernization and communication as one-way persuasion reached their zenith through the diffusion of innovations, the two-step flow, and other "social marketing" strategies of attitude and behavior change directed at "underdeveloped" peoples. Mass media play the preeminent role in the campaign of development through communication, and early predictions were of great effects.

Bi-directional models and strategies such as feedback were added to render the initial message more effective.

Contrary to the top-down communication model, the participatory model sees people as the controlling actors or participants for development. Development means lifting up the spirits of a local community to take pride in its own culture, intellect, and environment. Development aims to educate and stimulate people to be active in self and communal improvements while maintaining a balanced ecology. Authentic participation, though widely espoused in the literature, is not in everyone's interest. Such programs are not easily implemented, highly predictable, or readily controlled. People will have self-appreciation instead of self-depreciation. Development is meant to liberate and emancipate people. Local culture is respected.

The participatory model emphasizes on the local community rather than the nation state, on universalism rather than nationalism, on spiritualism rather than secular humanism, on dialogue rather than monologue, and on emancipation rather than alienation.

Participation involves the redistribution of power. Participation aims at redistributing the elites' power so that a community can become a full-fledged democratic one. As such, it directly threatens those whose position and/or very existence depends upon power and its exercise over others. Reactions to such threats are sometimes overt, but most often are manifested as less visible, yet steady and continuous resistance.

2.3 The Policy Options of the Three Paradigms

The principle of free flow of information can be considered the communication policy application of the modernization paradigm. After a fascistic and authoritarian period of war, it took little effort in 1945 for the Free West, led by the United States, to have this principle accepted as a universal value within the United Nations. This principle of freedom was initially interpreted in a rather individualistic and liberal manner and formed the basis of the so-called free press theory that still determines the international communication policy of many Western government and communication transnationals, as well as of the Third World elites oriented to the West. It took considerable time before this extreme liberal vision would be provided with a more social explanation particularly in the so-called social responsibility or social-liberal theory. The major difference between the free press and social responsibility theory is related to the question whether the freedom of information principle can or should only be guaranteed by private competition or also by public authorities and institutionalized groups of media workers and media consumers. In everyday life one observes that publishers, both in Western and Southern countries, advocate extreme liberal interpretations of the above principle. Governments, on the other hand, tend to take more ambivalent and varied positions, which are more in line with the latter interpretations of the free flow principle. However, one observes differences between Western European and US governmental policies. While the former attempts to regulate the market, the United States is, at least theoretically, in favor of total liberalization and deregulation policies.

With the development of the dependency viewpoint, this free and unhindered flow of information, grafted into the free flow doctrine, was challenged. From the Third World, arguments were put forth for a free and balanced flow of information, a principle that was backed particularly by the non-aligned nations in the debate on the New International Information Order (Nordenstreng and Schiller 1993). At the same time, it was contended that this free and balanced flow could be better guaranteed and organized by governments than by private enterprises. These viewpoints are explicitly formulated in the so-called development media theory (McQuail 2005) and are also implicitly there in social-authoritarian and social-centralistic philosophies (Gordon and Merrill 1988).

This position was strongly contested by the defenders of a free press, who charged that it could lead to governmental censure and curbs on the press. And, indeed, in reality, this did often appear to be the case. In Latin America, the mother continent of the dependency paradigm, the process of capitalistic state intervention brought authoritarian, initially military governments into power that tried to centralize the decision-making and opinion formation. These governments control the production and distribution of communication and used the media for their own legitimation purposes.

These countries have a contradictory communication policy. Abroad, they support a free and balanced flow of information, while they do as much as they can to keep it under control within their own borders. The same applies, moreover, for many Western nations. The US government, for example, supports free export of American communication products but tries to stop the import of such products from abroad as much as possible by protectionist measures. Even Ithiel de Sola Pool (1983), one of the fierce propagandists of the free flow principles, had to admit that "in rhetoric, the United States government favors diversity of voices and seeks to break up communications monopolies. The reality, however, is more ambiguous" (Pool 1983: 241).

In general, the governments of these countries hold rather contradictory views with regard to external versus internal communication policy principles. They support the demands for an expansion of the free and balanced flow between and among countries, but not within the borders of their individual nations. Therefore, the policy options of the two paradigms have one fundamental trait in common: they are elitist in the sense that they only want to increase the power of their respective elites and certainly do not strive to achieve universal social development. While the modernization paradigm legitimates the interests of Western political and economic interest groups and their "bridgeheads" in the Global South, the dependency theory meets the economic and political needs of those Global South elites who want to play an autonomous role. While the first group thus strives for international integration, the second group wants to turn back the international dependency relationship by means of a radical and dissociative policy. In both cases, however, little is done to alter the internal power relationships and dependency structures. We can therefore distinguish between an international or extern-national and intra-national or domestic policy level (see Table 2).

Table 2 Policy options of the three paradigms

	Modernization	Dependency	Multiplicity
External (International)	Integration	Dissociation	Selective participation
Internal (Domestic)	Integration	Integration	Dissociation

2.4 Globalization and Localization

Globalization has not fundamentally altered the above situation. It is fair to say that communication has been facing new challenges in the last decade, as a consequence of globalization, media liberalization, rapid economic and social change, and the emergence of new information and communication technologies (ICTs). Liberalization has led not only to greater media freedom but also to the emergence of an increasingly consumer-led and urban-centered communication infrastructure, which is less and less interested in the concerns of the poor and rural people. Women and other vulnerable groups continue to experience marginalization and lack of access to communication resources of all kinds (Brown 2016; Hafez 2007; Sparks 2007; Servaes and Oyedemi 2016; Scholte 2005).

The issue of ensuring access to information and the right to communication as a precondition for empowering marginalized groups has been addressed by several meetings and international conferences (for instance, at the World Summit on the Information Society in 2005). The debates in the general field of international and intercultural communication have shifted and broadened. They have shifted in the sense that they are now focusing on issues related to "global culture," "local culture," "(post)modernity," and "multiculturalism" instead of their previous concern with "modernization," "synchronization," and "cultural imperialism." With these "new" discussions, the debates have also shifted from an emphasis on homogeneity toward an *emphasis on differences* (De Cuellar 1995; Lie 2003; Servaes 2015).

Diversity not only exists *between* cultures but also *within* cultures. All cultures are plural, creole, hybrid, and multicultural from within. There are no (more) authentic, pure, traditional, and isolated cultures in the world, if they ever existed at all (Hopper 2007). In relation to the media, this means that perspectives need to be no longer monistic but from a multiplicity approach, and media have to be looked at in combined ways, such as in multimedia approaches. Within this multiplicity perspective, then, community media need to be appreciated as a major form of media from a people's perspective for development (Carpentier et al. 2012).

2.5 The Right to Communicate

The right to communication is offered as a translation of the communication policy of the multiplicity paradigm. This principle, as a fundamental human right, clearly indicates that another communication model necessitates democratization and thus a redistribution of the power on all levels. The point of departure is not an elitist position but development from the grass roots. Even the well-known MacBride

Table 3 A comparison between a dominance and a pluralism model

	Dominance Top to bottom	Pluralism Bottom to top
Societal source	Ruling class or dominant elite	Competing political, socio-cultural interest groups
Media	Under concentrated ownership and of uniform type	Many and independent of each other
Structure	Hierarchical, bureaucratic	Horizontal, egalitarian
Production	Standardized, routinized, control-led, synchronic	Creative, free, original, free, diachronic
Content and ideology	Selective and coherent, decided from "above"	Diverse and competing views, decided from "below"
Audience	Dependent, passive, organized on large scale	Fragmented, selective, reactive, and active
Effects	Strong and confirmative of established social order	Numerous, without consistency or predictability of direction

report suggests that the right to communicate "promises to advance the democratization of communication on all levels – international, national, local, individual" (MacBride 1980: 171).

Fundamental here is the other vision of the role of the authorities in processes of social change. Unlike the confidence in and respect for the role of the state, which is characteristic of the modernization and dependency paradigms, the multiplicity paradigm has a rather reserved attitude toward the authorities. Policies should be built on more selective participation strategies of dissociation and association (Servaes 1999). Communication rights are closely related to human rights (Hamelink 2004; Servaes 2017).

The points of difference between the two options and the ideal-typical political consequences following from them are set side by side in Table 3, which makes a political division between a dominant and a pluralistic model (adapted from McQuail 2005: 88). Along with this "political" distinction goes an implicit distinction between two models of the process by which the top of society is related, by way of mass communication, to the various groups at the bottom. This dominance model could stand for the "elitist" aims of both the modernization and dependency paradigms, while the pluralist model is more suitable for the "basic" needs of the third perspective.

These two models have fundamentally different policy and planning implications. It makes a great difference whether policy priorities and planning projects are designed and worked out from the perspective of the top or of the grass roots. This is shown by Table 4 (adapted from Tehranian 1979: 123), which places the two positions next to each other for a number of development and communication objectives.

2.6 The Constraints of the Framework Under Study

First, the chronological approach applied here has a certain bias in creating the impression that later theoretical contributions replace earlier ones. Although new innovations often were stimulated by shortcomings of previous theorizing on the

Table 4 Development and communication objectives viewed from a top versus bottom perspective

Top perspective	Bottom perspective
National power and security Social mobilization	Individual choice and freedom Social mobility
National identity, integration, and unity	Sub-national (ethnic or group interest) identity and solidarity
Economic growth (rise in national income)	Income distribution and social justice
Political socialization	Political participation
Property and business rights	Public and consumer rights
Educational and professional advance	Educational and professional opportunities
Information control	Information access
Majority rule (where there is electoral democracy)	Minority rights
Central control and direction	Regional and local autonomy
Cultural and artistic direction (sometimes censorship)	Cultural and artistic creativity (sometimes subversive)
Ideological and cultural control	Intellectual and artistic freedom
Mass media centered (one-way communication)	Multiple communication use (social media and interpersonal communication)
Emphasis on solutions	Emphasis on questions and problems
Product oriented	Process oriented

one hand and according to Kuhn (1962) theoretical changes in the social sciences are different from positive sciences on the other hand, these three paradigms still do find support among academics, policymakers, as well as the general public. Both the modernization and dependency paradigms today still have their proponents and opponents and are thus used in specific circles, by policymakers and by the public at large. In general, in academic circles, the modernization vision was dominant until the second half of the 1960s. Nowadays, this dominance remains discerned in Western policymaking institutions and public opinion. The majority of the Western public opinion sticks to the ethnocentric and paternalistic views which are present in the modernization theory. Because in the social sciences "paradigms" tend to accumulate rather than to replace each other, we conceive paradigms as "frames of meaning" which are mediated by others: "The process of learning a paradigm or language-game as the expression of a form of life is also a process of learning what that paradigm is not : that is to say, learning to mediate it with other, rejected, alternatives, by contrast to which the claims of the paradigm in question are clarified. The process is itself often embroiled in the struggles over interpretation which result from the internal fragmentation of frames of meaning, and from the fragility of the boundaries that separate what is 'internal' to the frame from what is 'external' to it, that is, belongs to discrete or rival meaning frames" (Giddens 1976: 144). Therefore, Kuhn (1970: 172) puts it nicely that a paradigm is what the members of a scientific community share, and, by the same token, a scientific community consists of men and women who share a paradigm.

Consequently, in each time period, one can make a distinction between a dominant and an alternative perspective on development on the one hand, and, on the other hand, each paradigm can be further subdivided in what can be called its "mainstream" of thinking and its "counterpoints." As already has been pointed out, the modernization paradigm continues to be influential at the political level although it no longer enjoys the widespread theoretical endorsement which it did up until the mid-1960s. However, broadly speaking, the beliefs upon which it is built – that is, economic growth, centralized planning, and the explanation for the state of underdevelopment as sought in chiefly internal causes which can be solved by external (technological) "aid" – are still shared by many governments, development agencies associated with the United Nations, the World Bank and so on, and, of course, transnational companies. Also public opinion is sensitive to the paternalism with respect to non-Western cultures that characterize the modernization theory.

Another observation concerns the evolution in thinking of certain theorists and researchers. As has been argued already, paradigms in the social sciences build on one another rather than breaking fundamentally with previous theories. As a consequence, many individual thinkers deepen and widen their views in an evolutionary, sometimes dialectic way. So it might occur that their earlier work can be viewed as an eloquent evidence of the modernization or dependency theory, while their later publications are more in line with the multiplicity paradigm.

However, a related and less likely aspect, which can be considered to be one of the major flaws in many well-intended policy recommendations, concerns the mixing of these paradigms in a rather contradictory fashion. Very often reports of academics and policymakers are heaped with all sorts of fashionable recommendations. This is, for instance, the case with much of the technology debate.

Another related topic deals with the problem of power and the legitimization of power relationships. Each social order can be characterized by an interrelated division between an (economic) base and an (ideological and symbolic) superstructure. According to Pierre Bourdieu (1979, 1980), call the dominant classes upon an ideological and symbolic preponderance not only to maintain their position in the social hierarchy but also to justify it. This symbolic system has a "symbolic power" because it is capable of construing reality in a directed manner. Its symbolic power does not lie in the symbolic system itself but in the social relationships between those who exercise the power and those who are subject to it. Symbolic power functions mainly "unconsciously" as the legitimation criterion for the existing social and economic power relationships and creates "myths" and "ways of life." So, in reality, not only normative but also, and especially so, power factors play a role in policy and planning making, especially when it comes to confirming and carrying out policy recommendations.

2.7 Conclusion

There have historically been two dominant paradigms informing the communication for development sector. In recent decades, a third paradigm emerged: multiplicity or one world, multiple cultures. The paradigm shifts can be observed among individual

scientists as well as in particular research projects and publications. Despite some reorientations and shifts, older paradigms have not "vanished" as theories, and in fact there are still quite vocal applications of these.

The shifts in the area of scholarly research are also visible in policy and planning making. Policy and planning making is based on a number of assumptions, usually provided and supported by social-scientific research. These assumptions serve as a guidance for policymakers of various social sectors to justify their policy.

In the domain of the freedom of expression and the freedom of the press, one can observe a double evolution in the postwar period. Whereas originally the active right of the so-called sender-communicator to supply information without externally imposed restrictions was emphasized, nowadays the passive as well as active right of the receiver to be informed and to inform gets more attention. Therefore the principle of the right to communicate was introduced as it contains both the passive and active right of the receiver to inform and be informed. It is worth noting that development broadcasting, by applying a "from below" approach, plays an important role in the development communication process. We believe that it is the multiplicity paradigm which brings together some past approaches in order to better serve the need for communication for development. Adequate policies for the public to be well-informed must be put in place, but just as much attention must be given to the rights of those audiences to not just receive information but also to actively engage in the communication process.

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Key Concepts, Disciplines, and Fields in Communication for Development and Social Change

3

Jan Servaes and Rico Lie

Contents

3.1 Introduction 30
3.2 Key Concepts and Practices 32
3.2.1 Normative Concepts 32
3.2.2 Contextual Concepts 36
3.2.3 Strategies and Methodologies 38
3.2.4 Methods, Techniques, and Tools 39
3.2.5 Advocacy and Impact Assessment 39
3.3 Sub-disciplines 40
3.3.1 Strategic Communication and Participatory Communication 41
3.3.2 Crisis Communication and Risk Communication 42
3.3.3 Journalism and International Communication 43
3.4 Thematic Sub-disciplines 43
3.4.1 Health Communication 44
3.4.2 Agricultural Extension and Rural Communication 45
3.4.3 Environmental Communication 46
3.5 Fields and Areas 47
3.5.1 Right to Communicate 48
3.5.2 Education and Learning 48
3.5.3 Innovation, Science, and Technology 49
3.5.4 Natural Resource Management 49
3.5.5 Food Security 50
3.5.6 Inequality and Poverty Reduction 51
3.5.7 Peace and Conflict 51

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3.5.8 Children and Youth, Women, and Senior Citizens 52
3.5.9 Tourism 52
3.6 Conclusions 53
References 55

Abstract

We first identify five clusters of concepts and practices that are currently actively circulating and determine the activities and approaches in the field of Communication for Sustainable Development and Social Change: (1) a *normative* cluster of concepts; (2) a cluster of concepts that sets an important *context* for communication activities for development; (3) a cluster of *strategic and methodological* concepts; (4) a cluster of concepts that relate to *methods*, *techniques*, and *tools*; and (5) a cluster of concepts that addresses the practices of *advocacy*, *(participatory) monitoring and evaluation*, and *impact assessment*.

Then we examine *sub-disciplines* and *fields and areas* of aspects of Communication for Sustainable Development and Social Change. We make a distinction between *non-thematic sub-disciplines*, which cover a domain within communication science and *thematic sub-disciplines*, which cover a life science theme in the development sector. The thematic sub-disciplines are (a) *health communication*, (b) *agricultural extension and rural communication*, and (c) *environmental communication (including climate change communication)*.

The fields and areas that are discussed are (a) right to communicate; (b) *education and learning*; (c) *innovation*, *science*, and *technology*; (d) *natural resource management*; (e) *food security*; (f) *poverty reduction*; (g) *peace and conflict*; (h) *children and youth*, *women*, and *senior citizens*; and (i) *tourism*.

Keywords

Normative concepts · Context of development · Strategic and methodological concepts · Methods, techniques, and tools · Practices of advocacy, (participatory) monitoring and evaluation, and impact assessment · Health communication · Agricultural extension · Rural communication · Environmental communication · Climate change communication · Journalism · International communication

3.1 Introduction

Most of the available historical accounts on development communication are related to distinctively different paradigms: the modernization, the dependency, and the multiplicity paradigm (see, for instance, Melkote and Steeves 2001; Servaes 1999; Waisbord 2018). Development within these paradigms stemmed from the Western drive to develop the world after the colonization period and the Second World War. A rethink of the "power" of development within which communication plays an important role has been caused by a number of events: the collapse of the Soviet

Union that resulted in the United States as the only remaining "superpower" in the late 1980s, the birth of the European Union and the rising power of China; and the gradual coming to the foreground of the regional powers such as Brazil, Russian, India, and South Africa in the BRICS countries. The traditional ways of thinking about doing development as a copycat of the Western way are being challenged by a more cultural, religious, and ethnic base. The dichotomous way of looking at development as "developed" as the Western World and "underdeveloped" (or developing) has been diverted to pay more attention to the "hearts and minds" of the stakeholders.

In this chapter, which builds on Lie and Servaes (2015) and Servaes and Lie (2015), we take a different approach. It starts with the current existing situation in daily development practices and frames this situation from a communication science perspective. It first identifies five clusters of concepts and practices that are currently actively circulating and determining the activities and approaches in the field. These clusters are (1) a *normative* cluster of concepts (e.g., sustainability, democracy, participation, empowerment, equity, social inclusion, human rights, and accountability); (2) a cluster of concepts that sets an important *context* for communication activities for development (e.g., globalization, gender, social movements, cultural diversity, and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)); (3) a cluster of *strategic and methodological* concepts (e.g., social marketing, entertainment-education, social mobilization, knowledge management, knowledge sharing, and co-creation); (4) a cluster of concepts that relate to *methods*, *techniques*, and *tools* (e.g., (digital) storytelling, the most significant change approach, community/village mapping, empowerment evaluation, mobile phones, social media, film, video, drama, and art); and (5) a cluster of concepts that addresses the practices of *advocacy*, *(participatory) monitoring and evaluation*, and *impact assessment*.

After having discussed these five clusters, we examine *sub-disciplines* and *fields and areas* of aspects of Communication for Development and Social Change. The sub-disciplines we discuss are more or less established sub-disciplines within the discipline of communication science and at the same time have established a community of interest within the field of Communication for Development and Social Change. We make a distinction between *non-thematic sub-disciplines*, which cover a domain within communication science (strategic communication, participatory communication, crisis communication, risk communication, journalism and international communication), and *thematic sub-disciplines*, which cover a life science theme in the development sector. The thematic sub-disciplines are (a) *health communication*, (b) *agricultural extension and rural communication*, and (c) *environmental communication (including climate change communication)*. Fields and areas are seen as currently of importance and concern within development studies and development interventions and have demonstrated an interest in communication. The fields and areas that are discussed are (a) right to communicate; (b) *education and learning*; (c) *innovation*, *science*, and *technology*; (d) *natural resource management*; (e) *food security*; (f) *poverty reduction*; (g) *peace and conflict*; (h) *children and youth*, *women*, and *senior citizens*; and (i) *tourism*. The sections that follow address the role of communication within these areas.

3.2 Key Concepts and Practices

This section makes a distinction between concepts: normative ones; contextual ones; strategic and methodological ones; ones that relate to methods, techniques, and tools; and concepts and practices that relate to advocacy, (participatory) monitoring and evaluation (PM&E), and impact assessment. Practices are seen as activities that use particular approaches. Normative concepts deal with good and bad, right and wrong, morality, ethics, norms, and values and make claims about how things should or ought to be. The discussed contextual concepts are important to better understand the role of the environment in which development communication interventions take place. Strategies, methodologies, methods, techniques, and tools are important to know how to design interventions in the field of communication for development. Strategies and methodologies are systematic ways of approaching complex problems. They state the philosophy and vision behind the way things are done and imply a set of systematic procedures. They include an epistemological and ontological positioning. Methods, techniques, and tools refer to the ways the strategies and methodologies are actually used. Methods employ techniques and thus include considerations of appropriate tools. Finally, advocacy is discussed as a communication practice that aims to bring about change in governance and policies. Monitoring and evaluation of projects is then discussed as related to assessing the impact of interventions.

3.2.1 Normative Concepts

Sustainable development has emerged as one of the most prominent development paradigms. In 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) – in short Brundtland Commission – concluded that "sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." Sustainable development is seen as a means of enhancing decision-making so that it provides a more comprehensive assessment of the many multidimensional problems society faces. What is required is an evaluation framework for categorizing programs, projects, policies, and/or decisions as having sustainability potential (Lennie and Tacchi 2013).

Four dimensions are generally recognized as the "pillars" of sustainable development: economic, environmental, social, and cultural. "The essence of sustainability therefore, is to take the contextual features of economy, society, and environment – the uncertainty, the multiple competing values, and the distrust among various interest groups – as givens and go on to design a process that guides concerned groups to seek out and ask the right questions as a preventative approach to environmentally and socially regrettable undertakings" (Flint 2007: IV).

In addition to the "Western" perspective represented by the Brundtland Commission, one could also refer to "Eastern" or Buddhist perspectives, as presented by the Thai philosophers and social critics Sulak Sivaraksa (2010) and Phra Dhammapidhok (Payutto 1998). They point out that sustainable development in a Western perspective lacks the human development dimension and that the Western

ideology emphasizes "competition." Therefore the concept of "compromising" is used in the above WCED definition. Compromising means lessen the needs of all parties. If the other parties do not want to compromise, you have to compromise your own needs, and that will lead to frustration. Development won't be sustained if people are not happy.

From a Buddhist perspective, sustainability concerns ecology, economy, and *evolvability*. The concept "evolvability" means the potential of human beings to develop themselves into less selfish persons. The main core of sustainable development is to encourage and convince human beings to live in harmony with their environment, not to control or destroy it. If humans have been socialized correctly, they will express the correct attitude toward nature and the environment and act accordingly. Therefore, Payutto states that: "A correct relation system of developed mankind is the acceptance of the fact that human-being is part of the existence of nature and relates to its ecology. Human-being should develop itself to have a higher capacity to help his fellows and other species in the natural domain; to live in a harmonious way and lessen exploitations in order to contribute to a happier world" (Payutto 1998: 189).

Different perspectives (such as the TERMS approach developed in Thailand that builds on Buddhist principles and the "efficiency economy" concept outlined by the late King Bhumibol – see Servaes and Malikhao 2007; Malikhao 2019) have, over the years, influenced this holistic and integrated vision of sustainable development as a viable way to sustainable development and happiness. Sivaraksa (2010: 66) lists the following indicators of happiness:

- The degree of trust, social capital, cultural continuity, and social solidarity
- The general level of spiritual development and emotional intelligence
- The degree to which basic needs are satisfied
- Access to and the ability to benefit from health care and education
- The level of environmental integrity, including species loss or gain, pollution, and environmental degradation

It is relevant to emphasize that this "Eastern" perspective is not "uniquely" Eastern as it has been promoted in other parts of the world as well. For instance, in the late 1970s, the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation advocated three foundations for "another" or sustainable development: (a) Another Development is geared to the satisfaction of needs, beginning with the eradication of poverty; (b) Another Development is endogenous and self-reliant; and (c) Another Development is in harmony with the physical and cultural ecology (Nerfin 1977).

Also the World Commission on Culture and Development, chaired by Javier Pérez de Cuéllar (1995), started from similar assumptions. It stressed that "development," which is divorced from its human or cultural context, is like "growth without a soul." This means culture is as essential as economic growth when thinking about development. The report states that people's culture cannot be compelled by a government but the government is partly influenced by the culture (De Cuéllar 1995: 15).

The basic principle should be the fostering of respect for all cultures that are tolerant to others' values. Respect goes beyond tolerance, and that implies having a positive attitude toward and rejoicing in cultures. Social peace is necessary for human development; it requires that we should not regard differences among cultures as neither something alien, nor unacceptable, nor hateful. Rather, we should look at those differences as the experiments of ways of living together that we all gain valuable lessons and information from (De Cuéllar 1995: 25).

The Human Development Report 2004 and the *United Nations Millennium Declaration* (2000) advocate these principles of cultural liberty and cultural respect in today's diverse world for similar reasons: "The central issue in cultural liberty is the capability of people to live as they would choose, with adequate opportunity to consider other options" (UNDP 2004: 17).

Therefore, in contrast to the more economically and politically oriented approach in the traditional perspectives on sustainable development, the central idea in alternative, more culturally oriented versions is that there is *no universal development model* which leads to sustainability at all levels of society and the world. Development is an integral, multidimensional, and dialectic process that can differ from society to society, community to community, and context to context. In other words, each society and community must attempt to delineate its own strategy for sustainable development (Servaes 1999). This implies that development problems are relative and there is no single society that can proclaim it is "developed" in every aspect.

In other words, sustainable rural development is the kind of change that takes the current as well as the future generations of humanity and nature into account. It aims to improve the quality of life and the integrity of the environment for all. Communication plays a vital role in this kind of change (for more details, see Servaes 2013). Communication for Development and Social Change is therefore never neutral. Communication takes side with human development with respect to one another and for the environment in which we live. Taking such a normative stand illuminates some concepts as more valuable than others. These concepts are especially normative political ones: democracy, participation, human rights, empowerment, equity, accountability, leadership, champions, and resilience.

Thinking about *participation* is more balanced today as compared to the 1970s and 1980s when different development organizations started questioning existing theories and practices of development and demanded more participatory approaches to be introduced. Nowadays, not everything needs to be "bottom-up" anymore and not everybody needs to participate in everything all of the time. Participatory communication, participatory action research, participatory rural appraisals (PRA), participatory learning and action (PLA), participatory needs assessments, and participatory budgeting found their way into the mainstream of development activities, and we seem to have found a new balance, at least in theory. Nevertheless, participation remains one of the key concepts in development studies and interventions, and many other concepts relate in a direct or indirect way to participation (Carpentier). *Empowerment* and *giving people a voice* still address the de-marginalization of particular groups in society. In the context of democratization

and civil society movements, scholars value *involvement of all stakeholders*, *engagement of stakeholders*, and *stakeholder analyses and consultations* (Wallerstein et al. 2017). They also started to address the concepts of equity and social inclusions. They gradually add (human) rights-based approaches on to the area of development and social change activities (Van Hemelrijck 2013). Rights-based approaches stress that everyone has the right to engage in decision-making processes that affect their own lives.

Much of the political economy and political science literature continues viewing *democracy* in one-dimensional terms, primarily in terms of political rights. This is particularly pronounced in the empirical literature, especially in the recent strand that seeks to identify the determinants of democracy. BenYishay and Betancourt (2013) expand on this view of democracy by incorporating the role of civil liberties, noting that these are conceptually at the core of modern democracy. They offer a conceptual framework that identifies five sources of potential differences in the evolution of political rights and civil liberties and investigate the empirical evidence on this differential evolution using cross-national panel data based on the Freedom House measures of political rights and civil liberties. Perhaps the most important policy implication of their analysis is that in promoting democracy, it makes sense to emphasize the provision of civil liberties. "Our empirical findings suggest that at least some civil liberties are necessary for political rights but the reverse is not the case. Free and fair elections are necessary for democracy, but they are far from sufficient. Part of their value is that by conferring legitimacy on the winners, they prevent the loss of life and property associated with other mechanisms for transferring power inter-temporally. By the same token, however, they provide no legitimacy for the trampling of civil liberties associated with illiberal democracies" (BenYishay and Betancourt 2013: 31).

Accountability, transparency, (corporate) social responsibility, accessibility, and efficiency are concepts that directly relate to how organizations should operate. The concept of accountability is relatively new to the field of Communication for Development and Social

Change. Being able to manifest accountability and social responsibility reflects good governance. In its basic form, accountability is about taking explicit responsibility for one's actions. Mutual accountability in partnerships is increasingly becoming the norm. Other related concepts that have recently entered the arena of development discourse are *leadership*, *champions*, and *resilience*. Centralizing the issue of leadership came with the changed view on participation. Leadership is different from management. It not only deals with executing tasks, it also addresses establishing direction, aligning resources, generating motivation, and providing inspiration (Kotter 2001). Leaders are change agents, but champions or "animators" are another particular type of change agents who have been given quite some consideration in change processes. Champions, animators, or facilitators often play a role in an early stage of transformation and in a context of resistance to change. They combine specific personality characteristics, behavior, knowledge, and power (see, for instance, Kennedy 2008; Quarry and Ramírez 2009). Resilience refers to the ability of people to absorb, adapt, and reorganize. It is about overcoming

vulnerability to change and creating the potential for sustainability (Zolli and Healy 2012). Building resilient communities as a normative objective has now become a key issue in the field of Communication for Development and Social Change (Polk 2015).

3.2.2 Contextual Concepts

This section addresses contextual concepts that are part of the enabling environment in which Communication for Development and Social Change operates. Among these concepts are globalization, gender, social movements, cultural diversity, and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). These contextual concepts are actively shaping the circumstances that determine existence, direction, success, and impact of communication interventions in the development sector.

Communication for Development and Social Change is not an isolated process. It is embedded in different contexts, which highly influence the kind of development and change one would strive for. "Think globally, act locally" might be a bit outdated slogan as economic and political globalization still has major consequences for developing countries (see, for instance, Goldin and Reinert 2012). *Gender* also has an important place on the development agenda. Gender and globalization both address power and discourse (see, for instance, Benería et al. 2003). In the 1980s, feminism and modernization found each other and merged in what was called a women in development (WID) approach. Women and development (WAD) is and was grounded in the dependency paradigm. Today we talk about gender and development (GAD). Different from the other two approaches, the focus with GAD is not on women but on gender and thus on different roles, identities, discourses, responsibilities, and power positions between men and women in a specific sociocultural context. The UNESCO Global Forum on Media and Gender, held in Bangkok on 2–4 December 2013, took the first historic steps toward a gender-equal media (http://www.un.org/sg/statements/?nid=7318).

Social movements (and other civil society actors) set another context for Communication for Development and Social Change (Nash 2005). Social movements connect to social change in an active way. Examples of such movements are the anti-globalization movement, the fair trade movement, and the indigenous people movement. They set an important context for development and especially for communication in development, as these movements ventilate alternative voices. The way these movements behave, communicate, and organize themselves has changed somewhat with the arrival of the Internet and social media. The media and social media consumption has made people behave differently than before. Media audiences have more channels to respond and interact with the media organizations and one another more, as the media are being used to record artifacts and portray the society at a particular point in time. It is not wrong to say these new ways of media consumption have changed the culture in a particular society. In turn, culture determines the performance of communication and of development. Culture

influences the way people act and communicate (and the other way around). *Cultural diversity* is one of the driving forces of development, and UNESCO sees it as a key dimension of sustainable development. "Cultural diversity must be seen as a cross-cutting dimension (rather than as a separate, fourth pillar of sustainability), with an important role to play in all development projects, from poverty eradication and the safeguarding of biodiversity to resource management and climate change" (UNESCO 2009: 189). As we have outlined earlier, the other three pillars of sustainability are economic viability, social responsiveness, and respect for the environment.

In the development sector, the *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs), followed by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Servaes 2017), provide the most influential guidelines for making decisions on interventions. Eight MDGs were drawn from the Millennium Declaration that was adopted by 189 nations and signed by 147 heads of state and governments during the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000. In September 2015, the 70th session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York set the post-2015 development agenda in the form of 17 SDGs and 169 associated targets, as successors to the MDGs. The aim was to overcome the compartmentalization of technical and policy work by promoting integrated approaches to the interconnected economic, social, and environmental challenges confronting the world.

This universal set of 17 goals, 169 targets, and 304 indicators was approved by all UN member states in the UN General Assembly on 25 September 2015. It is meant to be implemented for the next 15 years starting January 2016 (UN 2014; SDSN 2015).

The SDGs go further than the MDGs, which aside from having an increased set of agenda to work upon have more demanding targets (such as the elimination of poverty, instead of reducing its occurrence), as well as closely related and interdependent goals. In general, it is hoped that by 2030, poverty and hunger will be eliminated; quality of life will be greatly improved. All forms of capital are intact and functioning under ideal climatic situations. Lastly, peace and prosperity will be shared by all.

Implementing the SDGs follows the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development framework, as outlined in the outcome document of the 3rd International Conference on Financing for Development held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on July 16, 2015 (UNSC 2015). Importantly, the numerous targets indicated in the SDGs require huge capital investments, not just for the SDGs as a whole but also for its individual components. On a global scale, crude estimates have put the cost of providing a social safety net to eradicate extreme poverty at about 66 billion USD a year, while annual investments in improving essential infrastructure could reach 7 trillion USD (Ford 2015).

The complexity and interconnectivity of the SDGs require the mobilization of global knowledge operating across many sectors and regions in order to identify frameworks and systems that would help realize the goals by 2030 (Sachs 2012). Specifically, effective accountability measures need to be in place, such as annual

reviews of specific goals, monitoring systems which gather needed information to support and update conducted projects, and follow-up statuses of precursor programs essential for meeting a specific SDG as initiated by certain stakeholders (SDSN 2015). The current framework for achieving and monitoring SDGs which rely on triple bottom line parameters and statistics still needs to be improved through robust conceptual and methodological work (Hak et al. 2016).

3.2.3 Strategies and Methodologies

Communication strategies and methodologies that are currently used in the field of sustainable development interventions can be divided in two methodological schools. The first school has a strong position in many development circles. *Communication campaigns* are often used within this school to sensitize people and to influence attitudes and behavior, especially within the health sector and/or related to environmental issues. General marketing techniques are used to sell ideas and to raise awareness, increase knowledge, and influence attitudes. Social marketers often use the distinction between sender, message, and receiver to get a grip on the communication situation. Although sometimes not used in the classic "Shannon and Weaver" way (Weaver and Shannon 1963) that presumes direct linear effects, this school continues in this line of thinking and argues in terms of persuading target audiences to change their behavior. One of the objectives is that change within target populations can be measured by quantitative research methods and techniques. *Entertainment-education* is a much used communication strategy to achieve such behavior change. *Social (community) mobilization* goes a step further and aims to mobilize people into action. It differs from marketing in the sense that it involves the community and not solely aims for individual behavior change. It takes the social context into account while seeking diffusion and community ownership of ideas and innovations.

The second methodological school is dynamically constructed by practitioners and academics working in different sectors and disciplines of development and social change. This school explicitly centralizes the normative concepts presented above. Scholars working within this school attach importance to processes of participation, empowerment, equity, and democratization. This is not to say that the first school completely disregards these concepts. However, the first school does not take these processes as point of departure. Instead, scholars working in that line of thought centralize targeted behavior and attitude change. Within the second school, there are different platforms and communities of practice discussing various topics and producing different kinds of output. This field often uses the terms *knowledge management*, *knowledge sharing*, and *co-creation* in referring to the role of knowledge and interaction in communication processes. This field sometimes prefers to centralize the concept of knowledge in order to address the often existing knowledge gap between stakeholders and to connect to issues of governance and management in the context of the *knowledge economy* and *knowledge society.*

3.2.4 Methods, Techniques, and Tools

The first methodological school mentioned in the previous section uses traditional, long established, widely accepted, and often quantitative, measurable methods and techniques such as communication campaigns, social marketing techniques, surveys, broadcast media methods, and mass entertainment-education techniques in development communication interventions. The other school uses so-called creative methods and techniques such as (digital) storytelling and the most significant change approach. The methods and techniques that are often used in this second school are more qualitative and participatory in nature. Techniques such as appreciative inquiry, world café, open space, brown-bag lunch gatherings, knowledge fairs, and mind-mapping exercises are just a few among many others that could be mentioned. Tools that are often used here include film and video, drama, sport, and art. General tool kits for communication for development methods and techniques are widely available on the Internet (e.g., http://www.kstoolkit.org/; http://www.participatorymethods.org/).

Using *(digital) storytelling*, *film and (participatory) video*, but also increasingly *mobile phones* seems to be very popular in present-day sustainable development interventions. Storytelling is a method that has been recognized and developed as a meaningful intervention method in social change activities in and outside the development sector (e.g., Bell 2010; Lundby 2008; Zingaro 2009). Stories and narratives in audio, print, still images, and film can be used in multiple ways. In all cases stories challenge our linear way of thinking and can have a real enabling power. Digital storytelling refers to people telling stories through means of digital media such as film, web blogs, and social media. The use of film and video has been dominated by the term *participatory video* (Campbell). Participatory video often refers to the process of handing over the camera to ordinary people who can then film each other's stories. The empowerment of the process itself is valued more than the end product. However, this is only one particular form of using video. Other methods (e.g., Kennedy 2008; Witteveen 2009; Lie and Witteveen 2019) do value the end product and are in need of professional production. Lie and Mandler made an inventory of all kinds of uses of film in 2009. The use of new ICTs also changed its focus. It shifted from using telecenters and information kiosks to using mobile phones. The mobile phone seems to be the new tool of interest as it rapidly spreads around the world. Especially in countries in the Global South, this diffusion provides a huge potential for development interventions and social change activities.

3.2.5 Advocacy and Impact Assessment

Advocacy is another communication practice that needs to be mentioned here as advocacy communication is a key action term in development discourse (Servaes and Malikhao 2012). Advocacy is a very specific communication process that aims to bring about change in governance and policies. Advocacy is about persuasion and targets to influence the specific audience of decision-makers. Advocacy is a decision-making process that has the assent of the community as a whole. In this

process the community and the decision-maker and the analysts are involved. Therefore, three streams of action are important:

- Media must be activated to build public support and upward pressure for policy decisions.
- Interest groups must be involved and alliances established for reaching a common understanding and mobilizing societal forces. This calls for networking with influential individuals and groups, political forces and public organizations, professional and academic institutions, religious- and cause-oriented groups, and business and industry.
- Public demand must be generated and citizens' movements activated to evoke a response from national leaders.

Therefore, advocacy can be defined as "speaking and/or acting on behalf of people to secure the services they need and the rights to which they are entitled. Advocacy aims to ensure that people's opinions, wishes or needs are expressed and listened to" (Suffolk County Council 2008). Put another way, it aims to convince people with the power (e.g., policy-makers) to address the urgent concerns of a particular group of people (see also Lie and Mandler 2009: 10–11). Advocacy is high on the agenda of many organizations, including the agenda of the UN. Advocacy tool kits are various and widely available. Video advocacy is recently added to many tool boxes and refers to the use of video in advocacy communication activities.

Monitoring, *evaluation*, and *impact assessment* are other issues that need to be mentioned when talking about strategic or methodological practices in the development sector. Specific guides and tool kits on how to do *(participatory) monitoring and evaluation* and also reflexive monitoring in action (RMA) are widely available on the Internet. Lennie and Tacchi (2013) provide a comprehensive framework for evaluating communication for development in a complex theory and systems approach context and also have a tool kit online (Lennie et al. 2011). There is a growing body of literature addressing *impact assessment* of development projects (comprehensive overviews include Bessette (2004), Chambers (2008), or Guijt (2008)). In one way or the other, we need to assess the impact of development (communication) interventions. This is not only important for donor organizations but also for being able to improve the quality of interventions. Servaes et al. (2012a, b) review existing impact assessment practices and provide a framework of sustainability indicators for Communication for Development and Social Change projects.

3.3 Sub-disciplines

This section reviews some sub-disciplines within communication science that are related to development communication or in some way address development communication within their scope. Sub-disciplines that are ramifications of both communication science and development communication are strategic communication,

participatory communication, crisis communication, risk communication, journalism, and international communication. It is worth noting that the sub-discipline of political communication has not, or only in a very marginal way, engaged with development communication. The same comment seems to hold true for the sub-discipline of intercultural communication. The fact that these two abovementioned sub-disciplines could have engaged with development communication should be well noted. Before we go into each sub-discipline, we need to know the different levels at which communication operates.

To distinguish between levels of communication, it is essential to better understand the different kinds of change. Change can occur at the individual level, the group level, the community level, the regional level, the national level, the global level, or anywhere in-between. In this regard, sociologists like to make a distinction between (a) *individual and collective levels* on the one hand and (b) *global*, *macro-regional*, *national*, *intranational*, *and local levels* on the other hand.

The first distinction is made to be able to differentiate between *behavior change* and *social change*. Looking at *desired or expected outcomes*, one could think of (a) approaches that attempt to *change attitudes* (through information dissemination, public relations, etc.); (b) *behavioral change* approaches (focusing on changes of individual behavior, interpersonal behavior, and/or community and societal behavior); (c) *advocacy* approaches (primarily targeted at policy-makers and decision-makers at all levels and sectors of society); and (d) *communication for structural and sustainable change* approaches (which could be either top-down, horizontal, or bottom-up).

The first three approaches, though useful by themselves, are in isolation not capable of creating sustainable development. Therefore, *sustainable social change can only be achieved in combination with and incorporating aspects of the wider environment that influences (and constrains) structural and sustainable change*. These aspects include (see also McKee et al. 2000) structural and conjunctural factors (e.g., history, migration, conflicts); policy and legislation; service provision; education systems; institutional and organizational factors (e.g., bureaucracy, corruption); cultural factors (e.g., religion, norms, and values); sociodemographic factors (e.g., ethnicity, class); sociopolitical factors; socioeconomic factors; and the physical environment.

This brings us to the second distinction, which is often made in *economic*, *political*, *and governance arenas* to distinguish between different kinds of institutions operating at different societal levels. Advocacy communication can, for instance, be situated within this second distinction. The two types of distinctions have relevance to the field of development communication as will be shown in the following sections.

3.3.1 Strategic Communication and Participatory Communication

Strategic communication deals with the organizational planning of communication and relates to persuasive communication, marketing, and public relations. Strategic

communication is planned communication with a strategic, intentional goal. Being strategic means thinking in terms of executing a stakeholder analysis, a risk analysis, and a SWOT analysis, setting objectives, identifying target audiences, developing key messages, and designing an effective communication plan. The social psychological line within communication science has always been strong within the sub-discipline of strategic communication. Strategic communication in the field of development communication is often applied in the thematic sub-discipline of health communication (see later under health communication), but is not.

Participatory communication had and still has a strong presence in development communication (for an overview see, for instance, Srampickal 2006). Especially in the 1980s and 1990s, when participation became the buzz word in the development sector, participatory communication established itself as a sub-discipline of communication science. It is often associated with the new multiplicity paradigm in development communication and builds on widely formulated critiques on linear, top-down, diffusionist, and modernist perspectives on the one hand and the thinking of Latin American scholars such as Augusto Boal, Jesús Martín-Barbero, Luis Ramiro Beltrán, and Paolo Freire on the other hand (Barranquero; Fernandez). Several books carry participatory communication explicitly in the title. Different UN agencies have been active in advocating a participatory communication approach (Mefalopulos). The International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) has a section on participatory communication, which has since its inception always demonstrated a strong connecting to the field of Communication for Development and Social Change.

3.3.2 Crisis Communication and Risk Communication

Crisis communication and risk communication are often linked. It involves (a) assessment and management of risk and crisis situations and (b) communication with the public. Crisis communication and risk communication have both become sub-disciplines of communication science. They address all *assessments*, *managements*, and *communications* related to unexpected events that could have negative impacts. Several books are available on crisis communication (e.g., Coombs 2012) and risk communication (e.g., Lundgren and McMakin 2013) or both sub-disciplines together (Heath and O'Hair 2010).

In the development sector, crises and risks often refer to *natural disasters*, such as earthquakes, hurricanes, floods, and tsunamis, on the one hand, and *health issues*, such as those related to HIV/AIDS, avian flu, and foodborne illnesses, on the other hand. Organizations, including governments, are increasingly recognizing the importance of crisis and risk communication. Crisis and risk communication have close connections with the thematic sub-disciplines of communication for development, especially with environmental communication and health communication. The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) defines disaster risk as "the potential disaster losses in lives, health status, livelihoods, assets and services, which could occur to a particular community or a society over some

specified future time period" (UNISDR 2009: 9). Issues that are being dealt with within this sub-discipline are global warming and related climate risks such as water scarcity, droughts, intense rainfall, river floods, and early warning systems. ICTs can play an important role in disaster risk reduction, in building and increasing resilience, and in improving early warning systems.

3.3.3 Journalism and International Communication

Journalism studies are a long-established sub-discipline of communication science. Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism (Sage) and Journalism Studies (Taylor & Francis) are leading academic journals. Journalism has several connections to sustainable development and social change. Journalists deliver news to the public by making it public. In this sense it relates to the second part of the definition of crisis and risk communication given above. In the same manner, journalism has a strong connection to health communication and environmental communication (see below). Normative and critical journalism studies take position in how journalism ought to work in democratic societies and what role journalists play in societal change processes. *Citizen journalism* is a specific field that relates to development and change (see, for instance, Allan and Thorsen 2009). *Peace journalism* is another area where journalism connects to sustainable change (see, for instance, Lynch et al. 2011; Terzis and Vassiliadou 2008). In the field of *journalism education*, UNESCO plays an important role in the development sector. "UNESCO recognizes the fact that sound journalism education contributes towards professional and ethical practice of journalism. Such journalism is better suited to foster democracy, dialogue and development" (UNESCO n.d.). UNESCO also publishes a series on journalism education.

International communication, according to the term itself, deals with communication that crosses international borders (see, for instance, Thussu 2014). It is sometimes explicitly connected to intercultural communication or to development communication, but in the majority of cases, this sub-discipline is mainly concerned with international media, global (tele)communication infrastructures, international communication governance, policy-making, and the political economy of global communication. In this sense it mainly deals with development communication by addressing questions of communication infrastructures and telecommunications in or in relation to developing countries. It also addresses policy issues and the regulation of information flows in the South.

3.4 Thematic Sub-disciplines

This section addresses thematic sub-disciplines that can be distinguished within the field of Communication for Development and Social Change. Thematic sub-disciplines cover a life science theme. The thematic sub-disciplines are

(a) *health communication*, (b) *agricultural extension and rural communication*, and (c) *environmental communication (including climate change communication)*.

3.4.1 Health Communication

The sub-discipline of health communication seems to have a close link with social marketing and with the discipline of social psychology within the social sciences. Whereas Rogers' theory of diffusions of innovation had and to a certain extent still has a dominant presence within the sub-discipline of agricultural extension, it is especially the theory of planned behavior (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975) that occupies a firm place within health communication. Other popular theories are the health belief model (Rosenstock 1974) and the elaboration likelihood model (Petty and Cacioppo 1986). Behavior change is the dominant form of change that is focused on here. Research on social change gets less attention. Health promotion is sometimes used to refer to the branch within health communication that studies the persuasive use of communication messages and media to promote public health.

Lines of thinking within the strands of Information, Education and Communication (IEC) and Knowledge, Attitude and Practice (KAP) dominate the other strands in health communication. IEC is used in strategic communication intervention programs aiming at inducing quantifiable changes in behavior and attitude by, most of the time, means of knowledge transfer to a specific target group. KAP often refers to a specific quantitative survey research to measure any change in knowledge, attitude, and behavior. Jargons used in these sub-disciplines are rooted in social psychology and behavior change. Scholars often refer to jargons such as communication strategies, communication campaigns, social marketing and mobilization, persuasive communication, and awareness raising. Risk communication has an important stance in health communication as well as in environmental communication.

Different from extension and rural agricultural communication, health communication has a firm place within communication science. Academic organizations such as the National Communication Association (NCA), the International Communication Association (ICA), and the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) all have divisions or working groups that address health communication in the North as well as in the South. Different universities around the world offer a variety of educational programs in health communication.

The United Nations, WHO, and UNFPA are leading users of the above terminology and accompanying approach to communication for sustainable development. Health communication in a development context, within and outside the UN, seems to be directly linked to specific pandemics, diseases, and risks. HIV/AIDS, malaria, and polio are among those specifically addressed. Emerging infectious diseases such as SARS, avian flu, and Ebola for which cures have not been developed and where the main instrument of control in the event of a pandemic is timely and effective crisis communication are also paid appropriate attention. The field of family planning, reproductive health, and sexual and reproductive health rights is another area where communication theory is often applied. Besides the traditional

communication and awareness-raising campaigns and prevention activities, entertainment-education is an often used methodology in this sub-discipline (Malikhao 2012, 2016).

Leading journals are Health Communication and the Journal of Health Communication. The academic communication associations listed above organize annual or biannual gatherings.

3.4.2 Agricultural Extension and Rural Communication

Agricultural extension is one of the oldest sub-disciplines of development communication. It has a peculiar history within development communication, which started with main concepts like diffusions of innovations (Rogers 1962) and knowledge and technology transfer (see, for instance, Chambers et al. 1989). In the 1960s, the 1970s, and through the 1980s, it was generally agreed upon that "proper extension" would directly and immediately profit the increase of crop yields for farmers. Rogers (1962) and later Van den Ban and Hawkins (1988) published leading textbooks on agricultural extension. Extension, then, was perceived in those early days as mechanistic and linear knowledge transfer. However, that way of thinking became obsolete. In the 1970s, the 1980s, and through the 1990s, the FAO, first through its Development Support Communication (DSC) branch and later through other channels, has played a key role in changing the old interpretation by promoting communication as the focal and crucial factor for decision-making in development interventions (Balit and Acunzo 2019). Worth mentioning is that FAO was the first UN specialized agency, besides UNESCO, which has a mandate for communication.

The sub-discipline moved on to the studies of Agricultural Knowledge and Information Systems (AKIS) (FAO and World Bank 2000) and Agricultural Innovation Systems and adopted Farmer Field Schools (FFS) as new methods to better fit the new way of thinking extension. By far scholars have taken another step by renewing and adjusting focus on communication and (agricultural) innovation (see, for instance, Leeuwis and Aarts 2011, for a theoretical rethinking of communication in the field of innovations). They have also improved on knowledge and brokering in complex systems and the role of champions (see, for instance, Klerkx and Aarts 2013; Quarry and Ramírez 2009). Innovations are now seen as an assimilation of technical innovations with new social and organizational arrangements. An innovation is a combination of software (i.e., new knowledge and modes of thinking), hardware (i.e., new technical devices and practices), and orgware (i.e., new social institutions and forms of organization), whereas communication is regarded as a phenomenon in which those involved construct meanings in interaction (Leeuwis and Aarts 2011).

This new thinking and focus have consequences for how we approach communication in the agricultural and rural sector. According to Leeuwis and Aarts (2011), networks, power, and social learning are the key issues in this new thinking about agricultural and rural communication. Rural communication engulfs the concept of agricultural extension; therefore, it offers a wider scope. It includes health issues,

education, and sociocultural, political, and other issues that are not directly related to agriculture. Therefore, agricultural extension officers can also play an initiating role in rural communication and can be real champions in a broader sense. These officers are often the first to be in direct contact with rural households, and so these people can signal rural household problems. The media seem to be secondary in addressing the improvement of rural livelihood strategies.

The media field seems to be alive and kicking and has flourished after the emergence of new media. The media and ICT field within agricultural extension and communication has also developed in a specific way. Films and mobile phones have replaced television, radio, and even telecenters or information kiosks. Many cases are available for review, learning, and upscaling. For film see, for instance, the work of Digital Green (http://www.digitalgreen.org). The mobile phone seems to be the most popular ICT at the moment, and many interventions focus on their use.

The journal of Agricultural Education and Extension (JAEE) is addressing this sub-discipline. Other journals occasionally address issues of agricultural extension and rural communication. The Association for International Agricultural and Extension Education (AIAEE) is a professional association for agricultural and extension educators who share the common goal of strengthening agricultural and extension education programs and institutions worldwide.

3.4.3 Environmental Communication

Environmental communication addresses all interactions of humans with the environment and is a relatively new sub-discipline within communication science. Environmental communication not only involves the management of the environment but also the study of public opinion and perceptions (Cox 2013). As within the other two sub-disciplines, communication is often closely associated with education. Environmental communication and environmental education sometimes overlap, especially when the terms are used outside academic circles in the public domain.

The sub-discipline of environmental communication seems to be dominated by the issue of climate change, which has been on the agenda for a few years now. Climate change communication even seems to become a field in itself (Kelly 2012; Servaes 2013b). Different from agricultural extension, but maybe similar to areas within health communication, environmental communication, especially climate change communication, often focusses on risk, public engagement, and public opinion (see, for instance, http://www.climatechangecommunication.org). Agricultural communication is often far more concerned with specific target group communication activities. Communication theories used in the areas of public environmental communication and public health communication overlap. In this context environmental communication also has a close link with journalism. Different universities around the world offer courses and programs in environmental communication, sometimes linked with health communication or with other areas within the life sciences.

In the development sector, it is often stressed that again the poor are among those who feel the consequences of climate change the most. This also applies to other areas within environmental communication such as energy security, biodiversity, deforestation, overexploitation of natural resources, and extreme weather conditions. It is often in this context that environmental communication is linked to sustainability. Communication for sustainable development emphasizes the sustainability aspects of interactions: human-human and human-nature. Since the Brundtland report *Our Common Future* (1987) and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro (1992), sustainable development is now on many agendas. The 2013 report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) says there is now 95 percent certainty that humans have caused most of the warming of the planet's surface that has occurred since the 1950s. A balance must be sought between economic growth, social equity, and the natural environment. Communication plays a decisive role in creating this balance. Sustainability communication is a term used for responsible interaction with the natural and social environment. One of the tasks of sustainability communication is to critically evaluate social discourse of the human-environment relationship. Manfred Max-Neef (1991) and the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation call this a transdisciplinary model for human scale development with self-reliance among human beings, nature, and technology; the personal and the social; the micro and the macro; planning and autonomy; and the state and civil society as central to empower groups and social actors: "The fundamental issue is to enable people from their many small and heterogeneous spaces to set up, sustain and develop their own projects" (Max-Neef 1991, p. 85).

The communication science associations provide several homes for environmental communication scientists. The NCA has a division named Environmental Communication, and the ICA has an interest group with the same name. The IAMCR has a working group called Environment, Science and Risk Communication, and the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) is home to the section Science and Environmental Communication. There is also a specific international association for environmental communication, the International Environmental Communication Association (IECA). *Environmental Communication: A Journal of Nature and Culture* is their official journal. IECA also organizes a biannual Conference on Communication and Environment (COCE). *Applied Environmental Education and Communication* and the *Journal of Environmental Education* are other leading journals.

3.5 Fields and Areas

This section addresses fields and areas that can be identified within the field of Communication for Development and Social Change. The fields and areas considered must be of importance at present, be concerned with development studies, and pay an interest in the role of communication. The fields and areas that are discussed are (a) *the right to communicate*; (b) *education and learning*, (c) *innovation*, *science*, *and technology*; (d) *natural resource management*; (e) *food security*; (f) *inequality*

and poverty reduction; (g) *peace and conflict*; (h) *children and youth (and senior citizens)*; and (i) *tourism*. The sections that follow address the role of communication within these fields and areas.

3.5.1 Right to Communicate

Liberalization has led not only to greater media freedom but also to the emergence of an increasingly consumer-led and urban-centered communication infrastructure, which is less and less interested in the concerns of poor and rural people. Women and other vulnerable groups continue to experience marginalization and lack of access to communication resources of all kinds. According to Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen (1999), development should be measured by how much freedom a country has, because without freedom people cannot make the choices that allow them to help themselves and others. He defines freedom as an interdependent bundle of political freedom and civil rights, economic freedom, social opportunities (arrangements for health care, education, and other social services), interactions with others, including the government, and protective security (which includes unemployment benefits, famine and emergency relief, and general safety nets). Cultural respect and the right to communicate are essential in this regard (Dakroury et al. 2009; De Cuéllar 1995). Ensuring free and equal access to information and the right to communicate is a precondition for empowering marginalized groups, as has been addressed by several meetings and international conferences (World Summit on the Information Society and the World Social Forum).

The issue of equal access to knowledge and information and the right to communicate is becoming one of the key aspects of sustainable development. Vulnerable groups in the rural areas of developing countries are on the wrong side of the digital divide and risk further marginalization. In the rush to "wire" developing countries, little attention has been paid to the design of ICT programs for the poor. The trend ignores many lessons learned over the years by communication for development approaches, which emphasize communication processes and outcomes over the application of media and technologies. There needs to be a focus on the needs of communities and the benefits of the new technologies rather than the quantity of technologies available. Local content and languages are critical to enable the poor to have access to the benefits of the information revolution and to be able to actively participate. The creation of local content requires building on existing and trusted traditional communication systems and methods for collecting and sharing information. However, access is only the start of this process. Full participation implies the provision of capacity training and the development of competencies.

3.5.2 Education and Learning

The existence of Information, Education and Communication (IEC) and the organization UNESCO itself are proof of the close connection between communication and education. This area ranges from establishing educational infrastructures, "training of

trainers"(ToT) activities, vocational education and training (VET) to adult learning, and addressing theories of learning, such as social learning and transformative learning.

In many processes of human development, social learning is seen as an important key process, and, in fact, social learning is intrinsically linked to communication. Social learning and transformative learning are two important theories about how people learn. They directly connect to communication and play an important role in sustainable development and social change. Social learning refers to observational learning in a social context and imitating the actions of others (basic historical text: Bandura 1977). Transformative learning is the process of transforming frames of reference of adult learners (basic historical text: Mezirow 1991). This theory of transformative learning is considered uniquely adult, that is, grounded in human communication, where "learning is understood as the process of using a prior interpretation to construe a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of one's experience in order to guide future action" (Mezirow 1991: 162).

3.5.3 Innovation, Science, and Technology

Communication and innovation studies and the field of science and technology studies (STS) are closely related fields. Innovation studies and STS link to communication and development in several ways. Combing the areas of communication, innovation, and development initiated from the work of Rogers, but the study of these concepts also forms disciplines in themselves. Communication studies, innovation studies (see Fagerberg and Verspagen 2009), and development studies are now established disciplinary fields as is STS. Each discipline has its own way of looking at and incorporating the other concepts. Emerging technologies such as nanotechnology, biotechnologies, and sustainable energy technologies are among the technologies that must somehow merge with societal change. It is this merging of technology and society where knowledge sharing and communication are vital processes. The flow of knowledge in a societal and developmental context is the focus of this area.

Communication within and between knowledge and policy networks is analyzed to gain a better understanding of innovation and policy processes. The central theme is the role of communication in innovation processes. Due attention is paid to the integration of knowledge and perspectives of various stakeholders and disciplines. Knowledge and policy networks increasingly involve institutions and persons to facilitate the interaction between the various parties with a stake in the innovation and policy process. Among the sub-themes dealt with are interactive (policy) design processes, transdisciplinary collaboration, social learning and negotiation processes, process and system innovation, and the organization of knowledge and policy networks.

3.5.4 Natural Resource Management

Natural resource management is the area that deals with the organization, the control, and the administration of water, land, animals, and plants. Sustainable natural resource management seeks a balance between economic growth and the quality

of life and the environment. Adaptive management includes issues such as information and knowledge management, monitoring and evaluation, and risk management. Integrated natural resource management (INRM) brings adaptive management together with participatory planning and community participation and firmly grounds it in sustainability. Community-based development, co-management, and stakeholder analysis are other processes of importance to INRM.

Natural resource management is often related to issues of stakeholder groups, multi-stakeholder actions, and processes of social learning and thus to communication (see, for instance, Muro and Jeffrey 2008; Röling 1994). "In the natural resource management literature, the relevance of communication to cooperation has mainly been based on general theories and formal models of cooperation. Of late, investigators of natural resource management have started using theories and models from social network analysis to argue for the importance of communication and network structure. Network analysis promises to be a productive approach because interpersonal communication is a natural and appealing example of a social network relation" (De Nooy 2013: 44).

FAO has been active in this field. The organization has published *Information and Communication for Natural Resource Management in Agriculture: A Training Sourcebook* in 2006.

3.5.5 Food Security

Food security closely relates to natural resource management and of course to the sub-discipline of agricultural extension and rural communication. Food security was in 1996 defined by the World Food Summit as "when all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life" (WHO 1996). It thus connects to sustainable livelihoods, and disruptions in affordable, locally produced food supplies can cause widespread food insecurity. In addressing hunger and malnutrition but also food safety and healthy diets, it directly relates to health communication. FAO published a communications tool kit in this area (FAO 2011). The kit provides detailed guidelines for food security professionals to develop a communication strategy and to communicate more effectively with target audiences.

The area of food security also touches upon a new information and communication technology that has not been discussed till now, namely, Geographic Information System (GIS). GIS can help in an indirect way by visualizing spatial data at early stages of crises. Google Maps and Bing Maps are popular GIS applications. ArcGIS is a more sophisticated, professional one. GIS can help with short-term food emergencies and long-term food insecurities by combining geographically referenced data gathered by GIS technologies and combining them with other types of data. The visualization of spatial data opens up new possibilities for food security analyses and can produce valuable new insights. The same technology is also used in other fields and areas, for instance, to monitor the outbreak of health pandemics such as the avian flu. Geotagging, participatory mapping, crisis mapping, and map-based storytelling are just a few among many new initiatives to be found within the wider field of development communication.

3.5.6 Inequality and Poverty Reduction

The relationship between communication and poverty is complex. Poor and marginalized people do not only have unequal access to land, livestock, and food but also to information and communication. The knowledge gap theory informed us that in many countries in the South, there is a lot of information available for the relatively few rich people and politically powerful elite, but only little information and marginal access to communication is available for the relatively large poor population. In visualized economic development theory, they form reversed triangles. It is difficult for the poor to participate in decision-making processes and to have their voice heard in distant economic and political arenas. It is in this area that issues of participation and empowerment, engagement and dialogue, equity, democratization, and rights are most pressing.

Furthermore, economic growth is only a limited measure of progress if we consider happiness and well-being of the people as necessary qualitative measures as well. Wilkinson and Pickett (2011) convincingly report that societies with more equal distribution of incomes have better health, have fewer social problems, and are more cohesive than ones in which the gap between the rich and poor is greater. Therefore, poverty reduction often directly relates to livelihood strategies and to governance issues. The Department for International Development (DFID) rural livelihoods model, which distinguishes between several capitals, has been dominant in better understanding livelihood strategies and communications. Poverty is also often directly related to high rates of illiteracy and lack of education. ICTs can help in several ways, and different cases demonstrate how (see, for instance, Harris and Rajora 2006). It is difficult to replicate and scale up the use of ICTs as serious evaluations are often lacking. The World Bank analyzed the role of communication in poverty reduction strategy (Mozammel 2011). The report focuses, for instance, on the communication and governance challenges facing three stakeholder groups: government, donors, and civil society.

3.5.7 Peace and Conflict

Conflict prevention, conflict resolution, conflict management, conflict transformation, humanitarian relief, peacebuilding, and the consolidation of peace (peacekeeping) all address the undesirable situation of disharmony, disagreement, or controversy. These situations include among others civil wars, armed conflict and genocide, ethnic disputes, and cultural and identity clashes on the one hand and peace negotiations and mediations on the other hand. A stable social system includes having conflicts. The existence of conflicts is in itself not necessarily problematic. In fact, conflicts form an essential part of all healthy relationships (Raven 2008). The crux lies in managing the existence of the conflict and the magnitude and impact of the conflict. Needless to say that communication plays a crucial role in that process of management.

Conflict management connects to the area of conflict communication. Within the discipline of communication science, much of the work done in the thematic sub-discipline of conflict communication relates to interpersonal communication and studies the skills and competencies that are necessary for dealing effectively with those conflicts (Servaes and Malikhao 2012; Terzis and Vassiliadou 2008). Besides its focus on interpersonal conflicts, it is also concerned with organizational and community conflict. "Most communication theorists prefer the term conflict management to conflict resolution because the former suggests an ongoing communication process focusing attention on interaction, whereas the latter suggests episodes that must be dealt with as they occur, focusing attention on the discrete content of each episode" (Nicotera 2009: 164). The area of conflict management frequently makes reference to different *negotiations styles*, such as competing, collaborating, compromising, avoiding, and accommodating.

3.5.8 Children and Youth, Women, and Senior Citizens

Youth stands out and seems to be an emerging area of interest in the development sector. It has overlap with all other fields and areas that have been distinguished and discussed, but communicating with children and youth is a specialized field and is increasingly seen as an important area in itself to address. Cross-cutting themes are, among others, youth sexuality, HIV/AIDS, sexual and reproductive health and rights, formal and informal education, and media literacy. Specific youth problems are, among others, a reduced interest in studying agriculture, unemployment, bullying, identity formation, and a lack of young people's engagement in community issues.

However, not only the needs of children and youth but also those of women (Malik 2013) and senior citizens (De Cuéllar 1995) should be recognized. UNICEF has a global mandate and according to their own saying "supports an environment that guarantees the participation of children and women in social development programmes through raising awareness and mobilizing communities, developing capacity, and strengthening partnerships among key allies and stakeholders" (UNICEF 2013).

In the area of *youth development* and communication, creative techniques such as using film and (performing) arts are often used with children and youth. Moreover, young adults are pioneer users of new media. Nordicom and Ørecomm have been active in addressing the theme of media, youth, and social change.

3.5.9 Tourism

International tourism deals to a large extent with *intercultural communication*. Tourism is for many countries in the South an important area for development. It incorporates significant social changes. Cultural diversity and identity are issues that especially come to the fore in this area of international tourism. Sustainability is also an important issue in the field of tourism.

In 2006, the World Bank Development Communication Division, the USAID Development Communication and Sustainable Tourism Unit, and the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) organized a conference on the role of development communication in sustainable tourism. The peer-reviewed academic journal Tourism Culture & Communication addresses aspects of this area.

3.6 Conclusions

The field of Communication for Development and Social Change is active and dynamic. The field matured, settled in sub-disciplines, and found accommodation in different fields and areas of development and social change. Still, there are future imperatives to identify.

These future imperatives are:

- One way of *mainstreaming communication for development* is firmly grounding the field of Communication for Development and Social Change in thematic and non-thematic sub-disciplines of communication science. These sub-disciplines provide a foundation by underpinning the work of development communication professionals and academics and giving them a solid basis to work from.
- Human and environmental *sustainability* must be central in development and social change activities. Sustainable interventions are necessary to ensure a world worth living in for future generations. Besides political-economic approaches, we need sociocultural approaches to guarantee acceptable and integrated levels of sustainability and to build resilience. *Building resilient communities* should be a priority issue in the field of Communication for Development and Social Change: "...common themes concerning the maintenance of ecological balance, a move away from environmentally unfriendly modernization, and an emphasis on local systems that shift from solely Western-led development and focus on local culture and participation are crucial to an understanding of sustainable development" (Servaes et al. 2012b: 117); and "...the scope and degree of sustainability must be studied in relationship with the local concept of development contingent upon the cultural values of each community" (Servaes et al. 2012b: 118).
- It is essential to recognize that development problems are complex. *Complex or* so-called wicked problems, such as the existence of climate change, conflict and war, HIV/AIDS, and malaria, are problems that do not have one single solution that is right or wrong, good or bad, or true or false. These are problems in which many stakeholders are involved, all of them framing the problems and issues in a different way. Therefore, solutions need to be negotiated, for instance, in multi-stakeholder platforms. Such types of negotiating or "social dialogue" are promoted for concrete purposes, such as reclaiming indigenous knowledge or monitoring and evaluation, but increasingly also from *a rights-based perspective* that all people have a right to be heard.
- Though participatory approaches have gained some visibility, and sometimes even recognition, among mainstream development agencies, an interesting

alliance could be forged at the level of *participatory budgeting*. Many of the steps in participatory budgeting could be seen as participatory communication processes to deepen democracy (Fung and Wright 2001). The fiscal focus of this work offers the potential to cut across all facets of a community's life – climate change, agriculture, health, gender, etc. may be addressed via a community's budgetary process. The need to effectively process budgetary debates via an integrated "weighing" of alternative public spending offers and requires a holistic approach in communication that is particularly vital in addressing climate change (Yoon 2013).

- There is a need for *transdisciplinarity*. We need to rethink and reorder the relationships between communication academics, communication professionals (e.g., extension agents, health communication specialists, intermediaries, knowledge brokers, change agents, M&E specialists), technical field-specific professionals (technical ICT specialists, agronomists, medical doctors), policy-makers (international, national, intranational), civil society members (e.g., NGOs, social movements, societal agents), and local people (e.g., farmers, fishermen, households, audiences, clients). *Linkages and dialogues* need improvement. There is a demand for building knowledge and communication networks and to attach importance to stakeholder interactions and knowledge system approaches. Climate change adaptation and livelihood adaptations require *multi-stakeholder actions* and processes of *social learning*.
- *New creative techniques and methodologies* need further attention. New questions need to be addressed such as: What is the role of *creativity* in development and social change interventions? What actually is "out-of-the-box" thinking and is everybody willing and able to think in that way? And should everybody think in that way? Especially the use of (digital) storytelling, film, (participatory) video, and mobile phones has huge potential. The new ICTs do have potential, but centralizing them incorporates the danger of *technological determinism*. We can learn from history and not make the same mistakes that we made with the introduction of, for instance, broadcast television.
- There is a need to connect communication to *learning*, *education*, and *knowledge exchange*. Focusing on processes of transformative learning, social learning, experiential learning, reflexive learning, organizational learning, and double-loop learning is essential to better understand processes of change by looking at how people learn. For interventions to be successful, it seems necessary to invest in double-loop (second order) learning. Double-loop learning involves learning about methodologies and understanding why things are learnt and why certain knowledge is needed. In this context we acknowledge, with Ingie Hovland, that we need a shift from instrumental change to conceptual change. "The current focus is on instrumental change through immediate and identifiable change in policies, and less on conceptual change in the way we see the world and the concepts we use to understand it" (Hovland 2003:viii, 15–16).
- The 2013 Human Development Report identifies four specific areas of focus for sustaining development momentum: *enhancing equity*, including on the gender dimension; enabling greater voice and *participation of citizens*, including youth;

confronting environmental pressures; and *managing demographic change*. For the first time in 150 years, the combined output of the developing world's three leading economies – Brazil, China, and India – is about equal to the combined GDP of the long-standing industrial powers of the North: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This represents a dramatic rebalancing of global economic power.

The middle class in the South is growing rapidly in size, income, and expectations. The South is now emerging alongside the North as a breeding ground for technical innovation and creative entrepreneurship. Not only the larger countries, such as Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, South Africa, Thailand, and Turkey, but also smaller economies, such as Bangladesh, Chile, Ghana, Mauritius, Rwanda, and Tunisia, have made rapid and substantial progress.

However, "unless people can participate meaningfully in the events and processes that shape their lives, national human development paths will be neither desirable nor sustainable," the report claims (Malik 2013: 18). In that regard – see also one of the Millennium Development Goals – *educating women* through adulthood is the closest thing to a "silver bullet" formula for accelerating human development.

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Part II

Historic Cluster

4 Communication for Development and Social Change: Three Development Paradigms, Two Communication Models, and Many Applications and Approaches

Jan Servaes and Patchanee Malikhao

Contents

4.1 Introduction 64
4.1.1 What Is Communication for Development and Social Change (CDSC)? 65
4.2 Summarizing the Past 66
4.2.1 Development Paradigms 66
4.2.2 Communication Paradigms 68
4.2.3 Research Priorities 73
4.3 Mapping the Future 76
4.3.1 Interdisciplinarity 76
4.3.2 The Power of Culture in Homogeneity and Diversity 76
4.3.3 A New Form of Modernization? 77
4.3.4 The Sustainability of Social Change Processes 77
4.3.5 Nation-States and National Cultures 80
4.3.6 The Place of Civil Society and the Role of New Social Movements 81
4.3.7 Linking the Global and the Local 81
4.4 Directions for Future Research 82
4.4.1 The Transformation of Society 82
4.4.2 The Cosmopolitan Challenge 83
4.4.3 The Content of Development Agendas 83
4.4.4 More Participatory Communication Research Needed 84
4.4.5 Measurement and Evaluation for "Social Usefulness" 88
4.5 Concluding Remarks 89
References 89

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Abstract

All those involved in the analysis and application of Communication for Development and Social Change would probably agree that in essence communication for development and social change is the sharing of knowledge aimed at reaching a consensus for action that takes into account the interests, needs, and capacities of all concerned. It is thus a social process. Communication media are important tools in achieving this process, but their use is not an aim in itself – interpersonal communication and traditional forms of communication too must play a fundamental role.

The basic consensus on development communication has been interpreted and applied in different ways throughout the past century. Both at theory and research levels, as well as at the levels of policy- and planning-making and implementation, divergent perspectives are on offer.

In this chapter it summarizes the past of Communication for Development and Social Change; identify the roadmap for the future of Communication for Development and Social Change; and look at some of the key purposes, functions, and approaches needed to steer communication for development and social change.

Keywords

Development paradigms · Modernization · Dependency · Multiplicity · Social change · Diffusion of innovations · Participatory communication · Information rights

4.1 Introduction

The collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, together with the rise of China as the new "competitor" to the USA (the remaining "superpower"); the tensions within the European Union; the gradual coming to the fore of regional powers, such as Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (the so-called BRICS countries); the surge of populism and illiberal or authoritarian regimes; global warming; and the 2008 meltdown of the world financial system with its disastrous lingering consequences for people everywhere, necessitates a rethink of the "power of development."

The study of communication for development and social change has been through several paradigmatic changes during the past decades. From modernization and growth theory to the dependency approach and the participatory model, the new traditions of discourse are now characterized by a turn toward local communities as targets for research and debate on the one hand and the search for an understanding of the complex relationships between globalization and localization on the other. Our present-day "globalized" world as a whole and its distinct regional and national entities are confronted with multifaceted crises from the economic and financial to

those relating to social, cultural, ideological, moral, political, ethnic, ecological, and security issues. Previously held traditional modernization and dependency perspectives have become more difficult to support because of the growing interdependency of regions, nations, and communities in our globalized world.

4.1.1 What Is Communication for Development and Social Change (CDSC)?

Today almost all of those involved in the analysis and application of Communication for Development and Social Change – or what was broadly termed *development communication* or *devcom* – would probably agree that in essence communication for social change is the sharing of knowledge aimed at reaching a consensus for action that takes into account the interests, needs, and capacities of all concerned. It is thus a social process, which has as its ultimate objective *sustainable development* at distinct levels of society. Communication media and Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) are important tools in achieving social change, but their use is not an aim in itself – interpersonal communication and traditional and group media must also play a fundamental role.

Such a basic consensus on what constitutes *development communication*, though still being debated, is relatively new. Summarizing the history of development communication is not easy because it is considered to have different origins and "founding fathers." Some explain it as the logical offspring of the Western drive to develop the world after colonization and the Second World War. Staples (2006), for instance, explains that after 1945 the West considered development as an international obligation, the beginning of a broad international civil service and the start of the continuing effort to find a way of promoting the well-being of the earth's people as a whole (see also ▶ Chap. 8, "The Pax Americana and Development"). Others (e.g., Habermann and De Fontgalland 1978; Jayaweera and Amunugama 1987) position it as a regional (mainly Asian) reply to modernization. There are also some who look for founding "fathers" and "mothers" in the academic world (Nora Quebral from The Philippines or Luis Ramiro Beltran in Latin America are likely candidates) or in the world of development agencies.

The latest attempt to present a unified and agreeable definition was made during the first World Congress on Communication for Development (Rome, 25–27 October 2006). The so-called Rome Consensus states that "Communication for Development is a social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is also about seeking change at different levels including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change. *It is not public relations or corporate communication*" (http://www.devcomm-congress.org/worldbank/macro/2.asp, emphasis added).

However, major aspects of many projects and programs currently being promoted and implemented are, we believe, nothing but "public relations or corporate communication." We are joined by Adam Rogers (2005), former Head of Communications and Information at UNCDF and now with the UN Development

Group (UNDG), who aptly summarizes the major "brand" of devcom approaches as "Participatory diffusion or semantic confusion": "Many development practitioners are avoiding the semantic debates … in order to harness the benefits of both approaches. For them, what is most important is not what an approach is called, the origins of an idea or how it is communicated. What is critical is that we find the most effective and efficient tools to achieve the noble objectives outlined in the Millennium Declaration" (Rogers 2005).

To state that development communication is a good case to illustrate the importance and relevance for comparative and interdisciplinary research is a no-brainer. By its very nature, development communication would not exist without comparative research methods. However, one of the major problems in comparative research is that the data sets in different contexts may not use the same categories or define categories differently (e.g., by using different definitions of development, communication, growth, poverty, inequality, participation, etc.). That, indeed, is the situation in development communication.

4.2 Summarizing the Past

There are at least three ways of summarizing the past at different levels: by identifying the different (1) development paradigms and (2) communication paradigms and (3) by looking at the research priorities in different time periods (see also ▶ Chap. 5, "Family Tree of Theories, Methodologies, and Strategies in Development Communication").

4.2.1 Development Paradigms

1. After the Second World War, the founding of the United Nations stimulated relations among sovereign states, especially the North Atlantic Treaty nations and the so-called developing nations, including the new states emerging from colonial rule. During the Cold War period, the superpowers – the USA and the former Soviet Union – tried to expand their own interests to the so-called Third World or developing countries. In fact, the USA was defining development and social change as the replica of its own political-economic system and opening the way for the transnational corporations. At the same time, the developing countries saw the "welfare state" of the North Atlantic Treaty nations as the ultimate goal of development. These nations were attracted by the new technology transfer and the model of a centralized state with careful economic planning and centrally directed development bureaucracies for agriculture, education, and health as the most effective strategies to catch up with those industrialized countries (Fraser and Restrepo 1998; McMichael 2008; Nederveen Pieterse 2010; see also ▶ Chap. 6, "A Changing World: FAO Efforts in Communication for Rural Development").
   This mainly economic-oriented view, characterized by endogenism and evolutionism, ultimately resulted in the *modernization and growth theory.* It sees

development as a unilinear, evolutionary process and defines the state of underdevelopment in terms of observable quantitative differences between the so-called poor and rich countries on the one hand and traditional and modern societies on the other (for more details, see Servaes 1999, 2003, 2008).

2. As a result of the general intellectual "revolution" that took place in the mid-1960s, this Euro- or ethnocentric perspective on development was challenged by Latin-American social scientists, and a theory concerning *dependency and underdevelopment* was born (see one of the "classics": Cardoso and Falletto 1969). The dependency approach formed part of a general structuralist reorientation in the social sciences. The *dependistas* were primarily concerned with the effects of dependency in peripheral countries, but implicit in their analysis was the idea that development and underdevelopment must be understood in the context of a world system (Chew and Denemark 1996).
   This dependency paradigm played an important role in the movement for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) and New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) from the late 1960s to the early 1980s (Mowlana 1986). At that time, the new states in Africa and Asia and the success of socialist and popular movements in Cuba, China, Chile, and other countries provided the goals for political, economic, and cultural self-determination within the international community of nations. These new nations shared the ideas of being independent from the superpowers and moved to form the Non-Aligned Nations. The Non-Aligned Movement defined development as a political struggle.
3. Since the demarcation of the First, Second, and Third Worlds has broken down and the crossover center-periphery can be found in every region, there was a need for a new concept of development which emphasized *cultural identity and multidimensionality* (further discussed in Martin-Barbero 1993; Canclini 1993).
   From the criticism of the two paradigms above, particularly that of the dependency approach, a new viewpoint on development and social change came to the forefront. The common starting point here is the examination of the changes from "bottom-up," from the self-development of the local community. The basic assumption was that there are no countries or communities that function completely autonomously and that are completely self-sufficient, nor are there any nations of which development is exclusively determined by external factors. Every society is dependent in one way or another, both in form and in degree. Thus, a framework was sought within which both the center and the periphery could be studied separately and in their mutual relationship, at global, national, and local levels.

   More attention was also being paid to the *content of development*, which implied a more normative, holistic, and ecological approach. "Another development" questions whether "developed" countries are in fact developed and whether this genre of progress is sustainable or desirable. It favors a multiplicity of approaches based on the context and the basic, felt needs, and the empowerment of the most oppressed sectors of various societies at divergent levels. A main thesis is that change must be structural and occur at multiple levels in order to achieve sustainable ends.

4. The modernization paradigm was avowed on both ends of the ideological spectrum, both by the classic liberal and neoliberal theorists like Keynes and by the classic Marxist thinkers. Both ideologies have a lot in common. The differences in approach lie on the level of the means, the relative role that is assigned to the market versus the state. But the objective is the same: development on the basis of the Western vision of growth and progress. The obstacles for development are indicated only in the traditional sectors and are initially only attacked with economic means. Where liberals try to achieve development by means of a massive transfer of capital technology to the Third World, the classic Marxists strive for state intervention, the stimulation of the public sector, and the establishment of the heavy industry as an initial step in the development process – in other words, development according to the Soviet model (Galtung 1980; Sparks 2007). Some scholars (Bartolovich and Lazarus 2007; Chang 2008) claim that even in Mao's China, this view on development was of great importance. Since the revolution, there have been two ideological "lines." The first stands for a highly centralized, technocratic guidance of society toward modernization; the second line is based upon the elimination of the so-called Three Great Differences (i.e., city vs. country, mental vs. manual labor, worker vs. peasant), a collective functioning on the basis of mass democracy and self-reliance. These authors state that these lines continue to guide the Chinese development process in apparently "nonantagonistic" contradiction.

The characteristics of the different development paradigms have been summarized in Servaes (1999) (Table 1).

4.2.2 Communication Paradigms

1. The above typology of the so-called development paradigms can also be found at the communication and culture levels. The communication media are, in the context of development, generally used to support development initiatives by the dissemination of messages that encourage the public to support development-oriented projects. Although development strategies in developing countries diverge widely, the usual pattern for broadcasting and the press has been predominantly the same: informing the population about projects, illustrating the advantages of these projects, and recommending that they be supported. A typical example of such a strategy is situated in the area of family planning, where communication means like posters, pamphlets, radio, and television attempt to persuade the public to accept birth control methods. Similar strategies are used on campaigns regarding health and nutrition, agricultural projects, education, HIV/AIDS prevention, and so on.
   This model sees the communication process mainly as a message going from a sender to a receiver. This hierarchic view on communication can be summarized in Laswell's classic formula – "Who says What through Which channel to Whom with What effect?" – and dates back to (mainly American) research on (political)

Table 1 Main characteristics of the modernization, dependency, and multiplicity paradigms

		Modernization	Dependency	Multiplicity
Theory	**Period origins**	1940–1960 Western neo-liberalism (Keynes) – functionalism behaviorism	1960–1980 Latin-American neo-marxism – structuralism	Since 1980 divers origins postmodernism – anthropology – psychoanalysis – pedagogy
	Level of analysis	Nation-state	International: Center-Periphery	Multidimensional: Inter-dependency global-regional-national-local
	Cause problem	*Internal* (traditional society) *Economic variables*	*External* (First World) *Economic* and *political variables*	*Internal* and *external cultural variables*
	Emphasis on economic	endless growth in linear stages (Rostow) – capital intensive – GNP	development and underdevelopment (Frank) global exploitation class	End of growth – world system analysis – coupling of modes of production –
	Socio-cultural	dualism (traditional-modern) – structural differentiation – functional specialization – socio-psychology –	struggle – holism – subjectivism	new social movements – empowerment – participation – ecology – culture
	Political technological	harmony model Western democratic system – ethnocentric technology	conflict model – regional contradictions	normative approach participatory democracy
	Communication	transfer – value-free technological determinism two-step flow – diffusion of innovations – emphasis on mass media – communicator – opinion leader – individual attitude change empathy –	Third World elitism – Technology creates dependency technological appropriateness cultural imperialism/ synchronization – institutional and structural constraints – professional values – imbalance of flow and content	Ideology and culture – modes of communication. cultural identity – participatory communication receiver oriented – exchange of meanings hybridization – cultural proximity
	Scholars	medium is the message – media are mobility multipliers Lerner – Pool – Rogers – Schramm	Beltran – Bordenave – Hamelink – Mattelart – Schiller – Somavia	Barbero – Dissanayake – White Canclini – Wang
Research	**Methodology**	Quantitative – positivism – effects	Quantitative + qualitative	Quantitative + qualitative + participatory
	Assumptions	cause-effect – short-term – explicit – a-contextual – individual	quantity equals quality	Contextual analysis participatory observation Part. Action Research

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

		Modernization	Dependency	Multiplicity
Policies	**Communautes**	*Top down*	*Top down*	*Bottom up*
	'Solution' coming	*From 'outside' (west)*	*From 'inside' (third world)*	*No universal model available*
	Internal Domestic External International	*integration/assimilation*	*Integration*	*Dissociation*
		Explicit	Implicit	Explicit
		Integration	*Dissociation/self-reliance*	*Selective participation*
		Implicit	Explicit	Explicit
	Principles	*Free flow of information*	*Free and balanced flow*	*Right to communicate*
	Normative media theories	Free press theory social Responsibility theory	Media dependency Theory authoritarian/Marxist-Leninist theory	Democratic-participatory theory

campaigns and diffusions in the late 1940s and 1950s (Lerner 1958; Schramm 1964). The most important hypothesis of Lerner's (1958) study was that a high level of empathy is "the predominant personal style only in modern society, which is distinctively industrial, urban, literate and participant" (p. 50). Empathic persons have a higher degree of mobility, meaning a high capacity for change, and were more future oriented and rational than so-called traditional people. According to Lerner, the general psychological conditions captured by the concept of empathy stimulated mobility and urbanization which, in turn, increases literacy and consequently economic and political participation – all essential to the modernization process. The media would serve to stimulate, in direct and indirect ways, the conditions of "psychological mobility" that are so crucial to economic development (see also ▶ Chap. 7, "Daniel Lerner and the Origins of Development Communication").

Schramm stressed the importance of developing modern communication infrastructures and, based on the weakness of the private sector and the lack of economic resources in most developing countries, he advocated that the state, or governments, should play a leading role in infrastructural development. While this obviously enhanced the role of the state vis-à-vis the media, since the government under Schramm's proposals would own and control the communications media, other theorists suggested the training of media professionals and journalists in the traditions of Western media theory. As such, the overriding interest was in gaining access to the technology as quickly as possible, even if this meant turning a blind eye to the power relations that would shape the transfer and deployment of technology, as in the case of Schramm's proposal for government development of national media systems.

Referring to the agricultural extension work done in the USA in the first half of the past century and borrowing concepts from rural sociology, the American scholar Everett Rogers (1962, 1986) is said to be the person who introduced the *diffusion theory* into the context of development. Modernization is here conceived as a process of diffusion, whereby individuals move from a traditional way of life to a different, more technically developed and more rapidly changing way of life. Building primarily on sociological research in agrarian societies, Rogers stressed the adoption and diffusion processes of cultural innovation. This approach is therefore concerned with the process of *diffusion and adoption of innovations* in a systematic and planned way (Hoffmann 2007). Mass media are important in spreading awareness of new possibilities and practices, but at the stage where decisions are being made about whether to adopt or not to adopt, personal communication is far more likely to be influential. Therefore, the general conclusion of this line of thought is that *mass communication is less likely than personal influence to have a direct effect on social behavior.*

2. Newer perspectives on development communication claim that the diffusion and modernization perspective is a limited view of development communication. Juan Diaz Bordenave (1977) and Luis Ramiro Beltran (1976) were among the first Latin-American scholars who fundamentally questioned the capacity of the diffusionist communication model to modernize Latin-American societies (see

also ▶ Chap. 16, "De-westernizing Alternative Media Studies: Latin American Versus Anglo-Saxon Approaches from a Comparative Communication Research Perspective").

They argued that this diffusion model is a vertical or one-way perspective on communication and that development will accelerate mainly through active involvement in the process of the communication itself. Research has shown that, while the public can obtain information from impersonal sources like radio, television, and nowadays the Internet, this information has relatively little effect on behavioral changes. Development, furthermore, envisions precisely such change. Similar research has led to the conclusion that more is learned from interpersonal contacts and from mass communication techniques that is based on them. On the lowest level, before people can discuss and resolve problems, they must be informed of the facts – information that the media provide nationally as well as regionally and locally. At the same time, the public, if the media are sufficiently accessible, can make its information needs known.

Communication theories such as the "diffusion of innovations," the "two-step flow," or the early "extension" approaches are quite congruent with the above modernization theory. The elitist, *vertical or top-down orientation of the diffusion model* is obvious (for more details, see Servaes 2003, 2008).

One of the more useful attempts to theorize the means by which *cultural/media dependency* works through the modern forms of electronic communication is that offered by Oliver Boyd-Barrett (1977). According to Boyd-Barrett, the international communication process consists of *four major interrelated components*: (a) the shape of the communication vehicle, involving a specific technology for the distribution and consumption of media products; (b) a set of industrial arrangements that organize the relations between media finance, production, distribution, and consumption; (c) a body of values about ideal practice; and (d) specific media contents.

Herb Schiller (1976), one of the most prolific American communication scholars on dependency issues, called it "cultural imperialism." He studied the links between the US military-industrial complex and the media industry and its consequences for culture and communication worldwide. Schiller's (1976) definition of cultural imperialism is broad: "The sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating centre of the system" (p. 9).

3. The *participatory model*, on the other hand, incorporates the concepts in the framework of multiplicity. It stresses the importance of cultural identity of local communities and of *democratization and participation at all levels* – global, international, national, local, and individual. It points to a strategy, not merely inclusive of, but largely emanating from, the traditional "receivers." Paulo Freire (1983) refers to this as the right of all people to individually and collectively speak for themselves: "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" (p. 76) (see also ▶ Chap. 15, "The Importance of Paulo Freire to Communication for Development and Social Change").

In order to share information, knowledge, trust, commitment, and a right attitude in development projects, participation is very important in any decision-making process for development. Therefore, the *International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems*, chaired by the late Sean MacBride, illuminated that "this calls for a new attitude for overcoming stereotyped thinking and to promote more understanding of diversity and plurality, with full respect for the dignity and equality of peoples living in different conditions and acting in different ways" (MacBride 1980, p. 254). This model stresses reciprocal collaboration throughout all levels of participation (for more details, see Jacobson and Servaes 1999; see also ▶ Chaps. 9, "Media and Participation," and ▶ 10, "Empowerment as Development: An Outline of an Analytical Concept for the Study of ICTs in the Global South").

Also, these newer approaches posit that the *point of departure must be the community* (see, for instance, Geertz 1973; Servaes and Liu 2007). It is at the community level that the problems of living conditions are discussed and interactions with other communities are elicited. The most developed form of participation is self-management. This principle implies the rights to participation in the planning and production of media content. However, not everyone wants to or must be involved in its practical implementation. More important is that participation is made possible in the decision-making regarding the subjects treated in the messages and regarding the selection procedures.

One of the fundamental hindrances to the decision to adopt the participation strategy is that it threatens existing hierarchies. However, participation does not imply that there is no longer a role for development specialists, planners, and institutional leaders. It only means that the viewpoint of the local groups of the public is considered before the resources for development projects are allocated and distributed and that suggestions for changes in the policy are taken into consideration.

4.2.3 Research Priorities

1. Development communication in the *1958–1986 period* was generally greeted with enthusiasm and optimism. In her PhD thesis, Jo Ellen Fair (1988; summarized in Gazette, 1989) examined 224 studies of communication and development published between 1958 and 1986 and found that models predicting either powerful effects or limited effects informed the research:

> Communication has been a key element in the West's project of developing the Third World. In the one-and-a-half decades after Lerner's influential 1958 study of communication and development in the Middle East, communication researchers assumed that the introduction of media and certain types of educational, political, and economic

> information into a social system could transform individuals and societies from traditional to modern. Conceived as having fairly direct and powerful effects on Third World audiences, the media were seen as magic multipliers, able to accelerate and magnify the benefits of development. (p. 145)

Three directions for future research were suggested: (a) to examine the relevance of message content, (b) to conduct more comparative research, and (c) to conduct more policy research.

2. As a follow-up to this research, Jo Ellen Fair and Hemant Shah (1997) studied 140 journal articles, book chapters, and books published in English *between 1987 and 1996*. Their findings are quite illuminating:

> *In the 1987–1996 period, Lerner's modernization model completely disappears*. Instead, the most frequently used theoretical framework is participatory development, an optimist postmodern orientation, which is almost the polar opposite of Lerner who viewed mass communication as playing a top-down role in social change. Also vanishing from research in this latter period is the two-step flow model, which was drawn upon by modernization scholars. (p. 10)

3. *Both periods* do make use of theories or approaches such as knowledge gap, indirect influence, and uses and gratifications. However, research appearing in the years from 1987 to 1996 can be characterized as much more theoretically diverse than that published between 1958 and 1986.
   In the 1987–1996 study, the most frequent suggestion was "the need to conduct more policy research, including institutional analysis of development agency coordination. This was followed by the need to research and develop indigenous models of communication and development through participatory research" (Fair and Shah 1997, p. 19). Therefore, nobody was making the optimistic claims of the early years any longer.
4. In 2007, Hemant Shah completed an analysis of 167 items (123 journal articles, 38 book chapters, and 6 books) covering the *1997–2005 period*, and Christine Ogan et al. (2009) analyzed 211 on- and off-line peer-reviewed articles on communication and development between *1998 and 2007*. Though the meta-research technique may still need some fine-tuning, some of the findings are noteworthy:
   - *Most authors work at Western institutions* (mainly North America, then Western Europe), rather than in the non-Western world, although the majority of authors actually come from developing countries.
   - Surveys, *secondary data analysis*, *content analysis*, *and meta-research* were the most popular quantitative methods used in 1997–2007, whereas on the qualitative side were interviews, case studies, observation, focus groups, and ethnography.
   - On the content side, the trend to conduct a theoretical research in this field persists. Three-quarters of all the studies used no theory to define their work. In those studies which build on theories, *modernization theories remain dominant*, followed by participatory development, dependency, and feminist

development. Globalization did not feature prominently in most studies. Lerner's model of media and development has reappeared in the 1997–2005 time period after totally disappearing in the 1987–1996 period. Only two other theories from the traditional US-based behavioral science approach, social learning theory and knowledge gap, appear in the 1997–2005 period. Shah (2007) explains the persistence of "old" ideas from a technological deterministic perspective:

> Each new technological innovation in the postcolonial world since 1958 – television, satellites, microwave, computers, call centers, wireless technology – has been accompanied by determined hope that Lerner's modernization model will increase growth and productivity and produce modern cosmopolitan citizens. (p. 24)

- This point is echoed by Ogan et al. (2009) who conclude that studies have moved away from mass communication and *toward ICTs' role in development* that they infrequently address development in the context of globalization and often continue to embrace a modernization paradigm despite its many criticisms:

> We believe that the more recent attention to ICTs has to do with the constant search for the magic solution to bringing information to people to transform their lives, allowing them to improve their economic condition, educate their children, increase literacy and the levels of education and spread democracy in their countries. (p. 667)

- The *consequences of development communication* are very much associated with the more traditional views on modernization; that is, media activate modernity, and media raise knowledge levels. This more traditional perspective makes a strong return, as it was less pronounced during the 1987–1996 timeframe. The three other consequences listed are more critical to modernization: media create participatory society, media benefit certain classes, and media create development problems.
- The *optimistic belief* that there are overall positive impacts of development communication on individuals, dominant in 1958–1986, has consistently dropped from 25% (in 1958–1986) to 6% (in 1997–2005). Increasingly, however, it is pointed out that *more attention needs to be paid to theory and research*.
- *Suggestions for future research* prioritize the development of new development communication models and the examination of content relevance (both 27%), the need for indigenous models (24%), the study of new technologies (21%), more comparative research (18%), the need for more policy research (8%), and the development of a new normative framework (5%).

The findings by Fair, Shah, and Ogan present us with a clear but at the same time complex picture of the devcom field. The implicit assumptions on which the so-called dominant modernization paradigm is built do still linger on and continue to influence the policy- and planning-making discourse of major actors in the field of Communication for Development and Social Change, both at theoretical and applied levels.

4.3 Mapping the Future

The substantial components and major issues currently being discussed as the future of Communication for Development and Social Change can be listed under seven headings: (1) the interrelated processes of the emergence of interdisciplinarity, (2) the increasing role of the power of culture, (3) the birth of a new form of modernization, (4) the sustainability of social change processes, (5) the changing role of the nation-state, (6) the role of new social movements, and (7) the emerging attempts to address the link between the global and the local. Rico Lie (2003) listed five of them in this so-far most comprehensive roundup of the future of Communication for Development and Social Change.

4.3.1 Interdisciplinarity

Because of the complexity of societies and cultures, especially in a "world-system" perspective, the future of the social sciences seems to lie in interdisciplinarity. Theory on the impact of culture on globalization and localization has become a truly interdisciplinary academic field of study (Baumann 1999; Hopper 2007). Marxists, anthropologists, philosophers, political scientists, historians, sociologists, economists, communication specialists, and scholars in the field of cultural studies are attempting to integrate the field. The "meeting" of different perspectives, or in Geertz's terms "blurred genres" (Geertz 1983), on sociocultural phenomena seems to be the most adequate way to grasp the complexity. It is these united attempts that can provide fruitful insights and shed new light on old and new emerging problems.

4.3.2 The Power of Culture in Homogeneity and Diversity

Culture has long been regarded as only *context*, but culture is increasingly becoming *text* (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952). At the same time, it looks as if culture is also the concept that constitutes the common interests of the different disciplines and is as such responsible for interdisciplinarity. Robertson (1992) termed this increasing interest in culture "the cultural turn":

> For not merely is culture increasingly visible as a topic of specialized concern, it is evidently being taken more seriously as a relatively 'independent variable' by sociologists working in areas where it had previously been more or less neglected. (p. 32)

More focus on culture, and the increased attention that is being given to culture and cultural identity, has changed the debate from its inception with modernization, dependency, and "world-system" theory. In the Latin-American context, authors like Lawrence Harrison (1985) or Carlos Rangel (1977) started arguing in line with a Weberian perspective that *culture is the principle determinant of development*:

> In the case of Latin America, we see a cultural pattern, derivative of traditional Hispanic culture, that is anti-democratic, anti-social, anti-progress, anti-entrepreneurial, and, at least among the elite, anti-work. (p. 165)

In order to change this cultural pattern, Harrison proposes that at least seven issues need to be resolved: leadership, religious reform, education and training, the media, development projects, management practices, and child-rearing practices (Harrison 1985, pp. 169–177). Therefore, Anne Deruyttere (2006), former Chief of the Indigenous Peoples and Community Development Unit at the Inter-American Development Bank, pleads for *development with identity*:

> Development with identity refers to a process that includes strengthening of indigenous peoples, harmony and sustained interaction with their environment, sound management of natural resources and territories, the creation and exercise of authority, and respect for the rights and values of indigenous peoples, including cultural, economic, social and institutional rights, in accordance with their own worldview and governance. (p. 13)

4.3.3 A New Form of Modernization?

Globalization represents a new form of modernization that no longer equates Westernization (Hannerz 1996). However, in the current age of modernism, postmodernism, late or high modernism, or whatever new prefix is used, to grasp the current modern state of the world, it is important to, once again, point out the linear implications of this thinking. Globalization, which is highly associated with modernisms as a process of the changing cultural state of the world, is quite linear in its conceptualization (Held 2000; Sparks 2007). Although the process is less American oriented and is no longer equivalent to Westernization as those theories on cultural and media imperialism in the 1970s crudely referred to, it does not *fundamentally* change the line of thinking that the world has a modern end state determined by external forces (Hafez 2007; Lie 1998).

4.3.4 The Sustainability of Social Change Processes

In Servaes (2008), we subdivided communication strategies for development and social change at five levels: (a) *behavior change communication* (BCC) (mainly interpersonal communication), (b) *mass communication* (MC) (community media, mass media, and ICTs), (c) *advocacy communication* (AC) (interpersonal and/or mass communication), (d) *participatory communication* (PC) (interpersonal communication and community media), and (e) *communication for structural and sustainable social change* (CSSC) (interpersonal communication, participatory communication, and mass communication).

Interpersonal communication and mass communication form the bulk of what is being studied in the mainstream discipline of communication science. Behavior

change communication is mainly concerned with short-term individual changes in attitudes and behavior. It can be further subdivided in perspectives that explain individual behavior, interpersonal behavior, and community or societal behavior.

Behavioral change communication (BCC), mass communication (MC), and advocacy communication (AC), though useful in itself, will not be able to create sustainable development. Therefore, participatory communication (PC) and communication for structural and sustainable social change (CSSC) are more concerned about long-term sustained change at different levels of society.

Looking at *desired or expected outcomes*, one could think of four broad categories: (a) approaches that attempt to *change attitudes* (through information dissemination, public relations, etc.), (b) *behavioral change* approaches (focusing on changes of individual behavior, interpersonal behavior, and/or community and societal behavior), (c) *advocacy* approaches (primarily targeted at policy-makers and decision-makers at all levels and sectors of society), and (d) *communication for structural and sustainable change* approaches (which could be either top-down, horizontal, or bottom-up). The first three approaches, though useful by themselves, are in isolation not capable of creating sustainable development. Sustainable social change can only be achieved in combination with incorporating aspects of the wider environment that influences (and constrains) structural and sustainable change. These aspects include structural and conjunctural factors (e.g., history, migration, conflicts), policy and legislation, service provision, education systems, institutional and organizational factors (e.g., bureaucracy, corruption), cultural factors (e.g., religion, norms, and values), sociodemographic factors (e.g., ethnicity, class), sociopolitical factors, socioeconomic factors, and the physical environment.

For an overview and more details, see McKee et al. (2000), Papa et al. (2006), and Tremblay (2007). McKee et al. (2000) provide a multi-sectoral and interdisciplinary synthesis of field experiences and lessons learned in the context of behavior development and change. Its aim is to challenge traditional approaches to program design, implementation, and monitoring, with a view to increase the impact and sustainability of international development programs such as the ones coordinated by UNICEF. Omoto's (2005) interdisciplinary academic volume addresses a variety of topics related to service learning, social movements, political socialization, civil society, and especially volunteerism and community development. Papa et al. (2006) address four dialectic tensions which are considered essential to the process of organizing social change: control and emancipation, oppression and empowerment, dissemination and dialogue, and fragmentation and unity. They advocate for a dialectic approach.

As part of an ongoing research project (see Servaes et al. 2012; Servaes 2011; Servaes 2013a, b, 2014), we have developed a framework for the assessment of sustainability. Based on a review of the literature, our indicators were designed for four sectors of development or social change: *health*, *education*, *environment*, *and governance*. We selected eight indicators for each of the sectors of development: *actors* (the people involved in the project, which may include opinion leaders, community activists, tribal elders, youth, etc.), *factors* (structural and conjunctural), *level* (local, state, regional, national, international, global), *development*

communication approach (behavioral change, mass communication, advocacy, participatory communication, or communication for sustainable social change – which is likely a mix of all of the above), *channels* (radio, ICT, TV, print, Internet, etc.), *message* (the content of the project, campaign), *process* (diffusion-centered, one-way, and information-persuasion strategies or interactive and dialogical), and *method* (quantitative, qualitative, participatory, or in combination) (Table 2).

For each indicator, we developed a set of questions designed to specifically measure the sustainability of the project. We defined "sustainability," for example,

Table 2 Testing sustainability framework: categories and indicators

Indicators		Health	Education	Governance	Environment
Actors					
Factors	Structural				
	Conjuctural				
Level	Local				
	National				
	Regional				
Type communication	Behavioral				
	Mass communication				
	Advocacy				
	Participatory communication				
	Communication for social change				
Channels	Face to face				
	Print				
	Radio				
	Television				
	ICT				
	Telephone/cellular phone				
Process	Persuasion strategies				
	One-way transmission				
	Interactive dialogue				
Methods	Quantitative				
	Qualitative				
	Participatory				
	Mixed methods				
Message	Was it developed by the community?				
	Was it received?				
	Was it understood?				

by analyzing whether the channels are compatible with both the capacity of the actors and the structural and conjunctural factors. If they are, the project will have a higher likelihood of being sustainable in the long run. We asked to what extent was the process participatory and consistent with the cultural values of the community. Was the message developed by local actors in the community and how was it understood? Our research shows that the more local and interactive the participation – in levels, communication approaches, channels, processes, and methods – the more sustainable the project will be. We analyzed each of the indicators in the context of sustainability further for each project.

4.3.5 Nation-States and National Cultures

Nation-states are seen by most scholars, especially Marxists (Hirst and Thompson 1996), as the basic elements in a world system and the main actors in the process of globalization; but is this also true for cultural globalization? Does the globalization thesis automatically imply that national cultures are the main elements or actors in a "global culture"? Are the nation-states and national cultures the central points of convergence and main actors in globalization (Anderson 1983; Sunkel and Fuenzalida 1980)?

On the one hand, the globalization thesis centers the nation-state as the main actor. This has become even more apparent since the financial meltdown in 2008. Many national governments have not only moved to forms of protectionism unheard of a decade ago, but they also tend to argue that this might be the only realistic way out of the crisis. On the other hand, different scholars try to escape from the limitations of state-centrism. This problematizing of state-centrism is in essence what the globalization thesis is all about. According to Delcourt (2009) and Scholte (2005), we must go beyond the nation-state and develop sociology of the global system. The same seems to be true for the cultural field. Discussions on global and local culture seem to go beyond discussions that centralize the nation-state and thus center national culture, national identity, and nationalism. The nation-state might be the most significant political-economic unit into which the world is divided, but a cultural discussion on globalization must include other levels, because the nation-state is not the only cultural frame used for the construction of a cultural identity (Servaes and Lie 1998). Tomlinson (1999) also showed us by analyzing the discourse within UNESCO, where cultural identity seems to be seen as national identity equal, that this statement cannot stand ground because cultural identity transcends national identity (Tomlinson 1999, pp. 70–75).

If culture at the national level is identified as being only one level that structures and frames the construction of identity, we need to initiate a discussion on other levels that play roles in the process of identity construction. There is little discussion possible about what the global level incorporates. There is no bigger sociocultural or economic-political analytical frame possible. But there seems to be some different interpretations possible about what "local" actually is. Is it an extended family, a village, a tribe, a neighborhood in a town, a city, a county, a region, an island, or

even a nation-state? Or should it go beyond a nation-state and become associated with "local" global communities, real or virtual or both? These are important issues that also need to be incorporated in the discussions on macro-micro linkages in the social sciences (Elliott and Lemert 2006).

4.3.6 The Place of Civil Society and the Role of New Social Movements

New identities and the need for new meanings arise from and are a consequence of the encounters between individualization, privatization, globalization, the extensions of control, and disjunctures between established forms of representation and emerging needs. These struggles for identity and meaning have been carried out by a variety of civil society and new social movements. These local, national, regional, and transnational projects and struggles have been powered by new media networks that have proven invaluable for organizing, recruiting, campaigning, lobbying, and experimenting with the planning, organization, implementation, and delivery of innovative, participatory projects.

Moreover, culture is also increasingly seen as an important factor in international communication, social processes, *social movements*, *and civil society* (de Sousa Santos 2007).

Each from their specific vantage point provides unique insights and perspectives for a better understanding of what the future has in store: Braman and Sreberny-Mohammadi (1996, on globalization and localization), Cimadevilla and Carniglia (2004, on sustainability and rural development), Friedmann (1992, on empowerment), Downing (2001, on radical communication and social movements), Kennedy (2008, one of the best researched and documented cases on participatory development with the Native Alaskans), Kronenburg (1986, compares two development projects in Kenya), and Nash (2005, analyzes social movements from an anthropological perspective).

4.3.7 Linking the Global and the Local

Globalization and localization are seen as interlinked processes, and this marks a *radical change in thinking about change and development*. As Anthony Giddens (1995) observed, "Globalization does not only concern the creation of large-scale systems, but also the transformation of the local, and even personal, context of social experience" (pp. 4–5). Potentially, it integrates global dependency thinking, world-system theory, and local, grassroots, interpretative, participatory theory and research on social change (Bauman 1998; Berger and Huntington 2002).

Obviously, the debates in the general field of "international and intercultural communication for development and social change" have shifted and broadened. They have shifted in the sense that they are now focusing on issues related to "global culture," "local culture," "(post)modernity," and "multiculturalism" instead of their

previous concern with "modernization," "synchronization," and "cultural imperialism" (Grillo et al. 1998). Therefore, in contrast to mainstream views on globalization, which center on the political economy, the global industry, and have a capitalist-centered view of the world, here, the focus is *on situating the field of globalization in the local* (Harindranath 2006).

At the same time, the debates have shifted from an emphasis on homogeneity toward an *emphasis on differences*. Therefore, the total conglomerate of changes accounts for something new, and especially the last issue of linking the global with the local can be identified as a central point of change. But how can this conglomerate of global changes be linked to development and political-economic and social change at local levels and from within local levels?

4.4 Directions for Future Research

Today almost nobody would dare to make the optimistic claims of the early years any longer. The experience of the past 50 years has demonstrated that development is possible, but not inevitable. But, as mentioned earlier, the findings by Jo Ellen Fair, Christine Ogan, and Hemant Shah present us with a clear but at the same time complex picture of our field: the re-emergence of *modernization theories* with a technological-deterministic twist, followed by participatory development, dependency, feminist development, and globalization.

4.4.1 The Transformation of Society

As many others, we are in search of a new paradigm for development and social change, one which looks at development as a *transformation of society.* In such a perspective, "change is not an end in itself, but a means to other objectives. The changes that are associated with development provide individuals and societies more control over their own destiny. Development enriches the lives of individuals by widening their horizons and reducing their sense of isolation. It reduces the afflictions brought on by disease and poverty, not only increasing lifespans, but improving the vitality of life" (Stiglitz 1998, p. 3). We have referred to this paradigm as *multiplicity* (Servaes 1999).

This perspective argues that considerations of communication need to be explicitly built into development plans to ensure that a mutual sharing/learning process is facilitated. Such communicative sharing is deemed the best guarantee for creating successful transformative projects. Therefore, as already mentioned at the outset, we define Communication for Development and Social Change as:

> *Communication for social change is the nurturing of knowledge aimed at creating a consensus for action that takes into account the interests, needs and capacities of all concerned. It is thus a social process, which has as its ultimate objective sustainable development at distinct levels of society.*

Communication media and ICTs are important tools in achieving social change but their use is not an end in itself. Interpersonal communication, traditional and group media must also play a fundamental role.

The new starting point is examining the processes of "bottom-up" change, focusing on self-development of local communities. The basic assumption is that there are no countries or communities that function completely autonomously and that are completely self-sufficient, nor are there any nations whose development is exclusively determined by external factors. Every society is dependent in one way or another, both in form and in degree.

4.4.2 The Cosmopolitan Challenge

This also implies, as argued by Southern scholars like Kwame Anthony Appiah (2006), Wimal Dissanayake (2006), Shelton Gunaratne (2005), or Majid Tehranian (2007), that a cultural perspective has to be fully embraced. Wimal Dissanayake (2006), for instance, argues for a *new concept of humanism*:

> Humanism as generally understood in Western discourse ... places at the center of its interest the sovereign individual – the individual who is self-present, the originator of action and meaning, and the privileged location of human values and civilizational achievements. However, the concept of the self and individual that is textualized in the kind of classical works that attract the attention of Asian communication theorists present a substantially different picture. The ontology and axiology of selfhood found in Buddhism differs considerably from those associated with European humanism. What these differences signpost is that there is not one but many humanisms. (p. 6)

Many humanisms may lead to what Appiah (2006) calls *the cosmopolitan challenge*:

> If we accept the cosmopolitan challenge, we will tell our representatives that we want them to remember those strangers. Not because we are moved by their suffering – we may or may not be – but because we are responsive to what Adam Smith called 'reason, principle, conscience, the inhabitant of the beast.' The people of the richest nations can do better. This is a demand of simple morality. But it is one that will resonate more widely if we make our civilization more cosmopolitan. (p. 174)

4.4.3 The Content of Development Agendas

Attention is also needed to critically analyze the *content of development agendas*. An understanding of the way in which development projects both encounter and transform power relationships within (and between) the multiple stakeholders who are impacted by such projects and an understanding of the way in which communication plays a central part in building (or maintaining or changing) power relationships are needed. Therefore, *three streams of action* are important:

- Media must be activated to build public support and upward pressure for policy decisions.
- Interest groups must be involved and alliances established for reaching a common understanding and mobilizing societal forces. This calls for networking with influential individuals and groups, political forces and public organizations, professional and academic institutions, religious and cause-oriented groups, business, and industry.
- Public demand must be generated and citizens' movements activated to evoke a response from national leaders. It may not always be easy to build up a strong public movement around development issues – but even a moderate display of interest and effort by community, leaders could stimulate the process for policy decisions and resource allocation for combating the problem.

4.4.4 More Participatory Communication Research Needed

Research that addresses the achievement and sustainability of processes and outcomes of communication for development should be encouraged. This requires a participatory approach, a shared framework between development agencies and local stakeholders, and community involvement in design, implementation, and dissemination (Servaes and Malikhao 2010).

1. There are two major approaches to participatory communication that everybody today accepts as common sense. The first is the dialogical pedagogy of Paulo Freire (1970, 1973, 1983, 1994), and the second involves the ideas of access, participation, and self-management articulated in the UNESCO debates of the 1970s (Berrigan 1977, 1979). Every communication project that calls itself participatory accepts these principles of democratic communication. Nonetheless there exist today a wide variety of practical experiences and intentions. Before moving on to explore these differences, it is useful to briefly review the common ground.

   The *Freirian argument* works by a dual theoretical strategy. He insists that subjugated peoples must be treated as fully human subjects in any political process. This implies dialogical communication. Although inspired to some extent by Sartre's existentialism – a respect for the autonomous personhood of each human being – the more important source is a theology that demands respect for otherness, in this case that of another human being. The second strategy is a moment of utopian hope derived from the early Marx that the human species has a destiny which is more than life as a fulfillment of material needs. Also from Marx is an insistence on collective solutions. Individual opportunity, Freire stresses, is no solution to general situations of poverty and cultural subjugation.

   These ideas are deeply unpopular with elites, including elites in the Third World, but there is nonetheless widespread acceptance of Freire's notion of dialogic communication as a normative theory of participatory communication. One problem with Freire is that his theory of dialogical communication is based

on group dialogue rather than such amplifying media as radio, print, and television. Freire also gives little attention to the language or form of communication, devoting most of his discussion to the intentions of communication actions.

The second discourse about participatory communication is the UNESCO language about *self-management*, *access*, *and participation* from the 1977 meeting in Belgrade, the former Yugoslavia. The final report of that meeting defines the terms in the following way:

- 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. 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.

Access by the community and participation of the community are to be considered key defining factors, as Berrigan eloquently summarizes: "[Community media] are media to which members of the community have access, for information, education, entertainment, when they want access. They are media in which the community participates, as planners, producers, and performers. They are the means of expression of the community, rather than for the community" (Berrigan 1979, p. 8). Referring to the 1977 meeting in Belgrade, Berrigan (1979, p. 18) (partially) links access to the reception of information, education, and entertainment considered relevant by/for the community: "[Access] 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."

Others limit access to mass media and see it as "the processes that permit users to provide relatively open and unedited input to the mass media" (Lewis 1993, p. 12) or as "the relation to the public and the established broadcasting institutions" (Prehn 1991, p. 259). Both the production and reception approaches of "access" can be considered relevant for an understanding of "community media."

These ideas are important and widely accepted as a normative theory of participatory communication: it must involve access and participation (Pateman 1972). However, one should note some differences from Freire. 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's theory allows for no such compromise. One either respects the culture of the other or falls back into domination and the "banking" 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. Participatory or community radio means a radio station that is self-managed by those participating in it.

2. Participation involves the more equitable sharing of both political and economic power, which often decreases the advantage of certain groups. Structural change involves the redistribution of power. In mass communication areas, many communication experts agree that structural change should occur first in order to establish participatory communication policies. Mowlana and Wilson (1987, p. 143), for instance, state: "Communications policies are basically derivatives of the political, cultural and economic conditions and institutions under which they operate. They tend to legitimize the existing power relations in society, and therefore, they cannot be substantially changed unless there are fundamental structural changes in society that can alter these power relationships themselves." Therefore, the development of a participatory communication model has to take place in relation with overall societal emancipation processes at local, national as well as international levels. Several authors have been trying to summarize the criteria for such a communication model. The Latin-American scholar Juan Somavia (1977, 1981) sums up the following (slightly adapted) components as essential for it:
   (a) *Communication is a human need.* The satisfaction of the need for communication is just as important for a society as the concerns for health, nutrition, housing, education, and labor. Together with all the other social needs, communication must enable the citizens to emancipate themselves completely from being oppressed. The rights to inform and to be informed and the rights to communicate are thus essential human rights at an individual and a collective level.
   (b) *Communication is delegated human rights*. Within its own cultural, political, economic, and historical context, each society has to be able to define the concrete form in which it wants to organize its social communication process independently. Because of varieties of culture, various organizational structures arise. Whatever the form in which the social communication function is embodied, priority must be given to the principles of participation and accessibility.
   (c) *Communication is a facet of the societal conscientization, emancipation, and liberation process.* The social responsibility of the media in the process of social change is very large. Indeed, after the period of formal education, the media are the most important educational and socialization agents. They are capable of informing or misinforming, exposing or concealing important facts, interpreting events positively or negatively, and so on.
   (d) *The communication task involves rights and responsibilities/obligations*. Since the media in fact provide a public service, they must carry it out in a framework of social and juridical responsibility that reflects the social consensus of the society. In other words, there are no rights without obligation.

   The freedom and right to communicate, therefore, must be approached from a threefold perspective: *firstly*, it is necessary for the public to participate effectively

in the communication field; *secondly*, there is the design of a framework in which this can take place; and, *thirdly*, the media must enjoy professional autonomy, free of economic, political, or whatever pressure.

In other words, participatory communication for social change sees people as the nucleus of development. Development means lifting up the spirits of a local community to take pride in its own culture, intellect, and environment. Development aims to educate and stimulate people to be active in self and communal improvements while maintaining a balanced ecology. Authentic participation, though widely espoused in the literature, is not in everyone's interest. Due to their local concentration, participatory programs are, in fact, not easily implemented, nor are they highly predictable or readily controlled.

3. In spite of the widespread acceptance of the ideas of Freire and UNESCO by development organizations and communication researchers, there is still a very wide range of projects calling themselves "participatory communication projects." There is an evident need for clarification in descriptive and normative theories of participatory media. What does it mean to be participatory? It is necessary to make further distinctions and arguments to deal with a wide variety of actually existing experiences and political intentions.

   A review of the literature turns up the following *types* (Berrigan 1979):

   1. Participatory media are internally organized on democratic lines (as worker cooperatives or collectives).
   2. Participatory media are recognized by their opposition to cultural industries dominated by multinational corporations.
   3. Participatory media may be traced to the liberation of linguistic and ethnic groups following a major social transformation.
   4. The strong existence of participatory media may be explained in terms of class struggle within the society.
   5. Participatory media may be identified as "molecular" rather than "molar" (a collectivity of individual autonomous units rather than one that is homogenized and one-dimensional).
   6. Participatory media (like the montage of Eisenstein and the theater of Brecht) by design require a creative and varied reception from its audience.

Reyes-Matta (1986) states that participatory communication is first and foremost an alternative to media dominated by transnational corporations. This is the context in which any alternative must operate. To succeed is to have won against the culture industries that are dominated by multinational corporations. The line of thought developed by CINCO (1987) is a development of this because it involves above all a structural analysis of communicative institutions. For the CINCO researchers, a medium is alternative, if it has a democratic institutional structure. Here the issue is one of ownership and control that is external to the community against access and participation in the media organization.

Legitimacy and political credibility can be fostered by the establishment of what is called *participatory democracy*, the building in of actual participation from the public. This is only possible when the communication system is decentralized. The

Table 3 Positioning the four theoretical approaches on community media (CM)

	Media-centered	Society-centered
Autonomous identity of CM (Essentialist)	*Approach I*: Serving the community	*Approach III*: Part of civil society
Identity of CM in relation to other identities (Relationalist)	*Approach II*: An alternative to mainstream	*Approach IV*: Rhizome

control over communication and information may not be monopolized by one or a few segments of the society. Unfortunately, most of the time, structural aspects stand in the way of the ideal of democracy. In most developing countries, the first stone for bridging the gap between the ruling elite and the masses has still to be laid. For the establishment of participatory democracy, therefore, dialogue must be made possible between the authorities and the public, nationally, regionally, and locally. In the political sector, this can be done through political parties, pressure groups, civil action groups, environmental movements, and the like. Thus political credibility as well as social and cultural identity of the population and an awareness and support of the development goals are needed.

The concept of *community media* (CM) has shown to be, in its long theoretical and empirical tradition, highly elusive. The multiplicity of media organizations that carry this name has caused most mono-theoretical approaches to focus on certain characteristics, while ignoring other aspects of the identity of community media. This theoretical problem necessitates the use of different approaches toward the definition of community media (Table 3), which will allow for a complementary emphasis on different aspects of the identity of "community media" (for an elaboration, see Carpentier et al. 2001, 2012).

4.4.5 Measurement and Evaluation for "Social Usefulness"

Evaluation and impact assessments should include participatory baseline formulations and communication needs assessments. They should also include self-evaluation by the communities themselves and the concept of "social usefulness." They should be used to feed back at the policy level. There is a need for effective and convincing evaluation models and data to show evidence of the impact of communication for development. Sustainability indicators based on qualitative dimensions of development need to be emphasized, involving the potential of ICTs to collect feedback interactively. Research should also be reinforced in order to better identify communication needs.

While many successful small-scale examples of communication for development exist, these need to be scaled up, thus improving practice and policy at every level. A focus on small-scale projects (pilot projects) is acceptable, but evidence-based and properly researched benchmarks need to be set.

4.5 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, it summarizes the past of Communication for Development and Social Change; identified the roadmap for the future of Communication for Development and Social Change; and looked at some of the key purposes, functions, and approaches needed to steer communication for development and social change. In the other chapters published in this handbook, specific aspects and themes will be further detailed, explored, and discussed in order to hopefully arrive at a more comprehensive and holistic perspective on the increasingly complex issue of Communication for Development and Social Change.

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Family Tree of Theories, Methodologies, and Strategies in Development Communication

5

Silvio Waisbord

Contents

5.1 Introduction 94
5.2 Development Communication 94
5.3 The Dominant Paradigm 95
5.4 Theories in the Tradition of the Dominant Paradigm 98
5.4.1 Social Marketing 99
5.4.2 Health Promotion and Health Education 103
5.4.3 Entertainment-Education 105
5.5 Critiques of the Dominant Paradigm 108
5.5.1 Dependency Theory 108
5.5.2 Participatory Theories and Approaches 110
5.5.3 Media Advocacy 116
5.5.4 Social Mobilization 118
5.6 Toward a Theoretical and Empirical Convergence? 120
5.6.1 General Remarks 120
5.6.2 Points of Convergence 122
References 129

Abstract

This chapter presents a family tree of theories, concepts, methodologies, and strategies for change in the field of development communication. It presents a chronological evolution and comparison of approaches and findings. The goal of this report is to clarify the understandings and the uses of the most influential theories, strategies, and techniques. Theory refers to sets of concepts and propositions that articulate relations among variables to explain and predict situations and results. Theories explain the nature and causes of a given problem and

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provide guidelines for practical interventions. Diagnoses of problems translate into strategies, that is, specific courses of action for programmatic interventions that use a variety of techniques.

Keywords

Communication for social change (CSC) · Convergence points · Dependency theory · Entertainment-education · Family planning programs · Health education · Media advocacy · Participatory theories · Social mobilization

5.1 Introduction

Since the 1950s, a diversity of theoretical and empirical traditions has converged in the field of development communication. Such convergence produced a rich analytical vocabulary but also conceptual confusion. The field has not experienced a unilinear evolution in which new approaches superseded and replaced previous ones. Instead, different theories and practices that originated in different disciplines have existed and have been used simultaneously. This report identifies the main theoretical approaches and their practical applications, traces their origins, draws comparisons, and indicates strengths and weaknesses. It also analyzes the main understandings of development communication that express the outlook of the main "trunks" and "branches" of the family tree.

5.2 Development Communication

Development communication has its origins in post-war international aid programs to countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa that were struggling with poverty, illiteracy, poor health, and a lack of economic, political, and social infrastructures. Development communication commonly refers to the application of communication strategies and principles in the developing world. It is derived from theories of development and social change that identified the main problems of the post-war world in terms of a lack of development or progress equivalent to Western countries.

Development theories have their roots in mid-century optimism about the prospects that large parts of the postcolonial world could eventually "catch up" and resemble Western countries. After the last remains of European empires in Africa and Asia crumbled in the 1950s and 1960s, a dominant question in policy and academic quarters was how to address the abysmal disparities between the developed and underdeveloped worlds. Development originally meant the process by which Third World societies could become more like Western developed societies as measured in terms of political system, economic growth, and educational levels (Inkeles and Smith 1974). Development was synonymous with political democracy, rising levels of productivity and industrialization, high literacy rates, longer life expectancy, and the like. The implicit assumption was that there was one form of

development as expressed in developed countries that underdeveloped societies needed to replicate.

Since then, numerous studies have provided diverse definitions of development communication. Definitions reflect different scientific premises of researchers as well as interests and political agendas of a myriad of foundations and organizations in the development field. Recent definitions state that the ultimate goal of "development communication" is to raise the quality of life of populations, including increase income and well-being, eradicate social injustice, promote land reform and freedom of speech, and establish community centers for leisure and entertainment (Melkote 1991, 229). The current aim of development communication is to remove constraints for a more equal and participatory society.

Although a multiplicity of theories and concepts emerged during the past 50 years, studies and interventions have fundamentally offered two different diagnoses and answers to the problem of underdevelopment. While one position has argued that the problem was largely due to lack of information among populations, the other one suggested that power inequality was the underlying problem. Because the diagnoses were different, recommendations were different, too. Running the risk of overgeneralization, it could be said that theories and intervention approaches fell in different camps on the following points:

- Cultural versus environmental explanations for underdevelopment
- Psychological versus sociopolitical theories and interventions
- Attitudinal and behavior models versus structural and social models
- Individual versus community-centered interventions development
- Hierarchical and sender-oriented versus horizontal and participatory communication models
- Active versus passive conceptions of audiences and populations
- Participation as means versus participation as end approaches

These divergences are explored in the examination of theories and approaches below.

5.3 The Dominant Paradigm

Behavior change models have been the dominant paradigm in the field of development communication. Different theories and strategies shared the premise that problems of development were basically rooted in lack of knowledge and that, consequently, interventions are needed to provide people with information to change behavior.

The early generation of development communication studies was dominated by modernization theory. This theory suggested that cultural and information deficits lie underneath development problems and therefore could not be resolved only through three economic assistance (a la Marshall Plan in post-war Europe). Instead, the difficulties in Third World countries were at least partially related to the existence

of a traditional culture that inhibited development. Third World countries lacked the necessary culture to move into a modern stage. Culture was viewed as the "bottleneck" that prevented the adoption of modern attitudes and behavior. McClelland (1961) and Hagen (1962), for example, understood that personalities determined social structure. Traditional personalities, characterized by authoritarianism, low self-esteem, and resistance to innovation, were diametrically different from modern personalities and, consequently, anti-development.

These studies best illustrated one of modernization's central tenets: ideas are the independent variable that explains specific outcomes. Based on this diagnosis, development communication proposed that changes in ideas would result in transformations in behavior. The underlying premise, originated in classic sociological theories, was that there is a necessary fitness between a "modern" culture and economic and political development. The low rate of agricultural output, the high rate of fertility and mortality, or the low rates of literacy found in the underdeveloped world were explained by the persistence of traditional values and attitudes that prevented modernization. The goal was, therefore, to instill modern values and information through the transfer of media technology and the adoption of innovations and culture originated in the developed world. The Western model of development was upheld as the model to be emulated worldwide.

Because the problem of underdeveloped regions was believed to be an information problem, communication was presented as the instrument that would solve it. As theorized by Daniel Lerner (1958) and Wilbur Schramm (1964), communication basically meant the transmission of information. Exposure to mass media was one of the factors, among others (e.g., urbanization, literacy), that could bring about modern attitudes. This knowledge-transfer model defined the field for years to come. Both Lerner's and Schramm's analyses and recommendations had a clear pro-media, pro-innovation, and pro-persuasion focus. The emphasis was put on media-centered persuasion activities that could improve literacy and, in turn, allow populations to break free from traditionalism.

This view of change originated in two communication models. One was the Shannon-Weaver model of sender-receiver, originally developed in engineering studies that set out to explain the transmission of information among machines. It became extremely influential in communication studies. The other was the propaganda model developed during World War II; according to which the mass media had "magic bullet" effects in changing attitudes and behavior.

From a transmission/persuasion perspective, communication was understood as a linear, unidirectional process in which senders send information through media channels to receivers. Consequently, development communication was equated with the massive introduction of media technologies to promote modernization, and the widespread adoption of the mass media (newspapers, radio, cinemas, and later television) was seen as pivotal for the effectiveness of communication interventions. The media were both channels and indicators of modernization: they would serve as the agents of diffusion of modern culture and, also, suggested the degree of modernization of the society.

The emphasis on the diffusion of media technologies meant that modernization could be measured and quantified in terms of media penetration. The numbers of

television and radio sets and newspaper consumption were accepted as indicators of modern attitudes (Lerner 1958; Inkeles and Smith 1974). Statistics produced by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) showing the penetration of newspapers, radio, and television sets became proxy of development. Researchers found that in countries where people were more exposed to modern media, there are more favorable attitudes toward modernization and development. Based on these findings, national governments and specialists agreed to champion the media as instruments for the dissemination of modern ideas that would improve agriculture, health, education, and politics. So-called "small" media such as publications, posters, and leaflets were also recommended as crucial to the success of what became known as Development Support Communication, that is, the creation of the human environment necessary for a development program to succeed (Agunga 1997).

The "diffusion of innovations" theory elaborated by Everett Rogers (1962, 1983) became one of the most influential modernization theories. It has been said that Rogers' model has ruled development communication for decades and became the blueprint for communication activities in development. Rogers' intention was to understand the adoption of new behaviors. The premise was that innovations diffuse over time according to individuals' stages. Having reviewed over 500 empirical studies in the early 1960s, Rogers posited five stages through which an individual passes in the adoption of innovations: awareness, knowledge and interest, decision, trial, and adoption/rejection. Populations were divided in different groups according to their propensity to incorporate innovations and timing in actually adopting them. Rogers proposed that early adopters act as models to emulate and generate a climate of acceptance and an appetite for change, and those who are slow to adopt are laggards. This latter category was assumed to describe the vast majority of the population in the Third World.

For Rogers, the subculture of the peasantry offered important psychological constraints on the incorporation of innovations and, consequently, development. His view on development reflected the transmission bias also found in Lerner and Schramm. According to Rogers, development communications entailed a "process by which an idea is transferred from a source to a receiver with the intent to change his behavior. Usually the source wants to alter the receiver's knowledge of some idea, create or change his attitude toward the idea, or persuade him to adopt the idea as part of his regular behavior" (Rogers 1962).

However, diverging from the media centrism and "magic bullet" theory of effects that underpinned earlier analyses, Rogers and subsequent "diffusion" studies concluded that the media had a great importance in increasing awareness but that interpersonal communication and personal sources were crucial in making decisions to adopt innovations. This revision incorporated insights from the opinion leader theory (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955); according to which there are two steps in information flow: from the media to opinion leaders and from leaders to the masses. Media audiences rely on the opinions of members of their social networks rather than solely or mainly on the mass media. In contrast to powerful media effects models that suggested a direct relation between the mass media and the masses, Lazarsfeld and Katz found that interpersonal relations were crucial in channeling and shaping

opinion. This insight was incorporated in diffusion studies, which proposed that both exposure to mass media and face-to-face interaction were necessary to induce effective change. The effectiveness of field workers in transmitting information in agricultural development projects also suggested the importance of interpersonal networks in disseminating innovations. Consequently, a triadic model of communication was recommended that included change agents, beneficiaries, and communicators.

Confirming Lerner's and Schramm's ideas, another important finding of diffusion research was that what motivates change is not economics but communication and culture. This is what studies on how farmers adopted new methods showed. Such studies were particularly influential because a substantial amount of early efforts targeted agricultural development in the Third World (Rogers 1983). Other applications targeted literacy programs and health issues, mainly family planning and nutrition.

In the mid-1970s, main representatives of modernization/diffusion theories considered it necessary to review some basic premises (Rogers 1976, 1983). In a widely quoted article, Rogers admitted "the passing of the dominant paradigm." Schramm and Rogers recognized that early views had individualistic and psychological biases. It was necessary to be sensitive to the specific sociocultural environment in which "communication" took place, an issue that was neglected in early analyses. To a large extent, these revisions resulted from the realization that the "trickle down" model that was originally championed was not proven to be effective in instrumenting change. The stages model remained, but the top-down perspective according to which innovations diffuse from above needed modification.

Other positions suggested that the traditional model needs to integrate a process orientation that was not only focused on the results of intervention but also to content and address the cognitive dimensions (not just behavior). Many of these observations were integrated into the diffusion approach. By the mid-1970s, Rogers' definition of communication showed important changes that partially responded to criticisms. Development was theorized as a participatory process of social change intended to bring social and material advancement. Communication was no longer focused on persuasion (transmission of information between individuals and groups), but was understood as a "process by which participants create and share information with one another in order to reach a mutual understanding" (Rogers 1976).

5.4 Theories in the Tradition of the Dominant Paradigm

In the early 1970s, modernization theory was the dominant paradigm of development communication. The climate of enthusiasm and "missionary zeal," as Wilbur Schramm (1997) described it, that had existed a decade earlier had notably receded, but the notion that the diffusion of information and innovations could solve problems of underdevelopment prevailed.

5.4.1 Social Marketing

Social marketing has been one of the approaches that has carried forward the premises of diffusion of innovation and behavior change models. Since the 1970s, social marketing has been one of the most influential strategies in the field of development communication.

The origins of social marketing hark back to the intention of marketing to expand its disciplinary boundaries. It was clearly a product of specific political and academic developments in the United States that were later incorporated into development projects. Among various reasons, the emergence of social marketing responded to two main developments: the political climate in the late 1960s that put pressure on various disciplines to attend to social issues and the emergence of nonprofit organizations that found marketing to be a useful tool (Elliott 1991). Social marketing was marketing's response to the need to be "socially relevant" and "socially responsible." It was a reaction of marketing as both discipline and industry to be sensitive to social issues and to strive toward the social good. But it was also a way for marketing to provide intervention tools to organizations whose business was the promotion of social change.

Social marketing consisted of putting into practice standard techniques in commercial marketing to promote pro-social behavior. From marketing and advertising, it imported theories of consumer behavior into the development communication. The analysis of consumer behavior is required to understand the complexities, conflicts, and influences that create consumer needs and how needs can be met (Novelli 1990). Influences include environmental, individual, and information processing and decision-making. At the core of social marketing theory is the exchange model; according to which individuals, groups, and organizations exchange resources for perceived benefits of purchasing products. The aim of interventions is to create voluntary exchanges.

In terms of its place on the "family tree" of development communication, social marketing did not come out of either diffusion or participatory theories, the traditions that dominated the field in the early 1970s. Social marketing was imported from a discipline that until then had little to do with modernization or dependency theories, the then-dominant approaches in development communication. Social marketing grew out of the disciplines of advertising and marketing in the United States. The central premise of these disciplines underlies social marketing strategies: the goal of an advertising/marketing campaign is to make the public aware about the existence, the price, and the benefits of specific products.

Social marketing's focus on behavior change, understanding of communication as persuasion ("transmission of information"), and top-down approach to instrument change suggested an affinity with modernization and diffusion of innovation theories. Similar to diffusion theory, it conceptually subscribed to a sequential model of behavior change in which individuals cognitively move from acquisition of knowledge to adjustment of attitudes toward behavior change. However, it was not a natural extension of studies in development communication.

What social marketing brought was a focus on using marketing techniques such as market segmentation and formative research to maximize the effectiveness of

interventions. The use of techniques from commercial advertising and marketing to promote social/political goals in international issues was not new in the 1970s. Leading advertising agencies and public relations firms had already participated in support of US international policies, most notably during the two wars in drumming up domestic approval and mobilization for war efforts. Such techniques, however, had not been used before to "sell" social programs and goals worldwide.

One of the standard definitions of social marketing states that "it is the design, implementation, and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving consideration of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution, and marketing research" (Kotler and Zaltman 1971, 5). More recently, Andreasen (1994, 110) has defined it as "the adaptation of commercial marketing technologies to programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences to improve their personal welfare and that of the society of which they are a part." Others have defined it as the application of management and marketing technologies to pro-social and nonprofit programs (Meyer and Dearing 1996).

Social marketing suggested that the emphasis should be put not so much on getting ideas out or transforming attitudes but influencing behavior. For some of its best-known proponents, behavior change is social marketing's bottom line, the goal that sets it apart from education or propaganda. Unlike commercial marketing, which is not concerned with the social consequences of its actions, the social marketing model centers on communication campaigns designed to promote socially beneficial practices or products in a target group.

Social marketing's goal is to position a product such as condoms by giving information that could help fulfill, rather than create, uncovered demand. It intends to "reduce the psychological, social, economic and practical distance between the consumer and the behavior" (Wallack et al. 1993, 21). The goal would be to make condom use affordable, available, and attractive (Steson and David 1999). If couples of reproductive age do not want more children but do not use any contraceptive, the task of social marketing is to find out why and what information needs to be provided so they can make informed choices. This requires sorting out cultural beliefs that account for such behavior or for why people are unwilling to engage in certain health practices even when they are informed about their positive results. This knowledge is the baseline that allows a successful positioning of a product. A product needs to be positioned in the context of community beliefs.

In the United States, social marketing has been extensively applied in public information campaigns that targeted a diversity of problems such as smoking, alcoholism, seat-belt use, drug abuse, eating habits, venereal diseases, littering, and protection of forests. The Stanford Three-Community Study of Heart Disease is frequently mentioned as one of the most fully documented applications of the use of marketing strategies. Designed and implemented as a strictly controlled experiment, it offered evidence that it is possible to change behavior through the use of marketing methodologies. The campaign included television spots, television programming, radio spots, newspaper advertisements and stories, billboard messages, and direct mail. In one town the media campaign was supplemented by interpersonal communication with a random group of individuals at risk of acquiring

heart disease. Comparing results among control and experimental communities, the research concluded that media could be a powerful inducer of change, especially when aligned with the interpersonal activities of community groups (Flora et al. 1989).

Social marketing has been used in developing countries in many interventions such as condom use, breast-feeding, and immunization programs. According to Chapman Walsh and associates (1993, 107–108), "early health applications of social marketing emerged as part of the international development efforts and were implemented in the Third World during the 1960s and 1970s. Programs promoting immunization, family planning, various agricultural reforms, and nutrition were conducted in numerous countries in Africa, Asia and South America during the 1970s. . .The first nationwide contraceptive program social marketing program, the Nirodh condom project in India, began in 1967 with funding from the Ford Foundation." The substantial increase in condom sales was attributed to the distribution and promotion of condoms at a subsidized price. The success of the Indian experience informed subsequent social marketing interventions such as the distribution of infant-weaning formula in public health clinics.

According to Fox (n.d.), "problems arose with the social marketing approach, however, over the motives of their sponsors, the effectiveness of their applications, and, ultimately, the validity of their results. The social marketing of powdered milk products, replacing or supplementing breastfeeding in the third world, provides an example of these problems. In the 1960s multinational firms selling infant formulas moved into the virgin markets of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Booklets, mass media, loudspeaker vans, and distribution through the medical profession were used in successful promotion campaigns to switch traditional breastfeeding to artificial products. Poor people, however, could not afford such products, and many mothers diluted the formula to make it last longer or were unable to properly sterilize the water or bottle. The promotion of breast milk substitutes often resulted in an erosion of breastfeeding and led to increases in diarrheal diseases and malnutrition, contributing to the high levels of infant mortality in the third world."

Critics have lambasted social marketing for manipulating populations and being solely concerned with goals without regard for means. For much of its concerns about ethics, critics argue, social marketing subscribes to a utilitarian ethical model that prioritizes ends over means. In the name of achieving certain goals, social marketing justifies any nine methods. Like marketing, social marketing deceives and manipulates people into certain behaviors (Buchanan et al. 1994).

Social marketers have responded by arguing that campaigns inform publics and that they use methods that are not intrinsically good or bad. Judgments should be contingent on what goals they are meant to serve, they argue. Moreover, the widely held belief that marketing has the ability to trick and make people do what otherwise they would not is misinformed and incorrect. The reluctance of people to tailor behavior to the recommendations of social marketing campaigns and the fact that campaigns need to be adjusted to sociocultural contexts and morals are evidence that social marketing lacks the much-attributed power of manipulating audiences. If a product goes against traditional beliefs and behavior, campaigns are likely to fail.

Social marketing needs to be consumer oriented and knowledgeable of the belief systems and the communication channels used in a community (Maibach 1993). Products need to be marketed according to the preferences and habits of customers. Market research is necessary because it provides development specialists with tools to know consumers better and, therefore, to prevent potential problems and pitfalls in behavior change. This is precisely marketing's main contribution: systematic, research-based information about consumers that is indispensable for the success of interventions. Marketing research techniques are valuable for finding out thoughts and attitudes about a given issue that help prevent possible failures and position a product.

For its advocates, one of the main strengths of social marketing is that it allows to position products and concepts in traditional belief systems. The inclination of many programs to forgo in-depth research of targeted populations for funding or time considerations, social marketers suggest, reflects the lack of understanding about the need to have basic research to plan, execute, and evaluate interventions. They argue that social marketing cannot manipulate populations by positioning a product with false appeals to local beliefs and practices. If the desired behavior is not present in the local population, social marketing cannot deceive by wrapping the product with existing beliefs. When a product is intended to have effects that are not present in the target population, social marketers cannot provide false information that may resonate with local belief systems but, instead, need to provide truthful information about its consequences. For example, if "dehydration" does not exist as a health concept in the community, it would be ethically wrong for social marketing to position a dehydration product by falsely appealing to existing health beliefs in order to sell it. That would be deceptive and manipulative and is sure to backfire. The goal should be long-term health benefits rather than the short-term goals of a given campaign (Kotler and Roberto 1989).

Theorists and practitioners identified with participatory communication have been strong critics of social marketing. For them, social marketing is a non-participatory strategy because it treats most people as consumers rather than protagonists. Because it borrows techniques from Western advertising, it shares it premises, namely, a concern with selling products rather than participation. To critics, social marketing is concerned with individuals, not with groups or organizations. They also view social marketing as an approach that intends to persuade people to engage in certain behaviors that have already decided by agencies and planners. It does not involve communities in deciding problems and courses of action. The goal should be, instead, to assist populations in changing their actions based on critical analysis of social reality (Beltrán 1976; Diaz-Bordenave 1977). According to participatory approaches, change does not happen when communities are not actively engaged in development projects and lack a sense of ownership.

Social marketers have brushed aside these criticisms, emphasizing that social marketing is a two-way process and that it is genuinely concerned about community participation. As Novelli (1990, 349) puts it, "the marketing process is circular." This is why input from targeted communities, gathered through qualitative methods such as focus groups and in-depth interviews, is fundamental to design campaign

activities and content. Social marketing is premised on the idea of mutual exchange between agencies and communities. Marketing takes a consumer orientation by assuming that the success of any intervention results from an accurate evaluation of perceptions, needs, and wants of target markets that inform the design, communication, pricing, and delivery of appropriate offerings. The process is consumer-driven, not expert-driven.

Also, social marketing allows communities to participate by acting upon health, environmental, and other problems. Without information, there is no participation, and this is what social marketing offers. Such participation is voluntary: Individuals, groups, and organizations are not forced to participate but are offered the opportunity to gain certain benefits. Such explanation is not satisfactory to participatory communication advocates who respond that social marketing does not truly involve participation. More than a narrow conception of participation, they argue, social marketing offers the appearance of it to improve interventions that are centralized. Social marketing's conception of participation basically conceives campaigns' targets are "passive receivers," subjects from whom information is obtained to change products and concepts.

After three decades of research and interventions, the lessons of social marketing can be summarized as follows (Chapman Walsh et al. 1993):

- Persistence and a long-term perspective are essential. Only programs with sustainable support and commitment have proven to have impact on diffusion of new ideas and practices, particularly in cases of complex behavior patterns.
- Segmentation of the audience is central. Some researchers have identified different lifestyle clusters that allow a better identification of different market niches.
- Mapping target groups is necessary. Designers of interventions need to know where potential consumers live, their routines, and relations vis-à-vis multiple messages.
- Incentives foster motivation among all participants in interventions.
- The teaching of skills is crucial to support behavior change.
- Leadership support is essential for program success.
- Community participation builds local awareness and ownership. Integrating support from different stakeholders sets apart social marketing from commercial advertising as it aims to be integrated with community initiatives.
- Feedback makes it possible to improve and refine programs.

5.4.2 Health Promotion and Health Education

The trajectory of health promotion in development communication resembles the move of social marketing and diffusion of innovation, from originally gaining influence in the United States to being introduced in interventions in developing countries. The same approaches that were used to battle chronic diseases, high-fat diets, and smoking in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s were adopted in

development interventions such as child survival and other programs that aimed to remedy health problems in the Third World.

As it crystallized in the Lalonde report in Canada in 1974 and the US Surgeon General's 1979 Healthy People report, health promotion was dominated by the view that individual behavior was largely responsible for health problems and, consequently, interventions should focus on changing behavior. It approached health in terms of disease problems (rather than health generally), namely, the existence of lifestyle behaviors (smoking, heavy drinking, poor diet) that had damaging consequences for individual and, by extension, social health (Terris 1992).

The prevalent view was that changes in personal behaviors were needed to have a healthier population. Although the idea that institutional changes were also necessary to achieve that goal made strides, health promotion remained focused on personal change at the expense of community actions and responsibility. A substantial number of studies were offered as conclusive evidence that personal choices determined changes in health behavior and were positively related with new developments that indicated the decrease of unhealthy practices.

This highly individualistic perspective was initially criticized in the context of developed countries for "blaming the victim" and ignoring social conditions that facilitated and encouraged unhealthy behaviors. It gave a free ride to larger social and political processes that were responsible for disease and essentially depoliticized the question of health behavior. To its critics, individual-centered health promotion ignores the surrounding social context (poverty, racism) in which individual health behaviors take place as well as the fact that certain unhealthy behaviors are more likely to be found among certain groups (Minkler 1999; Wallack and Montgomery 1992). They pointed out that the overall context needs to be considered both as responsible and as the possible target of change.

Recent understandings of health promotion such as the one promoted by the World Health Organization have moved away from individualistic views by stressing the idea that individual and social actions need to be integrated. The goal of health promotion is to provide and maintain conditions that make it possible for people to make healthy choices.

Health education is an important component of health promotion. It refers to learning experiences to facilitate individual adoption of healthy behaviors (Glanz et al. 1990). The evolution of health education somewhat mirrored the evolution of the field of development communication. Health education was initially dominated by conventional educational approaches that, like modernization/diffusion models, were influenced by individual behaviorist models that emphasized knowledge transmission and acquisition as well as changes in knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs. Later, theories and strategies that stressed the importance of social and environmental changes gained relevance. This meant that both health education and health promotion became more broadly understood. Health education includes different kinds of interventions such as conventional education, social marketing, health communication, and empowerment actions (Steston and Davis 1999). Consequently, a vast range of activities such as peer education, training of health workers,

community mobilization, and social marketing are considered examples of health education interventions.

Health promotion became no longer understood as limited to educational efforts and individual changes. It also includes the promotion of public policies that are responsible for shaping a healthy environment. The goal of health promotion is to facilitate the environmental conditions to support healthy behaviors. Individual knowledge, as conceived in traditional approaches, is insufficient if groups lack basic systems that facilitate the adoption of healthy practices. The mobilization of a diversity of social forces including families and communities is necessary to shape a healthy environment (Bracht 1990; Rutten 1995).

The emphasis on social mobilization to improve general conditions does not mean that behavior change models are absent in health promotion but, rather, that they need to be integrated among other strategies. Still, the behavior change model has incorporated the idea that interventions need to be sensitive to the education and the choices of receivers (Valente et al. 1998), understanding the interests at stake, using social marketing technique to know individuals better, and the role of the community in interventions.

5.4.3 Entertainment-Education

Entertainment-education is another strategy that shares behavior change premises with the aforementioned theories and strategies. Entertainment-education is a communication strategy to disseminate information through the media. As applied in development communication, it was originally developed in Mexico in the mid-1970s and has been used in 75 countries, including India, Nigeria, the Philippines, Turkey, Gambia, and Pakistan. Paradigmatic examples of this approach have been soap operas in Latin America (telenovelas) and in India that were intended to provide information about family planning, sexual behavior, and health issues. Literacy and agricultural development have also been central themes of several entertainment-education efforts.

Entertainment-education is not a theory but a strategy to maximize the reach and effectiveness of health messages through the combination of entertainment and education. The fact that its premises are derived from socio-psychology and human communication theories places entertainment-education in the modernization/diffusion theory trunk. It subscribes to the Shannon-Weaver model of communication of sender-channel-message-receiver. Like diffusion theory, it is concerned with behavior change through the dissemination of information. It is based on Stanford Professor Albert Bandura's (1977) social learning theory, a framework currently dominant in health promotion. Entertainment-education is premised on the idea that individuals learn behavior by observing role models, particularly in the mass media. Imitation and influence are the expected outcomes of interventions. Entertainment-education telenovelas were based on Bandura's model of cognitive subprocesses: attention, retention, production, and motivational processes that help understand why individuals imitate socially desirable behavior. This process

depends on the existence of role models in the messages: good models, bad models, and those who transition from bad to good. Besides social learning, entertainment-education strategies are based on the idea that expected changes result from self-efficacy, the belief of individuals that they can complete specific tasks (Maibach and Murphy 1995).

Entertainment-education refers to "the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, and change overt behavior" (Singhal and Rogers 1999, xii). Like social marketing and health promotion, it is concerned with social change at individual and community levels. Its focus is on how entertainment media such as soap operas, songs, cartoons, comics, and theater can be used to transmit information that can result in pro-social behavior. Certainly, the use of entertainment for social purposes is not new as they have been used for centuries. What is novel is the systematic research and implementation of educational, pro-social messages in entertainment media in the developed world.

One of the starting points of entertainment-education is that populations around the world are widely exposed to entertainment media content. The heavy consumption of media messages suggests that the media have an unmatched capacity to tell people how to dress, talk, and think. The problem is, as numerous studies document, that entertainment messages are rarely positive. In the attempt to maximize audiences by appealing to the lowest common denominator, the media are filled with antisocial messages such as violence, racism, stereotyping, and sexual promiscuity. However, the pervasiveness of the media provides numerous opportunities to communicate messages that can help people in solving a myriad of problems that they confront.

Another central premise is that education does not necessarily need to be dull but it can incorporate entertainment formats to generate pro-social attitudes and behavior. This could solve the problem that audiences find social messages uninteresting and boring and prefer to consume entertainment media. What characterizes the latter is the intention of the messages (to divert rather than to educate) and to capture audiences' interest. These characteristics should not be dismissed as superficial and mindless but need to be closely examined to analyze the potential of entertainment to educate the public in an engaging manner. Moreover, because they are entertaining and widely popular, entertainment-education messages can also be profitable for television networks and other commercial ventures.

Simplemente María, a 1969 Peruvian telenovela, has been often mentioned as having pioneered entertainment-education even though it was not intended to have pro-social effects. The protagonist was a maid who attended night sewing classes. The program has been credited with having turned sewing into a craze among poor, migrant women as well as increasing the purchase of sewing machines and contributing to higher enrollment numbers in literacy classes. This example and subsequent ones were deemed to be important in two regards. The programs contribute to self-efficacy (an individual's belief that he or she is able to take action and control specific outcomes) and social learning (individuals not only learn through their own

experiences but also by observing and imitating the behavior of other individuals as role models).

Besides television entertainment, entertainment-education interventions were also implemented in music and music videos promoting sexual control and radio soap operas that promoted women's issues, AIDS and sex education, and family planning. In the mid-1980s, a campaign was implemented to promote sexual restraint among Mexican teenagers. It consisted of songs and music videos featuring a male and female singer as well as public service announcements. Evaluation analysis concluded that the campaign had a number of positive consequences: teenagers felt freer to talk about sex and became more sensitized about the relevance of sex, messages reinforced teenagers who already practiced abstinence, and demand for family planning services modestly increased (Singhal and Rogers 1999).

Comparable findings were documented in a similar intervention in the Philippines. The campaign also featured songs, video, live presentations of the performers, and PSAs. It resulted in positive changes in knowledge, attitude, and behavior. Other less effective campaigns suggested that appeals that may work in some cultural contexts could fail in others. Performers need to be credible, that is, audiences need to believe that they truly represent the values promoted.

Some studies have concluded that entertainment-education strategies are successful in attracting large audiences, triggering interpersonal communication about issues and lessons from interventions, and in engaging and motivating individuals to change behavior and support changes among their peers. Rogers et al. (1999) concluded that a soap-opera radio broadcast in Tanzania played an important role in fertility changes. The broadcast increased listeners' sense of self-efficacy, ideal age at marriage of women, approval contraceptive use, interspousal communication about family planning, and current practice of family planning. Similarly, Piotrow et al. (1992) report that the "Male Motivation Project" in Zimbabwe, which involved a radio drama intended to influence men's decisions in opting for different reproductive choices, resulted in changes in beliefs and attitudes. Also, Valente et al. (1994) found that individuals who listened to a radio drama in the Gambia have better knowledge, attitudes, and practices than the control group. The study also concluded that substantial changes in the use of contraceptive methods existed after the broadcast. Both studies concluded that audiences incorporate language presented in the programming, talk to others, and introduce behavior changes. A hierarchy of effects was observed in interventions in Mexico, Nigeria, and the Philippines. In decreasing order, campaigns contributed to audience recall, comprehension, agreement, and talking with others about the messages promoted in the campaigns.

In contrast, other studies have found little evidence that entertainment-education strategies have resulted in such effects (Yoder et al. 1996). Yoder and coauthors have argued that the changes in behavior reported in the Zimbabwe and Gambia studies were not statistically significant. An analysis of the impact of a radio drama in Zambia suggested that improvement in knowledge and awareness about AIDS could not be directly attributed to the intervention. Significant changes in condom use were not associated with exposure to the radio drama as there was a substantial amount of information and public debate about HIV/AIDS during the time the drama was

broadcast. Exposure to discrete radio programs per se did not account for changes between target and control groups. Moreover, a return to previous behavior after the broadcast suggested the lack of evidence of long-term impact and attributed the findings to the timing when the data were collected. Exposure to entertainment-education messages was positively associated with the use of modern contraceptive methods, but the data did not allow a direct causal inference. It was not clear whether the campaign had influenced knowledge and practices. Studies did not reject the possible counter-explanation that people more predisposed to family planning were more likely to be exposed and recall media content (Westoff and Rodriguez 1995).

Rather than discounting the possibility of any media effects, Yoder and associates concluded that it is problematic to reach comprehensive conclusions about the effectiveness of entertainment education. In contrast to more optimistic evaluations that suggest that the task ahead is to measure what works better, they recommended a more cautionary approach. Entertainment-education projects are effective in stimulating people predisposed to change behavior to engage in a new behavior (e.g., use contraceptive methods). They provide the push for those already inclined to act to behave differently. Media interventions catalyze latent demand into contraceptive use among ready-to-act populations (see Freedman 1997; Zimicki et al. 1994).

5.5 Critiques of the Dominant Paradigm

Beginning in the late 1960s, the field of development communication split in two broad approaches: one that revised but largely continued the premises and goals of modernization and diffusion theories and another that has championed a participatory view of communication in contrast to information- and behavior-centered theories. Both approaches have dominated the field. Although in recent years there have been attempts to incorporate insights from both traditions, no comprehensive view has evolved (Servaes 1996a). Integrative attempts are analyzed in the last section of this report.

5.5.1 Dependency Theory

One of the most powerful critiques of modernization/diffusion theories came from the dependency paradigm. Originally developed in Latin America, dependency analysis was informed by Marxist and critical theories; according to which the problems of the Third World reflected the general dynamics of capitalist development. Development problems responded to the unequal distribution of resources created by the global expansion of Western capitalism.

Against modernization theories, dependency theorists argued that the problems of underdevelopment were not internal to Third World countries but were determined by external factors and the way former colonies were integrated into the world economy. It forcefully stated that the problems of the underdeveloped world were political rather than the result of the lack of information. What kept Third World

countries underdeveloped were social and economic factors, namely, the dominated position that those countries had in the global order. Underdevelopment, they argued, was the flip side and the consequence of the development of the Western world. The latter concentrated economic power and political decisions that maintained underdevelopment and dependency. Third World countries were politically and culturally dependent on the West, particularly on the United States.

Asides from external problems, internal structures were also responsible for the problems of underdevelopment. Dependency positions charged development programs for failing to address structures of inequality and targeting individual rather than social factors. Unequal land distribution, lack of credit for peasants, and poor health-care services strongly limited the possibilities for an overall improvement in social conditions. Interventions were doomed when basic conditions that could make it possible for people to adopt new attitudes and behaviors were missing.

Also, innovations promoted by development programs were adopted by individuals from higher socioeconomic strata living in cities rather than by rural and poor populations. In singling out the mass media as having a central role in introducing innovations, modernization theories ignored the issue of media ownership and control. Urban and powerful interests controlled the media that was supposed to promote development. The media were not interested in championing social goals or helping underprivileged populations but in transmitting entertainment and trivial information. The relation between media structure and content was virtually ignored in modernization theories. Only a small percentage of programming was devoted to development issues, and in regions such as Latin America, the media were commercially run and their central goal was profit-making not social change.

For dependency theorists, modernization theories were driven by behaviorist, positivist, and empiricist approaches in the mold of the "scientific model" that prevailed in the US universities and research centers. These particular biases accounted for why structural factors were ignored and for why interventions were focused on behavior changes at the individual level rather than on social causes of poverty and marginalization. Modernization theories as applied in the Third World featured, to quote Bolivian communication researcher Luis Ramiro Beltrán (1976), "alien premises, objects and methods." The solution to underdevelopment problems was essentially political, rather than merely informational. What was required was social change in order to transform the general distribution of power and resources. Information and media policies were necessary to deal with communication problems. Solutions to underdevelopment required major changes in media structures that were dominated by commercial principles and foreign interests. Policies needed to promote national and public goals that could put the media in the service of the people rather than as pipelines for capitalist ideologies. Such positions were expressed in a number of international fora, particularly during the UNESCO-sponsored debates about the New World Information and Communication Order in the 1970s and 1980s. Representatives from Third World countries proposed "national communication policies" that

emphasized the need for governments to control media structures and oppose domestic and foreign elites and business interests.

5.5.2 Participatory Theories and Approaches

Participatory theories also criticized the modernization paradigm on the grounds that it promoted a top-down, ethnocentric, and paternalistic view of development. They argued that the diffusion model proposed a conception of development associated with a Western vision of progress. Development communication was informed by a theory that "became a science of producing effective messages" (Hein in Quarmyne 1991). After decades of interventions, the failure to address poverty and other structural problems in the Third World needed to be explained on the faulty theoretical premises of the programs. Any intervention that was focused on improving messages to better reach individuals or only change behavior was, by definition, unable to implement social change.

Development theories also criticized traditional approaches for having been designed and executed in the capital cities by local elites with guidance and direction from foreign specialists. Local people were not involved in preparing and instrumenting development interventions. Interventions basically conceived of local residents as passive receivers of decisions made outside of their communities and, in many cases, instrumented ill-conceived plans to achieve development. Governments decided what was best for agricultural populations, for example, without giving them a sense of ownership in the systems that were introduced (see Mody 1991; Servaes 1989; White 1994).

The top-down approach of persuasion models implicitly assumed that the knowledge of governments and agencies was correct and that indigenous populations either did not know or had incorrect beliefs. Because programs came from outside villages, communities felt that innovations did not belong to them but to the government and thus expected the latter to fix things when they went wrong. The sense of disempowerment was also rooted in the fact that "targeted" populations did not have the choice to reject recommendations or introduce modifications to interventions.

For participatory theorists and practitioners, development communication required sensitivity to cultural diversity and specific context that were ignored by modernization theories. The lack of such sensitivity accounted for the problems and failures of many projects. Experts learned that development was not restricted to just building roads, piping water, and distributing electricity. Nor was it limited to efforts to increase farm yields nor switching farmers over to cash crops. Many of the agricultural projects failed because farmers were reluctant to abandon their traditional ways for foreign and unknown methods. As McKee (1999) writes, "they were also nervous about planting exotic crops that they could not eat but had to sell for money with which to buy food from the market." Modernization projects undermined the importance of local knowledge and the consequences of the interaction between local cultures and foreign ideas. When piped water arrived, it was frequently used for washing rather than drinking and cooking because the people

disliked its flavor. Persuading people of the benefits of healthy practices on the basis of scientific reasons was a tough sell. People were asked to change time-old practices on the basis of a foreign form of knowledge that dismissed their local traditions in the name of "true" knowledge (McKee 1999).

The lack of local participation was viewed as responsible for the failure of different programs. In the case of agricultural programs, it was concluded that the issue at stake was not the transmission of information to increase output but rather the low prices of agricultural goods in the market or the absence of a more equal distribution of land ownership. In explaining the failures of family planning programs, it was suggested that mothers were disinclined to follow instructions because fathers believed that having more children meant having more hands to work in the fields and carry out other tasks.

Participatory theories considered a redefinition of development communication necessary. One set of definitions stated that it meant the systematic utilization of communication channels and techniques to increase people's participation in development and to inform, motivate, and train rural populations mainly at the grassroots. For others, development communication needed to be human – rather than media centered. This implied the abandonment of the persuasion bias that development communication had inherited from propaganda theories and the adoption of a different understanding of communication.

Communication means a process of creating and stimulating understanding as the basis for development rather than information transmission (Agunga1997). Communication is the articulation of social relations among people. People should not be forced to adopt new practices no matter how beneficial they seem in the eyes of agencies and governments. Instead, people needed to be encouraged to participate rather than adopt new practices based on information.

This understanding of communication was central to the ideas developed by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1970), whose writings and experiences became an influential strand in participatory communication. Freire's work in northeastern Brazil in the 1960s and early 1970s challenged dominant conceptions of development communication, particularly as applied to literacy training. He argued that development programs had failed to educate small farmers because they were interested in persuading them about the benefits of adopting certain innovations. Development programs tried to domesticate foreign concepts, to feed information, and to force local populations to accept Western ideas and practices without asking how such practices fit existing cultures. The underlying premise of such programs was an authoritarian conception of communication that stood against the essence of communication understood as community interaction and education.

Freire offered the concept of liberating education that conceived communication as dialogue and participation. The goal of communication should be conscientization, which Freire defined as free dialogue that prioritized cultural identity, trust, and commitment. His approach has been called "dialogical pedagogy" which defined equity in distribution and active grassroots participation as central principles. Communication should provide a sense of ownership to participants through sharing and reconstructing experiences. Education is not transmission of

information from those "who have it" to those "who lack it," from the powerful to the powerless, but the creative discovery of the world.

Freire's ideas ran against fundamental principles in the diffusion model, namely, the sender-focus and behavioral bias that it inherited from persuasion models in the United States. He diagnosed the problems in the Third World as problems of communication, not information as persuasion theories proposed. Solutions, then, are needed to have an understanding of communication that was not limited to the application of Western ideas. Freire also challenged the value judgment in early development theories that viewed agricultural and health practices in the Third World as backward and obstacles to modernization.

Freire's model and participatory models in general proposed a human-centered approach that valued the importance of interpersonal channels of communication in decision-making processes at the community level. Studies in a variety of Third World rural settings found that marginal and illiterate groups preferred to communicate face-to-face rather than through mass media or other one-way sources of communication (Okunna 1995). The recommendation was that development workers should rely more on interpersonal methods of communication rather than national media and technologies and that they should act as facilitators of dialogue.

Because media and technologies were perceived as foreign to local communities, they should be used to supplement instead of dominate interpersonal methods. The notion of "group media" drew from Freire to call the media that are means for small groups to develop a critical attitude toward the reality of self, the group, community, and society through participation in group interaction. Group media has helped marginal groups to speak to one another and to articulate their thoughts and feelings in the process of community organizing (Hamelink 1990). Community-based forms of communication such as songs, theater, radio, video, and other activities that required group intervention are needed to be promoted. More than mechanisms to disseminate information, they could provide opportunities to identify common problems and solution, to reflect upon community issues, and to mobilize resources. Community members, rather than "professionals," should be in charge of the decision and production processes. This is precisely what "small" media offer: an opportunity for media access in countries where the mass media are usually controlled by governments and urban elites.

The value of participatory media is not in being instruments of transmission but of communication, that is, for exchanging views and involving members. Community media dealt with various subjects: literacy, health, safety, agricultural productivity, land ownership, gender, and religion.

There have been a number of paradigmatic examples. In Latin America, miners' and peasants' radio in Bolivia, grassroots video in peasant and indigenous movements in Brazil, tape recorders in Guatemala, small-scale multimedia in Peru, and other cases of low-powered media based in unions and churches were offered as concrete examples of participatory communication development (Beltrán 1993a). Canada's "Fogo process" was another experience informed by similar principles in which populations living in remote areas actively produced videos to discuss

community issues of people living in remote areas and to communicate with outsiders about their concerns and expectations (Williamson 1991). In Africa, popular theater has been successfully used to increase women's participation and ability to deal with primary care problems. Through songs and storytelling, women were able to raise awareness and attention to issues and address problems, something that had not been achieved through "modern" media such as television and newspapers (Mlama 1991). Community participation through popular theater motivated rural communities to become involved in health care. Participation was credited for the reduction of preventable diseases such as cholera and severe diarrhea after communities constructed infrastructure that helped to improve sanitary condition situation (Kalipeni and Kamlongera 1996).

In stressing the relevance of "other" media and forms of communication, participatory theories lifted development communication out of the "large media" and "stimulus-response" straitjacket and opened new ways of understanding interventions. They expanded the concept of participation that in modernization theories was limited to voting in party and electoral politics and championed a view of democracy that implied different forms of participation at different levels.

They also removed professionals and practitioners from having a central role as transmitters of information who would enlighten populations in development projects. People, not change agents, were central to community participation. It downplayed the role of expert and external knowledge while stressing the centrality of indigenous knowledge and aspirations in development. Communication was a horizontal process, diametrically different from the vertical model that placed knowledge in the domain of modern experts.

Participatory communication identified encouraging participation, stimulating critical thinking, and stressing process, rather than specific outcomes associated with modernization and progress, as the main tasks of development communication (Altafin 1991). Participation should be present in all stages of development projects. Communities should be encouraged to participate in decision-making, implementation, and evaluation of projects. This would give a sense of involvement in their lives and communities and provide them with a sense of ownership and skills that they can use beyond the timetable of development projects (Kavinya et al. 1994). Community empowerment has become one of the main contributions of participatory theories to development communication. Empowerment is possible only if community members critically reflect on their experiences and understand the reasons for failure and success of interventions (Bradford and Gwynne 1995; Purdey et al. 1994).

Certainly, participatory communication has not lacked critics. Even though vindicating some tenets of participatory theories, other positions argued that they were elaborated at a theoretical level and did not provide specific guidelines for interventions.

One problem in participatory models was that it was not clear that communities needed to be involved for certain results to be achieved. In some cases such as epidemics and other public health crises, quick and top-down solutions could achieve positive results. Participation communication ignores that expediency may also positively contribute to development. Belaboring through grassroots

decision-making process is slower than centralized decisions and thus is not advisable in cases that require prompt resolutions. Participation might be a good long-term strategy but has shortcomings when applied to short-term and urgent issues.

Another problem was that participation in all stages does not have similar relevance. It was not clear what participation entailed. If decisions were made outside of the community and the latter was assigned the role of implementing and evaluating results, some positions argued, participation was limited to instances that depended on decisions previously made (McKee 1999). It was not true participation and, therefore, maintained power inequalities.

Another problem was that the focus on interpersonal relations underplayed the potential of the mass media in promoting development as participation and process. Little attention was paid to the uses of mass media in participatory settings, an issue that is particularly relevant considering that populations, even in remote areas, are constantly exposed to commercial media messages that stand in opposition to the goals set by programs. This lack was particularly evident in Freire's theory of dialogical communication that is based on group interactions and underplays the role of the mass media.

Participatory approaches usually avoided the issue that people who lived in nondemocratic societies might be wary to participate out of fear of retaliation. Moreover, people can be manipulated into participating. This would violate local autonomy and the possibility that members might not be interested in taking an active role. Critics argued that participatory communication, like social marketing, could also be seen as foreign, pushing for certain goals and actions that have not resulted from inside communities. Participatory communication did not offer the chance not to participate and implicitly coerced people to adopt a certain attitude.

Social marketers charged that participatory approaches were too idealistic, falling short from offering specific practical guidelines and offering recommendations with limited impact. These shortcomings are particularly pronounced when funds for development communication are short and funding agencies are interested in obtaining cost-effective results not just at the local but also the national level.

Other critics, particularly in Asia, thought that participatory models were premised on Western-styled ideas of democracy and participation that do not fit political cultures elsewhere. Individualism rather than community and conflict rather than consensus lies at the heart of participatory models developed in the West. Participation can also promote division, confusion, and disruption that do little to solve problems. It may privilege powerful and active members of the community at the expense of the community as a whole. Education and decision-making skills, rather than participation for its own sake, should be promoted.

To these criticisms, advocates of participatory models admitted that divisions and conflicts might result, but, they argued, the answer should be teaching negotiation and mediation skills rather than opting for interventions that disempower people in the name of consensus building. Although advocates of participatory theories viewed their critics as favoring government centralization and leaving power inequalities intact, they admitted that some original premises needed to be revised (White 1994).

Participatory approaches needed to:

- Be sensitive to the potential convenience of short-term and rapid solutions.
- Recognize that recommendations for participation could also be seen as foreign and manipulative by local communities (just like modernization theories).
- Translate participatory ideas into actual programs.
- Be aware that the communities may be uninterested in spending time in democratic processes of decision-making and, instead, might prefer to invest their time on other activities.
- Recognize that communities are not necessarily harmonious and that participation may actually deepen divisions. Servaes (1996, 23) admits that "participation does not always entail cooperation nor consensus. It can often mean conflict and usually poses a threat to existent structures ... Rigid and general strategies for participation are neither possible nor desirable."

To prevent some of these problems, it was suggested that it was preferable that projects be carried out in communities where agencies already had linkages (McKee 1999). Previous knowledge of problems and characteristics of a given community was fundamental to identify activities and define projects. Existing linkages could also provide agents that were familiar with (or even were from) the community who could assist in creating organizations and networks to stimulate participation. No previously determined set of activities was advisable if the interests and dynamics of communities were not known. Workers would also provide important feedback information about the progress of projects through regular, face-to-face contact with participants. These practices function as a sort of transmission belt for making sure that community issues are addressed and that members have a voice in deciding future courses. The peril is to focus solely on professional technicians and leaders without consideration of involving the community at large.

Against criticisms that participatory communication leads to the existence of a myriad, disconnected projects carried out by multiple NGOs, coordination plans were deemed necessary. Providing a sense of orientation and organization was required to prevent that development efforts become too fragmented and thus weaker. Because NGOs are closer to communities than governments and funding agencies, they have the capacity to respond relatively quickly to demands and developments. But without a more encompassing vision, projects may only obtain, at best, localized results that fail to have a larger impact.

It was also recommended that relying on grassroots media was not sufficient. Populations needed media education to develop skills to be critical of commercial media and to develop alternatives that would help them gain a sense of empowerment and counter other messages. Yet, it was undeniable that local media provided a sense of ownership and participation that was key to sustainable development and could not be replaced by any other strategies.

Responding to critics who were impatient with obtaining "results," participatory approaches suggested that development communication requires a long-term perspective that is usually missing among funding agencies and governments interested

in getting quick results and knowing whether efforts pay off. Participatory theorists turned the criticisms about "timing" and "impact" onto their critics, arguing that the so-called problems of participatory approaches in "showing results" did not originate in the model but in how organizations approach development communication (Melkote 1991). Short-term projects that are prone to be terminated according to different considerations make it difficult to promote participation and examine the results of interventions in the long run. The interests of funders and politicians, who were urged to prove effectiveness of investments, ran against the timing of participatory development communication projects. For the latter to be possible, NGOs, funding agencies, and other actors involved should be sensitive to the fact that grassroots projects cannot be expected to "produce results" in the manner of top-down interventions. Neither community development nor empowerment fits the timetables of traditional programs.

5.5.3 Media Advocacy

Media advocacy is another approach that questions central premises of the traditional paradigm. Media advocacy is the strategic use of mass media to advance social or public policy initiatives (Wallack et al. 1993). Its goals are to stimulate debate and promote responsible portrayals and coverage of health issues. Advocacy requires the mobilization of resources and groups in support of certain issues and policies to change public opinion and decisions. It consists of the organization of information for dissemination through various interpersonal and media channels toward gaining political and social acceptance of certain issues.

Like education-entertainment strategies, media advocacy rejects the idea that the media can be a source of only antisocial messages and, instead, proposes to include socially relevant themes in entertainment. Both share the perspective that because the media are the main source of information about health issues, interventions need to focus on the media. Both also believe in the capacity of the media to transmit information that can result in changes. Unlike education-entertainment, which has been mostly concerned with directly influencing audiences, media advocacy centers on shaping the public debate about public health. It is not information-centered but aims to incorporate social themes in entertainment content in order to influence public agendas. It takes a political and social approach that differs from the social-psychological premises and diagnoses found in education-entertainment. And, in contrast to education-entertainment, it is less convinced about the power of the media to be extremely effective in changing attitudes and behaviors.

Because it locates problems in political and social conditions, social advocacy promotes social, rather than individual and behavioral, changes to health issues. It approaches health not as a personal issue but as a matter of social justice. It is explicitly set against the individualistic assumptions of mainstream approaches found in the dominant paradigm of development communication that fault individuals for unhealthy and antisocial behaviors and propose individual solutions based on the idea that health is primarily a question of individual responsibility. Instead, it advocates changes in the social environment that legitimize certain behaviors. For example,

it sees tobacco and alcohol companies rather than individual smokers and drinkers as responsible for unhealthy behavior. Therefore, those companies should be the targets of advocacy and communication activities. Actions should target, for example, access to unhealthy products by involving communities in implementing policy changes (Holder and Treno 1997).

Here the contrast with behavior-centered health approaches is clear as media advocacy proposes that social conditions should be the target of interventions. Such interventions entail fundamentally a political process of changing conditions and redressing social inequalities rather persuading individuals about the benefits of certain lifestyles and behavior change. Health is a matter of social justice and partnering with interested parties rather than providing information to change individual behavior (Brawley and Martinez-Brawley 1999).

These premises set media advocacy apart from social marketing. Media advocacy criticizes social marketing for having an individualistic, behaviorist approach to health and social problems that narrows interventions to public information campaigns. Media advocacy espouses a community-level model of intervention in health issues. Development, defined to be the well-being of communities, can be achieved through promoting structures and policies that support healthy lifestyles. Community organization is the process by which community groups are helped to identify common problems or goals, mobilize resources, and develop and implement strategies for reaching their goals (Glanz and Rimer 1995).

According to media advocacy theory, campaigns are not the panacea not only because their effectiveness is questionable but also because they ignore the social causes of unhealthy behavior. Public service announcements have shown limited success in stimulating change and fail to address the social and economic environment that ultimately determines health risk factors. Social marketing does not face head-on the fundamental structures that sustain unhealthy behavior. Social advocacy does not minimize the importance of individual changes, but, instead, it strongly argues that the latter require changes in social conditions. Because external conditions are responsible for health, the strategy should target those conditions instead of centering on lifestyle behaviors. Promoting individual health habits in developing countries without, for example, advocating for clean water supplies underplays the factors responsible for disease.

Media advocacy adopts a participatory approach that emphasizes the need of communities to gain control and power to transform their environments. It assigns the media a pivotal role in raising issues that need to be discussed and putting pressure on decision-makers. However, advocacy is not solely concerned with media actions. Because it concludes that health problems are fundamentally rooted in power inequalities, it promotes a dual strategy to build power that includes the formation of coalitions and grassroots actions coupled with media actions and lobbying.

Media advocacy theory assumes that the media largely shape public debate and, consequently, political and social interventions. To be politically effective, then, influencing news agendas is mandatory. AIDS and tobacco control coalitions and groups in the United States have been successful in their use of the mass media that has resulted in support, funding, and the implementation of public policies. Media savviness is necessary to get widespread coverage of certain health issues and to

shape how stories are presented. Here again social advocacy differs from social marketing. Social advocacy is not about putting in action centralized actions to relay information to consumers but, rather, providing skills to communities so they can influence media coverage. It approaches the media not in terms of "health messages" but as agenda setters of policy initiatives. Placing messages is not only insufficient to correct problems, but it is also the wrong strategy: the target of media interventions should be news divisions rather than the advertising departments of media organizations (Wallack 1989).

Moreover, the media might be willing to feature public service announcements for a variety of reasons to further its own goals. Lobbying the media to feature PSAs does not necessarily result in an examination of structural conditions responsible for health problems, however. Media interest in participating in health promotion activities by donating free airtime fall short from moving away from the individualistic view that dominates behavior change models. Such contributions by media organizations do not deal with external factors, unequal access and structures, and the political environment that is ultimately responsible for public health problems. This is why public health needs to incorporate a broader view that conceives actions in terms of community participation and mobilization to transform public opinion and change health policies.

In summary, advocacy consists of a large number of information activities, such as lobbying with decision-makers through personal contacts and direct mail; holding seminars, rallies, and newsmaking events; ensuring regular newspaper, magazine, television, and radio coverage; and obtaining endorsements from known people. The goal of advocacy is to make the innovation a political or national priority that cannot be swept aside with a change in government. In the context of development programs, media advocacy may be carried out by key people in international agencies, as well as special ambassadors, but is gradually taken over by people in national and local leadership positions and the print and electronic media.

5.5.4 Social Mobilization

Social mobilization is a term used by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) to describe a comprehensive planning approach that emphasizes political coalition building and community action (UNICEF 1993; Wallack 1989). It is the process of bringing together all feasible and practical inter-sectoral social allies to raise people's awareness of and demand for a particular development program, to assist in the delivery of resources and services, and to strengthen community participation for sustainability and self-reliance. A successful mobilization must be built on the basis of mutual benefits of partners and a decentralized structure. The more interested the partners are, the more likely that a project of social mobilization can be sustained over time. This approach does not require that partners abandon their own interests and perceptions on a given issue but are willing to coalesce around a certain problem.

One of the basic requisites is that groups carefully consider the best-suited groups to partner for a specific program. A child survival and development program in Ghana, for example, started with an analysis to identify individuals and organizations with the potential to serve as partners in a social mobilization project. The study included three sub-studies: interviews with members of governmental institutions, trade unions, revolutionary organizations, and traditional leaders, among others, media content analysis that suggested the need for collective efforts between journalists and health workers, and the assessment of health information sources among parents. It concluded that partners included religious organizations, women's groups, and school teachers (Tweneboa-Kodua et al. 1991).

Mobilization is a process through which community members become aware of a problem, identify the problem as a high priority for community action, and decide steps to take action (Thompson and Pertschuk 1992). It starts with problem assessment and analysis at the community level and moves to action on chosen courses, involving many strategic allies at all levels in a wide range of support activities. Central to social mobilization interventions is empowerment or the process through which individuals or communities take direct control over their lives and environment (Minkler 1990).

Social mobilization suggests that wide community participation is necessary for members to gain ownership so innovations would not be seen as externally imposed. Community mobilization is one of the main resources in implementing behavior change. Social mobilization differs from traditional social marketing approaches that are largely based on appeals to individuals. When there is no individual interest in adopting innovations and, particularly in the context of developing countries, reaching people only through social marketing techniques is not effective, interpersonal channels stimulated by social mobilization allow the wide diffusion of concepts and innovations and increasing demand. Social mobilization is closely interlinked with media advocacy. To McKee, social mobilization "is the glue that binds advocacy activities to more planned and researched program communication activities." It strengthens advocacy efforts and relates them to social marketing activities. It makes it possible to add efforts from different groups to reach all levels of society by engaging in different activities: service delivery, mobilizing resources, providing new channels for communication; providing training and logistical support for field workers, and managing field workers.

Examples of social mobilization interventions include World Bank (1992) nutrition and family planning projects in Bangladesh that also used a social mobilization approach by assigned non-governmental organizations (NGOs) the role of mobilizing communities. It defined community mobilization as "the process of involving and motivating interested stakeholders (general public, health workers, policymakers, etc.) to organize and take action for a common purpose. Mobilization of communities should focus on building confidence, trust and respect, increasing knowledge base, and enabling community members to participate, and become more proactive with regard to their own health behavior." The implementation is required to identify and utilize village communication networks, train field workers, locate and mobilize opinion leaders, activate link persons, establish rotating peer group discussions, provide information and supplies at meetings.

McKee (1999) states that social mobilization programs require that government agencies, NGOs, and donor agencies need to meet and review the objectives and methodology of the research, follow its progress through periodic briefings, and give feedback on the final report. These activities have proven to strengthen the sense of ownership among different stakeholders which ultimately results in a more successful intervention.

5.6 Toward a Theoretical and Empirical Convergence?

Can the two broad approaches that dominated the field of development communication, diffusion and participatory models, converge around certain principles and strategies? Or is that unthinkable given that their underlying premises and goals are still essentially different? The last section of this report reviews attempts to bring together different "branches of the family tree," agreements, and disagreements among different approaches based on lessons learned in the last decades. The fact that some coincidences can be identified does not imply that old differences have been completely bridged. This is impossible because different theoretical premises and diagnoses continue to inform approaches and strategies. The fundamental issue continues to be that definitions of the problem are different and, expectedly, theories, strategies, and techniques still offer essentially opposite analyses and recommendations. To identify points of convergence does not imply that a specific value judgment is made about the desirability or necessity of the process. The intention is to map out trends and directions that attest to the richness and complexity of the field rather than to pass judgment on them.

5.6.1 General Remarks

Since the 1950s, the meaning of development communication has changed. Changes should not be surprising considering that "development," a concept that together with "modernization" and "Third World" emerged and dominated academic and policy debates in the 1950s, has lost much of its past luster. New concepts have been coined and gained popularity but have not displaced the broad notion of development communication. Despite its multiple meanings, development communication remains a sort of umbrella term to designate research and interventions concerned with improving conditions among people struggling with economic, social, and political problems in the non-Western world. Like "development," "communication" has also undergone important transformations in the past five decades that reflected the ebbs and flows of intellectual and political debates as well as the changing fortunes of theoretical approaches.

The absence of a widespread consensus in defining "development" and "communication" reflects the larger absence of a common vocabulary in the field (Gibson n.d.). This conceptual ambiguity and confusion should not be surprising considering that different disciplines and theories have converged in the field of development communication. There has been a confluence of overlapping traditions from

a variety of disciplines that imported vocabularies that had little in common. For example, do concepts such as "empowerment," "advocacy engagement of communities," and "collective community action" refer to fundamentally different ideas? Not really. The presence of different terminologies does not necessarily reflect opposite understandings but, mainly, the existence of different trunks in the family tree. In a fragmented field, diverse programs and strategies are rooted in a myriad of intellectual fields that were rarely in fluid contact.

Despite the diversity of origins, however, it is remarkable that there has been a tendency toward having a more comprehensive understanding of "development communication." The historic gap between approaches has not been bridged, but, certainly, there have been visible efforts to integrate dissimilar models and strategies. Consider Jan Servaes' (1996b) definition of development as a multidimensional process that involves change in social structures, attitudes, institution, economic growth, reduction of inequality, and the eradication of poverty. For him, development is a "whole change for a better life." This notion comes close to the idea of "another development" that emphasizes the satisfaction of needs, endogenous self-reliance, and life in harmony with the environment (Melkote 1991). We would be hard-pressed to find approaches and interventions that essentially disagree with such encompassing idea of development.

Similarly, different approaches have gradually adopted an understanding of communication that is not reduced to the idea of information transmission but includes the idea of process and exchange. Certainly, the persuasion model of communication maintains a towering presence in the field. Sociopsychological models of behavior and perspectives grounded in stimulus-response communication theories continue to dominate, arguably because some premises of the "dominant paradigm" remain widely accepted. The model of top-down, sender-receiver communication has been revised, however.

The idea of "communication as process" has gained centrality in approaches informed by both behavior change and participatory models. Moemeka's (1994, 64) words illustrate a widespread sentiment in the field: "Communication should be seen both an independent and dependent variable. It can and does affect situations, attitudes, and behavior, and its content, context, direction, and flow are also affected by prevailing circumstances. More importantly, communication should be viewed as an integral part of development plans – a part whose major objective is to create systems, modes, and strategies that could provide opportunities for the people to have access to relevant channels, and to make use of these channels and the ensuing communication environment in improving the quality of their lives."

This perspective is somewhat akin to "ritualistic" models of communication that prioritize the Latin roots of the word (as in "making common" through the exchange of meaning) that gained currency in the field of communication in the last decades (Carey 1989). Communication is understood as communities and individuals engaging in meaning-making. It is a horizontal, deinstitutionalized, multiple process in which senders and receivers have interchangeable roles, according to participatory theorist Jan Servaes (1996a). From a perspective rooted in behavior change models, Kincaid (1988) has similarly argued that all participants are senders and receivers.

The difference lies in the fact that whereas approaches largely informed by the dominant paradigm continue to think of communication as a process that contributes to behavior change, participatory models are not primarily concerned with "behavior" but with transforming social conditions.

Another salient feature of recent studies in development communication is the increasing influence of theories and approaches that were originated or have been widely used in health communication. Health communication has received more attention than education or agriculture, issues that were central in early projects of development communication. Certainly, issues such as literacy, agricultural productivity, and violence are included in many contemporary development plans. Behavior change, social marketing, and health promotion models have become increasingly influential in development communication, however. In a way, the growing centrality of health issues should not be surprising considering that family planning and nutrition, for example, have been dominant in the agenda of development communication since the 1960s. Additionally, attention to HIV/AIDS since the 1980s further contributed to the ascendancy of health and health-related approaches in the field.

On the one hand, this shift could be interpreted as a reflection of the priorities of funding agencies. Although further research is needed to support this finding, it seems that the presence of health issues and, consequently, the influence of health communication approaches express the agenda of development organizations. On the other hand, it can also be interpreted as a result of the emergence of a broader approach to health issues. The definition of health as "a state of well-being," widely cited in contemporary studies, allows a more comprehensive approach that includes issues such as illiteracy and poverty that were not integrated in early development communication projects.

5.6.2 Points of Convergence

Notwithstanding important persistent differences among theories and approaches, it is possible to identify several points of convergence that suggest possible directions in the field of international communication.

5.6.2.1 The Need of Political Will

One point of convergence is that political will is necessary in order to bring about change. Development communication should not only be concerned with instrumenting specific outcomes as defined in the traditional paradigm but also with the process by which communities become empowered to intervene and transform their environment. Community empowerment should be the intended outcome of interventions. This requires coming up with a set of indicators that measure the impact of interventions in terms of empowerment.

Empowerment lacks a single definition, however. It can refer to communities making decisions for themselves and acquiring knowledge (e.g., about health issues). Whereas for participatory/advocacy approaches empowerment involves

changes in power distribution, behavior models use empowerment to represent ways for communities to change behavior, for example, discontinuing unhealthy practices. Advocates of social marketing suggest that marketing empowers people by proving information and having constant feedback from consumers so they can be responsible for their well-being.

Because understandings of empowerment are different, expectations about interventions are different, too. If development requires redressing power inequalities, then, it conceivably takes longer time than interventions that aim to change knowledge, attitudes, and practices. The pressures for relatively quick results and short-term impact of interventions are better suited for a particular understanding of empowerment (and thus development communication) which is more aligned with behavior change than participatory approaches. The slowness of policy and political changes required for more equal distribution of resources and decision-making, as advocated by participatory models, does not fit short-term expectations.

The problems of measuring results, however, are not unique to participatory strategies. Many observers have indicated that behavior change models have not satisfactorily answered the question of long-term effects. The lack of longitudinal studies that document changes over time makes it difficult to know the extent of the influence of interventions and environmental factors that could help reach solid conclusions about the long-term impact of communication strategies.

The fact that the debate over "results indicators" has not concluded and that no easy resolution seems in sight reflects the persistence of disagreements over measuring development. Answers to questions such as "what are the right results?" are expected to be different given that, notwithstanding a growing consensus on the issues of community empowerment and horizontal communication as central to development communication, behavior change and participatory models still define the task of interventions in different terms. In other words, there continues to be a tension between approaches that are oriented to achieving results as measured in behavior change and those that prioritize the building of sustainable resources as the goal of programs.

5.6.2.2 A "Tool-Kit" Conception of Strategies

Another important point of convergence is the presence of a "tool-kit" conception of approaches within the behavior change tradition. Practitioners have realized that a multiplicity of strategies is needed to improve the quality of life of communities in developing countries. Rather than promoting specific theories and methodologies regardless of the problem at stake, there has been an emerging consensus that different techniques are appropriate in different contexts in order to deal with different problems and priorities. Theories and approaches are part of a "tool kit" that is used according to different diagnoses. There is the belief that the tools that are used to support behavior change depend on the context in which the program is implemented, the priorities of funders, and the needs of the communities.

For example, conventional educational interventions might be recommended in critical situations such as epidemics when large masses of people need to be reached

in a short period of time. Such strategies, however, would be unlikely to solve structural, long-term health problems.

Social marketing could be useful to address certain issues (e.g., increase rates of immunization) but is inadequate to address deeper problems of community participation that are ultimately responsible for permanent changes. It also can result in the problem that interventions conclude when public information campaigns are terminated. One of the problems is that such interventions create a dependency on media programs; the alternative, then, is focusing on self-maintaining resources that are responsible for the sustainability of programs. Another problem is that even when social marketing strategies are successful at raising awareness, they do not last forever and, therefore, other support systems are necessary to maintain participation and communication.

Because of the limitations of social marketing, other strategies are needed to address the problem of empowering and politically involving different groups. Social mobilization, for example, offers a way to deal with certain issues such as education, sanitation, nutrition (including breastfeeding), family planning, respiratory problems, AIDS, and diarrheal diseases. Still, the mobilization of a vast array of partners is necessary, but this does not exclude the uses of media advocacy and social marketing to target specific problems. A breastfeeding program in Brazil successfully integrated social mobilization and social marketing (Fox n.d.). As a result of the program, there was an increase in the median duration of breastfeeding and a reduction in infant mortality. Ministries and professional medical and nutrition groups participated in elaborating plans and stimulating actions at the national and state levels among their employees, members, and associated institutions. At the community level, mothers' groups were formed and breastfeeding was promoted through extension workers, university students, the church, and other voluntary groups.

Family planning programs in Egypt have been another example of successful integration of different approaches (Wisensale and Khodair 1998). After the intervention, the use of contraceptives doubled and the birthrate dropped from 39.8 to 27.5 percent in 10 years. The achievements of the program have been attributed to fact that the Information, Education & Communication Center of the State Information Service used five tools, including the mass media, interpersonal communication, and entertainment-education. The participation of the government, health organizations, and religious groups was also considered to be responsible for the success of the program.

The application of any prescriptive theory and methods might not work everywhere. Because of political and religious reasons, it is difficult to bring together a wide spectrum of forces to rally behind issues such as breastfeeding, family planning, and AIDS education in some countries. Under these circumstances, searching for a broad coalition is not recommended. In cases where governments strictly control the mass media or believe that they should be the only actors involved in public information campaigns, then, social marketing interventions confront many problems.

There has been a growing sensitivity to the problems of the universal application of strategies that were successful in specific contexts. In countries where political

and cultural factors limit participation and maintain hierarchical relationships, participatory approaches might be difficult to implement as they require a long-term and highly political process of transformation. This does not mean that participation should be abandoned as a desirable goal but that interventions that aim to mobilize communities necessarily adopt different characteristics in different circumstances. Public service announcements may be perceived as contradicting official power and policies. When access to national media is limited or extremely conditional, grassroots strategies whether community participation and local media could offer an alternative. But if populations are afraid of participating for fear of repression or because of past frustrations, then, participatory approaches face clear obstacles and may not be advisable.

Integration of "Top-Down" and "Bottom-Up" Approaches

Faced with different scenarios and choices, the growing consensus is that a multiple approach that combines "top-down" and "bottom-up" interventions is recommended. Here it becomes evident that development communication has gone beyond transmission models focused on implementing behavior changes through communication activities.

The Iringa Nutrition Improvement Program in Tanzania has been mentioned as a successful example of integrating media advocacy, social mobilization, and social marketing (FPRI 1994). The Program included the mobilization of different groups at different levels, community participation, media advocacy to popularize the goals of fighting malnutrition and child mortality, and social marketing to raise awareness among all sectors of the populations. It included "child growth monitoring, strengthening the health infrastructure, health education, and women's activities." Government commitment, long-term sustainability of the program, and anti-poverty efforts have been mentioned as decisive in contributing to its success in reducing malnutrition despite larger economic problems. Environmental factors such as a tradition of grassroots participation and national policies that dramatically increased literacy were crucial for the success of the program.

5.6.2.3 Integration of Multimedia and Interpersonal Communication

Much with the current thinking is that successful interventions combine media channels and interpersonal communication. Against arguments of powerful media effects that dominated development communication in the past, recent conclusions suggest that blending media and interpersonal channels is fundamental for effective interventions (Flay and Burton 1990; Hornik 1989). The media are extremely important in raising awareness and knowledge about a given problem (Atkin and Wallack 1990).

The media are able to expose large amounts of people to messages and generate conversation among audiences and others who were not exposed (Rogers 1998). But it would be wrong to assume that development mainly or only requires media channels. Because social learning and decision-making are not limited to considering media messages but listening and exchanging opinions with a number of different sources, as Bandura (1989) suggested, interventions cannot solely resort

to the mass media. Although television, radio, and other media are important in disseminating messages, social networks are responsible for the diffusion of new ideas (Rogers and Kincaid 1981; Valente et al. 1994). Entertainment-education programming is one way, for example, to activate social networks and peer communication in the diffusion of information (Rogers et al. 1999). Similarly, information given through the media is also important in raising awareness and knowledge as integrated into peer conversations and in contacts with field workers (Mita and Simmons 1995; Ogundimu 1994).

According to McKee (1999), interpersonal communication and the actions of community workers account for much of the success of several projects. Nothing can replace community involvement and education in the effective dissemination of information. Media-centered models are insufficient for behavior change. McKee argues that the most successful strategies in family planning, HIV/AIDS, and nutritional and diarrhea programs have involved multiple channels, including strong, community-based programming, networks, peer counseling, and government and NGO field workers. Successful initiatives attest to the fact that redundancy and multiple channels should be used. The media has powerful effects only indirectly by stimulating peer communication and thus making possible for messages to enter social networks and become part of everyday interactions.

Without disputing the value of interpersonal communication, McDivitt et al. (1997) have stressed the importance of the mass media in behavior change (also see Hornik (1988). In an evaluation of the impact of a vaccination campaign in the Philippines, they concluded that the media, rather than interpersonal channels, was responsible for changes in vaccination knowledge. Media exposure was sufficient to generate more knowledge about the specifics of the campaign and change in vaccinations without the intervention of social networks. It would be wrong, according to the researchers, to ignore the unmatched reach of the media, particularly among certain groups, in getting the message out. Mass media messages per se, however, do not explain the success of the campaign. The campaign provided specific information that mothers needed in order to engage in expected behaviors, and other conditions (access to health centers, sufficient vaccine supplies) were also fundamental in making behavior change possible.

Personal and Environmental Approaches Should Be Integrated

The revision of traditional health promotion strategies and then integration of social marketing and social mobilization are examples of the tendency to integrate personal and environmental approaches.

Consider the "ecological approach" as an example in that direction as used in the North Karelia Project in Finland, the Minnesota Health program, and the Stanford Three Community study (Bowes 1997). It espouses organizational and environmental interventions and aims to be more comprehensive that efforts directed only at individuals or social action (McLeroy et al. 1988; Glanz and Rimer 1995). Non-behavioral factors such as unemployment, poverty, and lack of education are included as part of the broad view that ecological approaches encompass. Health promotion should be integrated into existing social systems such as schools, health

delivery systems, and community organizations. The mentioned projects required coordination among a variety of intermediate agencies that acted as liaisons between developers of health promotion innovation and potential adopters. The focus is still on behavior change, but programs feature environmental supports to encourage individuals to adopt and maintain changes. Similarly, community participation approaches have recognized the need to promote a "holistic approach" that integrates the contributions of both personal behavior change and broader environmental changes in facilitating health improvement (Minkler 1999).

"Communication for social change" (CSC) is another example of recent efforts to integrate different theories and approaches in development communication (Rockefeller Foundation 1999). Whereas traditional interventions were based on behavior change models, CSC relies on participatory approaches in emphasizing the notion of dialogue as central to development. Development is conceived as involving work to "improve the lives of the politically and economically marginalized" (1998, 15). In contrast to the sender-receiver, information-based premises of the dominant paradigm, it stresses the importance of horizontal communication, the role of people as agents of change, and the need for negotiating skills and partnership. Another important contribution of CSC is to call attention to the larger communication environment surrounding populations.

In contrast to behavior change and participatory theories that, for different reasons, pay little if any attention to the wide organization of information and media resources, CSC calls attention to the relevance of ongoing policy and structural changes in providing new opportunities for communication interventions. Unlike neo-dependency theories that negatively view worldwide changes in media and information industries as stimulating a process of power concentration, CSC offers a mixed evaluation. It recognizes that transformations open possibilities for community-based, decentralized forms of participation, but also admits that some characteristics of contemporary media are worrisome in terms of the potential for social change. CSC views changes in health and in quality of life in general in terms of citizens' empowerment, a notion that became more relevant in behavior change models (Hornik 1997).

But unlike participatory theories, CSC stresses the need to define precise indicators to measure the impact of interventions. It is particularly sensitive to the expectations of funding agencies to find results of interventions and to the needs of communities to provide feedback and actively intervene in projects. Here accountability, a concept that is also fundamental in contemporary global democratic projects, is crucial to development efforts. Projects should be accountable to participants in order to improve and change interventions and involve those who are ultimately the intended protagonists and beneficiaries. Because the intended goals are somewhat different from behavior change approaches, then, it is necessary to develop a different set of indicators that tell us whether changes are achieved (although certainly some measurements traditionally used in health interventions are useful too). The goals are not only formulated in terms that could perfectly fit health promotion/social marketing/behavior change theories (e.g., elimination of HIV/AIDS, lower child and maternal mortality) but also in broader social terms such as eradicating poverty and violence and increasing employment and gender

equality. These goals express a more comprehensive understanding of development that is not limited to "better health and well-being" but is aware of the need to place traditional approaches in larger social and environmental contexts.

Despite the cross-pollination of traditions and a multi-strategy approach to interventions, the rift between behavior change and participatory approaches and theories still characterizes the field. The divisions are less pronounced than a few decades ago given the integration of different strategies discussed in the previous section but are still important.

For participatory and advocacy approaches, behavior change models are still associated with a certain scientific paradigm that is questionable on several grounds. Behavior change models are based on premises that do not necessarily translate to developing countries (Stetson and Davis 1999). From a perspective influenced by recent theoretical developments in the social sciences, particularly postcolonial and post-modernist thinking, critics have challenged Western models of rationality and knowledge that inform behavior models. What is necessary is to change the traditional perspective according to which "traditional cultures" are backward and antithetical to development interventions. Because what populations know is considered wrong, local knowledge is viewed as obstacle and unnecessary in development interventions. Overcoming ethnocentric conceptions is crucial. It requires recognition that understandings of information and knowledge are different. Interventions also need to be sensitive to the fact that local cultures do not necessarily fit philosophical assumptions about individual rationality that are embedded in traditional models. Sense-making practices that are found in the developing world contradict key premises of behavior change models. Behavior models assume that individuals engage in certain actions after weighing costs and benefits of the action. Whereas individual interest and achievement are the underlying premises of those models, non-rationalistic forms of knowledge as well as community values are central to non-Western cultures.

Critics charge behavior change models for being focused on individual changes while underplaying (or minimizing) the need to instrument larger political transformations that affect the quality of life. They call attention to the organizational structures that inhibit the successful implementation of projects for social change (Wilkins 1999). The concentration of information resources worldwide, the growing power of advertising in media systems, and the intensification of inequalities that underlie the persistence of development problems require more than ever to examine structural-political factors. Media systems have changed dramatically in the last decades. These changes, however, have been particularly revolutionary in the non-Western world as privatization and liberalization of media systems radically transformed the production, distribution, and availability of information resources.

Behavior change models have recognized the merits of insights from participatory approaches as well as the need to be sensitive to media access and new technologies (Piotrow et al. 1997). They continue to be mainly concerned with refining analytical and evaluation instruments and measuring the success of different intervention strategies. One of the main tasks is to identify the impact of communication/information campaigns in the context of other factors that affect behavior (Hornik 1997). The

integration of social mobilization and social marketing strategies has been found to be successful and a positive referent for future interventions (McKee 1999).

The realization that communities should be the main actors of development communication may constitute a starting point for further integration. Likewise, efforts to integrate theories and strategies that recognize that media campaigns are insufficient without community participation, that social marketing efforts are weak without environmental changes, and that community empowerment might be the ultimate goal to guarantee sustainable development are encouraging to promote dialogue among different theories and traditions.

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A Changing World: FAO Efforts in Communication for Rural Development

6

Silvia Balit and Mario Acunzo

Contents

6.1 The Landscape 135
6.2 Telling the Story 136
6.3 The Good Times: Reasons for Success 139
6.4 What Followed? Current Perspectives 140
6.4.1 ComDev Assistance 142
6.4.2 Building Capacities and Partnerships 145
6.4.3 Evidence-Based Approaches 146
6.5 Lessons Learned: Some Essential Guiding Principles 147
6.5.1 Starting Upstream 147
6.5.2 A Social Process 147
6.5.3 Sharing of Knowledge and Two-Way Communication 147
6.5.4 Listening to People 148
6.5.5 In Line with National Policies 148
6.5.6 Promoting Policy Change 149
6.5.7 Holistic Approach 149
6.5.8 Preserving Indigenous Knowledge, Values, and Culture 149
6.5.9 Respect for Culture 149
6.5.10 Shared Interests and Trust 150

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6.5.11 Flexibility and Duration 150
6.5.12 Ensuring Gender Sensitivities 150
6.5.13 A ComDev Approach to the Use of the ICTs 151
6.5.14 Multimedia Approach 152
6.5.15 Political Space and Context 152
6.5.16 Toward Inclusive Rural Communication Services 152
6.5.17 No-Off-the-Shelf Solution 153
6.6 Conclusion 153
References 155

Abstract

The chapter describes relevant approaches, trends, and challenges of applying Communication for Development to agricultural and to rural development in a changing world. It focuses on the experience generated by the United Nations (UN) Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), starting with the first years when FAO was considered a leading agency in the discipline, followed by an analysis of the present situation, the perspectives, and the challenges for the future. The authors argue that there are new and favorable conditions for Communication for Development in the context of the changing social and political scene and that new economic and environmental challenges affecting rural areas demand new communication approaches and practice to be blended with the principles and participatory methods that have inspired the discipline.

Today more than ever, there is a need for mainstreaming Communication for Development to contribute managing the structural transformation affecting rural areas and to bridge the divide of opportunities ensuring equal rights to communication through demand-led communication services dedicated to rural dwellers. This changing landscape also requires new policy and financial commitments on the part of development institutions and governments, as well as policy dialogue with interested parties, including producer and indigenous peoples' organizations, representatives of women and youth, as well as the private sector. By facilitating the dialogue, the definition of priorities, and options for inclusive rural communication services, Communication for Development will contribute significantly to meeting the challenges of our changing world.

Keywords

Communication · Communication for Rural development · ComDev · C4D · Rural development · Family farming · Information and communication technologies · Participation · Rural communication services · Sustainable Development Goals · FAO

No innovation, however brilliantly designed becomes development unless it is communicated. Erskine Childers

6.1 The Landscape

We live in a fast changing world, conditioned by the information revolution. And the continuous explosion of new technologies and media are a powerful force to share knowledge and influence values and behavior. The benefits of the information revolution can have positive repercussions for economic and social development but also negative results.

These technologies can be used for enlightenment but also for manipulation (Ansah 1994). The three Internet giants Amazon, Facebook, and Google influence the way billions of people think, access information, and act. No political figure can aspire to win an election without spin and often fake news. Financial centers operate in real time on a global scale, bypassing national states and creating super-national powers. The nation state is in crisis as new technologies have amplified people's voices and created aspirations for autonomy. At the same time, the incredible spread of the mobile phone has meant that people in rural areas throughout the developing world now use their mobile phones and send SMS messages to gain information, sell their products, and keep in touch with relatives abroad.

But, despite progress in some areas, how are information and communication technologies (ICTs) helping to eliminate poverty, hunger, and malnutrition that affect nearly one billion people, mainly rural areas of developing countries?

We live in uncertain times characterized by unprecedented climate change amid widening social, political, and economic inequalities. While agriculture is increasingly knowledge-intensive, the rural population tends to be not only poor resource-wise but also information-wise. In particular, smallholder and family farmers face significant social, economic, and environmental challenges which demand improved knowledge and information and their active engagement to foster suitable solutions. Today more than ever, smallholder family farmers and rural communities require access to information and communication to make their voices heard and change their lives for the better (FAO 2016a). Thus communication is key and central to these processes.

To be able to respond and adapt to the new conditions, farmers and rural communities need access to reliable sources of information making available relevant contents in languages and formats they can easily use. Nevertheless, while dedicated information and communication services addressing the need of family farmers and their organizations are rarely available in rural areas, many economic and social barriers affect their access to these services and the active participation in decision-making especially for women, youth, or minority groups. Participatory communication processes, community media, and local appropriations of ICTs have proven essential to overcoming such limitations and increasing the self-reliance of millions of poor farmers worldwide.

Within this framework national and international development institutions have yet to fully recognize the potential of communication processes to contribute to eliminating poverty and promoting sustainable rural development. Neither the Sustainable Development Goals include the right to communication as one of the fundamental conditions to fight poverty and hunger and to provide equal

development opportunities to both rural and urban people. The solution for these inequalities is generically associated to the access to the ICTs.

In general terms, our societies value more the power of media and of technologies, jointly with pervasive forms of communication such as publicity, public relations, corporate communication, and spin. There is a rhetorical emphasis on the "positive impact" of media and technology, rather than a deep understanding of the role that communication plays in the structural transformations in rural areas that would allow to generate adequate policies and services accordingly. The lack of Communication for Development efforts in turn hampers the possibility of ensuring the engagement of rural stakeholders, while limiting the efficient use of the resources destined to development.

Over the years billions have been spent for development assistance with limited results. Recognizing this failure development aid is now changing, moving away from donor-driven approaches to country-led systems. The emphasis now is on country programs concentrating on participation, community ownership, capacity building, and effectiveness. In principle, there is a new enabling environment for Communication for Development, with new opportunities and challenges.

6.2 Telling the Story

There was a different landscape when the Food and Agriculture of the United Nations initiated activities in Development Support Communication, as the discipline was originally called, in 1969. Top-down approaches were prevalent. Development efforts concentrated on economic growth and transferring western, industrialized technology to developing countries. Development specialists were convinced they had all the answers and that it would be sufficient to spread the word for the knowledge to trickle down and for people to accept new ideas and put them into practice. The role of the media was overestimated, and in particular the emphasis was on the use of mass media. There were few governments in developing countries willing to establish a true dialogue with rural people and allow de-centralized decision-making to take place. The role of communication was primarily limited to supporting transfer of technical knowledge (Fugelsang 1987).

Development Support Communication was established as a discipline within the UN system at the end of the 1960s. The first Development Support Communication (DSC) Service was established in Bangkok in 1967 with financing from UNDP and UNICEF. Development Support Communication owed its vision to Erskine Childers and Mallica Vajrathon of UNDP and Jack Ling of UNICEF. Erskine Childers convinced the Administrator of UNDP Paul Hoffman of the importance of communication in development, and UNDP sent out a circular to all UN agencies requesting them to include communication components in all UNDP-financed projects. And in 1969 units were established in various agencies with different names, but with a common consensus that communication should become a component in development programs.

It made sense to start a DSC program in FAO since it dealt with agriculture, rural development, and extension. It also already had a farm radio program. Erskine Childers visited FAO, and interest came from the Director of the Public Information program Ted Kaghan, rather than from the extension services. The extension services were suspicious of the emerging discipline that they considered to be a threat, and did not promote the development of an integrated and collaborative relationship. They saw the role of communication being limited to the production of media material and the packaging of information from a central source to transfer technology to rural audiences.

The FAO Development Support Communication Branch (DSC) was established in 1969, under the leadership of Colin Fraser. It made use of the media resources of the Public Information Division but did not deal with public relations or corporate communication. It was entirely field oriented. Objectives were to improve project planning, participation, and capacity development.

From the beginning it was difficult to receive recognition within an Organization that was very technical and especially in the first years entirely devoted to transfer of technology and the hard sciences. Many of the specialists came from colonial backgrounds. There was little understanding of what communication was all about, and many understood it as dealing with telephones, telegraphs, and roads. It was a new frontier, and little was known in those days about how to communicate with illiterate people in rural areas of developing countries. As Colin Fraser used to say, it was like painting on an empty canvas. No one in the group had an academic background, although some had backgrounds in media or learning methodologies. The group started learning by doing, learning from mistakes as well as from the first successes. Many requests for assistance were confined to production of media materials for the field, in line with predominant approaches. The partners were primarily government representatives and projects. The media applied were simple and appropriate to conditions in rural areas in developing countries such as radio, slide sets, and portable video. But even the use of portable video was contested by many government representatives as being too sophisticated for communities in rural areas.

With the evolution of development paradigms and more emphasis being given to the human aspects of development and participatory processes, communication started being recognized as a social process to improve the lives of rural people and increase participation, also in FAO. The practical experience in the field led to the development of a number of innovative communication systems and approaches, thanks also to the presence of a number of "champions" as project managers (Quarry and Ramirez 2009).

In Peru an audio visual training methodology based on the use of video was developed for large-scale training of illiterate communities. A holistic approach was applied with programs produced on all the themes of interest to the farm family. Attention was paid to peasant culture and traditional technologies.

In Mexico the rural communication system in Proderith, an integrated rural development program, participatory video was applied to consult with communities and involve them in local development planning. Sharing of knowledge was then based on needs as identified by them. Young farmers, both men and women, were trained to

produce and use communication materials with their communities. Messages were produced by the farmers, with the farmers and for the farmers (Fraser 1987).

Based on the oral tradition, in Africa radio was considered the most effective medium to reach large numbers of rural audiences over vast distances. A participatory approach to rural radio was developed which gave a voice to rural people (Balit and Ilboudo 1996). Rural radio services were brought to the villages and programs produced in local languages with their participation, in accordance with traditional customs and values, at the same time providing them with relevant and essential information.

Another successful approach was the use of multimedia campaigns to support a clearly defined and particular development strategy, such as the elimination of rinderpest in Africa or pest control in Asia. Campaigns combined interpersonal and multimedia channels in an orchestrated and mutually reinforcing manner. They also used techniques such as audience research, pretesting of materials, and message fine-tuning on the basis of feedback and evaluation.

The use of traditional media such as local artists, music, storytellers, theater groups, and puppets combined with qualitative research, group discussions, and other participatory tools were successfully used in several countries in Africa to provoke change in life styles on sensitive subjects such as population issues.

After some 20 years of pragmatic experience, it was considered important to have a more strategic approach. For this purpose an Expert Consultation was organized in 1987, and participants included academics as well as communication specialists from all regions, the so-called champions. The consultation was truly a milestone in FAO's experience. It contributed to a better understanding of the role of communication in agricultural and rural development. It provided directions for future work and defined a strategic framework and guidelines that are still a reference and are continuously being updated according to the evolution of FAO work (FAO 2014a).

The first Expert Consultation defined communication as "a social process designed to seek a common understanding among all the participants of a development initiative, creating a basis for concerted action. It promotes knowledge sharing and participation. Sharing is not a one way transfer of information; it implies rather an exchange between communication equals: on the one hand, technical specialists learn about people's needs and their knowledge, and on the other hand, people learn of the techniques and proposals of the specialists. Communication technology and the media are useful tools to facilitate this process, but should not be considered an end in itself. What is important is the process, rather than the product or the technology/media used."

The experts also defined DSC as part science, part art, and part craft:

- It is part science because it draws heavily on social science theory and methodology.
- It is part art because it incorporates artistic talents and skills such as graphics, photography, radio, video, instructional technology, and so on.
- It is part craft because it employs a wide variety of tools and technology such as cameras, projectors, computers, and broadcasting and telecommunication

equipment for preparing, projecting, and disseminating messages (Report of FAO Expert Consultation 1987).

Another landmark in the history of Communication for Development was the World Congress held in Rome in October 2006 and organized by FAO, the World Bank, and the Communication Initiative. "Without communication there is no development" was the primary message that aimed at demonstrating to policymakers that Communication for Development is an essential tool for meeting today's most pressing development challenges and therefore should be more fully integrated into development policies and practices (World Bank 2007).

The meeting brought together some 900 participants from around the world to share experiences and best practices. For the first time on such a large-scale communication specialists gathered together with policymakers to discuss how to increase the success of development programs through more widespread use of communication. The many voices at the Congress were evidence of how the discipline has evolved, the variety of people and institutions now working in this area and the richness of practices in the field.

The Rome Consensus adopted by the Congress provided a definition of Communication for Development which is now commonly adopted by all UN agencies, along with guiding principles and a vision for the future:

> Communication for Development (ComDev) is a social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is about seeking change at different levels including listening, establishing trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change. The process goes beyond information dissemination to facilitate active participation and stakeholder dialogue. It highlights the importance of raising awareness, the cultural dimensions of development, local knowledge, experiential learning, information sharing and the active participation of rural people and other stakeholders in decision making. (World Bank 2007)

It was hoped that the Congress would be a major tool for advocacy among policymakers and development institutions. But instead no major action followed immediately after and FAO downgraded the discipline during the reform process of a renewed Organization, as did UNESCO. The World Bank highlighted corporate communication. The only UN organization that today is giving major emphasis to the discipline is UNICEF.

6.3 The Good Times: Reasons for Success

In the 1980s and 1990s, FAO was recognized internationally as a pioneer and leader in the field of communication for development. There were a number of reasons for this recognition in the past. These included:

- After the first few years of pragmatic experiences, a strategic approach was applied. This was the result of the 1987 Expert Consultation. The strategic

approach ensured that FAO communication activities at headquarters and in the field followed a common vision.

- Although initially in the Public Information Division, Communication for Development was integrated into the Organization's policy, programs, and budget. The discipline was an officially recognized subprogram of the FAO Economic and Social Program. The activities of the then DSC Branch were presented to the Program and Finance Committees for supervision and review of its program of work and budget.
- The Branch had a large field program, with projects that were able to supply evidence of the added value of Communication for Development. Projects lasted 5–10 years even, so it was possible to develop innovative communication methodologies and document them with case studies that were distributed widely. The program had skilled and committed project managers, "champions" for Communication for Development. Over the years, three communication experts received the B.R. Sen Award as best field expert. This was important for advocacy within the Organization (Balit 2012).
- The results of projects and programs were systematized and presented regularly to divisions and departments within FAO. Over the years the Branch produced a number of supporting multimedia materials for advocacy including booklets, slide sets, a professional video "sharing knowledge," and power point presentations. These materials were presented to FAO senior management and widely distributed to other UN agencies, member governments, and NGOs.
- The Branch had a critical mass of staff, up to nine professionals as well as general service supporting staff, with expertise in different aspects of communication ranging from audio visual media, rural radio, and ICTs to planning, research, and evaluation. Staff traveled frequently to field programs to ensure not only supervision and dialogue but to formulate new projects in consultation with local staff. The staff at headquarters together with the field experts created a community of practitioners, sharing experiences and methodologies.
- The field experts had capacity building and ownership as their main objective, supporting local and national institutions that would be able to sustain ComDev activities even when the international projects finished. Respect for local traditions, language, and culture was paramount, with always a gender perspective. In the majority of projects, half of the national staff were women. This was the case also for the program at headquarters. Many of the national staff trained by the FAO experts went on to initiate and implement similar projects in other developing countries. Today they are still carrying on the legacy.

6.4 What Followed? Current Perspectives

After the positive experience in the 1980s and 1990s, why was the discipline not fully recognized during the reforms of the different development agencies including FAO that occurred later on? There are a number of factors, some related to context,

and some missed opportunities, that have limited the potential of Communication for Development as a strategic element for renewing FAO and the UN.

In the last 20 years, the global and rural development context changed considerably. Structural adjustment programs were prevalent, with less attention to social issues and assistance to poor and vulnerable groups. Governments and traditional rural institutions withdrew from certain functions that were taken over by civil society and the private sector. Globalization shaped the world economy, and privatization of public services, free markets, and international trade agreements created new scenarios for development, with serious effects on governments, local communities, and vulnerable groups. The vertical structure of institutions and the operational mode of most organizations based on results-based management and logical frameworks were not conducive to participatory approaches. The financial crisis did the rest: with fewer resources available for development, competition for funding of projects became tough. In addition, there was less attention given to participatory models on the part of governments and donors. In this scenario, Communication for Development is like the fifth wheel on the cart, the moment there is a budget cut communication is the first to be eliminated.

As for lost opportunities, during the FAO reform process, the Communication for Development Group (ComDev) was not able to effectively advocate for the discipline with senior management. In fact, the downgrading within the organizational structure from branch to group hampered the possibility for the theme to be represented at program committee level. Furthermore, another limiting factor for the lack of internal advocacy can be associated with a weak research capacity to document results and generate evidence. In particular, the group lacked sufficient quantitative data on impact to be able to prove the value of ComDev to policymakers with backgrounds in hard sciences.

Finally, during the reform process the term "communication" was used for relabeling public information officers, deepening the misunderstanding that still exists today between Communication for Development, corporate communication, and public information.

In general terms, in the last two decades, Communication for Development has been facing new issues and challenges, as a consequence of globalization media liberalization, rapid economic and social changes, and the emergence of new information and communication technologies (ICTs). Furthermore, the ICTs set up around the world, including in very poor countries have multiplied, and donors have heavily invested in hardware and software, but not with a strategic vision (Gumucio-Dagron 2011). Technologies are often used as silver bullets and the Communication for Development dimension is absent in many projects. Communities rarely participate in the decision-making process, and content is often prepackaged.

The WCCD was one of the many attempts to advocate for Communication for Development mainstreaming at the policy and institutional level (Servaes et al. 2007). UN agencies such as UNESCO, FAO, and UNICEF have been among the main international referents in this area, because they have traditionally supported communication for development as a programmatic strategy for sustainable development and promoted civil society participation (Gumucio-Dagron 2011). Several

attempts were systematically made by FAO and partner agencies through international events such as the IX UN Roundtable on Communication for Development (UNRT) in 2004, the XI UNRT in 2009, and the FAO Expert Consultation on Communication for Development in 2011. In particular, the 2011 FAO Expert Consultation served as a visioning exercise for FAO and partners, which did in fact initiate processes to implement a mainstreaming strategy within the Organization.

Notwithstanding these efforts, in the last 10 years, different agencies went through in-depth reform processes that resulted in downsizing of themes and technical areas including Communication for Development, among others. In the case of FAO, ComDev functions were shifted several times due to the long institutional reform process resulting in changes both in terms of priorities and focus of the work. For example, the FAO_ComDev_Team moved in several rounds from the Economic and Social Affairs to the Natural Resource Department and from the Research and Extension Division to its present location as part of the Family Farming and Partnerships with Civil Society Unit in the Partnerships Division.

Today the work of the ComDev Team comprises both normative and field activities combining the technical assistance to projects with the systematization of lessons learned, methods and tools, and the advocacy at the policy level. Three main lines of work have been prioritized in the last years to support FAO member countries and partners: (a) assistance in ComDev to FAO strategic objectives and programs; (b) capacity building, partnerships, and networking; and (c) evidence, advocacy, and policy dialogue for mainstreaming rural communication services. From these activities several experiences and lessons have emerged.

6.4.1 ComDev Assistance

Notwithstanding limiting factors such as the downsizing in terms of staff and resources and the reduced "visibility" of the theme, recent institutional changes and the strategic programs of the Organization provide new opportunities and challenges for the FAO work in ComDev. Presently FAO activities include as an integral part capacity development of individuals and organizations at the local, national, and regional level and the institutionalization of ComDev services within national agricultural policies (FAO 2014c). Mainstreaming ComDev is therefore one of the priorities jointly with the support to program delivery.

The FAO project cycle identifies Communication for Development as an integral element that has to be considered in any project design (FAO 2014a). Along the years several ComDev components and projects have been designed, implemented, and evaluated on different topics such as food security; family farming; agricultural innovation systems; governance of tenure; rural livelihoods; natural resource management (Acunzo and Thompson 2006); emergency relief, community-based climate adaptation, and resilience; and poverty reduction, among others.

The FAO Communication for Sustainable Development Initiative (CSDI, 2007–2012) has been one of the first global projects dedicated to the application

of Communication for Development to climate change adaptation and sustainable natural resource management. The CSDI piloted and documented participatory ComDev strategies in several countries as a mean to promote community engagement and collaborative change toward climate adaptation and mitigation (Acunzo and Protz 2010).

The CSDI was also one of the last FAO projects exclusively focused on piloting ComDev, building capacities in different countries and facilitating the sharing of lessons learned in this field. One of the key features of the project has been enhancing rural institutions and service provider in their capacity to deliver ComDev assistance. Technical support to project activities has been provided in the field by local experts, NGOs, and community media networks, reinforcing the role of ComDev entities often at the regional level. This has been also in line with efforts to improve local capacities and encouraging south-south collaboration to advance sustainability.

In recent years, the priority of FAO ComDev Team has been supporting family farming initiatives and projects in the field through regional ComDev plans. Special attention is being given to ComDev strategies leveraging community media and ICTs for resilient family farming, youth employment, and inclusive food systems. An important dimension is the monitoring of results and the involvement of rural institutions and producer organizations to seek upscaling and sustainability of ComDev interventions.

6.4.1.1 Mainstreaming Rural Communication Services

Several UN Roundtables highlighted the need to strengthen and mainstream Communication for Development at the policy level, within development agencies and in the context of the UN. In fact, when treated only as an ad hoc project component, ComDev activities have a limited duration risking not to be fully integrated into development programs and policies (FAO 2014c). As indicated by the second Expert Consultation on Communication for Development, the only way to achieve sustainability is mainstreaming ComDev as part of sectoral policies (FAO 2012).

Institutionalization can take different forms at different levels depending on the existing organizational structures and, of course, policy frameworks. In the case of the agriculture and rural development sector, the institutionalization of ComDev is presently relatively poor due to lack of understanding of its potential and the limited capacity of the agricultural sector to influence telecommunication or media laws. This is, for example, the case of the Universal Access Funds (and Universal Service Funds) that are underutilized to ensure dedicated communication services for rural people (FAO 2014b).

Within the framework of a renewed FAO and the new mission to support advocacy and multi-stakeholder engagement on corporate priorities, FAO ComDev Team was tasked to contribute to the activities of the 2014 International Year of Family Farming (IYFF) that included regional dialogues among governments, development agencies, NGOs, and farmers' organizations, such as the World Rural Forum (WRF), the World Farmers' Organization (WFO), and La Via Campesina (LVC).

The Forum on Communication for Development and Community Media for Family Farming (FCCM, FAO, Rome – October 2014) provided the opportunity to share experiences and showcase evidence of the contribution of communication, ICTs, and community media to family farming. It addressed opportunities for promoting rural communication services as sustained, inclusive, and demand-led communication processes involving family farmers and the rural population (FAO 2017). The FCCM brought together more than 100 participants representing various countries from all regions. This was the first specialized ComDev event that gave voice all together to farmers; civil society organizations, including community media and communication networks; academia; and specialized ComDev entities and stimulated a dialogue among these constituencies. It was a unique space for grass roots organizations to dialogue with subject matter specialists, government regulators, practitioners, research institutions, and academia (FAO 2017).

The agenda FCCM included interactive session on relevant issues like the contribution of communication to family farming, needs and priorities for communication policies, enabling policy and institutional frameworks and investments, and partnership opportunities. Specific attention was also given to the appropriation of communication by farmers and to enhancing the capacities of rural stakeholders.

Participants recognized communication as an asset for farmers and the need to integrate it as a dimension of family farming policies, the challenge being promoting institutional and policy frameworks for inclusive rural communication services, to facilitate access to information and the active participation of smallholders and the rural population in development initiatives, while fostering economic opportunities and the sustainable use of natural resources (FAO 2017).

The FCCM also recalled the WCCD Rome Consensus and its pledge to move toward a right-based approach in communication for development. The Forum endorsed a working definition of "Rural Communication Services" (RCS), as a wide range of demand-led communication processes, activities, media applications, and institutional arrangements to respond in a sustained and inclusive manner to the communication need of the rural population (FAO 2017).

Furthermore, the background document of the FCCM Farming for the Future presents a thorough analysis of experiences of rural communication services – understood as public goods – that seek to enhance rural livelihoods by facilitating equitable access to knowledge and information along with social inclusion in decision-making and stronger links between rural institutions and local communities (FAO 2014b).

The FCCM represents another landmark in the present work of FAO in ComDev. It allowed to establish a dialogue among ComDev practitioners, producer organizations, community media, and the academia. It also allowed to initiate a new path for mainstreaming ComDev as part of FAO support to family farming policies and field projects, through the lens of the RCS and a specific road map including collection of evidence, capacity building, and promotion of partnerships among rural stakeholders, a major asset in these efforts being the claim by producer organizations for their right to inclusive RCS. This path will be continued by FAO promoting ComDev as a key dimension of the activities of the UN Decade of Family Farming (UNDFF 2019–28).

6.4.2 Building Capacities and Partnerships

Mainstreaming ComDev goes hand in hand with building capacities, both at the field level and within development organizations, and establishing effective partnerships. It implies improving knowledge sharing and collaboration to strengthen national institutions, organizations, and people according to their priorities and characteristics (FAO 2007b).

The resolution of the second FAO Expert Consultation on Communication for Development emphasized the need for relevant agencies, organizations, funds, and programs of the United Nations to develop a systematic approach to capacity building in Communication for Development, particularly with respect to the training of field and development workers, technicians, as well as communication planners and specialists, especially in developing countries" (FAO 2012).

In recent years FAO prepared a large number of field guides, manuals, and case studies to help building capacities on ComDev methods and tools. In particular, the Communication for Development Sourcebook (FAO 2014e) and the e-learning Communication for Rural Development (FAO 2016b) available on the web in different languages for free are important references for practitioners involved in agriculture and rural development (FAO 2018). To enhance experience sharing, advocacy, and collaboration among practitioners, projects, academicians, and rural stakeholders at national and international level, three regional web-based platforms have been supported in Africa (YenKasa), Asia (ComDevAsia), and Latin America (Onda Rural) in partnership with communication networks and grass root organizations. The platforms aim at building regional communities of practice and knowledge networks in ComDev. Furthermore, FAO has joint efforts with the College of Development Communication, University of Philippines Los Baños, to spearhead the Collaborative Change Communication initiative through a web-based platform named CCComDev that facilitates exchanges on research activities, trainings, and learning resources (FAO 2018).

Horizontal communication is critical to enhance ComDev capacities of farmers, indigenous peoples, and producer organizations stimulating peer-to-peer sharing and learning. This is why experiences of the appropriation of communication systems and ICTs by indigenous peoples and farmers have been documented, shared, and promoted through the regional ComDev platform, especially in Latin America (FAO 2014d).

In order to build capacities and promote RCS as part of agricultural and rural development policies, FAO has catalyzed strategic partnerships in ComDev with relevant entities including farmers' organizations (e.g., World Rural Forum, La Via Campesina), communication networks (e.g., World Association of Community Media Broadcasters, AMARC), research centers, and the six universities of the Global Research Initiative on Rural Communication (GRI/RC), the Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Comunicacion para America Latina, CIESPAL, and the Mercosur Specialized Meeting on Family Farming (REAF). Each entity is actively involved in animating a regional ComDev platform promoting research, learning, or advocacy activities in a specific context and contributing to the consolidation of communities of practices and regional partnerships to enhance south-south and triangular cooperation in ComDev.

6.4.3 Evidence-Based Approaches

One of the main findings of the 2014 FCCM is the need for evidence-based approaches to orient the institutionalization of RCS as part of family farming, poverty reduction, and rural development policies and programs. It also requires to research the role of communication (processes, media, ICTs, telecommunications, laws, etc.) as part of the structural transformations happening in rural areas. The analysis of present communication trends may help informing policies about how to reduce the urban/rural communication divide and contribute to achieving the SDGs also in rural areas (FAO 2017). Specific studies should also lead to a clearer understanding of the appropriations by people of communication processes, media, and ICTs in rural areas and their influence on local economies and in relation to development opportunities.

The increasing interest of the research community and FAO to combine the analysis of changing communication environment in rural areas with the need to build evidence of the results of RCS motivated researchers from six universities to partner under the Global Research Initiative on Rural Communication and to establish an ad hoc working group on rural communication as part of the International Association of Media and Communication Research (IAMCR). As results of this collaboration, the study "Inclusive rural communication services. Building evidence, informing policy" was published by FAO with contributions of the universities of Queensland, Guelph, Reading, Wageningen, Van Hall Larenstein, and the University of the Philippines Los Baños. This scoping study is the first research aimed at compiling existing evaluation cases based on proven methodologies to assess and document evidence-based approaches in the field of Communication for Development that may be used for designing rural communication services as part of agricultural and rural development policies (FAO 2017).

The study compares evaluation approaches applied to RCS and provides recommendations on how to build evidence that can orient governments, institutions, and organizations in establishing and operationalizing inclusive RCS. The conclusions highlight the need for policies to take into account all the dimensions of RCS initiatives, including the focus on investing in stakeholders' capacities and strengthening rural knowledge institutions and farmer organizations. It also recommends streamlining the planning, implementation, and evaluation of rural communication service, with focus on learning-based approaches. In all, the systematic evaluation approaches and the evidences demonstrated in the cases can inform policy and can be used for establishing rural communication services.

Following the results of the FCCM and the GRI-RC publication, FAO launched a series of regional studies on trends, experiences, and opportunities for institutionalizing evidence-based RCS with a view to mainstream this topic in the policy dialogues that is being promoted in the context of the UN Decade of Family Farming and the SDGs.

6.5 Lessons Learned: Some Essential Guiding Principles

Notwithstanding institutional ups and downs, the results of practice in the field and evaluations carried out by communication scholars across the globe in the last 40 years have confirmed a series of essential guiding principles. These should not be forgotten, even though new challenges require new approaches and adaptation to a changing world.

6.5.1 Starting Upstream

To be effective, communication should be built into development programs and policies from the start and integrated into development policies and poverty reduction strategies together with the participants and all stakeholders. A ComDev strategy planned with participants from the start will ensure their active involvement and ownership and give development programs better chances of being successful and sustainable.

6.5.2 A Social Process

Communication for Development is essentially "a social process, designed to seek a common understanding among all the participants of a development initiative, creating a basis for concerted action." Communication technology and the media are useful tools to facilitate this process, but should not be considered as an end in itself. What is important is the process, rather than the product or the technology/media used (FAO 1987). Interpersonal communication and the participation of a community change agent as a facilitator or broker with the rural community remain essential. Whenever possible, communication programs and projects should be designed and implemented with and by rural people themselves, and not just by outsiders. The professional quality of the products is not as important as guaranteeing local contents based on people's needs and cultural codes.

6.5.3 Sharing of Knowledge and Two-Way Communication

The first FAO Expert Consultation indicated that "people oriented and sustainable development can only realize its full potential if rural people are involved, and if information and knowledge is shared. Sharing is not a one transfer of information; it implies rather an exchange between communication equals" (Balit 1999). One of the most important methodological findings of the PRODERITH project can be resumed as follows: "The main challenge faced by a good communication system in the field is not, as one might generally think, filling a social space with words; it consists in the establishment of an initial silence, where the actors

present recognize each other as equals, with the same rights and possibilities for generating the new knowledge required to improve the quality of life and working conditions" (Funes 1996).

6.5.4 Listening to People

Thus, Communication for Development efforts should begin by listening to people, learning about their perceived needs, and taking into account their knowledge and experience, their culture and traditions, and the reality of rural areas (Anyaegbunam et al. 1998). Listening is an important skill developed by oral cultures that rely exclusively on oral communication. Dialogue also requires the capacity to listen and to be silent. However there is still much to be done in terms of training in participatory communication methods and changing the attitudes of field staff and development agents who have been educated to apply top-down, authoritarian methods and tell people what to do. Fortunately today there are many participatory research and diagnostic methods that have been developed to listen and learn from communities, such as Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices (KAP) surveys, Participatory Rapid Appraisal (PRA), Participatory Rural Communication Appraisal (PRCA), focus group discussions, ethnographic research, etc. These methods ensure that the needs of beneficiaries are taken into account in the planning of projects and that monitoring and evaluation make use of qualitative indicators identified with the communities themselves. These methods integrated under Communication for Development approach should serve to guide the use of the ICTs for development.

6.5.5 In Line with National Policies

ComDev policies and strategies should be designed in accordance with national policies for poverty reduction and sustainable development and help to promote them (FAO 2007a). Otherwise, these strategies and programs will remain isolated and not receive the support of national policymakers and decision-makers. For example, a key characteristic of the PRODERITH rural communication system in Mexico was its placement within a public policy where participation was prevalent. This helped its development and is crucial to understanding the causes of its success (Funes 1996). National communication policies have been introduced by FAO in a number of countries in the West and Central Africa region to articulate and regulate the role of communication in development. They have proposed different institutional frameworks ComDev interventions, as well as for establishing rural communication services, bringing together the variety of ministries and stakeholders involved in poverty reduction and development programs.

6.5.6 Promoting Policy Change

Communication for Development also has an important role to play in enacting and promoting national policy change, since there is a tendency to move away from top-down policy planning toward more participatory and interactive processes of policy planning, adjustment, and implementation. Often today country programs concentrate on community participation and ownership, and communication can foster the required dialogue between policymakers and communities, like in the case of family farming policies in several Latin American countries. There is also the need to build governmental receptivity for sustainable development and poverty reduction and to engage civil society and the private sector. In this respect, policy dialogue and advocacy can play a key role for the establishment of new legislation or for promoting the implementation and/or enforcement of an existing one.

6.5.7 Holistic Approach

Communication is a multidisciplinary and cross-cutting discipline. Thus, efforts should cover all the multifaceted aspects of life that concern poor people and their livelihoods. Communication activities should deal with agriculture, health, habitat, education, nutrition, the environment, population, gender, and all issues related to development in an integrated manner. Furthermore, communication can facilitate the necessary linkages to achieve improved coordination and multidisciplinary efforts to involve a number of development sectors and concerned institutions.

6.5.8 Preserving Indigenous Knowledge, Values, and Culture

It is important to incorporate indigenous knowledge and practice in the planning of Communication for Development projects: "The outcome of useful sharing of knowledge is not so much the replacement of traditional techniques by modern ones, as a merging of modern and traditional systems to produce a more appropriate hybrid, one that befits the economic and technical capacities of rural populations as well as their cultural values" (FAO 1987). Indigenous knowledge can provide an understanding and analysis of a situation that will ensure that programs are formulated in harmony with the environment and relevant cultural issues. Indigenous groups have access to a large volume of traditional knowledge about their environment and are highly efficient users of available resources that have been crucial for their survival.

6.5.9 Respect for Culture

Communities in rural areas contain a wealth of traditional cultural resources, a rich but fragile heritage which risks being lost with the advent of modern technology. The

tendency to cultural homogenization that comes with globalization processes can erase cultural identities and diversities. To be successful, communication efforts must take into account the values of rural people rather than borrowing communication strategies from outside that promote change without due consideration for culture (Decock 2000). This also implies supporting local appropriation of ICT by rural people for their own purpose.

6.5.10 Shared Interests and Trust

Shared interests and trust are also essential elements of the communication process. Shared interests are the cohesive force in social networks and can explain the evolution of such formations. The ideal sharing of interests is expressed by the achievement of a social consensus and a state of mutual trust. Trust and credibility are also closely associated. It is well known that the effectiveness of a medium or a communicator hinges on their credibility and trust. For rural people, communication often is about building personal relationships, and when it comes to building trust and collaboration, face-to-face communication remains the preferred channel (Fugelsang 1987). In the case of rural youth, the use of cell phones and social media is introducing new patterns for socialization that have to be considered to avoid generational divide and to facilitate new mechanisms for social cohesion and economic inclusion for rural communities, limiting migration trends.

6.5.11 Flexibility and Duration

Social change and participatory communication processes take much more time than the typical 3–5-year project cycle during which governments and donors usually wish to obtain quick results. The most successful communication programs have had a duration of 7–10 years, with a long-term perspective. The development context is dynamic, with unanticipated events and variables that are difficult to predict. Communication can produce lasting and successful results when it is part of a flexible and inclusive approach in designing projects, where the whole endeavor is planned, executed, and evaluated with the participants, and when there is sufficient time and flexibility to allow for changes in direction as the project develops according to the feedback provided by the stakeholders

6.5.12 Ensuring Gender Sensitivities

The empowerment of rural women through the sharing of information, knowledge, and communication is crucial for achieving development goals. However, women are often underestimated and overlooked in development strategies and remain the “invisible” partners in development. They belong to the culture of

silence. Communication activities, services, and materials should reflect the special needs and preferences of women and address the social, economic, and cultural constraints they face in the design of communication messages, choice of appropriate channels, and best timing and locations for delivery. Women in rural areas have communication requirements that are different from those of men. They do not have equal access to information, due to factors such as restricted mobility outside the home, lack of education, and sometimes men's control over information or media technology. Because women are involved in many aspects of rural life, their traditional knowledge systems are holistic. For generations they have relied on the spoken word and traditional forms of communication as a means of sharing knowledge and information. They have made use of the oral tradition to develop a rich communication environment, transmitting culture, knowledge, customs, and history through traditional forms of communication such as poetry, proverbs, songs, stories, dances, and plays. Within their communities they are active participants in social communication networks, using indigenous communication methods to disseminate knowledge and strategies for mutual assistance and survival (Balit 1999). More generally, communication programs should always include a gender perspective also in relation to women access to rural communication services and the use of ICT. A new issue on the development agenda is the increasing violence that women are subject to in situations of conflict and post-conflict.

6.5.13 A ComDev Approach to the Use of the ICTs

Communication is central to improving traditional farming systems and promoting sustainable agriculture by facilitating the appropriation and management of processes and technologies by farmers (Acunzo and Santucci 2012). The spread of digital technology in rural areas, especially cell phones, has made communication services an increasingly cost-effective option for providing basic information to the rural population even in remote areas. Furthermore, unlike other mass media, ICTs offer opportunities for two-way communication and for opening up new, non-traditional communication channels for rural communities, producer, and development organizations.

A Communication for Development approach is central to the use of the ICTs in order to bridge the rural digital divide and to provide universal access to information to the rural populations (Richardson 1997). This should support the creation of local contents and ownership, taking full advantage of the convergence between "conventional media," such as radio and the information and communication technologies.

Nevertheless, the focus must remain on the needs of the rural audiences, rather than on the communication technologies and the media utilized, with the aim of enhancing the capacity of local stakeholders to manage communication processes, develop local content, and appropriate the use of media and tools for their own purposes, including the ICTs (FAO 2006).

6.5.14 Multimedia Approach

Communication initiatives should make use of all media channels available, both modern and traditional, in an integrated manner. The advent of new technologies implies that new mixes can be made, to develop more effective communication programs with vulnerable groups. And, in some cases, using traditional communication processes and media that rural people are familiar with and are already available, to be integrated at their own passes with new media, can provide the most effective solution to promote information sharing and inclusive dialogue.

6.5.15 Political Space and Context

Communication for Development is contextual. There is no universal formula capable of addressing all situations, and therefore ComDev should be applied according to the cultural, social, and economic context. As a process of empowerment, participatory communication approaches can only take place if there is political space and will on the part of government and local authorities (Balit et al. 2011). Otherwise, the local people will pay the price. An example of best practice in this sense is again the PRODERITH program, which flourished when participatory approaches were part of the government policy. When the government changed its policies, the project was forced to implement conventional communication activities for the transfer of technology (Fraser and Restrepo 1996). Authentic participation directly addresses power and its distribution in society, and usually authorities do not want to upset the status quo, even if they pay lip service to participation. Good governance, transparency, respect for freedom of expression, and human rights are essential prerequisites for successful participatory communication approaches. Shared values, commitment, and will on the part of the communities involved are also essential prerequisites.

6.5.16 Toward Inclusive Rural Communication Services

Today more than ever, there is a need for mainstreaming ComDev as part of national policies and programs to ensure dedicated communication services for rural people. This also requires new policy and financial commitments on the part of development institutions and governments, as well as policy dialogue with producer and indigenous peoples organizations, representatives of women and youth, and the private sector. To be effective, mainstreaming ComDev activities require to be grounded on solid evidence, communication research, and political commitment. It should be framed within sectoral policies and take advantage of international processes such as the UN Decade of Family Farming (2019–2028) and the SDGs.

The definition of Rural Communication Services (RCS), understood as a public good, provides a framework to promote policy dialogue, social inclusion, participatory decision-making, appropriation of the ICTs by rural people, and stronger links

between rural institutions, farmer organizations, and communities. Evidence-based approaches are needed to orient the design of RCS jointly with capacity building, advocacy initiatives, and partnerships among universities, research centers, community media, and civil society organizations, especially in the Global South.

6.5.17 No-Off-the-Shelf Solution

There is no single model for planning successful communication strategies and programs, since they deal with people, and not only with technology. Every situation is different – different audience groups, their location and distribution, their languages, their characteristics and needs, their levels of education, their access to the media, and their existing attitudes and behavior. Each group of users has a different cultural approach to information, whether they are from different regions, countries, or neighborhoods. One must tailor an information/communication activity to each group's needs and preferences. The communication objectives will be different, as well as the media that are available or most appropriate. Every situation calls for an analysis, audience research, and a strategic communication plan to implement a successful communication program.

6.6 Conclusion

What can we expect in future years? Is there an enabling environment for the discipline? The international context has changed considerably since the first specialized Unit was established in FAO. More recently the information revolution has provided communication practitioners with a wealth of new technologies and media to increase the potential of sharing knowledge in rural areas and giving people a voice. In addition the development community is seeking new approaches to overcoming the failures of the last decades, and there are many voices calling for "another development."

Apart from the overriding commitment to eradicating poverty and hunger, agricultural and rural development, natural resource management, and climate change are again priorities on the development agenda as indicated in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The challenges and emergencies are so great that the international community is supporting public agricultural policies in developing countries and discussing new investments to promote the development of rural areas.

Donors and development agencies are coordinating their efforts and demanding that ownership, dialogue, participation, and transparency become essential components of programs they contribute to. Contrary to the past, small holders and family farmers are now considered protagonists in fighting hunger, the deterioration of ecosystems, and climate change (FAO 2015). They have to be involved also in defining the type of rural communication services they should have access to, providing opportunities also for the youth to relay on those services to shorten the information divide that pushes them out of their communities.

These are all approaches that FAO has privileged when working with rural communities. And today the marriage of new information and communication technologies with other media such as radio has increased the potential and suitability of communication media outlet to reach distant audiences and work with the disadvantaged. Social media and communication networks are enabling people to voice their demands and promoting major changes in developing countries that governments can no longer ignore.

Communication for Development has many more practitioners locally, nationally, and on the international field. There are more universities and academic programs that provide courses in communication (CDC 2018). FAO has published a comprehensive e-learning Communication for Rural Development and a series of valuable manuals and tools accessible for free online (FAO 2018). There are specialized networks and platforms globally and regionally with ComDev practitioners and multiple stakeholders that facilitate exchange and experience and collaboration across regions (FAO 2018). Some of these networks publicize consultancies and assignments in the discipline. In addition to governments, partners include representatives of civil society, NGOs, and rural communities. Thus these are new opportunities for Communication for Development practitioners to contribute to the emerging development challenges.

According to Chin Saik Yoon, "The severity of the challenge to communication practitioners comes from the complexity of the problems posed by these 'new' issues, many of which have no ready solutions for communication and action, and are without precedence. They will be the big challenges of practice in the generations to come." Future generations of communication practitioners will need to develop new processes of practice to address the challenges these issues pose. The solutions will require involving multiple stakeholders and civil society, in addition to traditional partners (Saik Yoon 2010).

In the search for new approaches, it is important not to forget the many successful experiences accumulated until now that can still contribute to finding solutions to these many issues. FAO's accumulated experience with participatory communication with the poor and disadvantaged contains many principles and methodologies that are still valid for meeting new challenges. Communication practitioners will need to draw upon the best practices and lessons learned in the past and merge them with new communication methods and approaches to meet the changing needs of the of the plurality of societies we recognize in our dynamic world. Essential elements for successful and sustainable efforts will continue to be dialogued, ownership on the part of rural communities and integration with existing indigenous knowledge and communication systems.

There is a need for mainstreaming Communication for Development. UN Inter-Agency Roundtables have identified the priorities for mainstreaming the discipline (FAO 2014c). They include advocacy with policymakers, improved methods for monitoring and evaluation, and capacity building at all levels. These have been priorities since the beginning but still require action. The changing landscape also requires new commitment on the part of development institutions and governments but also the direct involvement of farmer and indigenous peoples

organizations, as well as social movements and community media and the academia to ensure the adoption of the right-based approach to communication proclaimed during the WCCD (World Bank et al. 2007). All together we need to break the barriers to participatory communication and make the case that this is the only path to ensure inclusiveness, ownership, and appropriation of development process, thus ensuring sustainability and contributing to the SDGs. Only with real commitment on the part of all stakeholders Communication for Development can finally become an essential element in development and assist in meeting the challenges of this changing world.

Disclaimer The views expressed in this publication are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

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Daniel Lerner and the Origins of Development Communication

7

Hemant Shah

Contents

7.1 Introduction 158
7.2 The Production of *Passing of Traditional Society* 158
7.3 The Reception to *Passing of Traditional Society* 159
7.4 Lerner's Influence on Development Communication Research 161
7.5 Why Does "Lerner" Persist? 164
References 165

Abstract

Daniel Lerner's 1958 book *Passing of Traditional Society* was a foundational text for mass media and modernization theory. The theory, in turn, was the basis for early approaches to development communication. Lerner's ideas were embraced by some and challenged by others. Eventually, Lerner himself engaged in a series of revisions to his theory, leaving a distillation of ideas emphasizing (a) the universality of modernization and (b) faith in technology to solve social problems. These ideas continue, in important ways, to influence the field of development communication.

Keywords

Daniel Lerner · Development communication · Development-support communication · Modernization

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7.1 Introduction

While it might be an exaggeration to say that American political scientist Daniel Lerner is the father of development communication, there is a little doubt that Lerner's ideas about the role of mass media in modernization are a clear and direct antecedent of development communication. Lerner presented his ideas about mass media and modernization in a 1958 book, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (Lerner 1958). Lerner's theory of modernization posited a model of societal transformation made possible by embracing western manufacturing technology, political structures, values, and systems of mass communication. As a policy initiative, modernization was the centerpiece of Cold War efforts to thwart the spread of Soviet communism in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. A package of western industrial organization, patterns of governance, and general lifestyles was conceived and offered up as an irresistible and obviously superior path to entering the modern postwar world.

Development communication is the art and science of using communication technology to inculcate promodernization values. As Shah (2011) notes, the phrase "development communication" largely replaced "mass media and modernization" by the 1970s. The field was further legitimized with the publication of the *Journal of Development Communication* beginning in 1990. The concept of development communication originally thought of messages as moving "top-down" – from west to non-west, elite to nonelite, expert to nonexpert, capital city to outlying areas. The purpose of these messages was to ensure a social and culture climate in which people would favorably receive ideas from outside their systems of thought.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the concept of "development-support communication" was coined to capture new emphases, initiatives, and theoretical approaches to development that were rooted in concepts of participation and empowerment of people at the grass-roots. "Development-support communication" signaled the use of horizontally networked information flow (as opposed to top-down models) not simply as an input into modernization but as a way of supporting people's aspiration for control over their resources and basic needs (Shah 2011: 7). Development-support communication was not much different from development communication (Melkote and Steeves 2001). Shah (2008) further noted that development-support communication, while it was not top-down, was frequently "outside-in," meaning that western experts with particular values and institutional biases were still highly influential. In any case, several reviews of the literature have shown that some elements of Lerner's model remained touchstones for scholars, policy makers, and practitioners alike, albeit less and less frequently as time passed (Fair 1989; Fair and Shah 1997; Shah 2007).

7.2 The Production of *Passing of Traditional Society*

Since *Passing of Traditional Society* is central to the origins of development communication as a field of study, it is informative to examine origins of the book itself. The book was a "production," Shah (2011) notes, in the sense that it is an outcome of a research process embedded in a particular postwar political and cultural economy. The specific methods, conceptual frameworks, and theoretical linkages described in

the book, as well as the specific policy implications thereof, were possible – imaginable – only at *that* particular historical moment. However, the general idea that the west is superior to the "rest" can be traced much further back in history than 1958. The perspective that people outside the Euro-American fold are inferior goes back at least to the fifteenth century "voyages of discovery" undertaken by the sailing fleets from Portugal, Spain, and England. A discourse that counterpoised the superiority of Europeans and the inferiority of non-Europeans emerged during this time and justified conquest, plunder, and murder of peoples throughout Africa, Asia, and the "new world" of the Americas. This discourse, which Edward Said labeled "Orientalism," persists to this day in many ways and continues to be employed to justify newer – and older – forms of western colonialism and imperialism (Said 1979).

During the Second World War, academics from a variety of disciplines served in various arms of government and military service (Cravens 2004; Rogers 1994; Smith 1994). They deployed their skills to address the problems associated with winning a war. They also formed social networks based on their shared intellectual interests. These networks transferred quite easily into civilian life after the war when the academics went back to their positions as professors and administrators at leading American universities. Some of these academics became heavily involved in discussions about crafting postwar foreign policy. Indeed, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, a handful of these academics were central to the first articulations of a nascent modernization theory, which helped American leaders legitimize Cold War policies to compete geopolitically in strategic locations such as the Middle East. The intellectual network for modernization thinking was interdisciplinary, spanning a number of fields including sociology, political science, economics, psychology, anthropology, ethnic and racial studies, and mass communication. As modernization emerged as a theoretical construct from discussions in conferences, seminars, and consultancies, a scholarly consensus emerged over a relatively short period of time as to the meaning and relevance of the idea. The production of *Passing of Traditional Society* played a significant part in the formation of this consensus.

Lerner's book is a production in a second sense, also. As Lerner moved through life – as a college student, military officer, researcher, and esteemed Ivy League professor – he was shaped by a number of personal experiences and intellectual influences. For example, Lerner learned statistical methods, embraced comparative cross-national approaches, and identified Harold Lasswell and Talcott Parsons as his "theoretical heroes." Lerner also found his gift for languages and literary analysis useful as he moved toward the opportunity that resulted in the writing of *Passing of Traditional Society*. The book is a product, Shah (2011) has shown, of a personal assemblage of specific research skills, disciplinary dogma, a system of values, and a vision of America's superiority and liberal altruism.

7.3 The Reception to *Passing of Traditional Society*

Lerner's book received positive and negative reviews. On the one hand, the book was praised at the time of its publication for its "solid social science" (Badeau 1959) and its impact on all meaningful studies of the Middle East and other modernizing cultures as well (Berger 1958). Even more recently, the book has

been called the "seminal work" (Posusney 2004) and the "locus classicus" (Levy and Banerjee 2008) in the field of development communication.

However, reviews of *Passing of Traditional Society* were not uniformly positive. Criticism came from many sides, as Shah (2011) notes. Conservative thinker Edward Banfield (1959) said some societies were fated to remain backward: "The American Indian, for example, has had extensive aid for decades, but he is still in most cases very far from belonging to the modern world." Another conservative thinker, Samuel Huntington (1965), thought that rather than promoting political stability, modernization could just as easily create instability in the postcolonial world, which was not in the interest of the United States. Rather than promoting modernization, Huntington argued, the United States ought to be preventing modernization. The sharpest criticisms came from scholars in the postcolonial world. In a representative comment, the Pakistani economist Inayatullah (1967: 100) said: "[Modernization] presupposes that because the 'traditional' societies have not risen to the higher level of technological development in comparison to the Western society, they are sterile, unproductive, uncreative, and hence worth liquidating."

Responding to criticism of *Passing of Traditional Society* and the course of historical events, Lerner made some minor and some not-so-minor adjustments to his theory. Following a military coup in Turkey in 1960, he acknowledged that too-rapid urbanization may lead to social and political instability in the form of a "revolution of rising frustration" in which aspirations outruns achievements (Lerner and Robinson 1960). Other revisions included revising the "traditional-modern" dichotomy (Shah 2011: 135), accepting that the modernization process was neither universal nor linear (Shah 2011: 135), and acknowledging that urbanization, the first step in his theory of modernization, could be counterproductive (Shah 2011: 140).

One quite important revision Lerner made in his thinking about modernization occurred in 1975. At a conference at the East-West Center in Honolulu, Lerner prepared a paper titled "Research in Group Communication: A Retrospective Note." In the paper, Lerner linked for the first time his theory of modernization to Tönnies's society (*Gesselschaft*) and community (*Gemeinschaft*) dichotomy. Lerner saw the connection between Tönnies' descriptions of the rural migrants who left their community behind, became urban industrial workers, changed their ways of life and became part of society, and the modernization-theory idea of traditional to transitional to modern transformation in postcolonial nations. "But," Lerner wrote, "Tönnies misled us. By focusing our concern on *Gesselschaft* . . . he diverted our attention away from the continuing life of the *Gemeinschaft*" (Lerner 1975). Lerner cited anthropologists Robert Redfield (1930) and Oscar Lewis (1951) to argue that it was clear now that "Gemeinschaft did not simply pass out of history." Community continued to exist with and even develop important new roles within the larger society. Lerner's argument represented a most radical departure from his modernization theory. By acknowledging that community did not pass away, that the community survived *in* society, he was saying that traditional society *does not pass*. Lerner was directly undermining the very premise – and the title – of the book that put him on the modernization map.

7.4 Lerner's Influence on Development Communication Research

Twenty years after Lerner published *Passing of Traditional Society*, he still believed passionately that the western model of modernization was superior to all others and the western media and western experts could diffuse the model worldwide if only they could better communicate the virtues of western values and institutions. But as to the specific elements of his model, Lerner had revised his views, rethought central concepts, and refined variables not only to account for critiques from fellow academics but also the reality of rising frustration with and opposition to western-style modernization in postcolonial regions. How potent were the remaining ideas? How attractive have they been for social scientists still experimenting with social change in the postcolonial world? Partial answers were provided in a set of meta-research studies focused on the published research literature on development communication.

Shah (2011) reviewed three separate meta-research projects, collectively spanning from 1958 to 2006, on development communication. The first of the three projects examined 224 studies published between 1958 and 1986 (Fair 1989); the second focused on 140 items published between 1987 and 1996 (Fair and Shah 1997); and the third examined 183 studies published between 1997 and 2006 (Shah 2007). Each of the three projects focused on English-language books, book chapters, and academic journal articles that dealt with the role of radio, television, newspapers, magazines, and new communication technology in the process of development (primarily social and economic improvement, broadly conceived). Though the three time periods are not equivalent and the historical contexts each study covers are different, the data and analyses in these papers speak to the question about the extent to which and the way in which Lerner's ideas have been used by scholars in the area of development communication since the publication of *Passing of Traditional Society*. Presented below are some of the relevant results from the three research projects and some discussion of their significance.

Table 1 shows how researchers defined development in two time periods (no data was available on this topic for the 1958–1986 time period). In the 1987–1996 period, we see what may be the influence of Lerner's theory, as more than 55% of the studies defined development in terms of being or becoming "modern." In the 1997–2006 time period, there are more definitions of development and only about one-quarter of the studies refer directly to becoming "modern," though raising living standards and democratic development might well be considered consistent with Lerner's ideas of economic participation and political participation.

Table 2 shows the extent to which Lerner's theory is used to think about mass media impact on development. Lerner's modernization model was used in nearly one-third of the studies conducted between 1958 and 1986, and in about 14% of the studies conducted between 1997 and 2006. In the middle time period, Lerner's theory did not receive any attention, at least by direct reference. It is conceivable, however, that "agenda-setting" or "social learning" may have been in reference to the empathy process. The clear trend, however, is that Lerner's modernization model per se is invoked less frequently over time as alternative models of thinking about

Table 1 Conceptual definitions of development

1987–1996 ($n = 126$)		1997–2006 ($n = 115$)	
Traditional-to-modern transformation	34.1%	Raise living standards	28.7%
Modern attitudes	22.2	Modern attitudes	20.9
Meeting basic needs	15.9	Health education	13.0
Self-reliance	15.1	Social change	7.8
Raise living standards	6.3	Democratic development	6.1
National integration	6.3	Meeting basic needs	5.2
		Traditional-to modern transformation	3.4
		Self-reliance	3.4
		National integration	3.4

Totals add up to more than 100% because of rounding

Table 2 Media theories about media impact on development

1958–1986 ($n = 80$)		1987–1996 ($n = 58$)		1997–2006 ($n = 86$)	
Lerner model	30.8%	Participatory communication	37.8%	Participatory communication	20.9
Indirect effect	16.9	Information environment	11.1	Social Learning	19.7
Knowledge gap	16.9	Indirect effects	6.7	Lerner model	13.9
Uses and gratifications	13.8	Knowledge gap	6.7	Conscientization	9.3
Two-step flow	13.8	Agenda setting	6.7	Public sphere	6.9
		Uses and gratifications	4.4	Digital divide	6.9
		Social learning	4.4	Hegemony	6.9
		Cultivation	2.2	Knowledge gap	4.6
		Direct effects	2.2	Media imperialism	4.6
		Feminist	2.2	Dependency	3.5
		Public sphere	2.2		

Totals add up to more than 100% because of multiple coding

modernization or development had been formulated. In the second edition of *Passing of Traditional Society,* Lerner hoped new models would render his model obsolete. One wonders, though, to what extent Lerner would have welcomed theoretical models arising (in the 1997–2006 time period) from a neo-Marxist tradition (hegemony, media imperialism, and dependency) and from various critical perspectives (such as participatory communication, conscientization, public sphere, and digital divide).

As time passed, researchers examined more and more mediating variables in their studies of modernization, including those that had been suggested by Lerner in his writings after *Passing of Traditional Society.* Table 3 shows the increasing number of

Table 3 Mediating variables included in development communication research

1958–1986 ($n = 224$)		1987–1996 ($n = 129$)		1997–2006 ($n = 80$)	
Interpersonal communication	21.7%	Interpersonal communication	13.1%	Gender	25.6%
Literacy	21.6	Government policies	12.1	Local culture	21.2
Educational level	10.2	Political economy	8.5	Infrastructure	10.6
Socioeconomic status	7.4	Local culture	7.2	Literacy	6.2
Gender	3.5	Message credibility	6.9	Media access	6.2
Infrastructure	2.4	Infrastructure	6.2	Interpersonal communication	5.3
Cost of media	2.0	Media access	6.2	Spirituality	3.5
		Literacy	5.2	Race and ethnicity	3.5
		Socioeconomic status	4.3	Local politics	3.5
		Capitalism	3.9	Language	2.7
		Educational level	3.0	Cost of media	1.8
		Gender	1.0	Technology	1.8
				Socioeconomic status	1.8

Totals add up to more than 100% because of multiple coding

mediating variables considered by these researchers even as literacy, socioeconomic status, and media-related variables, which were the core of Lerner's original model, continue to be included in later studies.

In Table 4, we see that the consequences of development communication are somewhat in line with Lerner's predictions – that is, media activate the modernization process, raise knowledge levels, and create a more participatory society. These three outcomes of development communication account for significant proportions of consequences mentioned in all three time periods, indicating that researchers were thinking about the impact of development communication in ways consistent with Lerner's general ideas about mass media and modernization. It should be noted also that the two other consequences listed are associated with views critical of modernization – that media create development problems and that media benefit certain classes. The rate with which these negative consequences are mentioned increased dramatically over time, indicating recognition among researchers of the complexity and ambivalence of the modernization process, which Lerner also acknowledged though he likely would not have framed the problem in the language of class conflict.

Shah (2011) summarized the meta-research projects as follows: "The[y] show that the study of development communication is much more conceptually and theoretically complex than when Lerner contemplated writing *Passing of Traditional Society* and Lerner's ideas about a broadly universal and teleological model of societal change based on western history were no longer widely supported in development communication research. And yet, some of the variables, descriptions,

Table 4 Consequences of development communication

	1958–1986 ($n = 224$)	1987–1996 ($n = 140$)	1997–2006 ($n = 148$)
Media activate modernization	36.4%	27.4%	44.0%
Media raise knowledge and awareness	–	25.0	41.9
Media create participatory society	–	10.7	27.8
Media create development problems	13.3	15.5	23.0
Media benefit only certain classes	15.4	31.0	21.0

Totals add up to more than 100% because of multiple coding

vocabulary related to Lerner's modernization theory continue to persist in more recent studies."

7.5 Why Does "Lerner" Persist?

By the end of his life, Lerner had revised his theory to the extent that only the basic propositions remained intact: that modernization was a psychosocial system of change, that the core variables were literacy, mass media, and participation (urbanization had diminished in importance) and that western media could help change the lifeways of traditional societies. The linear mechanism of modernization that Lerner had precisely outlined had given way to multiple paths and the explanatory power of the concepts "modern" and "traditional" had diminished considerably. However, Lerner remained fairly confident in his view that the Western model of democratic capitalist society was superior to any other system. Thus, when we say Lerner persists, we ought to say "Lerner" persists, to indicate that it was a certain distillation of his thought that continues to appear in development communication research and remains influential in some ways on the field of development communication. Though it would be a stretch to say "Lerner" *is* modernization, his ideas certainly were foundational to the growing literature on modernization from the 1960s onward.

One reason "Lerner" persists is because it helps modernizers define themselves first, as exceptional and special and, second, as benevolent and altruistic. How is this self-conception sustained, Gilbert Rist (1997) has asked, in the face of heavy criticism of modernization theory and evidence that the modernization in practice only occasionally followed the anticipated singular path? It is because, said Rist, for modernizers, modernization is the truth and "the Truth cannot lie." Thus, when failings are acknowledged they are always attributed to faulty implementations (e.g., the postcolonial countries urbanized too fast), human failings (e.g., some people in the postcolonial world do not have sufficient capacity to empathize), or lack of information (e.g., we were not good enough at communicating how to avoid

a revolution of rising frustration). Most postwar American development communication specialists viewed their message as correct. The core of that message was the "Truth" that American values and institutions were the epitome of postwar modernity. As Lerner (1965) put it, American modernity was the new Enlightenment, rescued from the horrors of world wars, concentration camps, and atomic bombs. American modernizers stood ready to teach backward people how to become modern. That mass media would take a central role in this tutelage is not surprising given that Lerner worked as a propaganda specialist during World War II.

For the true believers, the obstacles to modernization resided in the realm of technique and technology, not in the realm of ideas, and even less in the realm of ideology. In *Passing of Traditional Society*, Lerner identified radio and cinema as key vehicles for teaching people to be modern. As new technologies of communication emerged and diffused around the world – television, satellites, computers – Lerner was confident that they could revitalize modernization theory and practice. Lerner's faith in technology to solve a social problem places him in a long line of scholars who "all think that the imperfections of human interchange can be redressed by improved technology or techniques" (Peters 1999: 11).

The reason Lerner's dictum that mass communication is a key input into the modernization process continues to have such power, it seems, is that despite the somewhat limited explanatory power of modernization theory, development communicators have faith that if technical problems are solved – if more people can be reached, if access can be improved, if connectivity can be enhanced, if service can be provided for longer periods of time, – then mass media can surely, eventually, fulfill its potential as a multiplier of predicted economic, social, and political benefits of modernization. And this vision is also seductively open ended; a fact that ensures continued innovation and experimentation in the technique and technology of message delivery alongside an unshakable Lernerian confidence in the message itself.

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The Pax Americana and Development

8

P. Eric Louw

Contents

8.1 Differences Between Informal and Formal Empires 168
8.2 The Origins of the Post-World War II "Development" Idea 171
8.3 Some Difference Between American and British Conceptions of "Development" 173
8.4 Assumptions Underpinning Pax Americana "Development" 176
8.4.1 Jefferson's "Empire of Liberty" 176
8.4.2 Universalizing "Democratic Capitalism" 177
8.4.3 A Wilsonian Informal Empire 178
8.4.4 Continuities and Discontinuities Between American and British Models 180
8.5 The Mutating "Development Industry" 182
8.5.1 Development as Modernization 182
8.5.2 Critics of Modernization 185
8.5.3 Modernization Revived 188
8.6 And What of the Future? 190
References 191

Abstract

Development in its many iterations was born from the needs of the Pax Americana to create reliable and competent compradors, plus viable trading partners in order that its post-1945 informal empire would function. This chapter will examine the way the Pax Americana replaced Europe's formal empires, the reason informal empires need comprador partners, and the difficulties encountered by the Pax Americana with identifying and appointing satisfactory comprador partners. The relationship between this "comprador problem" and the founding of a development industry and aid industry will be unpacked, as will the core assumption underpinning Pax Americana "development." The

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differences between Pax Americana and Pax Britannica governance and development will also be examined, as will the continuities and discontinuities between these two varieties of imperialism.

The idea of "development" emerged in the 1950s as one of the consequences of how World War II transformed the world by replacing British global hegemony with the Pax Americana (see Louw PE Roots of the Pax Americana. Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2010). Before this war European empires (especially the British Empire) straddled the globe, while the USA found itself in the frustrating position of being a new rising global power which kept finding its opportunities for expanding its trade thwarted by the fact the Europeans had gotten there first. And so, even before America had entered World War II, the US State Department had established working committees charged with conceptualizing how to terminate European imperialism through decolonization (O'Sullivan CD Sumner Welles, postwar planning, and the quest for a new world order. Columbia University Press, New York, 2008: chapter 4), plus how to replace Europe's formal empires with an American informal empire. After 1945, American power was used to implement this State Department planning such that Europe's empires were deconstructed and a Pax American trading empire constructed in their place. This shift from formal empire to informal empire is significant because it created conditions that produced the "development" phenomenon.

Keywords

Asian decolonization · Dependency theory · Human rights-driven foreign policy · Jeffersonian "cloning" model · Modernization · New International Economic Order (NIEO) · Pax Americana development

8.1 Differences Between Informal and Formal Empires

The building of a Pax Americana represented more than a global shift of power across the Atlantic; it also signaled a new way of organizing global governance because the Americans exercise their global hegemony quite differently to how the British exercised theirs. At heart, the difference between pre- and post-1945 global governance is due to the fact that Britain ran a formal empire and America runs an informal empire. A summary of the differences between these two empires can be found in Table 1.

A key to understanding American hegemony is how decolonization was undertaken after 1945 and how this necessarily led to the growth of "development." Three features of this decolonization process are noteworthy.

Firstly, the Pax Americana retained the same administrative units created by the European imperialists (e.g., Iraq, Nigeria, Indonesia) and gave them independence as Woodrow Wilson's self-determination model (Louw 2010: 29–33) was rolled out globally. Most of these administrative entities made no "political" sense because they were not based on linguistic, ethnic, or religious bonds. Generally they were artificial

Table 1 Differences between the British and American empires

Pax Britannica (formal empire)	Pax Americana (informal empire)
British annexed foreign territory and ran up the British flag	Foreign territory not annexed
Dispatched British occupation army	Independent states have their own armies which America often helps train. America uses an alliance system which it dominates (e.g., NATO). American-led (multilateral) occupation armies only rarely dispatched (e.g., Germany, Japan, Afghanistan, Iraq)
British-ran police systems in each occupied territory	Independent states have their own police force which America often helps train
British-ran judicial systems in each occupied territory (with privy Council in London as final court of appeal)	Independent states run their own judiciaries. But power of international court to impose "international will" is growing
British governor oversaw political process in each occupied territory. (political processes had various levels of "local participation" and various levels "autonomy" from Britain)	No American governors in the informal empire. Instead, America encourages "comprador elites" within independent states
Local economies were restructured to suit British economic interests	Local economies restructured to suit American economic interests, but this is achieved through intervention of American corporations, American aid, and World Bank (rather than direct American government policymaking)
British merchants emigrated to colonies (to network these colonies with London)	American corporations dispatch some staff to foreign states, but control mostly exercised via telecommunications, short-term visits, or comprador managers
British built infrastructures such as railways, ports, roads, hospitals, schools, universities, irrigation, electricity/water/sewerage, and telecommunications. This involved building British-run bureaucracies in each colony to administer and develop these territories	America builds no foreign infrastructure and runs no overseas bureaucracy. However, a system of multilateral organizations (UN, World Bank, etc.) operates as a "neo-imperial bureaucracy"
Colonial economies tied to London (often via system of imperial preferences)	Foreign economies tied to New York through American corporations and American dominance of global financial system
Britain ran a global system of maritime trade routes (protected by globally dispersed naval bases) and a global telegraph system	America runs a global system of maritime and aviation trade routes (protected by globally dispersed naval and air force bases) and a global telecommunications system

constructs created when Europe's imperialists randomly drew boundaries on a map. The new states often threw together people with no desire to inhabit the same state and who often harbored historical animosities toward one other.

However, these administrative units were useful for the Pax Americana because they had been developed by European imperialists as economic entities. And the Pax Americana, an informal (trading) empire, was fundamentally interested in these

states' economies (as trading partners), not in their political difficulties. So what America wanted was for the "economic entities" created by Europeans (e.g., Iraq or Indonesia) to keep functioning. But within the new world order, they were to be tied to New York (rather than London, Amsterdam, Paris, etc.). What the Pax Americana needed was effectively run sovereign states since such states formed the basis for functioning liberal-capitalism (Mandelbaum 2002: 77). Americans naively believed one could simply transform imperial administrative/economic entities into new functioning sovereign nation states. Herbst (2000) has shown this was not the case.

Secondly, in each administrative entity created by European imperialism, a Westernized middle class had emerged. These Westernized middle classes lived in the cities and were a minority of their country's population. To maintain their Western middle-class lifestyles, the economies built by the colonials needed to be maintained. America saw these Westernized middle classes as "natural allies" (comprador partners) of the Pax Americana and advocated power be transferred to them. Where European colonial possessions did not have "native" middle-class populations large enough to run independent states, America pushed the colonial powers to actively build such middle-class populations. Successfully rolling out the American informal empire model meant transferring power to local Westernized elites, who stepped into the shoes of departing colonials (Fanon 1968: 152) – effectively becoming administrators of new independent states serving American economic interests. The model was based on the idea of a synergy between America (which needed comprador partners in its far-flung informal empire) and Westernized minorities in each new state (who needed powerful overseas allies to help them maintain their affluent lifestyles and often precarious hold on power). Consequently, the Pax Americana came to be characterized by comprador partnerships based on mutual need. America ruled "indirectly" and "informally" through comprador allies. Thus, independence often brought not "liberty," but rule by compradors who were often corrupt, brutal, and inept. But not all these Westernized populations turned into the "natural allies" America had anticipated. Instead, some African, Asian, and Latin American middle classes became radicalized and aligned themselves with the Soviet Union. This resulted in America slowing down its push for decolonization during the 1950s. But this slowdown did not end America to push for the development of middle-class comprador-building – instead it simply saw the European colonial powers pushed into the running of "development" programs which were to build moderate middle-class elites and thereby prepare backward colonies to become independent as reliable trading partners.

Thirdly, the ruling elites of these new states were allowed to have their flags and symbols of "independence" as long as they conformed to the rules of the game – i.e., power effectively shifted from European empires to (non-state) multilateral financial organizations (e.g., IMF, WTO, World Bank), with American control of the global financial and monetary system constituting the new locus of global governance (Underhill 2000). Within the Pax Americana, the role of independent states is to "administer" the "linkages" of a global trading system (e.g., foreign affairs, finance, and defense) (Cox 1987: 228), thereby facilitating a global market (Underhill 2000: 131). The rulers of these states operate as de facto functionaries of America's

globalized trading system. The Pax Britannica's colonial administrators fulfilled similar roles within Britain's globalized trading system. But whereas the "rules" Britons administered were openly (and proudly) "imperial," the Pax Americana disguises its "rules" through multilateralism.

But, of course, before the Pax American could be established, the European empires had to go; and that was achieved through decolonization.

8.2 The Origins of the Post-World War II "Development" Idea

Franklin Roosevelt strongly pushed for decolonization; so during his presidency, anticolonialism was placed firmly onto America's foreign policy agenda. Domestically Roosevelt's progressive liberalism created the New Deal. Significantly, Roosevelt's team wanted to internationalize this New Deal – i.e., develop interventionist foreign policies that would "socially engineer" and "change" foreign societies to make them conform to Democratic Party's dreams of "progress." This shifted America toward a human rights-driven foreign policy – and important part of which was promoting decolonization (which would conveniently remove those European empires blocking the creation of a Pax Americana). Roosevelt effectively flagged the link between decolonization and "development" during a Press Conference for the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association when he spoke about a stopover in Britain's colony of Gambia. In this important statement about America's "development idea," Roosevelt said:

> It's the most horrible thing I have ever seen in my life. The natives are five thousand years back of us. Disease is rampant. . .for every dollar that the British. . .have put into Gambia, they have taken out ten. It's just plain exploitation of those people. There is no education whatsoever. . .the agriculture there is perfectly pitiful. . .the natives grow a lot of peanuts. . .and they still use a pointed stick. Nobody ever saw a plow in Gambia. The British have never done a thing about it. Now, as I say, we have got to realize that in a country like Gambia – and there are a lot of them down there – the people, who are in the overwhelming majority, have no possibility of self-government for a long time. But we have got to move. . .to teach them self-government. That means education, it means sanitation. (Roosevelt 1944)

Importantly, this Roosevelt statement encodes America's decolonization vision of "development," "trusteeship," plus how "development" will culturally transform/Westernize primitive people through "education." The State Department built both its 1950–1960 decolonization and development policies upon this Rooseveltian vision.

Once World War II ended, "decolonization" shifted from being "an idea" to a "political project." But decolonization-as-project became a complex affair because the US State Department had to deal with complex new post-war realities. The key issue necessitating some rethinking was the emergence of a Soviet Union powerful enough to block a full global rollout of a Pax Americana. Instead the world was divided into a Soviet-aligned communist bloc and a USA-aligned Western bloc. This meant that as European empires were deconstructed after World War II, the Americans could not guarantee new independent states became part of their informal

empire. Instead Cold War competition meant decolonized states might end up as Soviet allies. This produced America's new core concern of containing the spread of communism – which meant reconceptualizing "decolonization." As a result, between 1945 and 1965, three iterations of decolonization emerged:

- Rapid Asian self-determination (1940s)
- Cold War gradualism and trusteeship (1950–1957)
- Abandoning gradualism for rushed independence (from 1958)

The Asian decolonization phase happened before Cold War concerns caused America to reconsider their original Rooseveltian plan. However, from 1950 to 1957, a gradualist approach to decolonization was applied. This 1950s gradualism was associated with three themes: firstly, the idea of "trusteeship" and Third World "development," secondly, constructing Third World nationalist elites to govern decolonized states, and thirdly, blocking Third World communists from gaining control of decolonized states. Faced with the threat the Soviets might breach Truman's containment lines by winning allies among new Third World ruling elites, Washington decided to rigorously manage future decolonizations to ensure outcomes favorable to America. Effectively, Washington decided the continuance of European empires was preferable to creating independent Third World states ruled by communists. This did not mean America abandoned its long-term vision of a thoroughly decolonized world wherein new states were tied into America's informal empire through a system of comprador partners. But it did mean reaching this goal would now be more difficult and drawn out, might necessitate short-term Washington support for maintaining Europe's empires (as long as these empires were liberalizing themselves), and might even involve American support for counterinsurgency wars against communist-aligned anticolonial activists. So under Truman a new decolonization model emerged that placed much greater emphasis on "development" – a form of "development" that America pushed the European colonial powers to carry out. Essentially, America wanted to ensure that, at independence, power was handed over to moderate ruling elites who functioned as reliable Pax Americana comprador partners. This new Pax Americana position took some pressure off Europe's empires, because America was now open to European arguments that some colonies were not ready for independence – after all Roosevelt's Gambia speech had acknowledged "the natives are five thousand years back of us. . .[and]. . . have no possibility of self-government for a long time" (Roosevelt 1944). Consequently, in the early 1950s, the Europeans and Americans reached agreement that African colonies were too backward to be granted independence; and US State Department Africa policymakers began making statements like: "premature independence for primitive, uneducated people can do them more harm than good" (Metz 1984: 521–522). A widespread feeling grew in the State Department that European empires were keeping Africa as a "stable and secure" area for the West (Metz 1984: 521), that colonialism in Africa was "progressive" because it was developing backward areas into economically viable states and modernizing Africa (Metz 1984: 521), and that it would take a long time to "fully prepare" Africa for

independence and it would be detrimental to grant independence before this development process was completed (Metz 1984: 521). Consequently, for much of the 1950s, the State Department held the view that "the only obvious result of severing the colonial relationship before the sufficient development of the economy and political system would be chaos, a situation conducive to communist penetration" (Metz 1984: 521). So this was the context within which the post-World War II development industry was born.

For the British, French, Portuguese, and Belgians, this shift in US thinking was a godsend. They all concluded this new American "realism" gave them the opportunity to "salvage" their African empires as long as three conditions were met – America insisted upon (liberalized) "development" of the colonies (to build viable trading partners for the Pax Americana); maintaining open trading/no imperial tariff barriers was nonnegotiable (i.e., America insisted upon trading access to these colonies while they were being developed); sociopolitical stability had to be maintained in these African colonies while future nationalist ruling elites were being nurtured into existence through "development."

But in 1958 the ground shifted again when US policymakers suddenly panicked about their 1950s policy of gradualism. This policy shift seems to have been triggered by Nkrumah hosting the All-African People's Congress in 1958. Thereafter the State Department concluded that if decolonization did not happen rapidly, the West was in danger of losing Africa to the Soviets through the rise of radicals and revolution, because as Joseph Satterthwaite, the first assistant secretary of state for African affairs, said "1958 was a landmark year when things changed because the political situation in Africa became 'vibrant if not effervescent'" (Metz 1984: 524). But far from ending the need for "development," this shift to rapid decolonization actually increased the need for "development" because it meant independence was now going to be granted to ruling groups not deemed to have enough skills to run these states and economies. As British Colonial Secretary Ian MacLeod said: "Were the counties fully ready for independence? Of course not" (Shepherd 1994: 256). Consequently, the model shifted after 1959 to providing post-independence "development" which meant instead of "development" being provided by colonial administrations, a new "development industry" had to grow up outside the old colonial administrative arrangements. This shift also ended any residual European empire notions of "development" (which had still been evident in the 1950s) and generated a development model that more fully conformed Pax Americana conceptualizations.

8.3 Some Difference Between American and British Conceptions of "Development"

Because there were differences between America's (informal) and Britain's (formal) approaches to empire, there were also differences between how these two different empires understood what they were trying to do and hence how they conceptualized "development." Understanding these different visions is instructive.

Firstly, because both formal and informal empires were geared to building trading partners, both had a vested interest in "development." However, when the British encountered weak states and people whom they deemed unable to govern themselves well enough to be viable trading partners, they took control themselves by annexing these areas into their empire and then actively intervening to establish what they deemed satisfactory governance and infrastructures for commerce and trade to flourish (Gallagher 1982: 7). So Britons took direct responsibility for "development" by going into the field to impose ("British") order, build infrastructures, and establish businesses. America, on the other hand, prefers not to take such direct responsibility for establishing the governance and infrastructures needed for trade. Instead, Americans prefer local comprador partners to do this for them. This means the Pax Americana faces difficulties the Pax Britannica did not – i.e., because the British appointed their own governors and officials they could ensure quality control over governance. In the Pax Americana, if compradors turn out to be corrupt, incompetent, or simply demagogues (as has often been the case), Washington cannot fire them the way London could fire its governors (instead Washington has to mount expensive "regime change" operations). This is one of the reasons the Pax Americana has generated so many instances of poor governance, corruption, and failed states.

Secondly, there are differences between the Pax Americana and Pax Britannica notions of "development." Lord Lugard (who had a major influence on British Colonial Office policy from the 1920s) argued the British Empire had a "dual mandate" to develop British trading interests and to simultaneously progress the "native" peoples materially and morally (Lugard 1922). Lugard's vision of development was, like America's, grounded in the promotion of global trade. He believed Britain's imperial interventions (driven by trade) were not only good for Britain but were also good for natives of the colonial possessions, because Britain's efforts to build trade generated employment/wealth and diffused skills in Africa and Asia. Lugard's key development argument was that Britain should train "native" middle managers. These native middle managers (rather than white colonial officials) would become the "face" of British governance with whom local people actually interacted on a daily basis. He saw this as part of a civilizing mission in which the wealth derived from trade was used to train locals in the art of good governance. Significantly, Lugard aimed to leave existing native authorities largely intact. Training would empower the traditional authorities by giving them the ability to govern effectively and thereby the ability to protect their local native producers (and their culture) against the intrusion of white planter economies. Within this Lugardian vision, Britain's empire was a "trustee" for development and a long-term "training academy in liberal democracy" (Owen 1999: 193). It is important to note the Lugardian "development" model differs from the Pax Americana "development" model, because Pax Americana development is geared to producing Third World middle-class elites who are Westernized (i.e., "clones" of middle-class America), whereas Lugard's model was geared to actually preserving existing local authorities and cultures, but then grafting onto these the techniques of good governance. So in the British model, the local middle managers would not resemble the British middle

class, but would rather be "translaters" between their own local culture and the culture of the British Colonial Office for whom they worked. In other words, British Empire "development" did not promote a middle-class social engineering model of radically transforming society (into new middle-class-led "nation states"). Rather, it was a gradualist development model promising to incrementally transform the empire into a multiracial Commonwealth based on confederalism and cultural pluralism (an outcome quite different to the Pax Americana model of secularized independent nation states governed by Westernized compradors).

After World War II, the British Colonial Office necessarily adjusted itself to the reality of the Pax Americana and abandoned the Lugardian approach in favor of America's preference for developing (Westernized) middle-class elites prepared to run secular-liberal nation states and serve as comprador partners of America's empire. This policy shift to "modernization" was put into effect by the Colonial Development and Welfare Act 1945. This produced a "development industry" geared to preparing Europe's empires for independence by "developing" urban middle classes with the necessary political, economic, and administrative skills to lead each imperial possession to independence. Hence, "development" effectively meant "liberalization" – i.e., an attempt to promote liberal democracy and capitalism in these new Third World states. Because this was essentially an exercise in Westernization, the provision of Western education to Asians and Africans was a central feature of this development process that ran from the mid-1940s to the late 1950s. Unfortunately for the Pax Americana, this form of development had the unintended consequence of producing radicalized middle classes who demanded immediate independence (Gallagher 1982: 148). And refusing to grant independence threatened to produce (Soviet-funded) armed rebellion and communist governments. To halt this radicalization process, the USA insisted that independence be granted to many Third World states before the "development" process had been completed – i.e., before they were deemed "ready" for independence (Goldsworthy 1971: 363). For the Pax Americana, this generated the problem of underdeveloped states ill-prepared to be valuable members of America's trading network. As a result, Westerners concluded "underdeveloped" states (who prefer to call themselves "the developing world") needed to be taught, through "development" programs, the appropriate skills to govern themselves and run Western economies (so they could become reliable trading partners within the Pax Americana). And this produced a new type of "development industry" – one focused on already-independent states deemed poorly organized – i.e., "underdeveloped" states that still need to learn how to organize themselves economically and politically.

These underdeveloped states have presented Washington with a particular set of challenges. They are weak, fragile, or even failed states characterized by poor governance, corruption, poor infrastructures, and a lack of the cultural capital required to organize or develop themselves into the sort of "nation states" preferred by Washington. Their weakness and poor governance make them precisely the sort of places the British Empire would have annexed in order to establish satisfactory conditions for commerce and trade. But what can Washington do to create satisfactory conditions for commerce and trade given that America (unlike Britain) does not

run a formal empire, claims to be morally opposed to "imperialism," and does not possess the sort of ruling class capable and prepared to govern distant colonies? The Pax Americana's solution has been the growth of a "development industry" (geared to "teaching" good governance and building cultural capital and functioning infrastructures). In effect, the "development industry" was deployed as an alternative to formal imperialism (where imperialists directly intervened to establish "satisfactory conditions"). The informal empire approach involves trying to "improve conditions" through pedagogy, persuasion, and consultation.

So what is the nature of the "development" being undertaken? Answering this question requires unpacking some key assumptions of the Pax Americana's style of "development."

8.4 Assumptions Underpinning Pax Americana "Development"

Americans came to see themselves as "exceptional." And once they came to believe that the American way of life, social order, and political system was self-evidently superior, it was easy to reach the conclusion the whole world would benefit from adopting America's sociopolitical and economic system. This belief in the superiority of "the American way" underpins America's preferred model of "development" and social change. At heart, this model can be traced back to Jefferson's conceptualization of spreading American "liberty" westward across the continent to the Pacific.

8.4.1 Jefferson's "Empire of Liberty"

Jefferson's "empire of liberty" was premised upon the notion that American "democracy," "freedom," and state formation were simply superior. Jefferson advocated spreading the American model across the American continent within an "Enlightenment vision of a benign imperial order" (Onuf 2000: 53). Spreading this model across North America necessarily involved taking control of territory and then reconfiguring that territory politically, economically, and socially until a new "state" was deemed ready ("developed" enough) for incorporation into the Union. Each of these new states replicated America's model of state-building. Hence, rolling out the 50 states across the continent involved a cloning process. It was also an intensely imperialist process of incorporating other people's territory into America's own political formation. The result was America's first empire – an empire based on conquest, colonization, and cloning. In this way Jefferson's republican union spread irresistibly westward through a proliferation (cloning) of "free republican states" (Onuf 2000: 53). The irony is, this process of westward expansion and state formation ultimately produced an American political culture at war with itself – i.e., those Americans morally opposed to imperialism and colonialism must now either obfuscate their own history or oppose American villainy. On the other hand

the other half of America celebrates the building of a transcontinental nation through the development of the West.

The Jeffersonian model of cloning "democratic states" did not die with the ending of America's first empire. Instead, a modified version of this Jeffersonian "cloning" model now effectively underpins today's American vision of how (liberalized) "development" should be rolled out across the "underdeveloped" world – i.e., a key feature of the Pax Americana involves the idea of developing "democratic states" across the world. Within America's post-1945 informal empire, these new states are not created or developed by American settlers. Instead, they are run by their own indigenous people. However, since they are not deemed to be well run, the West operates a huge global development industry to teach people in "developing states" how to run democratic-capitalist societies. So a new form of "control" called tutelage emerges. Another difference is that, once successfully developed, these new states are not destined to be incorporated into the American Union (as occurred in America's first empire). Instead, they are to be enmeshed, as client states, into the trade networks of the Pax Americana.

8.4.2 Universalizing "Democratic Capitalism"

Jefferson's "empire of freedom" idea was always grounded in an Enlightenment optimism and belief that Americans had found a "recipe" to make the world a better place. It is an optimism that powerfully informed twentieth-century Wilsonian thinking about building a Pax Americana and Roosevelt's thinking on internationalizing the New Deal. But an important consequence of transferring Jefferson's "empire of freedom" idea across to America's new informal empire is that Jeffersonian optimism tends to slide into a new kind of imperialism within which Americans increasingly look like they want to build a "universal" global civilization. Effectively, Jefferson's democratic ideals are transformed into something akin to a religion of "democracy" and "universal human rights." Within this religion, "American democracy" and "American values" slide into a pan-human universalism, which is intensely utopian. Hence, the Pax Americana, as globalization II, becomes ensnared in a new Jacobinism:

> It employs an idiom somewhat different from that of the earlier Jacobinism, and it incorporates various new ideological and other ingredients, but it is essentially continuous with the old urge to replace historically evolved societies with an order framed according to abstract, allegedly universal principles, notably that of equality. Like the old Jacobins, it does not oppose economic inequalities, but it scorns traditional religious, moral, and cultural preconceptions and social patterns. . .The new Jacobins. . .regard today's Western democracy as the result of great moral, social and political progress. . .they see it as an approximation of what universal principles require. . ..[The new Jacobins] think globally. They put great stress on the international implications of their principles. The new Jacobinism is indistinguishable from democratism, the belief that democracy is the ultimate form of government and should be installed in all societies of the world. The new Jacobinism is the main ideological and

> political force behind present efforts to turn democracy into a worldwide moral crusade. (Ryn 2004: 21)

The idea that Americans had found the "recipe," which if applied to the whole world would make it a better place, is grounded in an "American faith that it is a universal nation [which] implies that all humans are born American, and become anything else by accident – or error. According to this faith American values are, or will soon be, shared by all humankind" (Gray 2002: 132).

At heart is the belief "democratic capitalism" (in the form developed by Americans) is good for everybody (Gray 2002: 2). Universalizing democratic capitalism certainly would be good for America, because a fundamental feature of America's organization is that "American domestic vitality depends on continued expansion" (Latham 2000: 14). This is because America's economy has to keep growing, which means continually searching for new markets. All three of America's empires have been grounded in this need to find new markets in order to keep the economy growing. The post-1945 informal empire is simply the most recent means to feed this market-driven economy. Clearly America's informal empire would work best if lots of little American-type "democratic capitalist" states were cloned (or at least hybridized) across the globe. It would be better still if they were run by people who broadly shared American middle-class values. Hence, not surprisingly, the Pax Americana's "development industry" has not simply been intent on building infrastructures facilitating economic growth and trade; it has also been concerned with (Western) education and inculcating the sort of (Western secular materialist) values that drive American economic growth. This implies the simultaneous destruction of "old" values and the traditional cultures in which they were embedded. Thus has the Pax Americana been systematically destroying "traditional elites" since 1945 beginning in occupied Europe and Japan and then spreading to Africa and Asia.

8.4.3 A Wilsonian Informal Empire

The problem faced by an informal empire like the Pax Americana is that when its trade promotion agendas are impeded in the "developing states" by poor infrastructures, poor governance, and populations without the cultural capital required to run Western economies, it needs to employ *indirect* methods to try and rectify the situation. These indirect methods may not involve such drastic action as annexation (as used by formal empires), but they still involve intervention. And the preferred intervention of the Pax Americana has been to deploy specialists in Third World development – i.e., people working in the "development industry" (often linked to the West's "foreign aid industry"). The development industry has come to be inspired by a form of Jacobin thinking – i.e., a belief in middle-class-driven social engineering (of either a liberal or socialist variety). It is social engineering that intervenes into other people's lives to change them. Presumably those doing the intervention believe what they are doing is good – i.e., bringing about socioeconomic change. In many ways this makes the development industry a form

of contemporary "missionary" activity in which (Western) "believers" work to "improve" non-Western societies (The "Western believers" can, of course, be Third World people who have been Westernized.). But today's missionaries do not promote Christianity. Instead, the development agenda has been driven by a secular vision of social engineering that grew up in the context of building a Pax Americana after 1945. This agenda has been closely associated with a strong belief in "education" as a key mechanism to roll out the skills (and attitudes) needed for "progress." Not surprisingly, we find the Wilsonian-liberal thinking of the Roosevelt team (outlined in Table 2) has strongly influenced the broad trajectory of the development industry's vision of how to "improve" the world. The above discursive framework, which has been widely propagated by Western intellectuals and journalists from the 1950s onward, is highly compatible with the economic needs of America's informal trading empire and with the "moral universe" of middle-class America. When development programs encoding these (Liberal) values are successfully rolled out,

Table 2 Liberal thinking underpinning the post-1945 Western "development industry"

Positive	Negative
Democracy Religious freedom within a secular state/society (relativist pluralism) Cosmopolitanism	Aristocratic elites and hierarchies/oligarchies/fascism/communism Theocratized states/society Ethnic nationalism
Anti-imperialism Decolonization Self-determination within nation states Nation building	Imperialism Colonialism Confederalism/holism
Free trade/free movement of capital Capitalism Consumerism/materialism Property rights Liberalization Government creates conditions for capitalist enterprise Modernization Development Western education Individualism	Anticompetitive behavior/restrictions on trade/restrictions on enterprise and capital/tariffs/protectionism/imperial preference Government decisions impeding capitalist enterprise Traditional society and tribalism Collectivism
State formation around viable economic units (wherein different groups/nations/religions live together harmoniously) Facilitating movement of labor: Migration Melting pot/assimilation Multiculturalism Cultural hybridization	Economic nationalism Limiting movement of labor: Segregation Apartheid Racism Cultural autonomy
Peace (assured by multilateralism) Universalized "human rights"	War (caused by imperialist and nationalist competition)
Progressive (teleology geared toward America as the "universal state")	Reactionary

it produces populations sufficiently "modernized" (i.e., "Westernized" or culturally "hybridized") to run self-governing client states and/or run Western economies that are valuable to America's informal trading empire.

8.4.4 Continuities and Discontinuities Between American and British Models

Both the Pax Britannica and Pax Americana engaged in "development." And if we look at the development work done in the two empires, there are some striking similarities. Most obviously, both the British and Americans built global trading empires which served to integrate the world's economy and create an international division of labor (Fieldhouse 1999: 164). Effectively, the Pax Britannica and Pax Americana have jointly been the drivers of globalization. In the process, both Britain and America have spread capitalism, industrialization, intensive agriculture, free trade, liberalism, democracy, Anglo-culture, and the English language. But despite these similarities, there are some major differences between the British and American models of development. This is because the two models were driven by different assumptions and different social groups.

"Development" brought about by the British occurred when British merchants encountered weak states or peoples deemed unable to govern themselves well enough to be viable trading partners. Britain annexed such places and then dispatched colonial officials to these territories to "develop" satisfactory conditions for commerce and trade. Significantly, this British development was driven by an alliance of Britain's upper and middle classes. Middle-class "gentlemanly capitalists" built businesses and trading networks, while the upper classes went to the colonies to build the machinery of bureaucracy and law and order. Significantly, these two classes shared no ideological vision of social change. Only Britain's church missionaries were motivated by any ideological zeal to change people in the colonies; but they were never central to the "development" processes in Britain's empire. As a result, for most of the history of the British Empire, "development" did not occur according to any "ideological plan"; rather it happened organically as gentlemanly capitalists built their trade networks, British settlers built businesses and farms, and colonial officials established governance and infrastructures (like railways, roads, hospitals, and schools) to cope with demands being made on them. Further, Britain's middle class was driven by a desire to make money, not by any utopian social engineering vision; and Britain's governing upper class eschewed Jacobin social engineering projects (generally associated with middle-class utopians). So instead of trying to "change" or Westernize "natives," British colonial governance generally worked closely with traditional authorities. Consequently, British "development" was more respectful of indigenous traditions and culture than the Pax Americana approach to development, because Britons were not driven to "engineer" or change indigenous cultures so as to produce clones of the British middle class. On the other hand, Britons were "disrespectful" in so far as they made no apologies for intervening in places they deemed "primitive." And, unlike

contemporary Americans, Britons made no pretense at political correctness when they perceived differences between cultures, races, and societies functioning at different levels. Further, British "development" involved no pretense at "consultation" and sometimes even bypassed the local "natives" by importing change/development agents from outside, e.g., British managers, or British settlers (some free and other compelled like convicts to Australia), or Indians to Fiji, Malaysia, Africa, and the Caribbean or Chinese to Malaysia.

The post-1945 Pax Americana approach to development has been far more coherently organized, planned, and professionalized. This is partly because Pax Americana "development" has been organized by a group of professional "developers who share a relatively coherent "development ideology." This coherence is assisted by the fact those driving Pax Americana "development" tend to be drawn from a relatively narrow social strata – i.e., middle-class professionals educated to share a similar vision of the world (involving "democracy," "universal human rights," and diffusing modern skills, ideas, and technologies).

Although Americans like to believe their way of running the world is less brutal and interventionist than the methods used by the old European empires, Pax Americana "development" has ironically generally been far more culturally interventionist than British development was. This has occurred precisely because America has run an informal empire. Informal empires imply "indirect" governance, which means the Pax Americana (ideally) needs middle-class comprador partners in each independent state (Bacevich 2002: 41). This translates into a need to try and systematically build (Westernized) middle-class elites in the Third World through education and "nation building" and "development" exercises. This means changing indigenous people through ethnocentric (i.e., Westernizing) social change projects. Because of the need to build comprador partners, Pax Americana "development" has often involved Jacobin social engineering which has been culturally destructive of traditional societies in the Third World (Middle-class Jacobins also successfully unleashed the rhetoric of "democratic capitalism" against traditional elites of Europe.). Liberal-Jacobins also learned to successfully deploy the rhetoric "democracy" as a powerful agent for undermining traditional societies across the globe (Ryn 2004: 25). Once these traditional elites have been undermined, they are replaced with middle-class elites who then become local agents for secular nation building and comprador partners for the Pax Americana. In many cases these new middle-class compradors have not served the Pax American well because they become exploitative and repressive and/or incompetent and corrupt rulers. But because the Pax Americana is an informal empire, it lacks the sort of direct imperial mechanisms Britain possessed to correct such problems. Instead Washington imposes sanctions or launches "regime change" wars or has to operate anti-piracy operations off the coast of those places with poor or weak governance.

Another difference is that, whereas Pax Britannica "development" deliberately sets aside "native reserves" where traditional cultures could survive alongside the areas of "British development," Pax Americana development intrudes everywhere. This is hardly surprising given Pax Americana's liberal-Jacobins are driven by a compulsion to universalize their vision of a "better world." Because America is seen

as a "universal state," Americans believe they are doing the world a service by spreading their "empire of liberty." The resultant Pax Americana's "development" unleashes a complex mix of middle-class cloning (i.e., comprador-building), the destruction of traditional elites (though promoting the ideologies of "democratization" and "egalitarianism"), an ever-growing network of trade relations, Westernization, Anglicization, the undermining of traditional cultures and indigenous languages, cultural homogenization (in some places), and cultural hybridization (in other places). This "development" has also unleashed resistance, e.g., Al-Qaeda.

8.5 The Mutating "Development Industry"

In the two decades after 1945, European empires were dismantled and replaced by the Pax Americana. It was Washington's intention to expand its informal empire over these areas, and from this arose the need to develop a policy framework for how to deal with these decolonized regions. Effectively, America discovered granting self-determination did not necessarily mean the production of functioning states with the capacity for effective self-governance or the capacity to manage their own economies. Instead, decolonization produced "underdeveloped" states that were not the valuable trading partners America had hoped for. If they were to be turned into valuable trading partners, intervention was required to build a core of (middle-class) people in each new state able to govern effectively and run the businesses, mines, and farms America wanted to trade with. The recognition that intervention was required gave rise to the development industry.

But in the 1950s–1960s, America was not going to explicitly frame discussions of "development" in terms of the obstacles that "underdevelopment" posed to building their informal empire, because:

- Americans had argued for the self-determination of these states precisely as a means to end empires.
- Americans had only recently been arguing empires represented an unjust system of European domination and exploitation.
- If America was seen to be behaving imperially, Third World states might align themselves with the Soviet bloc. In fact, the Third World became the key sphere for American-Soviet Cold War rivalry.

So instead, the issue of underdevelopment (and its solution) was reframed within a discourse of modernization. This made it sound as if "development" was driven by Third World needs rather than Pax Americana (trading) needs.

8.5.1 Development as Modernization

Modernization is liberalism's theory of change. It is premised upon a binary opposition between "traditional" and "modern" societies. To be "modern" is supposed to

be better than "traditional." Within modernization discourse, America is the ultimate modern state – it is seen to have advanced furthest in a teleological chain leading from "backwardness" ("traditional") to "advanced" ("modern") (Latham 2000: 58–59). This picture of the world encodes similar assumptions to those that drove the British Empire – i.e., Britain was deemed a civilized and advanced society which, when it encountered backward and primitive societies, annexed them in order to develop and uplift them. This was often called the civilizing mission of empire. American modernization theory sanitized, disguised, and replaced this "civilizing mission" idea by deploying the language of positivist science (Engerman et al. 2003: 35). But ultimately, "modernization" is a language of (informal) imperialism serving to justify Americans telling the rest of the world how they ought to be organizing themselves. This new language of imperialism encoded Western superiority (Engerman et al. 2003: 38) and assumed there was only one pathway to modernity (Engerman et al. 2003: 39) – i.e., following the path America had already taken. The latter implied America was the benchmark to be reached or "universal state" to be cloned. And the cloning mechanism was to be found in the scientific method of "development." This method offered a blueprint to facilitate liberal-capitalist "takeoff" (Latham 2000: 210).

Modernization theory presented itself as benevolent and grounded in universally valid scientific laws (i.e., it claimed all societies passed through the same stages of development) (Latham 2000: 16). Effectively, this encoded into a "scientific theory" the idea of America's manifest destiny as a "universal state" worthy of being copied by all others. Modernization theory was American middle-class utopianism which postulated the "American way" as the endpoint of a progressive teleology. So just as the British had previously seen their empire as a progressive force in the world, now it was America's turn to be this progressive force – and to take up the role of being a "civilizer," "developer," and agent of "universal" values. But in the American version, social engineers sought to actively plan and implement social change so as to bring about their (utopian) vision for a better (universalized) world.

This notion of being a "developer" of the world was formulated at a particular moment in time – i.e., a post-World War II world where the only obstacle to implementing Wilson's dream was Soviet power. Modernization theory therefore encoded three American concerns (Latham 2000: 19):

- Transforming Third World decolonized states into reliable trading partners within America's global trading network
- Preventing the spread of communism to the Third World ("containment") by ensuring the new states were developed according to the principles of democratic capitalism
- A desire to spread American sociopolitical organization and values (i.e., the American "way of life")

So modernization was the American dream writ large. If the "American way" could be cloned across the world then, the liberal utopians would argue, one could eventually end up with global peace – this would be an American Peace (Pax

Americana) where there would no longer be any reason to fight wars because the whole world would agree on the rules governing the global trading network; America's vision of "human rights" would have been universalized; all self-determining states would be ruling elites governed by people educated to share American values and aspirations; and ethnic, cultural, and religious conflicts would be a thing of the past because of a process of globalized cultural homogenization/hybridization (i.e., Americanization/secularization). This liberal-utopian vision assumes some kind of Francis Fukuyama-type "end of history," or "end of ideology" can be attained where wars end, because all countries have become the same and have McDonald's hamburgers! For the utopians, promoting modernization was the way to socially engineer this "better world" into existence. So modernization theory was not about analyzing the Third World, it was about what America was already like (Engerman: 57) and about the modernizers' desire to clone America globally. This did not mean "foreign-ness" would disappear, but it did mean foreigners would become more like Americans and that "deficient" (i.e., traditional) cultures would disappear (Latham 2000: 213).

The key drivers of this modernization vision were Walt Rostow, Lucian Pye, Daniel Lerner, Gabriel Almond, and Edward Shils (Samuel Huntington (*Political Order in Changing Societies*) produced a more sophisticated modernization theory in the late 1960s.). Some were Cold War warriors (Leys 1996: 10). The origins of this theory lay in American sociology, and so it encoded functionalism, the idea of linear evolutionary change, an optimistic belief in progress, and the assumption that universal models cold be built because all humans were essentially the same (irrespective of different historical, environmental, or cultural factors) (Latham 2000: 30–35). Rostow (1960) and Lerner (1958) laid the foundation for modernization theory by establishing the "traditional" versus "modern" dichotomy. Significantly Rostow's five-stage model of moving from traditional to modern ended with a mass consumer society – clearly an ideal situation for an American global trading empire. Pye was instrumental in shifting the focus toward what developers needed to do to bring about "political modernization." American-assisted nation building was deemed to be central to the process of modernizing the Third World.

Modernization theorists saw traditional culture as an obstacle to modernization and modern economic growth. Their fundamental concern was with how to remove the obstacles, so a Rostovian takeoff could be initiated. The aim was to develop "primitive" (traditional) people so they could "catch up" with and "imitate" the developed world (Servaes 2003: 3). Hence a core objective was diffusing "modern values" to elites in the Third World (Leys 1996: 10). The modernizers also put great emphasis on transferring capital and technology to the Third World and diffusing the cultural capital required to operate this technology and to run Western economies. In many ways modernization was about diffusing not only Western technology and skills but also diffusing Weber's Protestant work ethic (Latham 2000: 62). In this regard education and mass media were important agents for change. Ultimately the development industry sought to diffuse modernity in a variety of ways, including the building of (Western) schools in the Third World, encouraging Third World people to attend Western universities, dispatching agricultural extension officers, funding

NGOs as development agents, and sending Western "role models" into the Third World, such as the American Peace Corps (Latham 2000).

An important feature of modernization theory was its utopian belief in teleological progress. These modernizers held true to the spirit of American (Enlightenment) optimism and to the spirit of universalizing the Roosevelt team's New Deal – i.e., they believed the world was perfectible, and Americans had discovered the way to perfect it. A key feature of this belief was traditional societies were fated to vanish because, advanced/civilized societies (i.e., modern America) were "destined" (according to modernism's teleological logic) to replace traditional/'backward" societies. This ideological belief that traditional societies were destined to vanish because of the "intrinsic deficiencies" of "backward"/primitive cultures served to justify the modernizers' Jacobin interventionism (Latham 2000: 59) and served to hide their role as social engineers who were effectively destroying other peoples' cultures. Those inside the development industry with a missionary belief in what they were doing simply did not recognize the cultural arrogance that underpinned their modernist development schemes. So when, as social engineers, they designed "development" interventions to detach Third World people from traditional family and religious and cultural bonds (Latham 2000: 210), they believed they were doing a good thing by sifting these people toward the modern world. As Jacobins they showed no concern about the destruction of indigenous cultures and languages or the individual social dislocation and pain they caused. And because American modernizers saw no value in traditional society, they left no spaces (such as the British Empires' "native reserves") where people had the choice to opt out of "development." In the Pax Americana, traditional culture was fated to disappear because the liberal-Jacobin development industry was going to work hard to make sure it did disappear. The liberal development industry was extraordinarily disrespectful of others if they happened to be traditional people. These traditional people apparently had no right to survive in the face of the universalizing of American middle classism. So the outcome of applying Roosevelt's decolonization and "development" model was often a legacy of people who were both traumatized and not able to function in either traditional or Western societies. Many of these people now live marginal lives in the shanty towns that surround cities like Nairobi, Johannesburg, Karachi, Manila, and Jakarta.

8.5.2 Critics of Modernization

Although the modernization paradigm was dominant among Western academics from 1950 to the mid-1960s, it was not without its critics. On the right emerged opposition to Third World "Aid" on the grounds that aid undermined local entrepreneurship. On the left, dependency theorists argued Western development served to tie Third World countries into subservient relationships with First World capitalists which facilitated the exploitation of the Third World (Latham 2000: 5).

An American Marxist, Paul Baran (1957), initiated dependency theory, which then grew into an influential anti-modernization paradigm. Baran argued Third

World underdevelopment, and First World developments were interrelated processes. He argued the underdeveloped peripheries remained locked into socioeconomic relationships with the First World core because Western imperialism effectively continued after the end of the European colonial era. From this grew the idea that underdevelopment was caused by the decisions made by First World capitalists. Hence, Third World backwardness was deemed to be caused by Third World dependency on the First World – i.e., First World development/growth and affluence was seen to be the result of capitalist exploitation in which wealth was being transferred from the Third to First Worlds. The most sophisticated formulation of this argument was developed by a non-Marxist, Immanuel Wallerstein (1980), who discussed how the world had been enmeshed into a single (capitalist) economic system – a globalization process that had begun in the fifteenth century when European imperialism got underway. Wallerstein's world systems theory proposed equal development was impossible within this global capitalist system because the system encoded unequal exchange between the core and the periphery. Dependency theory became very influential in Latin America, where it was deployed by intellectuals like Andre Gunder Frank (1969).

The Latin American dependency theorists argued modernization taken to the Third World by the development industry was bad because it caused underdevelopment on the peripheries and generated growing inequalities in Third World countries. These dependency theorists argued if Third World countries wanted real development, they needed to cut themselves off from America's global trading network and achieve self-reliance by developing themselves. This led to the call for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) which, if implemented, would have seriously disrupted the Pax Americana's global trading network. Dependency theory and NIEO consequently became enmeshed in the Cold War competition for influence and control over the Third World. From the 1970s onward, the expanding influence of dependency theory across the Third World became a growing problem for the Pax Americana.

The Cold War struggle between modernization and dependency theorists hinged on two opposing explanations about the causes of underdevelopment. The modernization theorists saw the problem as being *internal* to these underdeveloped states – i.e., they believed the indigenous people of these states lacked the appropriate cultural capital, skills, and know-how to effectively manage their own political and economic systems. Among other things, these deficiencies meant they were unable to accumulate capital. This lack of capital and skills was deemed the key obstacles to Third World growth and development. The development and aid industries proposed intervening from the outside to rectify these deficiencies. The dependency theorists, on the other hand, believed the problem was not internal to these states; rather the problem was *external* – it was caused by a global capitalist system that exploited Third World states. The dependency theorists did much to popularize the idea across the Third World that Western imperialism was responsible for pauperizing Third World peoples by destroying their indigenous economies.

The idea that globalized capitalism was responsible for pauperization and underdevelopment served as a very useful ideology for bringing together Marxists and

Third World nationalists during the Cold War era (Smith 1981: 82). Politicians in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East looking for an excuse for the poor performance of their countries found dependency theory invaluable. This theory helped them to deflect attention away from their own poor performance and fed into a culture of victimhood. The latter was used to argue the West was morally obliged to provide aid to the Third World because the West was responsible for their poverty. Ironically this served to create another form of dependency in which many Third World people learned not to take responsibility for their own lives, but instead waited for outsiders to come and "fix" things for them and even to feed them.

Dependency theory may have been correct in pointing to the interconnectedness of the global economy brought about by the building of globalized trade networks by Britain and America. However, when dependency theorists grafted onto this the notion the West could be blamed for pauperizing the Third World, they were simply constructing an ideology useful for political mobilization. This ideology was only tenable if contradictory evidence was ignored:

- Labor rates were not necessarily worse in the Third World (Leys 1996: 10), especially when one factored in the often low labor productivity rates in parts of the Third World caused by cultural capital deficits.
- Poverty and underdevelopment existed in parts of world largely untouched by the West (e.g., Tibet, Afghanistan, and Ethiopia) (Engerman et al. 2003: 67). Pauperization theory did not explain this.
- The behavior of Third World politicians and leaders was ignored as an important factor responsible for creating negative conditions that undermined development and created poverty (Smith 1981: 80).
- Capitalist economies require certain conditions for success, such as the security provided by good governance, a legal system protecting property rights, a labor force with an appropriate work ethic and skills, transport and communication infrastructures, etc. Many Third World contexts have not provided these conditions. This was precisely one of the reasons Britain's empire annexed many regions – i.e., to establish the conditions required for economic development and trade.
- Western imperialism did carry out much successful development across the globe – i.e., building infrastructures and creating many viable new economies. Significantly, a number of the economies and infrastructures they built collapsed *after* decolonization (which caused an increase in poverty in places like Africa).

Dependency theory had always serviced the alliance between Third World nationalists and Marxists. So when the Soviet Union collapsed, dependency theory fell on hard times and the NIEO idea became untenable. Third World leaders found themselves confronting the harsh new reality that the "Cold War leverage" American-Soviet competition had provided them had now evaporated. Washington was no longer prepared to overlook the corruption, poor governance, and even tyranny practiced by many of their Third World middle-class compradors. Washington had previously ignored this out of a fear that if they complained,

compradors would simply realign themselves with the Soviet Union. When the Cold War ended, all Third World states found that aid as a mechanism to "buy allegiance" ended, plus they had no choice but to now negotiate new relationships with the Pax Americana. And what America now demanded was competent compradors who could manage their states so as to provide reliable trading partners. As a result, the 1990s saw many regime changes across the Third World to try and improve Third World governance. The 1990s also saw modernization put firmly back onto Washington's agenda (which was coupled with the discourse of encouraging "good governance"). These late twentieth century Washington policies would have been instantly recognizable to nineteenth century Britons who argued Britain's empire needed to intervene in African and Asia to improve conditions for trade.

8.5.3 Modernization Revived

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the rise of postmodern theory made Marxism unfashionable in intellectual circles, and so dependency theory, which had been the only serious anti-modernization theory, found itself out of favor.

It was Francis Fukuyama (1989) who heralded the rehabilitation of modernization theory when he proclaimed liberalism triumphant. Fukuyama effectively proclaimed the idea of the USA as the "universal state" which the rest of the world should emulate. Significantly, he also saw the spread of Western technology as the mechanism that "guarantees an increasing homogenization of all human societies" (Fukuyama 1995: 16). Naturally the end goal of this homogenization was the cloning of America and the universalizing of liberalism. And so the old idea of development as modernization (and liberalization) – entailing the diffusion of Western technology and skills – was revived.

However, by the 1990s liberal-capitalism had itself evolved. And one of the changes this evolution had brought about was that capitalist businesses and the liberal state increasingly outsourced much of their work. This principle of outsourcing also came to underpin the development industry; and the bodies to which "development work" was increasingly outsourced were NGOs. In fact, not only did Washington's traditional development and aid bureaucracies turn to NGOs for the delivery of their projects, but the US State Department and US Military also came to see NGOs as important partners in the execution of American foreign policy (Quarto 2005: 1–2, 6). This was expressed in the 2001 *Joint Doctrine for Civil-Military Operations* which laid procedures for joint American military-NGO operations. This shift to working with NGOs was to impact on the modernization paradigm, because many of those working in the NGO sector were on the left of the political spectrum, which meant they were sympathetic to one of more of the following: green politics, a liberalized version of dependency theory (which believed Western greed was responsible for Third World poverty), and participatory democracy. From this arose a new conceptualization of Third World interventionism – as articulated by the Swedish Dag Hammarskjold Foundation and German Green

Movement – called "another development" (Servaes 2003: 11). This meant although modernization theory had been revived, it was rearticulated to make it palatable to NGO partners who would be implementing it. The result has been a revitalized modernization paradigm in which some of the errors of the past are acknowledged and efforts are made to correct these, by incorporating the perspectives of "another development" (Servaes 2003).

The concept of "another development" (as promoted by the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation plus the German Greens) rejected the modernization idea that there was only one pathway to development (Servaes and Malikhao 2003: 7–10 and 11). Instead "another development" (drawing on the ideas of Sartre, Marx, Freire, and Jayaweera) advocated a rejection of top-down modernization and cultural imposition. Grounded instead in Paulo Freire's participatory communication model, "another development" pushed for whole new approach to social change and development in the Third World. As consequence the post-1990 Pax Americana development industry learned to run two different development formats side by side. On the one hand the revitalized modernization paradigm pushed ahead with top-down technological transfer, and the cultural change (Westernization) model geared to producing more reliable/competent compradors. But on the other hand, the Pax Americana has also funded "another development." However, it should be noted that in the era of the revitalized modernization paradigm "another development" has tended to be looked upon as an "idealistic side show" (Servaes and Malikhao 2003: 7–31) to the main game – which is to use top-down modernization (to try and speedily build competent comprador elites for the Pax Americana) by using an extensive system of NGO development agencies.

The effect has been to turn the NGO sector into something akin to the Pax Americana's Colonial Office. America still needs to build middle-class elites (to function as its comprador partners). Since the 1990s many of the old incompetent and corrupt Third world elites have been removed – some peacefully (e.g., Uganda) and others violently (e.g., Iraq). This meant a major exercise in training up new middle-class elites. Within this process the NGO sector has become central, because many Third World-based NGOs have become vehicles for simultaneously grooming and training new elites and for destabilizing regimes Washington deems illiberal. Consequently, since the 1990s, NGOs have been playing an important role in facilitating "upward mobility" into the ranks of the Pax Americana's new comprador partners (Petras and Veltmeyer 2001: 129) and for mobilizing mass popular "democratic" uprisings (i.e., "liberalization campaigns") against regimes Washington does not like (Petras and Veltmeyer 2001: 130). These NGOs have also helped disseminate the discourse of human rights – which effectively universalizes American middle-class values and American-style democracy (Petras and Veltmeyer 2001: 131).

Interestingly, the old and revived modernization paradigms share much in common since both, after all, service the same American informal empire. But there are also differences caused by Washington having learned (in an era when outsourcing is fashionable) to even outsource elements of its informal empire's governance to the NGO sector. The result is that:

> NGOs foster a new type of cultural and economic colonialism – under the guise of a new internationalism. Hundreds of individuals sit in front of high-powered PCs exchanging manifestos, proposals and invitations to international conferences with each other. They then meet in well-furnished conference halls to discuss the latest struggles and offerings with their "social base" – the paid staff – who then pass on the proposals to the "masses" through flyers and "bulletins". When overseas funders show up, they are taken on "exposure tours" to showcase projects where the poor are helping themselves and to talk with successful micro-entrepreneurs (omitting the majority who fail the first year). The way this colonialism works is not difficult to decipher. Projects are designed based on the guidelines and priorities of the imperial centres and their institutions. They are then "sold" to the communities. Evaluations are done by and for the imperial institutions. Shifts of funding priorities or bad evaluations result in the dumping of groups, communities, farmers and co-operatives. Everybody is increasingly disciplined to comply with the donors' demands and their project evaluators. The NGO directors, as the new viceroys, supervise the proper use of funds and ensure conformity with the goals, values and ideology of the donors. (Petras and Veltmeyer 2001: 132–133)

So now we have an outsourced "modernization and development" industry which helps to make Washington look even more removed from its informal empire. Much of the NGO-driven development process now appears so removed from Washington that many development missionaries inside the NGO sector are unaware of their role in promoting the Pax Americana, their role in diffusing the skills and values required for cloning democratic capitalism, or their role in "stabilizing" the peripheries for the Pax Americana (through the delivery of health care, Aids prevention, refugee management, etc.). But perhaps this is not so surprising – after all, many nineteenth century Christian missionaries would not have thought of themselves as the agents of imperialism either.

8.6 And What of the Future?

Development was born from the needs of the Pax Americana to create reliable and competent compradors, plus viable trading partners in order that its post-1945 informal empire would function. This means any changes to the Pax Americana would presumably have impacts upon development-as-idea and development-as-industry. And changes are in the wind as heralded by the 2016 Trump and Brexit revolutions. Both of these signal a growing antipathy to ideas that lie at the very core of the Pax Americana-as-informal-empire, namely, globalization, global free trade, multilateralism, multiculturalism, and global mass migration. It is not inconceivable that the Trump era may signal the beginning of the end for the Pax Americana as conceptualized by the Roosevelt team and Woodrow Wilson. Hence we see in the Trump administration little enthusiasm for global free trade, multilateralism, "democratizing" the Third World, Westernizing Third World elite, or development and Aid. Essentially many in the Trump administration are not keen on America running an informal empire. This does not mean an end of the Pax Americana.

Rather it means a redesign of the Pax Americana. Among the changes we already see are a realignment from multilateral to bilateral foreign policy, aid budgets being cut and aid budgets merged with traditional foreign policy budgets, a move away from "informal empire" toward more direct interventions from both the USA and EU, a move away from "indirect" methods (e.g., outsourced NGOs) toward direct state actions, and a decline in tolerance for poor Third World governance. Simultaneously, the West appears to be conceptualizing the Fourth Industrial Revolution as offering an alternative to the old "global division of labor" – which adds impetus to the possibilities for reordering (not ending) the Pax Americana. The implications of this for "development" and "Western aid" are obvious. So the future may not look like the past in the development sector – because as the old "informal empire" methodology is abandoned (thanks to new global economic and power relationships), there will be declining need for (and support of) the "development" of Third World compradors/economies.

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Part III

Normative Concepts

Media and Participation

9

Nico Carpentier

Contents

9.1 Introduction 196
9.2 Theoretical Approaches to Participation 196
9.3 The Many Locations of Media Participation (Analysis) 199
9.3.1 Audience Theory and the Active/Passive Dimension 199
9.3.2 Marxist and Anarchist Media Studies and the Media Participation Debate 200
9.3.3 Deliberation and the Public Sphere 201
9.3.4 UNESCO, Communication Rights and Development Communication 203
9.3.5 Participation in Specific Media Technologies, Organizations, and Genres 204
9.4 Conclusion 211
References 212

Abstract

The wide variety of meanings attributed to the concept of participation both enables and complicates its academic deployment. The first part of the chapter provides a roadmap through this diversity, by distinguishing between two main theoretical approaches – the sociological approach, which defines participation as taking part, and the political (studies) approach, which sees participation as sharing power. Grounded in the political approach, the second part of the chapter engages with a series of theoretical and research-based subfields within Media and Communication Studies. One overview, of the use of participation in audience studies, Marxist and anarchist media studies, deliberation and public sphere approaches, and development/international communication, demonstrates the

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theoretical diversity in participation studies. A second overview, of the analyses of participatory practices in three locations – community and alternative media, television talk shows and reality TV, and online media/Internet studies, then shows the differences in participatory intensities and their normative evaluations.

Keywords

Participation · Power · Sharing power · Taking part · Audience · Marxism · Anarchism · Deliberation · Public sphere · Development communication · International communication · Community media · Alternative media · Television talk show · Reality TV · Online media

9.1 Introduction

Within Media and Communication Studies, participation re-established its presence from the turn of the century onward, mostly driven by the need to theorize user practices in relation to online media, and in particular Web 2.0 and social media. Even if participation appears to be a straightforward and easy-to-use concept, its political-ideological nature and its complex set of overlapping histories require a more careful unpacking of the concept.

In this chapter, the two main theoretical approaches – the sociological approach (participation-as-taking-part) and the political (studies) approach (participation-as-sharing-power) – will be mapped out, both in general and in relation to the media field. This will allow in showing the theoretical richness of participation studies, but also the choices that need to be made when engaging in the analysis of participatory practices. Grounded in the political approach, the second part of this chapter will then engage with a series of theoretical and research-based subfields – within Media and Communication Studies – in order to show the different articulations of participation in a series of theoretical subfields and the different participatory intensities and their different evaluations in three locations of media participatory practice.

9.2 Theoretical Approaches to Participation

This first part outlines the different theoretical approaches to participation and reuses text that has been published before in Carpentier (2016). The starting point of this overview is that the literature on participation, including media and participation, has produced many different positions (see, e.g., Jenkins and Carpentier (2013) and Allen et al. (2014) for two recent media-related debates). Arguably, two main approaches to participation can be distinguished in these debates: a sociological approach and a political (studies) approach (see also Lepik 2013). The sociological approach defines participation as taking part in particular social processes, a definition which casts a very wide net. In this approach, participation includes many (if not all) types of human interaction, in combination with interactions with texts and

technologies. Power is not excluded from this approach, but remains one of the many secondary concepts to support it. One example of how participation is defined in this approach is Melucci's (1989: 174) definition, when he says that participation has a double meaning: "It means both taking part, that is, acting so as to promote the interests and the needs of an actor as well as belonging to a system, identifying with the 'general interests' of the community."

The sociological approach results, for instance, in labeling consumption as participatory, because consumers are taking part in a consumption culture and are exercising consumer choices (Lury 2011: 12). Also for doing sports, the label of participation is used, as exemplified by Delaney and Madigan's (2009) frequent use of the participation concept in their introduction into the sociology of sports. We can find a similar approach in what is labeled cultural participation, where participation is defined as individual art (or cultural) exposure, attendance, or access, in some cases complemented by individual art (or cultural) creation. As Vander Stichele and Laermans (2006: 48) describe it: "In principle, cultural participation behaviour encompasses both public and private receptive practices, as well as active and interactive forms of cultural participation." In practice, this implies that the concept of participation is used for attending a concert or visiting a museum.

Within media studies, the sociological approach can, for instance, be found in how Carey (2009: 15) defines the ritual model of communication in *Communication as Culture*, as the "representation of shared beliefs," where togetherness is created and maintained, without disregarding the many contending forces that characterize the social. For Carey, the ritual model of communication is explicitly linked to notions of "'sharing', 'participation', 'association', 'fellowship' and the 'possession of a common faith'" (2009: 15), where people are (made) part of a culture through their ritualistic participation in that very same culture. (Mass) media, such as newspapers (used by Carey as an example), play a crucial role by inviting readers to participate in a cultural configuration, interpelating them – to use an Althusserian concept – to become part of the society by offering them subject positions or, as Carey (2009: 21) puts it, social roles, with which they can identify (or dis-identify). This type of ritual participation (Interestingly, Carey (2009) does not use the concept of ritual participation in *Communication as Culture*. He does use "ritual of participation" (2009: 177), which refers to a very different process, namely, the emptying of the signifier participation as an elitist strategy. This use of the participation concept, mainly to be found in Chapter Seven of *Communication as Culture* ("The History of the Future," co-authored with John J. Quirk), is much more aligned with the political approach toward participation.) again defines participation as taking (and becoming) part, through a series of interactions, with – in Carey's case – media texts. Others have also used the ritual participation concept (and the sociological approach to participation it entails), for instance, in relationship to media (Real 1996; Dayan and Katz 2009: 120).

In contrast, the political approach produces a much more restrictive definition of participation, which refers to the equalization of power inequalities, in particular decision-making processes (see Carpentier 2011; Carpentier et al. 2014). Participation then becomes defined as the equalization of power relations between privileged

and non-privileged actors in formal or informal decision-making processes. For instance, in the field of democratic theory, Pateman's (1970) *Participation and Democratic Theory* is highly instrumental in showing the significance of power when introducing the two definitions of partial and full participation (Pateman 1970: 70–71). Also in the field of urban planning, Arnstein (1969: 216) in her seminal article *A Ladder of Citizen Participation* links participation explicitly to power, saying "that citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power."

The political approach also emphasizes that participation is an object of struggle and that different ideological projects (and their proponents) defend different participatory intensities (One complication is that the concept of participation itself is part of these power struggles, which renders it highly contingent. The signification of participation is part of a "politics of definition" (Fierlbeck 1998: 177), since its specific articulation shifts depending on the ideological framework that makes use of it.). More minimalist versions of participation tend to protect the power positions of privileged (elite) actors, to the detriment of non-privileged (non-elite) actors, without totally excluding the latter. In contrast, more maximalist versions of participation strive for a full equilibrium between all actors (which protects the non-privileged actors).

The more restrictive use of the notion of participation in the political approach necessitates a clearer demarcation of participation toward a series of related concepts that are, in the sociological approach, often used interchangeably. One key concept is engagement (Despite its importance, this will not be used in this chapter in order not to complicate things too much.), which Dahlgren (2013: 25) defines as the "subjective disposition that motivates [the] realization [of participation]," in order to distinguish it from participation. In earlier work, Dahlgren (2009) argues that the feeling of being invited, committed, and/or empowered and also the positive inclination toward the political (and the social) are crucial components of engagement. In his civic cultures circuit, Dahlgren also emphasizes (apart from more materialist elements like practices and spaces) the importance of knowledge, trust, identities, and values for (enhancing) engagement. Engagement is thus different from participation (in the political approach) as engagement refers to the creation, or existence, of a social connection of individuals or groups with a broader political community, which is aimed at protecting or improving it.

Other related, but still distinct, concepts are access and interaction. In earlier work, I have argued that access refers to the establishment of presence and interaction to the creation of socio-communicative relations. As a concept, access is very much part of everyday language, which makes clear definitions rather rare. At the same time, access – as a concept – is used in a wide variety of (academic) fields, which we can use to deepen our understanding of this concept. One area where access is often used is geography, when the access to specific spaces and places is thematized. More historical (spatial) analyses, for instance, deal with access to land and the enclosure of the common fields (Neeson 1996). The importance of presence for defining access can also be illustrated through a series of media studies examples: in the case of the digital divide discourse, the focus is, for instance, placed on the access to (online) media technologies, which in turn allows people to access media

content. In both cases, access implies achieving presence (to technology or media content). Access also features in the more traditional media feedback discussions, where it has yet another meaning. Here, access implies gaining a presence within media organizations, which generates the opportunity for people to have their voices heard (in providing feedback).

A second concept that needs to be distinguished from participation is interaction. If we look at the work of Argentinean philosopher Bunge (1977: 259), we can find the treacherously simple and general definition of interaction "two different things x and y interact if each acts upon the other," combined with the following postulate: "Every thing acts on, and is acted upon by, other things." Interaction also has a long history in sociological theory, where it often refers to the establishment of socio-communicative relationships, as was already mentioned. An example can be found in Giddens's (2006: 1034) definition of social interaction in the glossary of *Sociology*, where he defines social interaction as "any form of social encounter between individuals." A more explicit foregrounding of the socio-communicative can be found in Sharma's (1996: 359) argument that the "two basic conditions of social interaction" are "social contact and communication." While the social dimension of the definition of interaction can be found in concepts like contact, encounter, and reciprocity (but also [social] regulation), the communicative dimension is referred to by concepts such as response, meaning, and communication itself.

9.3 The Many Locations of Media Participation (Analysis)

The analysis of media participation has a diverse theoretical background, combining – among others – media theory, political theory and philosophy, and development theory (This part is a shortened and updated version of Carpentier (2011).). The specificities of each of these theoretical fields have had their impact on the concept of participation and how it was deployed in research practice. Moreover, research into media participatory practices also brought in their specificities, given, for instance, the different participatory intensities that characterized these locations. This part of the chapter first discusses four more theoretical (sub)fields – audience theory, Marxist-anarchist media theory, public sphere theory, and development theory (combined with UNESCO debates) – making sure that also the frameworks that include more maximalist participatory approaches are represented. Then this part of the chapter turns the attention to three locations of media research which have prominently featured media participation: community and alternative media, television talk shows and reality TV, and online media.

9.3.1 Audience Theory and the Active/Passive Dimension

There are many approaches to structuring how the concept of audience is theorized and a "totalizing account [is] a logical impossibility" (Jenkins 1999). Nevertheless, Littlejohn's (1996: 310) *Theories of Human Communication* offers a good starting

point when he writes that "disputes on the nature of the audience seem to involve two related dialectics. The first is a tension between the idea that the audience is a mass public versus the idea that it is a small community. The second is the tension between the idea that the audience is passive versus the belief that it is active."

In particular the first dimension – the active/passive dimension – is of importance here. The assumption of the human subject as an active carrier of meaning is already echoed in the development of Eco's (1968) aberrant decoding theory and Hall's 1973 encoding/decoding model (published in 1980). The concept of the active audience (see, e.g., Fiske 1987) emanated from these models. In addition, uses and gratifications theory of (among others) Katz et al. (1974) and deduced models, for example, Palmgreen and Rayburn's (1985) expectancy-value theory and Renckstorf et al.'s (1996) social action model, all rely to a large degree on the concept of the active audience (Livingstone 1998: 238).

But this "traditional" active/passive dimension often takes an idealist position by emphasizing the active role of the individual viewer in the processes of signification. This position risks reducing social activity to such processes of signification, excluding other – more materialist – forms of human practice. In other words, the active dimension hides another dimension, termed here the participation/interaction dimension. The interaction component of audience activity refers to the processes of signification and interpretation triggered by media consumption. Obviously, polysemic readings of media texts are an integrative part of this component. But also work on identity, where audiences engage with the media texts offered to them, is included in the interaction component of audience activity.

The participatory component of audience activity refers to two interrelated dimensions which can be termed participation in the media and through the media, inspired by Wasko and Mosco (1992: 7) who distinguish between democratization in and through the media. Participation *through* the media deals with the opportunities for mediated debate and for self-representation in the variety of public spaces that media sphere serves as a location where citizens can voice their opinions interacting with other voices. Participation *in* the media deals with participation in the production of media output (content-related participation) – captured by concepts such as user-generated content (UGC) and produsage (Bruns 2008) – and in media organizational decision-making (structural participation). These forms of media participation allow citizens to be active in one of the many (micro-)spheres relevant to daily life and to put into practice their right to communicate.

9.3.2 Marxist and Anarchist Media Studies and the Media Participation Debate

Marxist theory – in its broad sense – directly or indirectly has contributed to media studies in a wide variety of ways. Wayne's (2003) *Marxism and Media Studies* and Fuchs's (2016) *Reading Marx in the Information Age* are good examples of the direct

application of the Marxist toolbox, but Marxist theory has also played a key role through its integration into the political economy of communication (Fuchs and Mosco 2016) and cultural media studies (Ogasawara 2017). One of the main concerns of political economy approaches is related to the colonization of public spaces, where the (growing) domination of corporate power in the communication industry is deemed problematic for media production, distribution, content, and reception. Participation in the media becomes blocked by the communication industry's market logics and focus on professional employment, but participation through the media is also hampered by the media's circulation of dominant ideologies that continue to serve the interests of the dominant class (Wayne 2003: 175). In cultural media studies, we find similar concerns, elaborated more through a mixture of (post)structuralist and (post)Marxist theory. Here, the focus is on the hegemonizing capacities of media and the (potential) diversity of audience interpretations. An early example appears in *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (Hall et al. 1978), where Hall and his colleagues research the moral panics caused by the appearance of a "new" form of criminality (mugging) and the way that it supported a dominant societal (repressive) order.

Also from an anarchist theory perspective, there have been some substantial contributions to the media and participation debates owing to the fact that the focus of anarchist theory is not always on the state as such. The more Chomskian strands of anarchist theory have incorporated the vitriolic critiques of the mainstream media system, although even alternative media come in for some criticism, as Bradford's (1996: 263) analysis of pirate radio suggests. Some authors have managed to incorporate anarchist theory in subtler ways, with participation and self-management featuring prominently. Downing et al. (2001: 67 ff), in their book entitled *Radical Media*, distinguish two models for the organization of radical media: the Leninist model and the self-management model. Downing et al. (2001: 69) explicitly relate the latter – where "neither party, nor labor union, nor church, nor state, nor owner is in charge, but where the newspaper or radio stations runs itself" – to what they call a "socialist anarchist angle of vision." Another author that should be mentioned here is Hakim Bey – the pseudonym used by Peter Lamborn Wilson – who, in his essay *Temporary Autonomous Zone* (TAZ) (1985), reflects on the upsurge (and disappearance) of temporary anarchist freespaces. Distinguishing in this essay between the net and the web, he sees the net as the "totality of all information and communication transfer" (Bey 1985: 106), while the web is considered a counter-net that is situated within the net.

9.3.3 Deliberation and the Public Sphere

Communication plays a key role in the deliberative democratic model and in Habermas's model of the public sphere, described in Habermas's (1996: 360) definition of the public sphere as "a network for communicating information and

points of view." It is no surprise that these models play a prominent role in theorizing the connection between participation and communication. First, participation in the public sphere is seen as an important component, since it relates to the basic assumptions that characterize the communicative action that takes place within the public sphere, and where "participants enter into interpersonal relationships by taking positions on mutual speech-act offers and assuming illocutionary obligations" (Habermas 1996: 361). But, in Habermas's two-track model of deliberative politics, there is also a strong emphasis on the connection of the public sphere to realities external to it and on participation through the public sphere.

However, we should not forget that Habermas's (1991) older work on the public sphere – *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, first published in German in 1962 – is a historical-sociological account of the emergence, transformation, and disintegration of the bourgeois public sphere. But later, Habermas (1996: 360–362) more exclusively emphasizes the formal-procedural nature of the public sphere (instead of conflating it with its historical origins), while maintaining a focus on communicative rationality and consensus in which the public sphere is seen as a social space generated through communicative action. The public sphere, positioned as part of the two-track model of deliberative politics, remains for Habermas a crucial site of participation and communication, which simultaneously "relieves the public of the burden of decision making; the postponed decisions are reserved for the institutionalized political process" (Habermas 1996: 362 – emphasis removed).

Even if Habermas currently remains the most significant theoretical voice in the study of the public sphere, a variety of public sphere theories and models have been developed (Dewey 1927; Arendt 1958; Negt and Kluge 1983; Fraser 1990; Hauser 1998) which have – together with Habermas's work – been used in a variety of ways in Media and Communication Studies. One important dimension is the more normative versus the neutralized-descriptive usages of the public sphere model, where the latter has – following Nieminen (2006) – two sub-approaches: a normative-prescriptive sub-approach and a historical-sociological sub-approach. In the normative-prescriptive sub-approach, the public sphere is a regulative idea, "an ideal which may never be fully realized but which can act as a normative framework for critical evaluation" (Nieminen 2006: 106). Equally normative, the historical-sociological sub-approach focuses on the "historical and sociological (pre)conditions of the phenomenon we call the [. . .] public sphere" (Nieminen 2006: 107). Characteristic of the normative approach – and its two sub-approaches – is that the public sphere is articulated with a concern for the democratic-participatory process, where participation, in the Habermasian version, is "governed by the norms of equality and symmetry; all have the same chances to initiate speech acts, to question, to interrogate, and open debate" (Benhabib 1994: 31). There are also neutralized-descriptive approaches to the public sphere, which do not use an explicit normative framework. In these approaches, the public sphere concept is still used to demarcate "a network for communicating information and points of view" (Habermas 1996: 360), but they do not attribute specific democratic characteristics to the public sphere, which makes them less relevant for participation studies.

9.3.4 UNESCO, Communication Rights and Development Communication

A fourth location where media participation is discussed intensively is located at the intersection of international and development communication. As Servaes (1999: 83) argues, several Latin American scholars, such as Beltran, Bordenave, and Martin-Barbero, in the 1970s discussed the role of participatory communication as a tool to create a more just world. Indicative of this is Bordenave's (1994) article *Participative Communication as a Part of Building the Participative Society*, in which he defines participatory communication as "that type of communication in which all the interlocutors are free and have equal access to the means to express their viewpoints, feelings and experiences" (Bordenave 1994: 43). This re-articulates communication as "a two way process, in which the partners – individual and collective – carry on a democratic and balanced dialogue" (MacBride Commission 1980: 172). Freire's (1992) theories, in particular, have had a considerable impact on this domain, as Thomas (1994: 51) remarks.

The debate on participation and development moved onto the global stage in the 1970s when the struggle over the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) began within UNESCO. For instance, the 1976 General Conference approved the *Recommendation on Participation by the People at Large in Cultural Life and their Contribution to it* (UNESCO 1977), which contained a section on audience participation that stated that:

> Member States or the appropriate authorities [should] promote the active participation of audiences by enabling them to have a voice in the selection and production of programmes, by fostering the creation of a permanent flow of ideas between the public, artists and producers and by encouraging the establishment of production centres for use by audiences at local and community levels. [. . .]

In December 1977, the 16-member International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems was established, headed by Sean MacBride. Its report (MacBride Commission 1980), *Many Voices, One World. Towards a New More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order*, took a strong position on audience participation. The chapter on the Democratization of Communication describes the following four approaches to breaking down the barriers to the democratization of communication, with the objective to strengthen the so-called right to communicate:

> (a) broader popular access to the media and the overall communication system, through assertion of the right to reply and criticize, various forms of feedback, and regular contact between communicators and the public [. . .]; (b) participation of non-professionals in producing and broadcasting programmes, which enables them to make active use of information sources, and is also an outlet for individual skill and sometimes for artistic creativity; (c) the development of 'alternative' channels of communication, usually but not always on a local scale; (d) participation of the community and media users in management and decision-making (this is usually limited to local media). Self-management is the most

> radical form of participation since it presupposes an active role for many individuals, not only in the programmes and news flow, but also in the decision-making process on general issues. (MacBride Commission 1980: 169)

The debates on participation and the right to communicate continued in the 1980s and featured in a number of general conferences, but the concept of the right to communicate (almost) received its coup de grace when the USA (1984) and the UK (1985) pulled out of UNESCO (for the first time) (Jacobson 1998: 398). During the 1990s, the right to communicate disappeared almost completely from UNESCO's agenda (and from the agendas of other international organizations), with the exception of forums such as the MacBride Round Tables (Hamelink 1997: 298). Only in 2003, in the slipstream of the UN WSIS (http://www.itu.int/wsis), was the debate on communication rights reinvigorated (For more recent publications on communication rights, see, e.g., Dakroury et al. (2009), Raboy and Shtern (2010), and Padovani and Calabrese (2014).), in part, thanks to initiatives such as the Communication Rights in the Information Society Campaign (CRIS) (http://www.crisinfo.org). However, in the final texts of the summit meetings, participation played only a minor role; it received minimalist significations and did not feature very often. More maximalist meanings of participation, linked to communication rights, were missing, which provoked rather skeptical evaluations: "A surge, at least in the short term, in the political will to incorporate such rights in a new international declaration is unlikely, regardless of the WSIS document's recommendations about the need to respect human rights" (Mansell and Nordenstreng 2006: 30–31). This does not mean that participation and communication rights were erased from the summit. The WSIS Civil Society Plenary (2003), which published an "alternative" declaration, uses the concepts of full participation and empowerment and elaborates on communication rights, providing shelter for the more maximalist articulations of participation.

9.3.5 Participation in Specific Media Technologies, Organizations, and Genres

In this last part, the attention is turned to three (academic) debates on participatory media practices (and to the articulations of participation they contain), since these debates have generated a considerable literature on media participation: community and alternative media, talk shows and reality TV, and online media. All three cases of media practices provide unique perspectives on the notion of (media) participation in different contexts, different periods, and different participatory intensities.

9.3.5.1 Community and Alternative Media

The discussion of the role of participation in the NWICO debates contained a considerable number of references to community and alternative media, and it is difficult to ignore their key role in participatory theory and practice. At the same time, their diversity makes them difficult to capture: They can take many different organizational forms and use various technological platforms (print, radio, TV,

web-based, or mixed). As Atton (2015: 8 – emphasis in original) wrote in his *Introduction* to *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community Media*: "[. . .] the diversity of alternative media presented in this *Companion* shows how content will always be linked with social, cultural and political contexts."

Despite their differences, community and alternative media share a number of key characteristics, which distinguish them from other types of (mainstream) media organizations like public service or commercial media. Their close connection to civil society and their strong commitment to maximalist forms of participation and democracy, in both their internal decision-making process and their content production practices, are especially important distinguishing characteristics that establish community and alternative media as the third media type, distinct from public service/state and commercial media.

One way to capture their diversity and understand what unites them is to combine the four approaches that have been used in the literature for the study of community media (discussed in Carpentier et al. 2003; see also Bailey et al. 2007; Carpentier 2011). Support for this position can be found in Atton's (2002: 209) argument that "This encourages us to approach these media from the perspective of 'mixed radicalism', once again paying attention to hybridity rather than meeting consistent adherence to a 'pure,' fixed set of criteria [. . .]." Taken together, the four approaches to community and alternative media allow their complexity and rich diversity of to be unveiled, together with the role of participation:

- The community approach focuses on access by, and participation of, the community, the opportunity given to "ordinary people" to use media technologies to have their voices heard, and the empowerment of community members through valuing their skills and views.
- The alternative approach stresses that these media have alternative ways of organizing and using technologies, carry alternative discourses and representations, make use of alternative formats and genres, and remain independent from market and state.
- The civil society approach incorporates aspects of civil society theory to emphasize that citizens are being active in one of many (micro-) spheres relevant to everyday life, using media technologies to exert their rights to communicate.
- Finally, the rhizomatic approach uses Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) metaphor to focus on three aspects: community media's elusiveness, their interconnections (among each other and, mainly, with civil society), and the linkages with market and state. In this perspective, community media are seen to act as meeting points and catalysts for a variety of organizations and movements.

Participation features in all four approaches, as the community that is being served through the facilitation of its participation, as the provision of a maximalist participatory alternative to nonparticipatory (or minimalist participatory) mainstream media, as the democratic-participatory role of civil society, or as the participatory rhizome. Tabing's (2002: 9) definition of a community radio station as "[. . .]

one that is operated in the community, for the community, about the community and by the community" makes clear that participation in the community (and alternative) media organization is not only situated at the level of content production but is also related to management and ownership or to use Berrigan's (1979: 8) words, community media "[. . .] are the means of expression of the community, rather than for the community."

9.3.5.2 Television Talk Shows and Reality TV

Within mainstream media, a series of genres and formats have allowed for a certain degree of participation by ordinary people. It should be emphasized immediately that participation in this context is structurally limited, as mainstream media only rarely allow for structural participation (or participation within the media organization's decision-making structures themselves). Moreover, mainstream media have a variety of objectives, and the organization of societal participation and audience empowerment is not always part of their primary objectives (despite some authors protesting that it should – see Keane 1998). Nevertheless, mainstream media remain significant societal players that merit our attention, also because the achievements and failures of the participatory processes they organize can be very enriching to the debates on media participation. In this section I want to focus on two audiovisual genres – talk shows and reality TV – in the knowledge that other genres (in print and in audiovisual media) provide equally relevant (albeit slightly less well-discussed) examples.

The talk show genre does facilitate participation within the mainstream media again to a certain extent, but the existence of many subgenres complicates this discussion. As is often the case with media genres, this label clusters together a wide diversity of actual program formats. They have the common core element of a host talking to people in a studio setting (Leurdijk 1997: 149) and are aimed at a mixture of entertainment and information; as Hallin (1996: 253 – emphasis in original) puts it, "These new forms of media are often described as providing 'unmediated' communication. This is clearly not accurate: they are *shows*, often carefully scripted, each with its own logic of selection and emphasis." One subgenre, the audience participation talk show or audience discussion program, is of particular interest here. This subgenre finds its origins (partially) in what Munson (1993: 36–37) calls the "interactive talk radio" format, the call-in or the phone-in. These talk shows successfully transferred to television and became in the 1990s a popular subgenre (Iannelli 2016: 26ff). Despite their intra-genre differences, all these programs were based on the principle that "an active role is accorded to the studio audience which participates in a discussion about social, personal or political problems under the supervision of a presenter" (Leurdijk 1999: 37, my translation).

Audience discussion programs (and other talk show subgenres with participatory components) have provoked many and very different evaluations. In the academic literature on these talk shows, two main approaches can be distinguished: the emancipation and the manipulation approaches. The emancipation approach argues that these programs contribute to the democratization of the mass media (Hamo 2006: 428) since they provide access for ordinary people to public spaces and allow them to participate in the production of media content. Not surprisingly, the concept of the public sphere is often deployed here (e.g., Carpignano et al.

1990). Livingstone and Lunt (1996: 19) refer to the participants in audience discussion programs as citizen-viewers, who are "seen as participating, potentially at least, in democratic processes of the public sphere."

In contrast to the emancipation approach, several authors highlight the manipulative or pseudo-participatory nature of these programs. One line of argument focuses on the production context, which does not escape the processes of commodification. Their discursive diversity is seized on by some authors as a point of criticism, in which the absence of a rational discussion that results in a critical consensus (à la Habermas) leads to a risk of trivialization of the performed utterances (Priest 1995: 17). Livingstone and Lunt (1996: 175) argue: "It remains problematic that giving voice may not affect real decision making and power relations in society, but only give the illusion of participation." In addition, the power imbalances within these programs, with media professionals unavoidably playing a significant role in organizing the participation in a context that is "theirs" to control, are approached critically. For instance, Leurdijk (1997), White (1992), Tomasulo (1984), and Gruber (2004) describe how participants lose control over the narration of personal stories because editorial teams try to orchestrate, canalize, structure, and/or manage the debate.

The second genre, reality TV, became very popular in the 1990s and 2000s, but also has a long history going back to such programs as Candid Camera (1948). As a genre, it is based on the construction of both people and situations as real. In other words, ordinary people are featured prominently (although their presence in these programs is sometimes unplanned) and are placed in situations related to everyday life. The claim to reality, which is supporting the genre, is translated into a series of visual strategies, through the use, for instance, of fly-on-the-wall camera techniques, which, in turn, are supported by technological evolutions such as the lightweight camera and the possibilities for audiences to create their own content. Nevertheless, the genre spans a very large group of structurally very different programs, which has led some authors to call reality TV a trans-genre (see Van Bauwel and Carpentier 2010).

The combination of reality TV's reality claim, its focus on the ordinary and the everyday, and the management by media professionals who control many of reality TV's production aspects also makes it a highly relevant genre in relation to the discussion on media participation. Again, in this debate we can find approaches that focus on the concept of emancipation, while the more critical approaches point to intervention, manipulation, and pseudo-participation. First, reality TV provides ordinary people access to the TV sphere or to the machineries of mediation that render their existence, practices, and utterances visible to an outside world and (in some cases) allows them to acquire celebrity status (Biressi and Nunn 2005: 148). As Andrejevic (2004: 215) phrases it, "The promise of reality TV is not that of access to unmediated reality [. . .] so much as it is the promise of the access to the reality of mediation."

Of course, all is not well with the participatory process of reality TV programs, as pointed out in the manipulation approach. Even if some ordinary people are granted access to the TV sphere and the TV screen, the kinds of presences, practices, and

discourses they are allowed to generate are questionable, and the levels of interaction and participation are often considered problematic. One of the harshest critics is Andrejevic (2004: 215), who claims that reality TV might result not in the demystification of TV but rather in the fetishization of TV. A crucial factor limiting the participatory intensity of reality TV is the specific position of its media professionals and the skewed power balance between them and the ordinary participants. This type of argument can be found in Turner's (2010: 46) critique on the democratainment concept, which, Turner says, "over-estimates the power available even to these newly empowered [. . .] citizens." Of course, the broad context of the commodified media sphere creates a context in which (some) ordinary people are transformed into what Rojek (2001) calls "celetoids," or people whose public careers cater to the interests of the media industry itself. In practice, this implies that media professionals exert strong levels of control over the participants and their actions. Participants are invited into these program contexts and then find themselves exposed to this heavy management, which is legitimized through the (psychological and legal) ownership of the program by the production team.

9.3.5.3 Online Media/Internet Studies

The arrival of another generation of so-called "new" media drastically affected the nature of the discussion on participation and the media. From the 1990s onward in particular – and in some cases earlier (for instance, Bey's *TAZ* [1985]) – the focus of theoreticians of participation and audience activity shifted toward online media. The development of the Internet, and especially the web – the focal point of this text – was to render most information available to all and to create a whole new world of communication, the promise of a structural increase in the level of (media) participation, within its slipstream, extending to the more maximalist versions of participation.

These academic debates on online media and participation contain a wide variety of articulations of the key concepts of access, interaction, and participation. Ordinary users are seen to be enabled (or empowered) to avoid the mediating role of the "old" media organizations and publish their material (almost) directly on the web, on self-managed websites and blogs, or on social media. These novel practices have affected discussions over access and participation in a fundamental way. In a first (pre-Web 2.0) phase, the two key signifiers of access and interaction gained dominance, although participation did not (completely) vanish from the theoretical scene. Later, the concept of participation made a remarkable comeback to reach a prominent position in the 2000s.

In the 1990s (and in some cases before then), the importance of access increased structurally, as techno-utopianism emphasized access for all, to all information, at all times (Negroponte 1995). This argument had an explicit political component since the increased potential of access to the public sphere was also emphasized. The potentially beneficial increase in information, which challenges the "existing political hierarchy's monopoly on powerful communications media" (Rheingold 1993: 14), the strengthening of social capital and civil society, and the opening up of a new public sphere, or a "global electronic agora" (Castells 2001: 138) began to

take primacy. In turn, increased access was seen as affecting subject positions. To use Poster's (1997: 213) words, "the salient characteristic of Internet community is the diminution in prevailing hierarchies of race, class, age, status and especially gender." The critical backlash to these and other rather bold statements focused on the lack of access of some, foregrounding the notion of a digital divide, but still remaining within the realm of access. At the same time, in the pre-Web 2.0 phase of the Internet, the notion of interaction and the derived concept of interactivity played a significant role in discourses about online media, much more than participation did. For instance, in Rheingold's (1993) summary of new media consequences – supporting citizen activity in politics and power, increased interaction with diverse others, and a new vocabulary and form of communication – interaction is featured prominently.

The mainstream pre-Web 2.0 approach favored interaction over participation, implicitly reducing the intensity of participation, but the concept of participation still managed to maintain a presence in a number of academic subfields. The theoretical reflections on electronic (direct) democracy and online media especially offered a safe haven for participation. These elaborations partially continued the work of earlier participatory-democracy theorists such as Barber. In *Strong Democracy*, Barber (1984: 289) focuses mainly on "interactive video communications," but already is referring in a balanced way to the potential use of networked computers: "The wiring of homes for cable television across America [. . .], the availability of low-frequency and satellite transmissions in areas beyond regular transmission or cable, and the interactive possibilities of video, computers, and information retrieval systems open up a new mode of human communications that can be used either in civic and constructive or in manipulative and destructive ways" (Barber 1984: 274). In a later work (1998: 81), Barber refers more explicitly to the web: "the World Wide Web was, in its conception and compared to traditional broadcast media, a remarkably promising means for point-to-point lateral communication among citizens and for genuine interactivity (users not merely passively receiving information, but participating in retrieving and creating it)."

At the end of the 1990s, the situation changed, as Web 2.0 (Using Web 2.0 as a time-delineating concept has a problematic side. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 2000s, Web 2.0 became a nodal point of online media discourses on democracy, which legitimizes its use. However, the label "Web 2.0 period" is used in a broad sense, referring to new media discourses on democracy that were articulated from the 1990s onward.) slowly came into existence, and the concepts of participation and democracy became more explicitly (re-)articulated within the realm of online media, allowing for more discursive space for the maximalist versions of participation. Arguably, four clusters can be distinguished in these debates:

- First, a series of e-concepts (such as e-governance, e-democracy, e-campaigning, e-canvassing, e-lobbying, e-consultation, and e-voting – see Remenyi and Wilson 2007; and see Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt (2007) for three Estonian examples) was used to point to the possibilities for increased participation in institutionalized

politics, but also to discuss the increased possibilities for political actors to reach out to the political community (see, e.g., Williamson et al. (2010) on the digital campaign).

- A second cluster of debates within the domain of participation through the media uses the concept of deliberation, as the deliberative turn also affects online media studies. Online media are here seen as potentially instrumental in providing a (series of) sites where deliberation can be organized. To use Gimmler's (2001: 30) words, "Here it is clear that, since it generates knowledge and functions as a medium of interaction, the internet can play a significant role in the deliberative public sphere." One strand of work is concerned with fragmentation and narcissism, where the Internet becomes (seen as) a series of echo chambers for the likeminded (Sunstein 2001). There are also more positive positions: Gimmler (2001: 31), for example, points to the positive contribution of the Internet to deliberative democracy by providing access to information and opportunities for interaction and by encouraging the exchange of services and information.
- Thirdly, alternative approaches to the public sphere as, for instance, captured by the concept of counterpublics, open up space to see online identity politics (and the politics of identity), culture jamming, cyborg politics, and pop protests (Iannelli 2016) as forms of participation of counterpublics in the cultural realm, while retaining the broad political dimension. Within this framework, online media become articulated as mobilization tools, assisting in political (in the broad sense) recruitment, organization, and campaigning, again contributing to participation *through* the Internet (Langman 2005; Dynel and Chovanec 2015; Iannelli 2016; Vromen 2016).
- In contrast to participation through the Internet (and ICTs), participation in the Internet focuses on the opportunities provided to non-media professionals to (co-) produce media content themselves and to (co-)organize the structures that allow for this media production. One entry into this debate, which also captures some of its complexities, are the already-mentioned concepts of user-generated content (UGC) and produsage (Bruns 2008), which again incorporate many different meanings and practices: Mainstream media organizations that have organized participation through online media often revert to the concept of citizen journalism to label the involvement of ordinary people in the media production process. However, the broad category of UGC also leaves room for a wide variety of non-mainstream practices and forms of eye-witnessing (Mortensen 2015) and online alternative journalism (see Atton and Hamilton 2008, for a broad approach to alternative journalism), which allow for more maximalist versions of participation (e.g., the Indymedia network [Kidd 2003]).

  However, we should not lose sight of the impact of the contemporary media industries on the participatory process, where structural participation in the decision-making process of the involved companies, for instance, is excluded. Fuchs (2015: 102) refers to the "corporate colonization of social media," while Jenkins (2006: 175) argues that the corporate interpretation of participation still leans toward the more minimalist forms, while consumers strive for more

maximalist versions (which, especially at the level of structural media participation, are often out of reach). Still, examples such as the online encyclopedia Wikipedia show that collaborative cultural production can still be grounded into a maximalist participatory model (O'Sullivan 2009: 186), even though, as always, not without problems.

9.4 Conclusion

We can find a wide diversity of articulations of participation in (and beyond) the field of Media and Communication Studies; this is a diversity that has only increased after Web 2.0 and social media studies provided a new impetus for the study of media participation. This diversity is a challenge for academic research, as it complicates dialogue and comparison, but if also reflects the political-ideological nature of participation, within both the field of academia and media. The concept, the definition, and the practice of participation all remain objects of political struggle, where some defend the more maximalist versions of participation, and call for a strengthening of the already existing pockets of maximalist media participation, as, for instance, can be found in the worlds of community and alternative media, in the alternative web, and in the more activist usages of media technologies. Others would consider the more minimalist participatory intensities as sufficient, applauding the increased visibility and activity levels of citizens without asking for "the impossible" (defined as the structural equalization of power relations in and beyond the media field). The high levels of interaction that mainstream media, including mainstream social media such as Facebook and Twitter, have to offer are then met with approval, without problematizing the low levels of structural participation.

Even if this political struggle remains unresolved and a quick resolution remains out of sight, this struggle also shows the coexistence of interactive, minimalist-participatory, and maximalist-participatory practices in the media field. Even if one could argue that the interactive and minimalist-participatory practices remain the dominant mode in the second decade of the twenty-first century, maximalist-participatory practices also continue to exist. What is also important here is that no particular media technology has become wholly minimalist- or maximalist-participatory. There are simply too many platforms, interfaces, genres, formats, organizations, usages, practices, and people involved to be able to have a linear connection between one particular media technology, or even one media organization, and one particular level of participatory intensities, whether it is minimalist or maximalist. This means that one media organization, whether it is a television broadcaster, a newspaper, or a social media organization, can have very different participatory intensities in its constitutive components (its editorial teams, its pages, its programs, its groups, etc.), which renders it often very difficult to make generalizing statements about particular media technologies or organizations, without studying these "lower" levels.

Moreover, the popularity of participation research has also shown that a series of research-related problems continue to surface. Arguably, these problems are located at

three distinct, but still interrelated, levels. Firstly, there is still hardly a consensus on how participation should be theorized, or even defined. The resulting plurality of approaches toward participation can only be welcomed and embraced, but at the same time there is a need for clarity to ensure that academic dialogues can be organized and academics can build more on each other's work to better understand the role of participation in contemporary societies. Secondly, there is also considerable vagueness about how participation should be researched. All social practices are characterized by complexity, but, in the case of participatory processes, this complexity is further enhanced by the discursive and material struggles that are intimately connected with these participatory processes. Analytical models, which might support researchers better in tackling this complexity, remain rare. Thirdly, there is no sufficient debate on how participation should be evaluated. On some occasions, the impression might arise that any kind of social action can be labeled as participatory and then celebrated as part of the trajectory toward a democratic nirvana. There is a need to acknowledge the political-ideological nature of participation, which brings about normative discussions into the desirability of particular participatory intensities.

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Empowerment as Development: An Outline of an Analytical Concept for the Study of ICTs in the Global South

10

Jakob Svensson

Contents

10.1 Introduction 218
10.2 Intersectional Level: Empowerment and Axes of Oppression 221
10.3 Contextual Level: Empowerment, Opportunities, and Constraints in the Situation 223
10.4 Agency Level: Empowerment, Capabilities, and Critical Awareness 225
10.5 Technological Level of Communication Platforms: Empowerment, ICTs, and Affordances 228
10.6 Concluding Remarks 230
References 233

Abstract

This chapter turns to the concept of "empowerment" as a result of disenchantment with the concept of "development" in the study of information and communication technologies (ICTs) and social change in the global South. It is a certainty that the proliferation of ICTs (mobile phones in particular) has opened up a range of possibilities and new avenues for individuals, aid agencies, and NGOs. However, overviews of communication supposedly for development reveal a field based on economic understandings of development biased toward techno-determinism. Moreover, these understandings lack sufficient critique and do not take larger contextual factors into account. Therefore, it is argued that empowerment is a better concept to draw upon in the critical study of ICTs and social change. However, empowerment is not an easy concept to define, and no analytical outline of the concept has been found in the existing body of literature. Addressing this lack, this chapter will trace the roots of empowerment in community psychology and in feminist and black power movements as well as

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explore different understandings of the concept from various disciplines. From this overview, the chapter suggests that empowerment should be studied on a) an intersectional level, b) a contextual level, c) an agency level, and d) a technological level. It further argues that these four levels intersect and must be studied in tandem to understand whether processes of empowerment are taking place, and if so, in what ways? The chapter ends by shortly applying these levels to a study involving market women's use of mobile phones in Kampala.

Keywords

Affordances · Capability · Critical consciousness · Development · Empowerment · ICTs · Opportunity structures · Situatedness

10.1 Introduction

Interest in the concept of *empowerment* stems from a general disenchantment with the concept of *development* when studying mobile communication in so-called *developing* regions (see Svensson and Wamala-Larsson 2016; Wamala-Larsson and Svensson 2018). In these publications, the aim was to understand the role mobile phones play for market women in Kampala. These studies were influenced by the development paradigm in general and the burgeoning area of mobile communication for development in particular (see Svensson and Wamala-Larsson 2015 for an overview).

Development has its roots in *modernization* theory, which can be argued to reflect an underlying *West is best* worldview (see Servaes and Lie 2015). The theory assumes that so-called *modern* societies in the industrial globalized North are the model toward which more rural and traditional societies in the global South should develop (Nederveen Pieterse 2010: 21, 23). A similar top-down approach is also present in the theory of *diffusion of innovation* (DoI), in which expert knowledge and innovations (such as information and communication technologies, ICTs) should trickle down to traditional and often economically less wealthy societies (see Tufte 2017: 12). Similarly, the *bottom of the pyramid* theory explains that businesses, governments, and aid agencies should start thinking of poor people as consumers and should start developing regions as a potential market for investors (see Prahalad and Hart 2002). Market competition is expected to drive prices down and allow low-income earners from the bottom of the pyramid to get ahead and stay connected.

When approached in this manner, the critique of development should come as no surprise. Nederveen Pieterse (2010) argues that ICTs for development are primarily driven by market logic, market deepening (p. 166), and technological fetishism (p. 168) and serve as a rationale for trade and investment liberalization (p. 172). Hann and Hart (2011) similarly argue that the ultimate drive for development in postcolonial times is a world in which the rich, developed countries help poorer regions (often former colonies) in order to improve their *economic* prospects. However, while economic aspects are important for development, they are not the

only aspects to be considered (see Servaes and Malikhao 2014: 171). Such critique is also reflected in postcolonial perspectives of Western development paradigms (see Tufte 2017: 1). Here, development is questioned and even considered hypocritical in times when debt repayments drain the income of countries in the global South and undermine these governments' ability to protect their citizens, while, at the same time, aid levels have shrunk to the point of being merely symbolic (Hann and Hart 2011: 116). Furthermore, conceiving of people in so-called developing countries as mere consumers, situated at the bottom of a postcolonial pyramid, and, as such, are only interesting for enterprises that aim to accumulate capital, is not only unattractive but also leads to questionable development interventions (see Dodson et al. 2013). The concept of development has thus been gradually replaced by social change, and the top-down models mentioned above are becoming replaced by more bottom-up approaches that promote participatory communication (see Servaes and Malikhao 2014; Servaes and Lie 2015). More evidence-based learning models have also been called for, such as Oxfam America LEAD's (Learning, Evaluation and Accountability Department) perspective on development as rights (see Van Hemelrijck 2013, who the chapter will return to).

It is apparent that development has not been used as a *critical* concept – understood here as the questioning and challenging of existing power relations. Empowerment, on the contrary, directly concerns unequal power relations (Sadan 2004; Kabeer 1999: 437). Here, power is often linked to Marxist theory and thus located in relations between those who control the means of production and the so-called market (Burton and Kagan 1996). The consequences of the market on the development of individuals, culture, and communication have been developed in critical theory (see Meyer-Emerick 2005: 542). Today, when the market is seen as the harbinger of all good things, there is a risk of identifying empowerment with consumer choice in a commodity market (Burton and Kagan 1996). Thus, to approach empowerment as a critical concept entails both the questioning of the logic of market capitalism and a focus on those without power, with the aim of improving their situation.

However, the concept of empowerment is not easy to draw upon when analyzing communication in the global South, as there is no shared definition of it (Choudhury 2009: 343). It is considered fuzzy (Kabeer 1999: 436) and elusive (Hill Collins 2000: 19). It is both under-defined and overused in academic, policy, and public discourses (Kleine 2013: 31). Moreover, it occurs on many different levels (individual, group, organization, and community [see Sadan 2004]) and covers and materializes through a variety of different processes (Drolet 2011: 633). Empowerment can be understood both as an outcome and a process (Sadan 2004), as a value orientation for implementing change, and as a theoretical model for understanding such implementation (Zimmerman 2000).

Etymologically, the concept comprises the root, *empower*, and the suffix *-ment.* Similarly, *empower* is composed by *em-* and *power*. Here, the prefix *em-* is probably used with the same meaning as *in-*. Thus, "empower" literally means "into/towards power" (Lincoln et al. 2002: 271–272). While it is the powerless who are the objects of empowerment, the agent of such change has varied in the history of the concept.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, *empowerment* is defined as the granting/authorizing of power to an individual or group (by someone else), as oneself becomes stronger and more confident in controlling one's life and claiming one's rights, as well as someone else supporting others to discover and claim power. Today, many emphasize that those who live in poverty should be viewed as empowerment's primary agents (Van Hemelrijck 2013: 29).

In this chapter, empowerment is defined as those without power taking control over their life situation, destiny, and environment. As such, it is a normative concept (see Servaes and Lie 2015: 126). Empowerment is also a deeply political concept (Meyer-Emerick 2005: 543), as it conceptualizes social change in terms of the powerless gaining greater control (Sadan 2004) and challenging existing power relations (see also Kabeer 1999: 437). This resonates in Oxfam America's definition of empowerment as a "significant and sustainable change in power relations that enables excluded and marginalized people to realize their rights to access and manage the resources, services and knowledge they need" (Van Hemelrijck 2013: 31). It is important to point out that power is not a zero-sum game (Lincoln et al. 2002: 275), which means that empowering those without power does not necessarily mean taking power away from those already in charge of their life situation, destiny, and environment. This is nicely illustrated by Hall (1992, in Lincoln et al. 2002: 275) when discussing the empowerment of women: It is not the goal of women to take power away from men, but rather, the goal is to develop their own power.

A look at the history of the concept takes us back to the 17th century, when its use was first recorded. At that time, to empower meant to authorize/license someone to do something (Lincoln et al. 2002: 272). Contemporary academic use of the concept is accredited with having originated in American community psychology. It is claimed that Rappaport introduced the concept into social work and social psychology in the 1980s. He defines empowerment as the mechanism by which people, organizations, and communities gain mastery over their own lives (Rappaport 1984). Social psychologists identified the need for more interventionist approaches in order to move beyond mere descriptions of powerlessness to identify viable strategies of intervention for change to happen (Burton and Kagan 1996). Thus, empowerment came to underline intentional, ongoing processes in local communities, which involve mutual respect, critical reflection, and group participation through which people in distress, who lack the aptitude and an equal share of resources, can gain greater access to and control over those resources (Zimmerman 2000). Here, empowerment revolves around self-help, meaning the capacity of individuals, groups, and/or communities to take control of their circumstances, exercise power, and achieve their self-realized goals (Adams 2008: 6).

This history of empowerment in the field of social work and social psychology has made its mark, especially in the more capability-centered approach to which the chapter will return. For now, it suffices to point out that empowerment is used in many different fields. But as Lincoln and her co-authors (2002) emphasize, empowerment is contested and is used differently when addressing women, minority groups, education, community care, politics, or management theory. This ambiguity is problematic if it is aiming at employing empowerment as an analytical tool for

studying and understanding communication and social change. Therefore, the purposes of this chapter are to develop empowerment as an analytical concept and to suggest a way of studying this.

The chapter will take as its point of departure feminist and black feminist theoretical concepts which have been influential in the development of the concept of empowerment. Indeed, perhaps empowerment is most commonly associated with feminism and gender equality. Feminists have emphasized the importance of an intersectional level of axes of oppression when studying and understanding empowerment. In addition, feminists emphasize that it is not only the intersectional level of larger power structures that is important to consider but also the contextual level, in terms of the particular situations women find themselves in; therefore, opportunity structures and constraints on the contextual level are important to include. However, it is not enough to study and understand empowerment by only attending to axes of oppression; contextual opportunity structures and constraints – the agency of those without power – must also be accounted for in terms of their capabilities and their awareness of the situation they find themselves in. Finally, the communication platforms used and their affordances also need to be attended to when studying communication and social change. These four levels intersect and feed off each other, but for the sake of analytical clarity, they will be individually outlined here. The chapter ends by applying these levels briefly in a study of mobile phones and market women in Kampala.

10.2 Intersectional Level: Empowerment and Axes of Oppression

Feminism has been present in development discourses from the 1980s in "women in development" approaches (later replaced by Gender and Development; see Servaes and Lie 2015: 126). From an empowerment perspective, feminists have been successful in connecting empowerment to challenging existing patriarchal power structures and to support women to take charge of – and transform – their life situations (Drolet 2011: 634, 639). Empowerment is often linked to women and girls, especially when connected to development such as in United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that replaced the MDGs in 2016. Here, it is claimed that (women's) empowerment is necessary to overcome obstacles associated with poverty and development. Given that women's empowerment concerns women challenging existing patriarchal norms to improve their own wellbeing (Bali Swain 2012: 59, 63), it directly points to patriarchal power structures as key obstacles (structures that are often entangled with traditional social beliefs and practices; see, e.g., Choudhury 2009: 342). But there are many more structures at play, such as capitalism (as previously discussed), sexism, ageism, and, especially, ethnicity.

The Civil Rights Movement in the USA has been important in the conceptualization of empowerment. One of the first articles written on the topic was titled *Toward Black Political Empowerment* (Conyers 1975), which served as inspiration

for more articles that discuss empowering the black community. Feminism and the Civil Rights Movement intersect in black feminist thought (see Hill Collins 2000). Historically, black feminism grew out of a disenchantment with the sexism of the Civil Rights Movement and racism of the feminist movement and asserts that sexism, gender inequality, class oppression, and racism are bound together. It became apparent that black women were positioned within structures of power fundamentally differently than that of white women. In line with this, Hill Collins (2000: 18) introduced what she calls a *matrix of domination.* Through this concept, she explores how intersecting axes of oppression are organized, for example, through schools, housing, employment, et cetera (see Hill Collins 2000: 228). Along the same line, black feminism (and related concepts of intersectionality) contributes with an understanding that those without power are fundamentally different from each other because of their specific positions in the intersecting axes of oppression. As Hill Collins (2000) states, "Developing a Black feminist politics of empowerment requires specifying the domains of power that constrains Black women" (p. 19), which focuses on how "the matrix of domination is structured along certain axes – race, gender, class, sexuality and nation" (p. 288–289).

When empowering women, women themselves and their experiences should be included (Harding 1991: 152). Women's experiences result in diverse *standpoints*, which should be used as resources that can provide multiple vantage points (ibid.: 119). However, women's experiences are mostly absent because conceptual frameworks generated from within a patriarchal system fail to enable women to make sense of their experiences (Haraway 1991). Therefore, women's experiences from their own particular *standpoints* need to be listened to and considered not only in terms of collecting and sharing knowledge of oppression and domination but also in terms of enabling those without power to define their own realities (Hill Collins 2000: 274; see also Communication for Social Change, Tufte 2017: 13). This is about leaving behind "the status of objects to assume the status of historical subjects" (Freire 1996: 141). Partiality, not universality, is the condition of being heard (Hill Collins 2000: 270; see also Freire 1996: 90). This is not about emphasizing how different groups are affected differently along the different axes of oppression (e.g., white women from black women from black men) but rather about highlighting that black women's experiences serve as specific *standpoints* from which connections to other disempowered groups could be explored (Hill Collins 2000: 270). Each woman speaks from her own standpoint and contributes with her specific *situated knowledge* (a concept the chapter will return to). By acknowledging this, those without power can become better at considering others without power – and their standpoints – without relinquishing the uniqueness of themselves (Hill Collins 2000: 270). It is important to note here that axes of oppression and people's positions within them are not static but constantly changing.

The feminist discussion of axes of oppression – in particular how they intersect and lead to unequal power relations – tends to refer to women as a collective group. However, it is important for the argument in this chapter to move beyond the individual-collective dichotomy, as the individual cannot be fully separated from the collective and vice versa. Individual black women's experiences have fostered

group commonalities that encourage the formation of a group-based collective standpoint (Hill Collins 2000: 24). Standpoint feminism helps us understand this, as it emphasizes the individual (woman) as imperative when understanding (women's) empowerment on a collective level (see Ristock and Pinnell 1996: 1). In other words, although women as a collective can act together to "displace oppressive power relations" (Riordan 2001: 282), change also has to happen at the individual level. The disempowered, who are forced to remain motionless on the outside, "can develop the 'inside' of a changed consciousness" (Hill Collins 2000: 118). What is highlighted here is that any analysis of women's empowerment on a collective level needs to take into account individual women's interpretations and experiences. Without doubt, the female collective is important for such individual experiences. Belonging to a group may lead to the creation of social capital and could provide support structures which are important in empowering the individual (Bali Swain 2012: 60; see also Tufte 2017: 2). After all, *the personal is political*, as the famous feminist slogan goes. Feminist scholars contribute with the idea that the individual and the collective are not in a dichotomized relationship to each other and that processes of empowerment move and morph between individuals, groups, communities, and collectives. Thus, any theory of empowerment needs to convincingly integrate levels of individuals, collectives, and societal structures (Sadan 2004: 137).

10.3 Contextual Level: Empowerment, Opportunities, and Constraints in the Situation

Connected to the previous discussion of standpoint feminism and the individual versus the collective is the idea of *situatedness*. Feminists have shown how knowledge and power inequalities are situated in the different contexts women find themselves in (Haraway 1991). As Hill Collins (2000) argues, "Race and gender may be analytically different, but in Black women's life they work together" (p. 269). People are beings in a situation, "rooted in temporal-spatial conditions which mark them and which they also mark" (Freire 1996: 90). But whereas the previous level dealt with larger intersecting axes of oppression on a macro level, situatedness puts an emphasis on the contextual level in which particular situations give rise to particular constraints as well as opportunities. What brings about empowerment among women in the globalized North is not necessarily the same in African countries, to make a crude comparison. For example, Kole (2001) underlines the significance of gender, geographical difference, context, and other micro aspects when examining gender empowerment. Highly aware of the different contexts in Africa, Kole realizes that disparities exist between and within the various women's groups; thus, different needs and problems are seen in different parts of the continent (Kole 2001: 160). Resources and limitations exist in different situations (contexts, cultures, and regions) and need to be taken into consideration, for example, when women without power struggle against patriarchal structures. Social change takes place in specific situations which both constrains and provides

opportunities for change to happen. In other words, the specific situations that those without power find themselves in need to be foregrounded when studying empowerment (as also highlighted in Oxfam America's perspective; see Van Hemelrijck 2013: 29). These contextual levels also concern relational aspects and the social networks one is situated in (Van Hemelrijck 2013: 233; Servaes and Lie 2015: 126).

For an analytical study of the structures at the contextual level, Kitschelt's (1986) article on *opportunity structures* is helpful. In his study of multinational social movements that campaign for an antinuclear world, he identifies *opportunity structures* as comprised of a specific "configuration of resources, institutional arrangements and historical precedents for social mobilisation which facilitates the development of protest movement in some instances and constrain them in others" (p. 58). Opportunities do not determine whether social movements are successful or social change is possible, but should be understood as a factor that influences an actor's choice of strategy. While not fully determining, opportunities appear to be an important factor in understanding the actual possibility of those without power to take control over their life situation, destiny, and environment. The concept of opportunity structures underlines contextual factors when studying actors' possibilities for empowerment in a given situation. Here, opportunity structures are proposed as an analytical concept, not a strategic concept for a cost-benefit analysis for making rational choices when evaluating different courses of action (see, e.g., Cammaerts 2012: 118–119; Tufte 2017: 85–86).

Kitschelt claims that although unequal power relations are necessary conditions for social mobilization to arise, they are not enough to bring about social change. Actors also need to discern an opportunity to influence and induce social change in order to mobilize (Kitschelt 1986). Thus, a crucial dimension of opportunity structures is the perceived openness or closeness of institutions for change as well as the institutional capacity to advance change and effectively implement policies once they are decided. Institutions can range from being open and responsive in attempting to assimilate demands from actors seeking change to being closed and repressive. Political/social systems' institutional capacity and willingness to allow actors access to development processes also differ. In addition, Oxfam America highlights the role of institutions in its perspective (Van Hemelrijck 2013: 33). In other words, institutions need to be taken into account when studying and understanding empowerment.

While Kitschelt's main focus concerns the institutions in the context under study, it is important to underline that opportunities, as well as constraints, can be found on many other levels such as the larger sociocultural community and economic levels. Sen (1999: 38–39), for example, outlines what he labels "opportunity aspects" in terms of political freedoms, economic facilities, healthcare, education, trust, and social safety (the chapter will return to this). Furthermore, contextual structures are not the only important aspect for empowerment to happen. Kitschelt (1986) also highlights the actors themselves and their agency. Those without power need not only actual opportunities and institutional openings to become empowered but also the ability to perceive such opportunities in order to act upon them (as actors with agency). This leads to the next section, which turns to agency and the capabilities of those without power.

10.4 Agency Level: Empowerment, Capabilities, and Critical Awareness

To understanding empowerment, we also have to consider the agency of individuals and groups. People are the true agents of change (Tufte 2017: foreword viii) and "development is thoroughly dependent on the free agency of people" (Sen 1999: 4). Empowering the powerless to challenge power relations requires those without power having/sensing that they have the capability to do so – that they believe another world is possible and that this world is within reach.

Many scholars' definition of empowerment relates to abilities and capabilities (on the level of the individual as well as the collective). Adams (2008) defines *empowerment* in the field of social work as "the *capacity* of individuals, groups and/or communities to take control of their circumstances, exercise power and achieve their own goals" (p. 6, italics added). Bush and Folger (1994) similarly understand empowerment as a process that restores one's sense of self and value, at the same time, intensifying one's *ability* to address social problems. Bali Swain (2012: 60) argues that empowerment is an individual or a group's *capability* to choose and, from this choice, have the ability to alter their situation. Lennie and Tacchi (2013) approach empowerment as "recognizing your power to create/induce change" (p. 108). Van Hemelrijck (2013) understands empowerment as "the expansion of an individual or a group's *ability* to make transformative life choices" (p. 34, italics added). Servaes and Malikhao (2014) define empowerment as the ability of people to influence "the wider system and take control of their lives" (p. 175). Often cited here is Kabeer (1999), who defines empowerment as the process through "which those who have been denied the *ability* to make strategic life choices acquire such an *ability*" (p. 437, italics added).

Thus, it seems that empowerment concerns agencies, abilities, and choices. This focus resonates in Sen's (1999) *capability approach*. This approach has been widely used in studies of development (Nederveen Pieterse 2010) and has challenged the growth-oriented focus of development (Tufte 2017: 27). Sen (1999) theorizes development as a kind of freedom that lends itself toward the capacity of individuals to not only assess their situations but also have the capability to transform them. Within the area of mobile communication and development (M4D), Smith et al. (2011) have applied Sen's theory by emphasizing how mobile phones alter users' capabilities through increased access to timely and relevant information as well as through expanded possibilities for connectedness between people. Furthermore, Smith et al. (2011) argue that Sen's capability approach is useful for looking beyond traditional economic measures of development and, instead, consider empowerment (which coincides with the aim of this chapter). In other words, development and empowerment almost become the same thing when discussed through the lens of Sen's capability approach (see also Van Hemelrijck's 2013 discussion of development as rights and empowerment, p. 30). Nevertheless, Sen does not say much about empowerment in his book, nor does he define it.

While feminist scholarship claims that powerlessness (and thus also empowerment) is different in different intersecting axes of oppression and takes place on

different levels (from the individual to the collective), Sen highlights that empowerment entails possessing certain capabilities in order to induce change, for example, resources, agencies, and skills (see Kabeer 1999). Capabilities can be located both in the individual and in the collective. This is important to underline because Sen has been criticized for placing too much focus on the individual at the expense of a structural understanding and thus reducing empowerment to individual capabilities. Feminist scholars have warned against solely focusing on the individual, arguing that this unwittingly advances a sense of entitlement rather than poses a challenge to patriarchal and capitalist structures (Riordan 2001: 282). Nevertheless, Sen (1999) does make it clear that what people can achieve "is influenced by economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers (. . .)" (p. 5). He also emphasizes "the role of social values and prevailing mores" (p. 9) and devotes an entire chapter to women's agency and social change (p. 189). Although Sen places agency and capabilities at the center of his analysis, he is not oblivious to the influence of power structures and contextual aspects on capabilities. He connects opportunities that people have to their personal and social circumstances (Sen 1999: 17). In other words, a proper understanding and analysis of empowerment needs to take both the levels of the individual and the collective/structural into account and acknowledge how the power to change one's life situation, environment, and destiny moves and morphs between these different levels.

A similar critique can be directed at Oxfam America's perspective on development as rights (and empowerment), as it tends to be too focused on the individual at the expense of larger structural aspects. Indeed, Oxfam America offers a sophisticated and holistic understanding of empowerment in terms of *agency*, *institutions*, and *societal relationships* (see Van Hemelrijck 2013: 33). Such an understanding is similar to the proposed model of this chapter, as institutions and societal relationships resonate on the contextual level and agency does so on the agency level. However, larger structures are lacking in their understanding and measure of empowerment. This is perhaps not surprising, as this rights-based approach is explicitly proposed as a consequence of a "disillusionment with the welfare state" (Offenheiser and Holcombe 2003: 270) and a desire to move human rights "beyond its state-centric paradigm" (ibid.: 274). In their overview of the rights-based approach, Cornwall and Nyamu-Musembi (2004: 1417) discusses this in relation to replacing a needs-based approach with a rights-based approach to development. Such a move places the individual at the center of the analysis. Basing their analysis on Sengupta's argument on the right to development as a human right, Offenheiser and Holcombe (2003) further argue that human rights are granted to the people by themselves (see p. 277), begging the question of who to hold accountable for the failure of delivering such rights and how. The individual is of course important to consider, as this section on the agency level of empowerment highlights. This should however not be done at the expense of a larger macrostructural analysis. It must be possible to both consider larger axes of oppression while, at the same time, acknowledging the role of individuals and their capabilities and right "to access and manage the resources, services and knowledge they need for strengthening their livelihood, improving their well-being" (Van Hemelrijck 2013: 33).

Acquiring capabilities is one thing, but becoming aware of that change is possible is another. Change requires choice – something which suggests that alternatives exist (Kabeer 1999: 437), or, at least, the possibility to imagine alternatives. This can be connected to Gramsci's idea of *hegemony* – the mechanisms through which some can exert domination without crude force and with some level of consent from those being dominated (Burton and Kagan 1996). To acquire the capability to change one's life situation, environment, and destiny, such consent needs to be challenged. The powerless need to understand why they are disempowered. In his well-known writings on pedagogy and emancipation of the poor, Freire (1996) elaborates on this through the concept of *conscientizaçao* – or critical consciousness, for lack of a better translation. He underlines the importance for the oppressed to become aware of their situation and argues that being passive means being complicit in their oppression and indirectly giving consent to the very mechanisms/structures/groups that oppress them. Critical consciousness entails acquiring an understanding of the sociocultural conditions that shape one's life (Sadan 2004: 82–83), which involves a deepening awareness of both power relations and the possibility of their transformation (Burton and Kagan 1996). Indeed, for Freire (1996), empowerment entails "being encouraged and equipped to know and respond" (p.12) to the concrete realities of one's world. Here, emotions are important to account for as well as the need to feel and be emotionally aware (see Tufte 2017: 87–88) – a need that perhaps can be conceptualized as *emotional conscientizaçao*.

It is possible to also relate critical consciousness to standpoint feminism's emphasis on enabling those without power to define their own realities on their own terms (Hill Collins 2000: 274). Black women's literature contains many examples of how individual black women become personally empowered by a change of consciousness (ibid.: 118). Independent self-definitions – defining their own situation and how they want to change it – empower those without power to bring about change (ibid.: 117).

Freire also connects critical consciousness to action. Social change will not happen by the mere understanding of one's oppression – it must be followed by a critical intervention (Freire 1996: 34). Similarly, Hill Collins (2000: 273) explains that the history of black American women's activism shows that becoming empowered requires more than changing the consciousness of individual black women – it requires transforming unjust social institutions. In turn, action needs what Freire (1996: 47) labels "reflective participation." How reflection can lead to action is where Sen and his focus on capabilities provides useful insights. And when Freire (1996) talks about the "awareness of the self" (p. 15), this could be understood as an awareness of one's capabilities. Critical consciousness thus entails conceiving of oneself as a capable actor of change in a particular situation and being aware of this situation's history and its intersecting relations of power on both micro- and macro levels. In other words, it is not enough to acquire the capabilities to change one's life situation, environment, and destiny; one must also recognize that one possesses these capabilities and believe that another world is possible and that this world is in reach. As Sadan (2004: 144) points out, perceived abilities are as important as actual abilities.

10.5 Technological Level of Communication Platforms: Empowerment, ICTs, and Affordances

Not only do we need to account for intersecting axes of oppression, the opportunities and constraints in a given situation, and actors' capabilities to change their life situation, destiny, and environment but also we need to recognize that the role of communication is important for social change to happen (Tufte 2017). In media and communication studies, changes in communication are often linked to societal changes at large. For example, it was argued that the advent of the printing press was tied to the rise of mass society and mass culture. Critical scholars (such as Horkheimer and the Frankfurt School) were early to relate communication practices to larger societal structures. Today, media scholars have made a similar argument, claiming that in tandem with the rise of more individualized and reflexive forms of communication – not the least through information and communication technologies (ICTs) – we are leaving mass society behind (see, e.g., Castells 1999). Communication has been linked to development through perspectives of the fields of communication for development and communication and social change (Tufte 2017). Indeed, political scientists, anthropologists, and sociologists increasingly recognize the importance of communication practices in everyday life for social and political change (ibid.: 80).

ICTs involve the electronic means of capturing, processing, storing, and communicating information. As a broad and catchy term, it has been endorsed in multiple positive contexts, including empowering marginalized and minority groups (Masika and Bailur 2015). The United Nations illustrates the potential for social and economic empowerment offered by ICTs and underlines the importance of women to make good use of this potential (UNDAW 2002: 3–4). However, access to ICTs is unequal. The so-called digital divide actually includes several gaps: the technological and content divide as well as the gender divide (UNDAW 2005: 1). People from the same social context may not have equal access to ICTs or similar abilities to deploy ICTs due to certain constraints such as poverty and illiteracy (ibid.).

Overviews of the study of ICTs in the global South reveal a field becoming biased toward techno-determinism and not sufficiently taking larger contextual and societal factors into account (Svensson and Wamala-Larsson 2015). Nevertheless, part of the techno-deterministic endurance could likely be explained by its appeal for funders (such as the World Bank; see Dodson et al. 2013: 19–20). If money is going to be invested in development measures, an optimistic and transformative view of what technology can achieve is important. However, there is the great risk of a backlash when studies show that up to 80 percent of ICT4D interventions fail (see Heeks 2002) – a stark reminder that the poor will not benefit from dumping hardware "and [the] hope [that] magic will happen" (Trucanero, in Dodson et al. 2013: 29).

Indeed, the role of ICTs in empowerment is a contested issue. This chapter started with a critique of development in general and ICT and development in particular. It is easy to fall into utopianism and determinism when talking about change in relation to communication technology. However, a critique of techno-determinism should not lead to an uncritical adoption of a sociocultural deterministic view of technology

and its uses (i.e., that the context and sociocultural practices of technology determine everything). Communication platforms are not neutral technologies for people to use. They bring norms and values with them in the sense that there are certain preferred ways of interacting with the devices inscribed both in their design and how users use them.

Being mindful of the risk of different kinds of determinisms, the chapter turns to affordance theory (Gaver 1991). It is important to account for the properties of the particular communication platform used as well as the perception of these platforms by its users if one aims to understand and study the role of ICTs in empowerment in the global South. ICTs may, for example, afford new voices to be both raised and heard (Tufte 2017: 44), more dialogic and bottom-up communication, new forms of being political at the everyday level (ibid.: 65–66), greater possibilities for networking, and increasingly flat and flexible forms of social organization (ibid.: 83). It can be argued that such affordances exist independently of the users' perception of them, but it is not before communication platforms are perceived as tools that afford action for social change that they will be used as such. Consequently, most communication platforms appear to offer *perceptible affordances*, (i.e., information about the properties of the object which may be acted upon). Hence, communication platforms need to convey information about its affordances in a format that is compatible with the users' perceptual system. The actions communication platforms afford also need to be socioculturally relevant to the user. In line with this, Gibson (1977) argues that people do not interact with an object without first perceiving what it is good for.

Here, affordances can be connected to opportunities, meaning that ICT affordances could be labelled "communication opportunities" in a given situation or as "media opportunities" (see Tufte 2017: 136). As Cammaerts (2012) notes, some opportunities and constraints "are inherent to media itself" (p. 119). One can also argue that technology constraints change in terms of lack of access, know-how, and its affordance of surveillance (see Svensson and Wamala-Larsson 2016). This can, in turn, be connected to Sen's capability approach – having the capability/ability to use and understand the platforms at hand (i.e., media literacy). Thus, an analysis of empowerment should account for how communication platforms' affordances are interpreted and explored based on the users own defined needs from their standpoints and in their particular situations. By conceiving of communication platforms as affording particular practices while at the same time being open for users' needs and interpretations of such practices, it becomes possible to move beyond framings of technology as inherently good or bad in themselves, while avoiding resorting to the argument that they are neutral. Communication platforms dialectically intersect with society and interact with the users as they appropriate the technology to suit their particular life situation.

It is also important to underline that ICTs are only one part of an overall *communication ecology* of a given community (Treré and Mattoni 2015). Communication should be understood in a holistic and ecological manner (Tufte 2017: 21) and, therefore, not be studied in isolation. Understanding ICTs as part of a communication ecology will overcome the kind of communicative reductionism, one-platform bias, presentism, and fetishization of technological novelty that has

been prevalent in studies of communication for social change (see Treré and Mattoni 2015). A communicative ecology lens also allows for a restoration of the communicative complexity in the study of actors struggling for empowerment and social change because it brings a holistic perspective beyond specific media instances (ibid.).

When studying communication platforms in the global South, deterministic stances should be discarded, which an affordance lens makes possible. Nevertheless, it is important to understand how affordances interact with both the sociocultural/political context/situation and the capabilities of individuals and groups to make use of communication platforms in empowering ways. To summarize, ICTs, or any communication platform for that manner, should not be studied in isolation. A communication platform itself is situated within a larger media and communication ecology in the particular context it is used. To understand the potentially empowering role of communication, an ecological perspective allows for a deeper and more context-aware analysis.

10.6 Concluding Remarks

Hill Collins (2000: 274) argues that we cannot develop an approach to empowerment without understanding how power is organized and how it operates. This chapter proposes that power is located in and, thus, operates from the following:

1. How those who are powerless are situated in intersecting structures of oppression (such as ethnicity, gender, class, and sexuality).
2. The opportunities and constraints of the social and political systems/institutions of the particular situations that those without power find themselves in.
3. The agency of individuals as well as collectives (and their interrelations).
4. Communication platforms and how they are perceived and used.

To summarize, empowerment is a tool for understanding how those who are powerless are situated in the different intersecting axes of oppression, how they have different opportunities and constraints in the various situations they find themselves in, their agency, and the role of communication platforms affordances. This tool is in line with the critique of development at the beginning of the chapter. A focus on empowering the disempowered through acquiring a critical consciousness and recognizing their capabilities avoids the kind of determinisms that have been prevalent and criticized in the field. Rather, this chapter proposed to study and understand empowerment on four levels – the intersectional, the contextual, the agency, and the technological. It is important to stress that relations, capabilities, situations, and intersections are constantly changing and not static; hence, these levels need to be regularly reviewed. As Van Hemelrijck (2013: 34) emphasizes, persistent and collaborative efforts are needed to realize empowerment and social change.

Development problems are complex (Servaes and Lie 2015: 141). Oppression and powerlessness are also complex (Hill Collins 2000: 289); therefore, the study of empowerment and resistance must also be complex (ibid.). One way to summarize empowerment and its attached levels is to connect questions to each of them. This model of empowerment can also be applied to an analysis of ICTs in the global South.

Intersectional level: This level concerns the roots of powerlessness in terms of intersecting structures of power such as ethnicity, gender, class, and sexuality. How are the powerless under study situated in the larger structures of power? Such a description should not be made *von oben*, but rather involve the standpoints of those under study in order for them to define their own realities on their own terms. Here, it is also important to avoid the individual versus collective dichotomy, as it is more appropriate to explain how these dimensions interrelate instead.

Contextual level: This level concerns the particular context of those without power and how their actions are situated in this context. How do their contexts provide both opportunities and constraints (in terms of institutions, local community, local culture, economic and family arrangements, et cetera)? Which configuration of resources, institutional arrangements, and historical precedents exist in the contexts of those under study? How open or closed to change are important institutions, authorities, or organizations? What is the capacity of these institutions, authorities, or organizations to advance change and effectively implement policies once they are decided?

Agency level: This level concerns the capabilities of individuals and groups under study and their ability to make choices and thus control their life situation, destiny, and environment. What capabilities, resources, agencies, skills, choices, and achievements can be discerned? How critically conscious are those under study of their situation? Do they have possibility/ capability to imagine that change is possible? And does such critical consciousness lead to action and, thus, change?

Technological level: This level concerns the affordances of the communication platforms used by those under study. What access to communication platforms do they have? What is their communication/media literacy? How do they use these platforms? What affordances do they perceive these platforms to have? Do they find new affordances over time? And how are these communication platforms situated in larger media/communication ecologies, and how does this influence their use?

The social world is complex, holistic, and dynamic in a manner which is difficult to outline in a linear text such as the format of this chapter. Also apparent in the chapter is that these levels intersect, merge into, and influence each other. It is easier to separate these levels in writing than in an empirical reality. Therefore, the chapter will conclude by applying these levels to the situation that market women in Kampala find themselves in (see Svensson and Wamala-Larsson 2016; Wamala-Larsson and Svensson 2018 for details on the study and how it was carried out).

The study shows that, while mobile phones helped these women stay in control of their small businesses and juggle both family life and coordinate sales goods delivery, larger patriarchal structures and the lack of state welfare held them back. While the mobile phone was used for increasing their customer base and making

transactions through mobile payments, the same device was used by their male partners for surveillance – to control them. Moreover, just when the women began to make money on their own– which, to an extent, led to greater independence and the ability to take control of their own life situation – their male partners, and the fathers of their children, reneged on their financial obligations. The lack of a welfare state in Uganda to provide basic services such as free education intersects with patriarchal notions that women should be in charge of the household and raise children. The fact that these women made money on their own was used as an excuse for their male partners to renege on their parental obligations.

On the contextual level, the market women's stories showed that women in Uganda (and Africa in general) are those who historically are supposed to trade in street markets. This opened up opportunities for these women to earn a small living. Mobile communication in general and mobile money, in particular, have been helpful here. With mobile money, the market women do not need to handle large amounts of cash. Mobile money has also brought banking to segments of the population that previously did not use banks. Via the mobile phone, these women could also keep a repository of customers and their preferences in order to contact them in the future when their stock was renewed. At the same time, the local authority (KCCA – Kampala Capital City Authority) challenged the street markets and tried to push the women out of the open-air street markets in favor of more expensive shopping grounds in a general attempt to beautify the city. The street markets had been burned down many times. Also, stories from the women suggested that mobile service providers, through mandatory SIM card registration, collaborated with KCCA in order to keep track of them. Once again, the drawback of mobile communication in terms of empowerment seems to be its affordance of surveillance – from male partners as well as the local authorities.

When asked questions relating to their empowerment from the agency level, the market women responded that they did not sense they could do anything about their life situation, destiny, and environment. For example, they did not feel they had the capabilities to fight KCCA in order to keep their vending spots in the Kampala street markets. Nevertheless, it cannot be claimed that the women lacked critical awareness. Rather, they did not foresee any possibilities/opportunities for action. Concerning other issues, they did act; for example, the women organized saving circles among themselves to make sure they would all have money when school fees were due. They were also very skillful in dealing with money transactions, in particular mobile money, and could quickly secure mobile money transactions during times of hectic trading with multiple traders.

The women claim that mobile phones also make it easier to keep a repository of customers to contact when goods came in or refer customers to their colleagues (often in the same saving circles). Some of their customers prefer not to go into these maze-likes markets. By sending pictures over their mobile phone and by offering mobile money transactions, the women could secure a deal without meeting in person. The market women would then send the goods by bus to a point where the customer could then collect them. This is about affordances of mobile communication and mobile money and the ability to imagine other possibilities over time.

Developing intricate communication systems (without airtime being lost) via so-called beeping (i.e., lost calls) is another example of this. From an ecology perspective, mobile communication is clearly connected to the important traditional oral culture of Uganda. Mobile communication does not require texting, but rather talking, and thus suits the communication ecology of Uganda.

These short glimpses into an empirical case have hopefully shown that the suggested framework can provide a critical analysis of ICTs in the global South which neither resort to techno-determinism nor view technology as neutral. This analysis also shows how empowerment is a complex concept and how a group – in this case Kampala market women – can both be empowered and disempowered at the same time, depending on the level and situation. This hopefully shows how empowerment can be used as an analytical concept in a defined and structured manner.

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The Theory of Digital Citizenship

11

Toks Dele Oyedemi

Contents

11.1 Introduction: Rethinking Citizenship in the Digital Age 238
11.1.1 Theoretical Approaches to Citizenship and Implications for Internet Access 239
11.2 The Theory of Digital Citizenship 241
11.2.1 Participation and Digital Citizenship 246
11.2.2 Cultural Citizenship and Digital Citizenship 248
11.2.3 The Elements of the Theory of Digital Citizenship 250
11.3 Conclusion 253
11.4 Cross-References 253
References 253

Abstract

Increasingly new digital technologies continue to shape the ideal of participation in relation to citizenship in society. The Internet is not only a tool for engendering development and social change, but it provides spaces where this change occurs. Citizens need information for effective participation in the political, economic, and social spheres and for their ability to foster social change in these spheres. The Internet as a medium and a tool provides this information, and as such, it becomes relevant for the realization of citizenship in society. As the Internet continues to evolve technologically and culturally, concern about access to it still remains relevant to scholarly and policy discourses. The concerns about unequal access to the Internet have a historical trajectory that has evolved into many concepts, approaches, and metaphors. Examples abound: digital divide, digital inequality, digital entitlement, virtual inequality, and many others. The concept of

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digital citizenship is not new; it has been applied in the European and American contexts to draw attention to the importance of the Internet to citizens' ability to participate in society. However, it remains a strong symbolic term without practical implementable framework. Through critical theoretical engagements with the concepts of citizenship, various theoretical articulations of rights, and a critical analysis of the discourse of participation, this chapter proposes a theory of digital citizenship with attendant elements that form its framework. This framework provides a guide for the pursuit of cultural, economic, and social change required for active citizenry aided by technology access. It highlights the relevance of the Internet together with other socioeconomic and political resources in shaping today's ideal of citizenship.

Keywords

Internet · Citizenship · Participation · Human rights · Digital citizen

11.1 Introduction: Rethinking Citizenship in the Digital Age

This chapter conceptualizes digital citizenship in relation to access to the Internet. Although the concept has been applied to studies of access and use of the Internet, it remains a strong symbolic term without practical implementable framework. There is a need for a critical attempt to expand this concept from its current descriptive and symbolic connotations to a theoretical framework for studying access to the Internet. Citizens need information for effective participation in the political, economic, and social spheres in society. The Internet is a medium and a tool that provides this information, and as such, it becomes relevant that citizens have access to this technology. Digital citizenship describes the ability to address the inequalities that exist in access and use of the Internet. For Mossberger et al. (2008), digital citizenship is a concept that describes the ability of an individual to participate in a society online. D'Haenens et al. (2008) apply the term to describe how citizens use the Internet for certain types of context in engaging civic and social activities, and Servaes (2003) applies the concept in tackling the rapid revolution in communication technologies and how lack of access could create or expand the notion of information inequalities.

These applications of the concept imply that digital citizens are those who use the Internet effectively on a regular, preferably daily, basis. The argument is that the concept of digital citizenship is a move away from the narrow concepts of "haves" and "have-nots" that describe the regime of digital divide, where research on digital technologies is engaged in terms of physical intermittent access to the Internet and, at times, skills to use this technology. As Mossberger et al. (2008) note, daily Internet use in the concept of digital citizenship implies sufficient technical skills for effective use along with frequent means of access. They note further that the concept of digital citizenship highlights the importance of the Internet in enhancing citizen's participation in society on three aspects: (1) the inclusion in prevailing forms of communication through regular and effective use of the Internet, (2) the impact of Internet

use on the ability to participate as democratic citizens, and (3) the effects of the Internet on the quality of opportunity for citizens in the marketplace and in the economic domain generally. Hence, digital citizens are those who use digital technologies frequently for fulfilling social activities, for sourcing information to fulfill civic duty, and for financial and economic activities. But to further engage this concept, a theoretical analysis of citizenship is required in order to justify its application to technology and society.

11.1.1 Theoretical Approaches to Citizenship and Implications for Internet Access

The concept of citizenship in relation to the discourse around the Internet predictably elicits simple, but critical, questions about the relevance of the political concept of citizenship to Internet access and use. It raises question about what it means to invoke citizenship in envisioning universal access to the Internet. The rights attached to citizenship make it an attractive concept for Internet access; it locates access within the framework of rights, social justice, and equity. Janoski (1998) provides an analysis of the political theory of citizenship. He defines citizenship as the "passive and active membership of individuals in a nation-state with certain universalistic rights and obligations at a specific level of equality" (p. 9). This definition is relevant, for it touches on the core issues essential to the discourse here, and thus warrants further explanation. Firstly, as he explains, this definition identifies "membership" as one of the characteristics of citizenship. Citizenship bestows membership in a nation-state to the individual or groups of individuals irrespective of ethnicity, race, gender, class, or disability. In a situation that this categorization becomes a tool to deprive the individual effective participation in a society, the arguments are often made of deprivation of citizenship or relegation of one's citizenship. This argument has supported calls for policy of inclusion for stigmatized groups based on the aforementioned categories.

Secondly, citizenship involves "passive and active rights," passive rights of existence and active rights that include present and future capacities to participate and influence politics and economy in a democratic polity. Thirdly, Janoski (1998) notes that citizenship rights are universalistic rights enacted into law and implemented for all citizens. Lastly, citizenship is a statement of equality. Consequently, these concepts of membership, inclusion, rights, and equality become relevant in the way we reframe access to the Internet.

There are different approaches to the political theory of citizenship. The liberal concept of citizenship is based on the idea of individual freedom and liberty (Schuck 2002; Janoski 1998). Influential proponents of liberalism, such as
John Locke and John Stuart Mill, expounded individual rights, freedom, and liberty as cornerstones of citizenship. The liberty in the liberal notion is the claim of equal opportunity for participation in a society, a claim that the state, according to Berlin (1958), should act affirmatively to create or secure those substantive entitlements,

such as income, health care, and education that individuals need in order to lead the dignified, independent lives essential to their freedom (Schuck 2002).

In this notion, policy on access to education is seen as attempt to provide individuals with the capacity to participate and pursue individual freedom – socially, economically, and politically. Likewise with regard to the Internet, the benefits that the Internet provides make access an important issue in order for citizens to gain equal opportunity to information that make them participate effectively in society. Also included in the liberal idea of individual equality and participation is the notion of free market, which explicitly implies individuals' equal participation in the market and implicitly affirms that competition is fair. The assertion of individualism borders and conflicts with egalitarianism, and as a result, it draws many criticisms. For instance, liberal individualism presupposes equality; however, due to capitalism and other social formations, inequality is always present in individual's ability to access utility that makes citizenship attainable. Technological innovations, such as the Internet, always generate new forms of inequality. Consequently, economic and social opportunities in this tradition may justify expanding individual access to the Internet, beyond the market efficiency arguments and rhetoric of effective competition.

Communitarianism is another approach to citizenship. It puts strong emphasis on the collective as in a community or a nation. The goal in this tradition is toward achieving effective and just society, which is built through mutual support and group action, not atomistic choice and individual liberty of the liberal tradition. With regard to citizenship, the ultimate goal is to "build a strong community based on *common* identity, mutuality, autonomy, participation, and integration" (Janoski 1998, p. 19).

Republican citizenship or republicanism is similar to communitarianism. Dagger (2002) argues that the key ideas of republican citizenship are the concepts of community and the common good, as against the liberal idea of individualism. He notes that citizens in the republican ideology are members of the public, who must be prepared to overcome personal inclinations and set aside their private interests, when necessary, to do what is best for the public as a whole. Citizenship in this tradition requires commitment to common good, and public interest, and places the interest of the community ahead of personal interest. For example, the notion of public education is seen as enhancing public and common good rather than the liberal version of education serving to promote individual equality of opportunity (Oyedemi 2015). The notion of public interest in communication policy is another example. Specifically, individual access to the Internet may be argued as enhancing the common good of the community or the nation as a whole. In essence, this ideology implies that personal welfare is dependent on the general welfare in order to enhance the well-being of a community (Bellah et al. 1985).

In studying the American polity and politics, Roger Smith (1993) refers to ascriptive hierarchy to engage the "inegalitarian" ideologies that defined the political status of racial and ethnic minorities and women through most of US history. This ascriptive hierarchy tradition describes the exclusion of large segment of the population from full citizenship based on ascriptive traits such as race, gender, or ethnicity. Ascriptive hierarchy describes the inequality in a society based on these

social categorizations. In a similar note, Janoski (1998) discusses expansive democracy theory as the approach that deals with the expansion of rights, mostly of individual and organizational rights of people who have been discriminated against including most class, gender, and ethnic groups. The deprivation of millions of native Africans citizenship in South Africa during apartheid regime stands as strong instance of ascriptive hierarchy, and the expansive democracy theory explains the post-apartheid expansion of rights to those previously disenfranchised. These two theories reflect the different shapes of social inequalities evident in contemporary society. These theories highlight the enduring inequalities which are visible in the current context of society online, and research studies have shown that income, education, age, race, gender, and ethnicity all have impacts on access to the Internet.

T. H Marshall (1950, 1964, 2009) provides a seminal analysis of citizenship with a tripartite framework of civil, political, and social rights. Civil rights include the rights necessary for individual freedom and the liberties of the citizen. This includes rights enshrined in freedoms of speech, thought, and faith. This also includes the right to justice and the right to own property. The right to participate in the political and democratic systems is encapsulated in "political rights"; this right involves participation based on membership in political authority and participation in the electoral process. Social rights include a broad range of rights, from rights enshrining basic economic welfare and security to rights to share and participate in social heritage and "to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society" (Marshall 2009, p. 149). Internet access is important in the realization of freedoms and participation enshrined in civil rights, political rights, and social rights of citizens (Oyedemi 2015).

Irrespective of these disparate theorizations of citizenship, a universal agreement is derived from a belief that citizenship is a concept that encapsulates several basic rights. These rights can be categorized as legal rights, political rights, social rights, and participation rights; see Table 1.

In this typology, access to the Internet is important for sourcing the information that makes all these rights possible. The emphasis on rights leads us to the issue of social justice and human rights, and it strengthens the application of citizenship to Internet access.

The notion of equality as a component in framing human rights is particularly relevant to a theorization of citizenship. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) is one of the main sources of the conceptual understanding of human rights and the framing of citizenship. The rights included in the declaration are critical in the formulation of the contemporary notion of citizenship.

11.2 The Theory of Digital Citizenship

Bearing in mind the rights embedded in citizenship, digital citizenship describes the universal availability of the Internet, the importance of every citizen to gain access to this technology for effective participation in society. A digital citizen is someone with *regular* and *flexible* access to the Internet, the *skills* to apply this technology,

Table 1 Four types of citizenship rights

Legal rights	Political rights	Social rights	Participation rights
A. Procedural rights 1. Access to courts and counsel 2. Rights to contract 3. Equal treatment under the law 4. Rights of aliens to immigrate and citizens to emigrate	A. Personal rights 1. Enfranchisement of the poor, gender groups, ethnic/racial groups, age categories, and immigrants 2. Rights to run and hold office 3. Rights to form and join a political party	A. Enabling and preventive rights 1. Health services 2. Family allowances 3. Personal and family counseling 4. Physical rehabilitation	A. Labor market intervention rights 1. Labor market information programs 2. Job placement programs 3. Job creation services
B. Expressive rights 1. Freedom of speech 2. Freedom of religion 3. Choice of friends, companions, and associates 4. Rights to privacy	B. Organizational rights 1. Political lobbying 2. Political fund raising 3. Legislative and administrative consultation 4. Political bargaining	B. Opportunity rights 1. Pre-primary education 2. Primary and secondary education 3. Vocational education 5. Educational assistance for special groups	B. Firms and bureaucracy rights 1. Job security rights 2. Workers' councils or grievance procedure rights 3. Client participation in bureaucracy or self-administration 4. Collective bargaining rights
C. Bodily control rights 1. Freedom from assault and unsafe environment 2. Medical and sexual control over body	C. Naturalization rights 1. Right to naturalize upon residency 2. Right to information on naturalization process 3. Refugee rights	C. Distributive rights 1. Old-age pensions 2. Public assistance 3. Unemployment compensation	C. Capital Control rights 1. Codetermination rights 2. Wage earner and union investment funds 3. Capital escape laws 5. Regional investment and equalization programs
D. Property and service rights 1. Hold and dispose of property and services 2. Choice of residence	D. Oppositional rights 1. Minority rights to equal and fair treatment 2. Political information and inquiry rights 3. Social movement and protest rights	D. Compensatory rights 1. Work injury insurance 2. War injury pension 3. War equalization	

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Legal rights	Political rights	Social rights	Participation rights
3. Choice of occupation		4. Rights infringement compensation	
E. Organizational rights 1. Employee organizing 2. Corporate organizing 3. Political party organizing			

Source: Janoski (1998).

and a *regular use* of the Internet for participation and functioning in all spheres of the society. Digital citizenship has been applied by scholars to address the impact of technology on current society: Servaes (2003) in the debate around the European Information Society applies the term to describe the need to understand the role of ICTs in relation to people's ability to participate in society.

D'Haenens et al. (2008) also use digital citizenship in describing how ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands use ICTs for civic activities and participation. Mossberger et al. (2008) define digital citizenship as the ability to participate in society online, and digital citizens are those who use the Internet regularly and effectively. The work of Amartya Sen, on inequality, capability, and functioning, becomes relevant in this context. Drawing from Sen's (1992) capability approach, Mossberger et al. (2008, p. 2) view digital citizenship as representing capability, belonging, and the potential for political and economic engagement in society. Garnham (1999) also draws on Sen's capability approach to argue for access to communication technologies for citizens; he asserts communication technology as a citizen's entitlement in achieving the notion of "informed citizenship."

The application of the term, digital citizenship, is relevant in highlighting the importance of the Internet for citizens in enhancing their rights and responsibilities and being able to participate in all spheres of society. However, one shortcoming of the application of this term is the lack of a theoretical framework to apply to the concept. Consequently, the term risks being perceived like many other metaphors and concepts used to describe issue of access to ICTs, which are strong in invoking emotions, but lacks a theoretical framework. Besides employing concepts such as equality, participation and citizen's rights, digital citizenship invokes emotions, but lacks a framework.

To buttress this criticism, let us engage Mossberger et al.'s (2008) use of the term. They apply the term extensively in arguing for participation in society through Internet use. For them, digital citizenship is mostly achieved through frequent use of the Internet, specifically daily use. They argue that "the frequency of use, especially daily use, more accurately measures digital citizenship than home access

or simply having used the Internet at some point. Those who have Internet connections at home may still lack the ability to find and evaluate information online" (p. 10). Based on this, they define digital citizens as "those who use the Internet daily" (p. 120) and that the frequency of use is a better measure of capacity for digital citizenship. The core issues of digital citizenship, as discussed by Mossberger et al., are the application of citizenship values; the opportunities that the Internet offers for social, economic, and political participation; and a daily use of the Internet. They paid limited emphasis on skills as essential component of being a digital citizen, assuming that daily use presupposes "sufficient technical competence and information literacy for effective use along with some regular means of access" (p. 1).

Undoubtedly, Mossberger et al.'s discussion of digital citizenship provides a useful compass for the application of the term; especially the focus on political idea of citizenship values, issues of inequalities, and the daily use of the Internet to participate in society are all relevant to the theoretical framework developed here. However, a theorization of digital citizenship needs to extend beyond these issues. The relative widespread of the Internet in the United States may have led to a large focus on Internet use, but in many other countries, especially the developing ones, other issues of physical access, skills, and effective policies are still central to how digital inequalities are engaged. While home access does not automatically connote use, as they argue, and the frequency of use is a better measure, it is also critical to acknowledge that home connection provides huge advantages, presupposes regular use, and allows for flexibility of use without the constraints of public access or access at work place.

The definition of digital citizen as daily Internet users is limited and needs to be expanded. Someone that receives and sends e-mail on a daily basis cannot be referred to as a digital citizen; the assumption that daily use presumes information literacy skills is a narrow approach to digital skills. There is a need to expand the scope of digital skills beyond information searching capability to include the ability to create content. This includes creating relevant information, posting multimedia content, and many more. Consequently digital citizen is defined here, not merely as daily Internet user but as *someone with regular and flexible access (implicitly individual and household access) to the Internet, the skills to apply this technology, and a regular use of the Internet for participation and functioning in all spheres of the society.*

Flexibility of access offers the ability to use the Internet anytime one wishes without any structural or institutional hindrances. Individual and household types of Internet access offer the highest flexibility of access and are crucial in attaining digital citizenship, contrary to the constraints often confronted in public access places or workplaces. Individual access includes, but not limited to, broadband access on mobile devices. Essentially, there is a need to further develop the concept of digital citizenship and propose elements that may comprise a theory of digital citizenship. This leads to two critical questions: Can a theory of digital citizenship be developed? And how might this be done? A key contribution of this chapter is the attempt to move the concept of digital citizenship from being a descriptive terminology to a theory that can easily be applied to issue of access to communication technologies in different geographical contexts.

The developments in Internet technologies and the resultant changes occurring in human interactions and sociability call for theories to explain the role of ICTs in today's cultural and economic practices. It requires that we explain the dynamic nature of the Internet and its effect on human interaction beyond the technology deterministic theoretical approaches. Scholars have theoretically engaged the impacts of the Internet on various aspects of cultures, such as identity (Turkle 1995, 2005) and community (Willson 2006).

Burnett and Marshall (2003) engage a compendium of theories in discussing "web theory." Rather than identifying a universal and possibly a unified theory of the web, they apply various forms of theoretical approaches in engaging the web as a technology, as networks and information, as communication, as platform of identity configurations, and as political economic domain of economy, policy, and regulation. Webster's (1995) analysis of information society is an early and seminal attempt to theorize the concept in explaining the impact of digital technologies on society. He draws on a structural-functional theoretical approach to develop a theory of an information society. He engages the information society from technological, spatial, economic, occupational, and cultural perspectives.

A theory of digital citizenship is identified as a critical theory because it attempts to address issues of inequality. It is also an empirical theory, as Williams (2003) notes, empirical theory seeks to build a model or develop a conceptual framework to explain the phenomena it is trying to understand. Digital citizenship addresses how personal access to the Internet allows people to function in every sector of society. It is largely used to tackle social inequalities in society as they shape access to the Internet and how this access can conversely help address certain layers of social inequalities.

Digital citizenship focuses on individual Internet access, daily Internet use, digital skills, and the citizen's right to gain access to this resource for effective participation in society. This approach is contrary to the concept of "digital divide" and its policy implementations that largely focus on physical access that is often publicly available.

The rationale for developing a theory of digital citizenship is based on the fact that many concepts, approaches, and metaphors have been developed to tackle the issue of access to the Internet. Examples abound: digital divide (NTIA 1995; Servon 2002), digital inequality (Dimaggio and Hargittai 2001), digital entitlement (Mansell 2002), virtual inequality (Mossberger et al. 2003), etc. As Kuhn (1996) notes, when theories proliferate, it leads to a crisis, and the crisis leads to theoretical revolution where a new theory develops to engage the theoretical crisis. While many theorists believe in the same ideology of providing access to the unconnected, it has been engaged and studied differently in multiple of ways. The theoretical landscape calls for a new approach that adopts a universal concept. The universal concepts of human rights and social justice are critical to the understanding of digital citizenship. Other rationalizations of the concept are as follow:

1. It moves the discussion away from mere access to the issue of rights. Having connection to the Internet should be a right for a functional participation in society.

2. It touches on citizenship rights, social justice, entitlement, and equality of opportunities.
3. It moves discussion away from bridging the digital divide to locating access to the Internet as a precondition for full citizenship in the digital age.
4. It recognizes that the Internet is crucial for an effective democracy and citizenship participation. Just as the news media have been critical in fostering an informed citizen, which is crucial for the enrichment of democracy, the Internet makes many social, civic, economic, and political activities of citizens possible.

Research and opinions about digital citizenship are largely focused on technological and social inequalities that hamper full citizenship participation in the current society that relies on new communication technologies as the predominant platforms for most social and cultural activities and interactions.

11.2.1 Participation and Digital Citizenship

The concept of participation is essential in theorizing digital citizenship. From its seminal use in democratic theory, participation has materialized as a philosophical framework that has been applied to studies in many fields, such as politics, spatial planning, development and social change, arts and museums, and communications (Carpentier 2011). The concept of participation is critical in understanding the role of the individual in connection with the community and the society as a whole. It is an important concept in the study of democracy and democratic theory (Pateman 1970; Held 2006), has been used to study social inclusion and citizenship (Mertens and Servaes 2011), and juxtaposed against concept of alienation (Mejos 2007).

In democratic theory, Carpentier (2011) identifies a minimalist and maximalist views of participation. Minimalist participation reduces the political role of citizenry to participation in the election process resulting in representation and delegation of power. Maximalist democratic participation is more substantial, is multidirectional, and is not limited to mere election of representatives. Similarly, Thomas (1994) identifies micro- and macro-participation, where macro-participation reflects participation in the national political spheres of a country and micro-participation is about the local spheres of school, family, workplace, church, and community. The concept of participation is a critical aspect of the study and process of communication and media through theories of audience participation and communication rights (Carpentier 2011). The concept is a prominent framework in the theories, process, and study of communication for development and social change (Servaes 1999; Servaes and Malikhao 2008; Huesca 2008); here the emphasis is on the equality of participants in decision-making and their empowerment to be actively involved in shaping phenomenon that affects their being, individuality, community, and cultural identities.

With the current regime of Internet technologies and web 2.0 and beyond, the concept of participation becomes strongly articulated into the discourses of new media and citizenship (Chadwick 2006; Jenkins 2008; Kann et al. 2007). Firstly, the

analysis is on the participatory culture that new media and the Internet engender through collaborative authoring and the interactivity aspect of social media. This culture is important for citizenship values of openness and democracy; as Jenkins (2008) notes, this participatory culture contrasts with older ideas of a passive public and inert media spectatorship, and it creates a "current moment of media change [which] is affirming the right of everyday people to actively contribute to their culture" (p. 136). Secondly, new media and the Internet allow citizens to participate in many aspects of society, for example, as Carpentier (2011) observes, it leads to clusters of debate on citizens' participation in institutionalized politics, through many e-concepts (such as e-government, e-democracy, e-campaigning, etc.).

The concept of participation as applied here takes the maximalist approach; it refers to the ability of citizen to gain access to resources that facilitate their inclusion and decision-making process in all spheres of society. It involves the ability to participate in the economic, political, cultural, and social spheres of society as they relate to everyday practices. Specifically, it highlights how the Internet becomes additional resource for the individual to participate effectively toward full citizenship in society. Mertens and Servaes (2011) note citizenship is beyond the legal and political ideologies; citizenship should also be a social citizenship, which implies social participation.

Mertens and Servaes (2011) engage the concept of participation as a core philosophy of social inclusion and relate this to how information and communication technologies are resources in achieving social inclusion. They identify two types of participation that are relevant to the current discourse on digital citizenship. The first type of participation is called *structural participation*, this involves having a good economic position to facilitate participating in society structurally, and the dimensions of this include being employed and unemployed. In addressing this structural participation, they acknowledge that some aspects of ICT policy promote skills for the unemployed. Another dimension of structural participation is the quality and level of the labor position that people hold, as in the case that jobs with a higher level of ICT use are structurally better jobs. A third dimension of structural participation is education, and educational qualification can have correlation with one's economic position. With reference to ICT, they argue that policy activities oriented toward ICT education can be seen as processes that promote structural participation.

A second type of participation is *sociocultural participation*. This refers to the contacts people have in their networks with family and friends, their social contact in organizations, and their activities and influence in politics and political organizations (Mertens and Servaes 2011). These dimensions of sociocultural participation can equally be influenced by technology and ICT policy. Access to the Internet can foster the ability of citizens to participate structurally, socially, economically, politically, and culturally in society and foster digital citizenship. In essence, the concept of digital citizenship addresses the ability of the individual to utilize the Internet as a resource in participating in every sphere of society. The overall assertion is that citizenship is hampered if some people are unable to participate in society based on their lack of access to a relevant medium of information and communication.

11.2.2 Cultural Citizenship and Digital Citizenship

The discussions of citizenship, participation, and social inclusion highlight the notion that citizenship is more than a legal and political concept that describes the rights and civic obligations of an individual. Citizenship is equally social and cultural (Delanty 2003; Stevenson 2001). Culture, broadly defined, reflects every facet of human life – "the way we do things, the way we represent the world, the way we construct notions of self and other" (Ommundsen 2010, p. 4). In a narrow sense, culture may be seen as aesthetic practices as in high and low (or popular) culture or a signifier of group or communal identity (ibid.). Culture reflects the individual in relation to everyday practices in which individuals engage and participate to enrich and give meanings to their lives (Melleuish 2010). As Raymond Williams (1989, p. 4) argues, culture can be seen in two ways: as a whole way of life, which is the common meaning, and as arts and learning, which is the special process of discovery and creative effort. Culture defines the self and identity – hence the struggles for cultural rights and equality. It involves the daily practices of consumption, the engagement with arts and education, and their material institutionalizations. Culture is not bounded in space; it involves the realm of postmodern globalized world of disembodied practices. Critically, culture can be studied as a marker of power, class, inclusion, and exclusion in society (Bourdieu 1984, 1986, 1989).

To have access to cultural citizenship is to be able to participate and make interventions into the public sphere at the local, national, and global levels (Stevenson 2001). The themes of participation and equality are equally prominent in understanding cultural citizenship. Cultural citizenship can be studied from many perspectives: engaging the term empirically, one needs to focus on issues of participation and the ability of individuals to function within a cultural group of which one claims membership. In this sense, it invokes issue of human and cultural rights. Cultural citizenship also invokes the issues of liberty, cultural identity, and empowerment as citizens negotiate multicultural space in the discourses of identity and nationhood (Rosaldo 1994.).

Delanty (2003) engages cultural citizenship as a learning process about some important aspects of citizenship, which include language, cultural models, narratives, and the discourses that people use to make sense of their society, understand their place in it, and create courses of action. Citizenship is thus connected to culture in a cognitive relationship by which "learning processes in the domain of citizenship are transferred to the cultural dimension of society" (p. 604). Delanty notes further, "the power to name, create meaning, construct personal biographies and narratives by gaining control over the flow of information, goods and cultural processes is an important dimension of citizenship as an active process" (p. 602).

The control of information flow and cultural process by citizens makes cultural citizenship relevant to cultural technologies, such as mass media and the Internet. The role of communication technologies in shaping cultural citizenship is critical. On one hand, global communication in the epoch of rapid globalization and hyper-commodification of media operations has led to global culture and global idea of citizenship. On the other hand, access to these technologies allows citizens to

participate in everyday cultural practices, define their own cultural space, and access information that enhance the knowledge necessary for a sense of identity and involvement in social sphere of a local community – a process that leads to social inclusion in society. It is in this notion that cultural citizenship becomes relevant to the discourse of digital citizenship. Digital citizenship is an aspect of cultural citizenship; it draws on the political rights of citizenship to argue for participation in society through the use of a cultural resource (the Internet). It focuses on empowering the individual to gain control of information flow and cultural processes that define their participation as citizens in a society.

Ommundsen (2010) notes that the values associated with cultural citizenship are equality, respect, recognition, identity, belonging, agency, and empowerment. All these values "are in most cases regarded as the preserve of pluralist societies, in which the measure of cultural citizenship is the extent to which cultural rights and *resources* are available to citizens regardless of background" (p. 270, italics added).

Applying the concept of cultural citizenship to the study of the Internet follows in a tradition of invoking citizenship to social and cultural issues in the scholarship of media, communication, and cultural studies. For instance, Toby Miller (2006) applies the concept to the study of the television culture and critique of the media. He identifies three key types of citizenship: political citizenship (the right to reside and vote), the economic citizenship (the right to work and prosper), and cultural citizenship (the right to know). Miller notes that classical political theory of citizenship accorded the representation to the citizen through the state. The modern notion of citizenship is an economic addendum that the state promised a minimal standard of living. The postmodern notion is a cultural idea of citizenship, which guarantees access to the technologies of communication (p. 35). He applies the term cultural citizenship to address the political economy of communication – commodification by corporation and identity politics in the media and how these impact on what sort of information is available to the citizen and, most importantly, what is kept off the media. Consequently, he addresses the implication of this on the notion of citizenship.

Joke Hermes (2006) engages cultural citizenship, from a cultural studies perspective, as the process of bonding and community building and contemplation on that bonding, with regard to the production, consumption, and reflection of cultural text – in media and other cultural platforms. It is how we use media text and everyday culture to generate and reflect on identities embedded in different communities of any kind, and it is manifested by the range of emotions and appropriations that we connect with the use of popular media. Hermes argues that cultural citizenship comes with the rights to belong to a community and to offer one's views and preferences and the responsibilities to respect other members of the communities whose opinion and taste may be different. Hermes (2006) also locates citizenship to the Internet by drawing on its political and the cultural theorizations. Hermes' theorization and Miller's (2006) postmodernist view of citizenship as cultural with access to communication technologies provide additional rationalization for the theory of digital citizenship. Digital citizenship is a form of cultural citizenship that draws extensively on the rights provided by political theory of citizenship to offer theorization for access to the Internet and the appropriation and use of this technology for participation in society.

11.2.3 The Elements of the Theory of Digital Citizenship

Recalling the definition of digital citizenship as a *citizenry with the fulfilled rights to regular and flexible access to the Internet – implicitly individual and household forms of access, the skills to apply the Internet, and a regular use of the Internet for participation in all spheres of society* – it is essential to enumerate and discuss what digital citizenship entails. The following elements are proposed and discussed here as components of the conceptualization of digital citizenship:

1. Citizenship rights and the attendant issues of human rights, social justice, equality, and participation
2. Access to communication technologies (specifically here, the Internet)
3. Skills to apply these technologies
4. The regular/daily use of these technologies
5. The policies that make all the above possible

1. Citizenship Rights
   The political ideology and framing of citizenship have been elaborately engaged at the onset of this chapter. Citizenship rights stand as the overarching principle in achieving digital citizenship. Arguments may be made that the application of basic human and citizen rights to communicate and participate in the social, cultural, and political milieus of a society is what is missing in previous theorization of access to technologies. The concept of human rights based on the principles of fairness, equality, and social justice and the political concept of citizenship are important in the theorization of digital citizenship. Because all the rights of citizenship – individual, group, legal, social, political, economic, and participation rights (Marshall 1964; Janoski 1998) – can be advanced by access to the prevailing information and communication technologies, lack of access to these information and technologies thereof compromises these rights. Irrespective of how citizenship is theorized, either as a liberal ideology of the pursuit of individual freedom and liberty or republican and communitarian ideologies of community integration and public good, the Internet as a medium of information and communication has become a dominant factor of citizenship and participation in society. Hence, the argument here is that access to a prevailing information technology (specifically the Internet) should be recognized as a citizen's right.

   Oyedemi (2015) has argued that Internet access is a citizen's rights by drawing on Marshall's (2009) citizenship framework. Civil rights, with regard to possession of resources, are about the legal capacity to strive for things an individual would like to possess but not assured of their possession (Marshall 2009). A property right is a right to acquire it, if one can, and to protect it, but it is not a right to possess property. Based on this rationalization, critics of Internet access as a human right tend to argue for Internet access as a civil right (Cerf 2012). But contrary to affordability and ability notions of civil rights, social rights tend to be absolute rights of which their attainment is not limited by the economic value of the individual claimant. As a result, the state often draws on

the dictates and expectations of social rights to make civil rights feasible for the citizens. So as Oyedemi (2015) argues, while civil rights offer the right to acquire a property if you can, and not the right to possess a property, states draw on social rights to provide housing for the poor. Consequently, Internet access as a right can be framed as civil rights, to be acquired, if one can, but the state should draw on social rights to assist those who cannot.

2. Access to Technology
   This is the next element of a theory of digital citizenship. With the role that broadband Internet is playing in every area of life, access should be seen as a citizenship right. If the rights to communicate are enshrined in the rights of citizenship, access to the prevailing form of communication is a human right. Access to the Internet in a regime of digital citizenship should be addressed mostly from an individual, household, and home access rather than the emphasis placed on public access that defined the implementation of "digital divide" policies. However, this does not imply a total abandonment of public access policy implemented in public education institutions, public libraries, and community centers; this policy should be maintained. With home-based access and personal access come issues of affordability and pricing – which government intervention in terms of policy should address. Public access comes with some constraints to individual flexibility in accessing the Internet. People have to compete with other users, often with limited time to use the Internet, and there is shame or embarrassment for users lacking adequate skills to use computers in public view of other people (cf Kvasny 2006). Hence, the argument here is that individual – including mobile access – and household forms of Internet access are essential for the fulfillment of digital citizenship.
3. Digital Skills
   Skills to use technology to search and understand the information that the Internet offers are important. However, in this approach, skills also mean the ability to create different forms of content, including multimedia content. Many social software and applications allow individuals to create wikis, blogs, post videos, and audio contents without learning codes or using complicated web language or algorithm. The bourgeoning development of social media has made content creation less complicated. The ability to create digital content is essential for effective digital citizenship. While the ability to source social, political, cultural, and economic information is necessary, the ability to form, create, and share opinion is relevant for effective participation as a citizen.
4. Technology Use
   This refers to the use of the Internet for social, political, and economic activities on a daily basis. The focus is not intermittent use but daily use to communicate, to be informed, to transact business and personal economic activities, and to be able to engage many aspects of daily life that the Internet has made easy.
5. Policy
   This is a very critical element of the theory of digital citizenship. It is the element that makes all the other elements possible. There should be effective policies in many areas in order to achieve digital citizenship. The overarching thrust of

policies should be citizen's rights. That is policy should be rights-based rather than market-based. Specifically, technology policy should address the issues of access, skills, and use as they relate to all sectors of society. The overall policy framework should include policies such as:

- Political and legislative policy that states ICT access as citizens' right. Although many national laws and constitutions recognize the freedom of expression and freedom of information, in most cases the rights to the technology that makes access to information possible are not stated. For instance, as noted in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everyone has the right to freedom "to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." While this declaration acknowledges the rights of access to media of information regardless of frontiers, there is a need to recognize the need for state governments and related agencies to recognize the rights to access the communication and information media that make the rights to "seek, receive and impart information and ideas" possible. Many national constitutional frameworks also adopt this idea of freedom to seek and impart information. This makes it imperative for government to come up with appropriate policies that recognize the rights for all citizens to gain access to the prevailing technology of information, especially in this digital age. There are few examples of countries such as France, Greece, and Finland that have recognized Internet access as human rights and have adopted this as law.
- Education policy that states access to basic education is universally accepted as a right of every child. Education in general provides the resource for every individual to participate in society and "level the playing field" for economic opportunities, likewise is access to the Internet. In this regard:
  (i) Internet access must be available in all public schools both in rural and urban regions of a nation.
  (ii) Internet skills, and digital literacy programs must form part of educational curriculum. The benefit of this is that young school children will learn the basic tools necessary for educational, social, and economic participations in the digital age. Most importantly, they will be able to create online content in their own languages.
- Technology policy that focuses on improving the use of appropriate technology, for example, broadband policy that explores the different approaches and technologies to make broadband available to all citizens.
- Economic policy*:*
  (i) Policies that foster a market that enhances affordability of Internet access and oversee the market by enhancing competition and monitoring of pricing strategies; policies that address the market operations of telecom sector to avoid abuse of corporate power.
  (ii) Public-private partnerships in building Internet infrastructure, such as fiber optic cables, wireless technologies, and other broadband transmission technologies.
- Social policy that encourages the cultural adoption of the Internet in all social sectors from health services to criminal justice systems. This type of policy will foster effective use of e-government platform for civic activities,

telemedicine for health activities, or for patients to be able to schedule appointment online in non-emergency cases. This will foster the diffusion of a culture of technology use among the general population. This form of policy guides all state institutions and departments to create online sites which citizens can engage with for public service delivery. Social policy also addresses the placing of public interest and public good in access policies.

11.3 Conclusion

The concept of digital citizenship has been applied in the European and American contexts as exemplified by Servaes (2003); D'Haenens et al. (2008); and Mossberger et al. (2008), but the application of the term has been mostly figurative expression. To a large extent, Mossberger et al.'s analysis of digital citizenship offers a useful compass for the application of the term in this chapter. Particularly their focus on political idea of citizenship values, issues of inequalities, and the use of the Internet to participate in society are all relevant to the theoretical framework developed here. However, there are few limitations to their approach, especially when applied to a different context outside of the United States.

Drawing on theoretical traditions and approaches to citizenship and the discourses of rights, participation, and culture in theorization of citizenship, access to technologies of information and communication, specifically the Internet, is acknowledged as essential. A definition of digital citizenship is offered with attendant elements that form its framework. This framework provides a guide for the pursuit of cultural and social developments and active citizenry aided by technology access, among other socio-economic and political resources that shape today's ideal of citizenship.

11.4 Cross-References

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Co-creative Leadership and Self-Organization: Inclusive Leadership of Development Action

12

Alvito de Souza and Hans Begeer

Contents

12.1 Introduction 258
12.2 An Emerging Leadership Culture Shift 261
12.2.1 Co-creation in Social Action 262
12.3 Co-creative Leadership Concept 262
12.3.1 Co-creation and Self-Management 263
12.3.2 Principles and Prerequisites 263
12.3.3 Levels of Self-organization 264
12.3.4 Five Learning Phases 265
12.3.5 Attitude and Culture 267
12.4 Conclusion: Not Top-Down, Not Bottom-Up, but 360° Co-creation 267
References 268

Abstract

The quest for genuine local participation and ownership in development initiatives has perplexed and bedevilled development discourse for over 40 years. Practical application, despite some genuinely sincere efforts, has remained relatively elusive. New developments in communication technology are often cited as the solution to attain this elusive beneficiary-led development paradigm shift. A lot has been written about communication for development (C4D) and in recent decades information and communication technology for development (ICT4D), yet we still struggle to attain an authentic paradigm shift and genuine local participation or beneficiary-led development praxis. This chapter seeks to shift

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the focus from the trendy (not so) new communication technologies and focus instead on human beings and the way we organize ourselves. We argue that emerging trends in organizational development toward, flatter (less hierarchical) organizations, co-creation and self-organization may indicate the way forward to authentic (beneficiary-led) development practice. Rather than the trendy bottom-up paradigm, we advocate an all-round and do-it-yourself leadership structure. C4D and ICT4D remain crucial as tools for communication to facilitate and ease information flow and critical debate, but it is self-organization, trust building, and co-creative process that enable authentic equality and dignity in decision making and design innovation for development.

Keywords

Co-creation · Co-creative leadership · Self-organization · Social change

12.1 Introduction

Wisdom is like a baobab tree; no one-individual can embrace it.
(African Proverb attributed to the Akan and Ewe peoples of present-day Ghana)

In their aptly entitled book *Moving Targets: Mapping the paths between communication, technology and social change,* editors Servaes and Liu (2007) showcase multidimensional communication models that focus on local communities in the earnest quest for authentic communication for development (C4D). Scanning best practices in the use of communication and technologies for social change, the authors in the book advocate the recognition of context-specific cultural identity and the multidimensionality of communication for social change. There is general acceptance of the need for participatory processes to empower local communities, yet, as Flint and Meyer zu Natrup contend, the provision of development remains an "expert-led enterprise" (Flint and Meyer zu Natrup 2014). Harrison laments the mind gap between policy rhetoric and practice in the relationship between experts and communities at the receiving end of social programs (Harrison 2014).

So if there is acceptance, and even promotion of the "bottom-up" concepts of local ownership, participation, and stakeholder accountability, how is it that we are still struggling with donor-set agendas and expert-led development agency?

With the rapid expansion of the aid industry in recent years, there has been significant push for the professionalization of the development sector in terms of project management and administration. This has been accompanied by an explosion of innovative communication technologies that are increasingly affordable and in widespread use for development agency. Flint and Meyer zu Natrup suggest that the push to professionalize the development sector has, in a sense, eroded emphasis on ownership, participation, and partnership with local beneficiaries in favor of an expert-led culture. They further contend that, while exciting and clearly expanding the scope and speed of communication, recent advances in information and

communication technologies for development (ICT4D) have, at times, only served to accentuate the pendulum swing toward expert-led "professionalization" that alienates local communities (Flint and Meyer zu Natrup 2014). Harrison notes that the "professionalization" pressures have led to an expert-led "superman" approach to practice with accountability reduced to "bean counting" of outcomes (Harrison 2014).

Clearly there is a need for transformation of the work culture in development agency. In principle there is consensus on facets of organizational approaches that hold out promise of an authentic local community-led culture of development agency.

Servaes and Malikhao reiterate the imperative of grassroots participation. The starting point of any communication for development and social change must be the context and specificity of the local community (Moving Targets Ch2). This is the nonnegotiable point of departure. Rather than donor-set agendas, expert-led strategies, or need assessments, it is first of all for the communities to deliberate and define what they *WANT* for themselves. Local communities are, in the end, the recipients and underwriters of any social change that is produced. Development agency and social change must begin with the local community.

Local communities, however, are not homogeneous in themselves. They are a network of diverse perspectives in constant interaction with each other. Neither are they isolated entities sealed off from the rest of the world. All communities are subject to global, national, and other stimuli that kindle and influence change. Recognizing the complexity of ad intra and ad extra interactions, Servaes and Malikhao assert a concept of development that accentuates cultural identity and multidimensionality (Moving Targets Ch2). Social change agency has to embrace the complexity and fluidity of context-specific community identities, including all necessary stakeholders.

Again, cultural identities are not static constants. Identities are created through a nexus of interactions that continually interrogate individual and collective representations, persistently influenced by external realities. In the closing chapter in *Moving Targets*, Claude-Yves Charron suggests a concept of community beyond the *geographic cognate* (Moving Targets Ch13). A social change project engages a broad sense of community where the various stakeholders participate in the project with the baggage of their particular identity standpoints. In a sense they form a living complex organism of diverse voices, socially organized in search of agreed action. The project, in itself, assumes a work culture identity that is a construct of multiple identities in a dynamic, organic, and continuously transforming social interaction. The multidimensional and complex communication within such organization implies sharing, comparing, and finding out about viewpoints toward the creation of common purpose. Social change is not about reproducing models developed by outside experts; "it is taking the internal dynamics of the community itself, with both its internal and external pressures, with its network of interdependencies" (Moving Targets Ch13). Social change and development is beyond expert-led instruction and model reproductions. It is about here and now, not there and then!

In a social change project, multiple perspectives interact, individuals (women, men, girls, and boys), local community leaders, farmers and traders, political leaders and public servants, donor agents, and NGO representatives. They form organic project or program structures that are essentially social processes. They are complex

processes that are "in essence, the nurturing of knowledge aimed at creating a consensus for action that takes into account the interests, needs and capacities of all concerned" (Moving Targets Ch2). The social change project brings together a diversity of interests, needs, capacities, and levels of power interrelating in the quest for agreed action. It implies that people are capable of agreeing to disagree. Methodologies like Future Search are fitting this purpose.

The process of consensus creation for action is a discussion process (sharing, comparing, worrying through, and finding out), where existing power relations need to be laid bare and deconstructed to enable the construction of common ground purpose. All cultural identities involved in the project must be able to engage the creative process with equal voice. It is "not the technology, not the medium nor the message, but the concept of 'voice': voice in the identification of problems and the search for solutions by and for the community's own stakeholders. . . a multiplicity of voices in constant negotiation with each other" (Claude-Yves Charron – Moving Targets p.253). Social change can only be authentically appropriated through a process of reciprocal listening, learning, and discussing common purpose for action. Authentic ownership of the common action cannot be bestowed by the more powerful and dominant voices; it must be appropriated (taken as their own) by all the separate stakeholder voices through their genuine engagement in the collective exercise of creating the agenda, work process, and desired outcomes.

Once power relations have been laid bare and deconstructed, it is vital that all the diverse perspectives are fully expressed, listened to, and debated in the process of creating the consensus goals to be achieved. In their book *Future Search, Getting the Whole system in Room for Vision, Commitment and Action,* Weisbord and Janoff use the analogy of the ancient Indian parable of the blind men and the elephant (Weisbord and Janoff 2010, p.49) to illustrate the importance of examining all perspectives in search of common ground action. In *Moving Targets*, Charron uses the analogy of Akira Kurosawa's 1950 film *Rashomon* to illustrate the same point. The standpoint of all stakeholders voiced, debated, and pulled together leads to knowledge aggregation and common ground creation.

The question is how can diverse perspectives be harnessed to bring about sustainable social change? Flint and Meyer zu Natrup propose the concept of beneficiary-led aid (BLA) to harness the collective knowledge of beneficiaries by way of crowdsourcing (Flint and Meyer zu Natrup 2014). Pulling away from expert-led interventions, they draw inspiration from Surowiecki's *Wisdom of the Crowds*, ". . .under the right circumstances, groups are remarkably intelligent, and are often smarter than the smartest people in them. Groups do not need to be dominated by exceptionally intelligent people in order to be smart. Even if most of the people within a group are not especially well-informed or rational, it can still reach a collectively wise decision" (Surowiecki 2005: xiii–xiv).

They further suggest a functional reform where beneficiaries design their own development agenda with agencies and NGO experts assuming the role of facilitators (not designers) of the project (Flint and Meyer zu Natrup 2014). The concept of facilitation is beautifully captured in Weisbord and Janoff's (2007) book, fittingly entitled *Don't Just Do Something, Stand There*. Facilitation is to let go of all impulse

to control the content, direction, and outcome of a project. It is, rather, focusing only on the process itself, enabling the co-creative space of communication and trusting all the rest to the community.

Here we propose the concept of co-creative leadership and self-organization, drawn from the work of Hans Begeer and inspired by the works of Marvin Weisbord and Sandra Janoff and the experience of a learning community that Hans set up.

12.2 An Emerging Leadership Culture Shift

Despite the continued dominance of an aggressive, immediate-profit-margin-focused business culture today, there is a perceptible emerging desire for more meaningful corporate practice. A "market" is developing of enterprises seeking to fulfill existential meaning beyond the precept of maximizing profit. Profit making is still at the helm of enterprise, but there is an intensifying thirst for meaning that transcends profit margins. Research shows that it is possible to work on both profit and meaning successfully! (Begeer 2018).

In our quick-paced and shifting global culture, enterprises (private, public, and civil society) find themselves increasingly reliant on the ingenuity of their human resources to remain competitive and even to simply survive. This emerging need is providing a new significance to the concept of return on investment (sustainable livelihood in enterprise), a meaning that necessarily focuses on the human person(s).

Only a work force that is inspired, enthusiastic, and motivated can meet the challenges and opportunities emerging from the pace of change today. For this to happen, each individual and the organization as a whole need to find authentic and profound sense in their work, their relationships, and their lives. Organizations seek to achieve meaningful livelihoods, as institutions and for each individual within their structures.

There is also increasing recognition that top-down management structures cannot meet this need. Developing and maintaining a sharp, quick-paced, and innovative work force requires a radical overhaul of the command and control culture and concept of leadership. A new kind of management leadership is emerging. One that is inclusive, where the creative energies of human beings are harnessed and where open systems develop a work force/management relationship in which all are inspired to be CO-CREATIVE LEADERS.

The concept of co-creative leadership and collective management is not really new, Charron alludes to the Japanese management by consultation culture of nemawashi (Moving Targets p.254), and other examples can be found in our human history. What is emergent is the renewed enthusiasm for more horizontal, human-centered organizational management process today. See also *Productive Workplaces: Dignity, Community and Meaning in the 21st Century* (Weisbord 2012).

Frederic Laloux's *Reinventing Organizations* has generated increasing fellowship in search of evolutionary organizations, horizontal management practices that focus on people and enterprises that are "soulful and purposeful" (Laloux 2014). The Corporate Rebels (https://corporate-rebels.com/) are a small group of former

corporate employees who now travel the globe to gather stories of inspiring organizations that have successfully created more engaging and meaningful workplaces and unleashed the potential of their employees. Begeer has created a learning platform on self-organization, where people from different organizations meet to exchange best practices on self-organization. In his new book (2018), he presents 16 cases from this platform.

There are numerous organizational development (OD) tools and methods that pursue this swelling demand for innovative and inspired organizations, yet there is NO ONE magic tool or method. Each venture (or social change project) must find its own "way," using the insights and knowledge presented in the various methodologies, but ultimately designing its own pathway, drawing from its specific history, culture, and especially its people. Begeer warns, however, that the conditions for co-creation and self-organizations should be right, and attention to these conditions should not be underestimated (2018).

12.2.1 Co-creation in Social Action

The use of co-creative leadership and self-organization in development and social change enterprise is also not new. Outlining his memoirs of development work in his self-published book *My Development Experiences in Asia, Africa, and the Americas*, Christopher Roesel recounts the frustrations he faced with donor-set agendas and expert-led processes. His discovery of *Future Search*, and its transformative power in application, is inspiring, although the reversion to donor agendas, in some cases, is regretful (Roesel 2016).

Mark Harrison aligns co-creation with the principles of social action in *Social Action – co-creating social change: A Companion for Practitioners.* He also redefines the role of the development-expert away from directive leadership to that of facilitator who is "now responsible for the process, for asking questions, for enabling the group to set and realise its own goals. In traditional practice the practitioner is seen as the agent of change and community members/service users are, more or less, passive participants. In Social Action the facilitator is the catalyst for change and the agents of change are the community members/service users" (Harrison p.13).

12.3 Co-creative Leadership Concept

Co-creative leadership can be described as an inclusive leadership attitude that harnesses the creative capacities of individuals within organizations (viewed as living complex systems) toward collectively agreed goals while synchronously allowing for the divergence and ingenuity of individual viewpoints to consistently challenge and reinvigorate these same goals.

It is an approach that perceives leadership as collective, harvesting divergent (even conflicting) perspectives within an enterprise to creatively chart common action pathways in constantly changing environments. It enables the ingenuity of

self-motivated individuals, who source their energy from the diversity of perspectives. It is a leadership attitude that inspires entrepreneurial flexibility in work environments and gives existential meaning (sense of collective purpose and motivation) to an enterprise. Co-creative Leadership allows individuals to collectively inspire each other to personally steer enduring processes of resourcefulness to meet opportunities and challenges through self-leadership. It fashions organizational values of trust, transparency, and accountability that nurture talent and craft work systems that are durable. But the individual stakeholders need to pull their acts together through flexible self-steering teams!

12.3.1 Co-creation and Self-Management

Co-creative leadership sounds promising and attractive but, for some, maybe somewhat mythical or unrealistic. Beyond the hype of inspiring concepts is co-creation credibly feasible? Inspired, by the work of Marvin Weisbord and Sandra Janoff in the *Future Search Network* (http://futuresearch.net/), and his own consulting experience, Hans Begeer coauthored the book *Co-creation... 13 Myths Debunked*. Co-creation, he demonstrates, is practicable, but it requires meticulous preparation and planning and rests on setting the groundwork based on some fundamental principles.

12.3.2 Principles and Prerequisites

Six principles of co-creation	Conceptual framework
Get the whole system in the room	System perspective on organizing
Explore the whole elephant before fixing any parts	
Control what you can, let go of what you cannot control	Self-determination theory
Let people be responsible	
Search for common ground to base action upon	Open dialogue
Use differences in opinion to allow fresh and new ideas	

Getting the whole system in the room reflects Servaes and Milakhao's concern for ensuring that the needs, capacities, interests, and knowledge of *all* concerned with the social change project participate in creating consensus action. Weisbord and Janoff use the AREIN criteria to ensure that all voices in the system are included in a Future Search meeting.

A-Those who have *Authority* to act on their own (make decisions).
R-Those who have *Resources* in terms of time, money, access, and influence.
E-Those who have *Expertise*, social, economic, technical, etc. in the topic.
I-Those who have *Information* that others need.
N-Those who have *Need*, which are people who will be affected by the outcome.

Explore the whole elephant before fixing the parts refers back to the parable of the blind men and the elephant (or Kurosawa's Rashomon). The point is to ensure that all perspectives on the subject are listened to, discussed, and seen for what they are before diving into structures and work processes. Openly identifying alternative perceptions and deconstructing power relations enables constructive listening, debating, and learning.

The third principle of co-creation is learning to control what you can and let go of what you cannot control. The axiom points to two fundamental attitudes behind co-creative leadership. It underlies the need for meticulous planning and preparation of the co-creative space and process, but it also highlights the need to trust the *Wisdom of the Crowds* and let go of control of content and objectives. This is sometimes the hard part, trusting that the collective intelligence of the community will lead to the most beneficial outcomes. Arriving at this level of trust often entails a steep culture shift, which should not be undervalued.

Letting people be responsible is about actively entrusting self-organization and self-management. It is crucial for any co-creative project. When conducting Future Search meetings, Weisbord and Janoff purposely use self-managing groups where "everybody shares information, interprets it and decides on action steps" allowing "every person to share leadership" (Weisbord and Weisbord and Janoff 2010).

By listening to distinctive opinions and expressing their own points of view, individual identities, together, draw out their disparities and synergies. The separate interpretations can then be drawn together to search for common ground. The enterprise, or project, becomes a social organization where common ground purpose for collective action is discussed and discovered through difference.

Differences of opinion, even conflicting opinions (as distinct from interests!), are the kernel of innovation and creativity; "it is not a desire for harmony or constant agreement that underlies co-creative leadership. On the contrary, differences are recognised as being something positive, since within them lies the potential for change" (Schieffer 2006, p.12). Managed constructively, differences lead to new perspectives and growth. There are many ways of mitigating difference and conflict, but essential to all is a clear distinction between opinion and interest. The discussion of common ground purpose goes a long way to mitigating the distinction. A transparent identification and deconstruction of power relations, along with enthusiastically appropriated discovery of common ground purpose, allows for a clear and open differentiation of opinion from interest by sharing, comparing, and finding out.

12.3.3 Levels of Self-organization

Begeer delineates three system levels to self-organization. The overarching level is where the entire social organization allows for maximum autonomous growth and horizontal functioning. Within the overarching project are self-steering teams, flexible working groups with enough space to manage their own workflows and processes. They are able to set their own goals and define the members of their

community and their individual roles. Central to the entire process is self-leadership which Begeer describes as "the individual will and capacity to question and develop oneself" (Begeer 2018). It implies the desire to grow through giving and receiving critical feedback, inquisitive exploration, and the ability to correct and innovate.

The decision and desire to allow self-organization for a project must be explicit, and the facilitation of the process requires meticulous preparation and attention. Usually this is done by a so-called Planning Group, which, in itself, includes many different stakeholders and is self-steering. There is no need for a formal leader as group members will shift roles. It does, however, require professional facilitation, the art of which can be learnt.

Over a 2-year period, Begeer and his team helped a Brussels public service intuition for unemployment learn to work more horizontally and apply co-creation. The organization structure was typical bureaucratic with many different hierarchical levels and subdepartments all functioning from their islands. A tasting workshop co-creation was organized with 30 participants. Through "facilitation" guidance, 20 internal facilitators were trained. The mixed groups of facilitators were coached in organizing large-scale interventions, like World Cafés in which up to 400 participants worked together to develop actions for improvement. The participants included external shareholders and, especially, their clients (unemployed people). This resulted in a first step of cultural change: more cooperation, transparency, and self-initiative. Although the hierarchical structures still exist, people now work more horizontally and apply the six principles of co-creation where ever they can (Begeer 2018).

12.3.4 Five Learning Phases

Begeer proposes five learning phases on the path to self-organization. He expressly notes, however, that the path is a dynamic depiction to assist praxis and NOT a miracle prototype toolkit for application.

Step 1 Mobilize – This is a required phase in every change project – particular to self-organization is the fact that people often cannot imagine what it feels like or conceive its practical application. Therefore it is important to offer the group **tangible** experiences of self-organization to enable them to perceive and internalize its real possibilities, for example, with some short "taster" workshops, where they learn by doing.

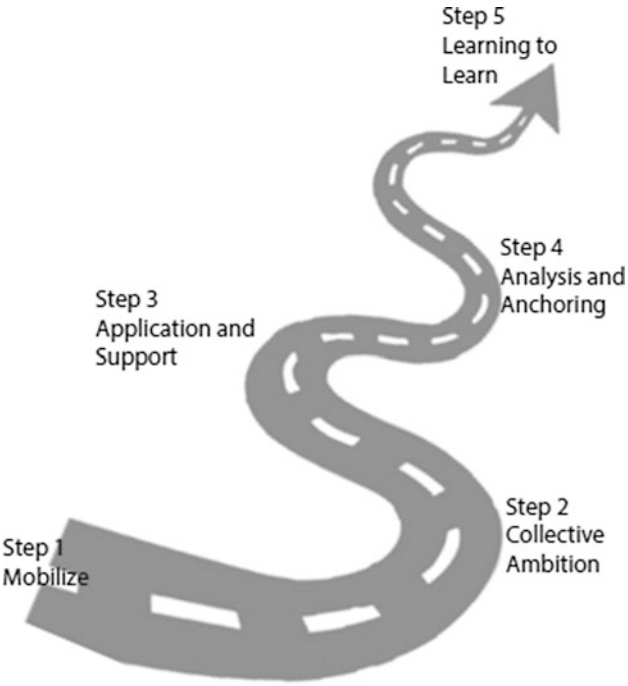
Step 2 Collective Ambition – Ideally this is a phase in which all stakeholders are involved to develop **together** a shared vision with a collective ambition toward self-organization. Large-Scale Intervention methods like Future Search or Appreciative Inquiry can be applied here. It is imperative that the community engaged in the social change project have a shared vision of how they want to work together.

Step 3 Application and Support – The kernel of the social change project is application of the common ground action(s) agreed upon through self-organization. How do we operate here? Implementation requires a conducive environment for change. This is principally about **culture and values** and to a lesser degree about

structure. Without shared values like **trust, transparency, and support**, self-organization cannot function. Working on this cultural change and the development of shared values should precede work on organizational structures. This often takes a long time and asks for repeating actions (routines) of explicating beliefs and values which drive our behavior.

Step 4 Analysis and Anchoring – This is the phase in which the **structure** of the work processes is analyzed. **Together** stakeholders discuss work streams, processes, and roles needed **to make it work**. It is a moment of action, action review, and (if necessary) path reorientation, visualizing the ideal situation to compare with the present reality. The GAP analysis results in choices for different ways of self-organizing to achieve the shared outcome. What do we want to achieve? The shared values described in step 3 play an important role in how this is done.

Step 5 Learning to Learn – Essential to a co-creative process is the development of the collective capacity to learn. As Begeer points out, people learn, not organizations, however organizations can create the conditions that stimulate learning. A **safe space** needs to be developed where people are at ease to learn to develop themselves, to ask for feedback, and to provide feedback, inspiring a learning culture where people together **continuously learn to learn**, without ever finishing.



The two concepts of co-creation and self-organization are intimately intertwined feeding off each other to build flexible and innovative organizations with meaningful outcomes. Co-creation enables all stakeholders to engage in designing a social change project; create, together, the work processes required; and apportion

individual roles in line with abilities. All appropriate the common purpose and goals through self-leadership and manage the project more horizontally. Self-organized teams commit to action, evaluate progress, and estimate capacity development needs toward self-organization.

12.3.5 Attitude and Culture

The co-creative leadership is an attitude that implies acceptance of a radical shift in working culture. It goes beyond technologies, mediums, and even message content. It also goes beyond project management methodologies and structures. Co-creative leadership is a process of continuous learning and growing. It will have its high points and moments of reckoning, yet its main objective is that all stakeholders grow in their co-creative leadership and self-leadership abilities.

This implies intentionally deconstructing power relations and cultivating open dialogue for active listening and learning. It entails nourishing a culture of authentic trust through transparency in communication with reciprocal accountability for action. It requires a working environment that is safe space for critical feedback and co-creative dialogue. It entails commitment and intentionality of purpose. It also necessitates meticulous preparation and planning in facilitation, as we mentioned earlier by a Planning Group. Ultimately, it is an attitude and a cultural mind-set shift that needs to be nurtured and maintained.

Co-creative leadership and self-organization does not happen just because it is desired. Maintaining the co-creative space requires painstaking planning and attentive oversight from committed facilitators, possibly from a select team specifically trained and dedicated to sustaining the co-creative space and supporting self-organization (see Begeer 2018).

12.4 Conclusion: Not Top-Down, Not Bottom-Up, but 360° Co-creation

Clearly the starting point of all social change agencies must be the specific context of the local community. Before any examination of a needs analysis, a social change project should start with an intentional dialogue on what the local community wants and a transparent discovery of common purpose, through a Large-Scale Intervention method (Begeer and Vanleke 2016).

Co-creation must be intentional, meticulously prepared, and facilitation planned to create a working culture of transparency and trust. Openly deconstructing power relations, the perspectives of all stakeholders should be engaged on an equal basis and from the competencies of each participant and in search of common ground. “It is not about finding the single correct solution to a problem. Indeed, it is even assumed that this cannot be found at all since it does not exist. It is much more about delivering a solution that members of an organisation can collectively agree upon, following a thorough examination of the various perspectives” (Schieffer 2006, pp. 608–609).

Co-creation is about facilitating the processes and environment for transparent communication. "We understand leadership as the continuous formation of creative and communicative contexts that facilitate a cooperative process for developing solutions for the organisation as a whole. We call this understanding of leadership co-creative leadership" (Schieffer 2006, p.615).

Co-creative leadership and self-organization goes hand in hand. We distinguish three levels: self-leadership, self-steering teams, and self-organization (Begeer 2018). They are founded on developing a culture based on trust. Without values like trust, support, and transparency, self-organization cannot function. A common identity and working culture based on these values must be developed through intentionality and persistent facilitation. "Supported by modern leadership methods (dialogue, World Café, and semantic mapping, etc.), co-creative leadership allows for the initiation of continual solution-finding processes and the decisive strengthening and maintenance of the capacity for action and success of the organisation as a whole. On the basis of co-creative leadership, organisations can develop a shared identity that serves as a guide for action and allows for the focussed action of the whole organisation" (Schieffer 2006, p.622).

Co-creative leadership and self-organization authentically engages community voice in the co-creation of *their* social change. Local communities are not on the periphery of social change design; they are at the very core of co-creative leadership of the change. Ultimately co-creative leadership is not about top-down control; neither is it really about bottom-up direction, but rather 360° inclusive leadership for development agency.

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Communication for Development and Social Change Through Creativity

13

Arpan Yagnik

Contents

13.1 Tilling 271
13.2 Creativity 271
13.3 Neglect of Creativity 272
13.4 Communication for Development and Social Change Through Creativity 276
13.5 Positioning of Creativity Enhancement 277
13.6 Assumptions 278
13.7 Creativity Enhancement Intervention 279
13.7.1 Finding Facts 279
13.7.2 Naming Names 280
13.7.3 Finding Similarities Between Dissimilars 280
13.7.4 Creating New Meanings for Existing Phrases 281
13.8 Adaptation of Creative Aerobics in Development and Social Change 281
13.9 Benefits of Creativity Enhancement Intervention 282
13.10 Summary 284
References 284

Abstract

As we celebrate the 80th year of the successful Marshall plan, it is unfortunate that practitioners and scholars have struggled, since: to achieve the same level of success in development and social change efforts. This indicates a need to seriously assess the field and even introduce new and unique approaches to boost the efficacy of such efforts. But there is a general neglect of creativity in the field of communication for development and social change. Creativity is a powerful force with tremendous potential to enhance efficacy of development and social change efforts. A gardening analogy is apt to elaborate on the value and role of creativity in communication for development and social change. Imagine you have a piece of

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fertile soil where you are trying to grow a garden. You have good seeds, you sow them at the right depth, you water them, and you ensure that they receive appropriate balance between shade and sunlight. Despite everything, only half the seeds germinate leaving the idea of a flourishing garden biting the dust. This is the state of communication for development and social change. However, the one thing missing here was tilling. Tilling allows movement (upward and downward) and breathing, enabling and empowering a seed to transform into an independent plant. The element of tilling in gardening is what creativity is to communication for development and social change. Before the initiation of communication for development effort, planners and executioners should ensure the tilling of the soil, which translates to increasing creativity index of the target community or individuals because a creative individual or a creative community is relatively more open to the existence and acceptance of alternate or new ideas and behaviors. Creativity can substantially aid development and social change efforts because of its organic fit with the values of dialogue, participation, empowerment, social justice, and equality.

Keywords
Creative aerobics · Creativity enhancement · Creativity enhancement intervention · Millennium development goals · Social change

Creativity is a beautiful enigma.

A quick look at the history of communication for development and social change reveals that communication for development and social change efforts have been a mixed bag of successes and failures. After the success of Marshall Plan as the development efforts moved towards Africa, Asia, and Latin America practitioners and scholars have struggled with discovering solutions for the intractable problems faced by the underdeveloped communities. Fortunately, under the enlightened guidance of stellar communication for development and social change scholars (Melkote, Rogers, Mefalopulos, Servaes, Jacobson, and Sen to name a few), the field has cruised past beyond the top-down, outsider, methodological, nonparticipatory, and etic or emic cultural biases.

Despite the advances in the body of knowledge, meager success of millennium development goals and lack of substantial progress in sustainable development goals is not a matter of pride. Even today, allotment of resources by transnational agencies are done to fulfill fundamental life necessities. This indicates a need to assess and introduce universal elements in the communication for development and social change efforts with potential to increase efficacy and thereby success of development efforts.

Creativity is a universal element, which is an integral value that is appreciated and accepted in every cohort, culture, and community. Capitalizing on this universal element of creativity, and adding it to the equation of communication for development and social change to argue in favor of the limitless possibilities in "Communication for development and social change through creativity" is the goal of this chapter.

The conceptualization of the strategic role and value of creativity and creativity enhancement in communication for development and social change is best explained using a gardening analogy. Imagine that you have a piece of fertile soil where you are trying to grow a garden. You have good seeds, you sow them at the right depth, you water

them, and you ensure that they receive appropriate balance between shade and sunlight. Despite doing everything as specified with the right intention, only half the seeds germinate leaving your idea of a flourishing garden biting the dust. This is the state of communication for development and social change. Despite good intention, expending millions of dollars on acquiring the best intellect, and implementing plans according to the specifications, the hope of development and social change ends up biting the dust.

Gardening is a heuristic activity. It is a great teacher, if you are willing to learn and change. So based on what you read in the previous paragraph, here is a question for you: Was there something missing in the gardening analogy? Was there something that could have made a difference in the final outcome, if it were included in the overall gardening activity? Let us see if you can get the right answer before it is revealed. . .

13.1 Tilling

If you got it right before reading it, then pat your back!

The one thing missing in the gardening analogy was tilling. Tilling of the soil enables the seed to generate movement (upward and downward). It allows for more space to navigate and grow. It also facilitates breathing. Keeping other variables such as sunlight, shade, water, and depth same, tilling the soil enables a seed to transform into a blooming plant. The element of tilling in gardening is what creativity is to communication for development and social change.

Theoretically, before the initiation of communication campaign, planners must ensure tilling of the soil. In other words, efforts in enhancing creativity levels of the target community or individuals should be taken before the initiation of a communication campaign. A creative individual is more likely to be open to the existence and acceptance of alternate or new ideas and behaviors. This will increase the probability of success of the communication campaign for development and social change.

A shift in the framework and models of communication for development and social change are proposed here. The contribution of this chapter is at a theoretical and conceptual level. It proposes communication for development and social change through creativity. This chapter suggests a new theoretical approach to communication for development and social change. It proposes a new flow of activities, which will theoretically increase the effectiveness of communication campaigns. Creativity enhancement of the communities can substantially aid development and social change efforts because of its organic fit with the values of dialogue, participation, empowerment, social justice, and equality. The development and subsequent publication of this approach also invites scholars and practitioners to examine it in the lab and the field, and evaluate it for its value.

13.2 Creativity

Creativity is a beautiful enigma. Scholars and practitioners have been working tirelessly for decades to unravel creativity and develop a definition of creativity. Runco (2014) provides an in-depth understanding of what creativity is and what it is

not. He explains how different elements such as intelligence, imagination, originality, invention, discovery, innovation, logic, serendipity, and flexibility come together in various proportions to constitute creativity but not all the time. Scholars have made great advances in clarifying what creativity is not. But the one definition that everyone can unanimously agree upon as the definition of creativity is still a goal that is further away. Most definitions are incomplete and do not encompass the true vastness of creativity. They are myopic and suffer from one or the other bias such as the product bias or the art bias. Along with the ongoing disagreement about the definition and scope of creativity, interestingly there is a striking undercurrent of agreement among scholars and practitioners regarding the merit, value and utility of creativity.

Among the definitions of creativity out there, the one definition that encompasses the essence of creativity is the one provided in the FAQ section of the MacArthur Foundation website.

> Creativity comprises the drive and ability to make something new or to connect the seemingly unconnected in significant ways so as to enrich our understanding of ourselves, our communities, the world, and the universe that we inhabit. Creativity can take many forms: asking questions that open onto fields of enquiry as yet unexplored; developing innovative solutions to perplexing problems; inventing novel methods, tools, or art forms; fusing ideas from different disciplines into wholly new constructions; producing works that broaden horizons of the imagination. (MacArthur Foundation Webpage)

The real strength of creativity is in being a force that produces works that broaden the horizons of imagination. To begin with, it is difficult to believe that imagination has a horizon. Imagination in itself is a seamless and limitless notion. Now come to think of it that creativity is a force that has the ability to broaden the horizons of something that is already seamless. This force has got to be tremendously powerful.

Thus, being inspired by creativity, and to exemplify how creativity produces thoughts and works that have the ability to broaden the horizons of imagination, creativity will be introduced to communication for development and social change to make it more effective. The work in this chapter is not a claim equivalent to inventing an engine. It is more as the one that introduces a new catalyst (diesel instead of coal) to optimize the performance of the engine and making it ore effective so that carriages of development and social change may move faster and smoother.

13.3 Neglect of Creativity

Creativity has aided humanity in progressing from hunter-gatherers to modern civilizations. At every major crossroads of the 10,000 years old history of mankind, creativity, through its manifestations and avatars, has unfailingly stood by mankind and aided it in successfully navigating the crises of the times to emerge alive and well. Despite repeatedly withstanding the tests in the fires of time and crises, creativity is categorically and systematically neglected.

This neglect stems from its abundant and unceasing supply. Due to its abundant supply, its demand has gone down considerably. What has increased in return is this odd and unnatural significance of specificity. This demand has been fueled by the geometric progression of reliance on machines. Machines rely on specificity. Machines cannot handle ambiguity and therefore we traded estimation for precision. Machines require specific commands to perform optimally. One thing that makes us human, in my humble opinion, is the ability to create and apply context to ambiguous situations. Machines are not yet entirely capable of doing this. They are baffled by it and the ambiguity is then further referred to as a bug that needs to be exterminated or fixed. In favoring specificity and machines, we may have sacrificed creativity to the extent that individuals risk being referred to as deviants at the slightest expression or demonstration of creative tendencies. Travel and time-keeping were some of the early contenders of specificity and precision. As the technology moved from analog to digital, we too moved from fluidity to rigidity.

The neglect towards creativity, unfortunately, starts in schools. There is enough evidence about this and the most watched TED Talk by Sir Ken Robinson and his books discuss in detail the role of schools in killing creativity. As students move from one school year to another, their natural creative instincts are repressed. Every kid who has gone through the standardized funnel of education has had his/her creativity diminished. The reason behind this is simple. It is easier to teach a standard curriculum to many than to teach multiple curriculums to different students.

Another example of neglect of creativity is a quick search of all the courses offered in The Pennsylvania State University. The Pennsylvania State University is listed among the top 100 universities in the world. It is one of the few great public universities. The university charter promotes creativity and the faculties are evaluated based on their creative accomplishments. However, upon doing a quick search of the course catalog, only four courses were found that listed creativity in its course title or description. There are many other universities that share similar neglect. There are a few concentrated pockets such as San Francisco area where there is lesser neglect towards creativity. But such communities are rare. The creative class is concentrated in the developed nations and communities leaving the developing and underdeveloped communities and nations practically devoid of the creative class (refer to Fig. 1).

Creativity, in general, despite its utility is neglected. The negligence of creativity in communication for development and social change efforts sadly too comes as no surprise. This negligence is demonstrated in the limited number of approaches that practitioners and scholars have discovered and relied on in over half a century.

Apart from a genuine need, it is mainly training, traditions, and tribalism that have afforded the field of communication for development and social change its relevance and applicability. However, these very trainings, traditions, and tribalism have also acted as concealed impediments to the true manifestation of the efficacy and results of communication for developments and social change efforts. New or unique approaches, ideas, individuals, or organizations face obstinate resistance rendering them toothless. This chapter will highlight creativity and argue in favor of its value and utility in increasing the success of communication for development and social change efforts.

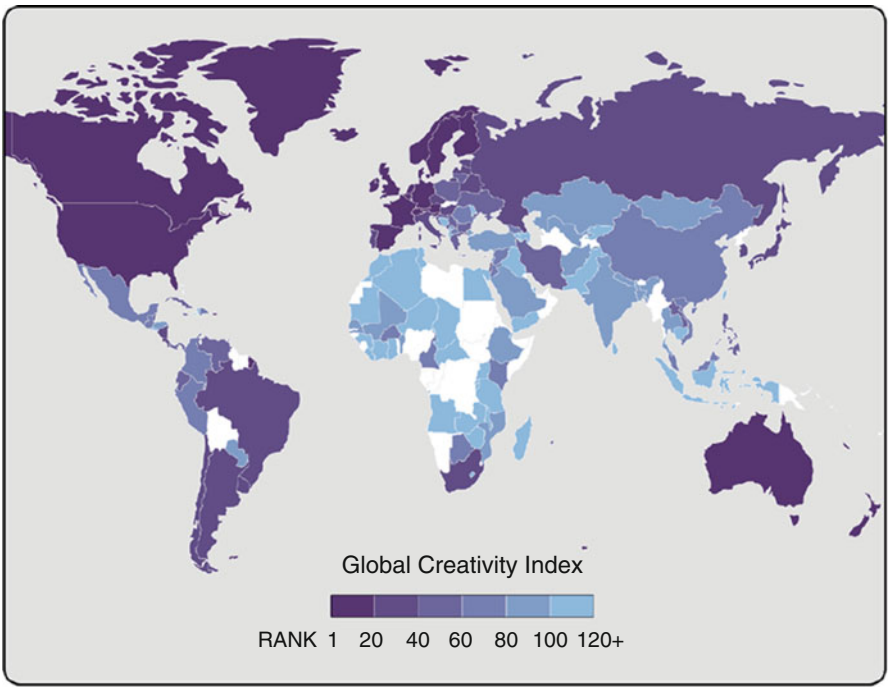


Fig. 1 Global creativity index. (Source: Florida et al. (2015). The global creativity index 2015. Martin Prosperity Institute, University of Toronto)

My major argument in favor of negligence of creativity in communication for development and social change comes also from the lack of efforts to address or increase the creativity index in Africa, South Asia, and parts of Central and Southern America. This disparity is evident from their low ranking on the global creativity index (refer Fig. 1). "The Global Creativity Index is a broad-based measure for advanced economic growth and sustainable prosperity based on the 3Ts of economic development – talent, technology, and tolerance." (Florida et al. 2015, p. 6). Western Europe, Scandinavian countries, North America, and Australia are leading in the global creativity index with Australia at number one. This report brings to light a possible relation between higher creativity index and more development. These essentially become the variables worth testing with creativity index as an independent variable and development/well-being/prosperity as dependent variable. In my review of literature, this relationship has not been thoroughly examined within the context of communication for development and social change.

The second argument stems from the skewed spread of creative class (See Fig. 2). The proliferation of creative class is again restricted to first world nations or the developed nations or the Global North. "The creative class includes workers in science and technology and engineering; arts, culture, entertainment, and the media; business and management; and education, healthcare, and law." (Florida et al. 2015,

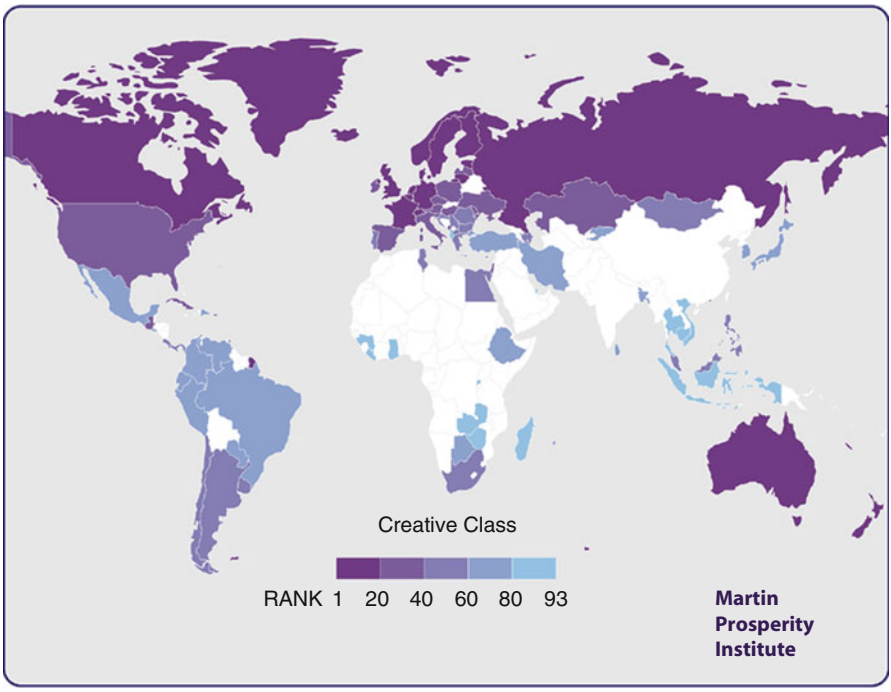


Fig. 2 The global creative class map. (Source: Florida et al. (2015). The global creativity index 2015. Martin Prosperity Institute, University of Toronto)

p. 14). Based on the global creativity index-2015, it is clear that developing and underdeveloped nations have terribly low or nonpresent percentage of creative class (refer Fig. 2).

Majority of Africa, South Asia, and parts of Central and Southern America are devoid of the creative class and low in creativity index. Not surprisingly, these also happen to be the regions where the communication for development and social change efforts are focused. It might be theoretically plausible that if creativity index in these regions could be increased it would most likely lead to betterment of well-being in these regions. If the betterment of well-being does not come about on its own, even then the effectiveness of communication for development and social change campaigns would substantially increase if the creativity index were higher.

A creative individual, a creative citizen, a creative professional, or a creative leader is immensely sought after by our society at large. The evidence of the above statement is given below:

- An individual with creative abilities expresses more confidence and is seen as a possessor of a unique trait (Bungay and Vella-Burrows 2013; Garcia-Ros et al. 2012; Kienitz et al. 2014).

- Individuals with creative abilities are more desirable to potential employers (Jin Nam et al. 2009; Pace and Brannick 2010).
- Contemporary American culture emphasizes on creativity and an individual's creative abilities (Kern 2010). Several reasons for this emphasize come up in the research.
- In daily life, creative thinking is related to flexibility and adaptation (Csikszentmihalyi 1996; Reiter-Palmon et al. 1998).
- Creative thinking is also a crucial element discovered among successful entrepreneurs (Amabile 1997; Kern 2010).
- Additionally, research conducted by several scholars (Coholic et al. 2012; Greene et al. 2012; Lynch et al. 2013; Metzl 2009) reflected that individuals with higher creative capacity show greater resilience to trauma and tragedy (e.g., Hurricane Katarina and holocaust survivors) indicating enhanced psychological well-being among creative folks.

A creative individual can be a major force and cheerleader of positive change. However, this has not been thought about deeply. Scholars have continually strived to come up with new and creative ways to deliver the message, produce the message, involving the participant, solving local problems locally, etc. But they have not entirely focused on the tilling of the minds or enhancing creativity.

Ideas are the new currency. Creativity is at the heart of every idea. Thankfully, creativity is not limited like other factors of production that diminish or deplete. On the contrary, it is "infinitely renewable and continually replenished and deepened" (Florida et al. 2015; Romer 1986). This basic difference between creativity and other factors of production has worked both in favor and not when it comes to comprehending the utility of creativity.

A creative individual is resourceful and is open to new ideas and suggestions. And this is the important quality needed in individuals and communities spread across the spectrum of development and social change. Openness to listening, comprehending, and actually considering others perspective or others idea requires an open and empathic attitude.

It is safe to argue that creative individuals have this ability and if the creativity quotient could be increased prior to launching a communication for development and social change campaign then the likelihood of success of a campaign increases many fold. Outright rejection of development and social change ideas and approaches by the impacted community is a major obstruction. An individual or a community with higher creativity index will at the least consider it and see it as one more approach to the common well-being, irrespective of whether it is from inside or outside, and not reject it outright.

13.4 Communication for Development and Social Change Through Creativity

Currently, the communication campaign is launched after conducting a needs assessment and the effect is evaluated. This can be expressed in a formulaic fashion as below.

$$\mathrm{CM} \quad -\mathrm{i}-\!-\!-\!-\!-\!-\!-\mathrm{I}-> \mathrm{D\&SC}$$

where,

CM = Communication Campaign
D = Development
SC = Social Change
-i——I-> = Impact/change on the Individual/Community

In the new approach, the only substantial change is the addition of creativity enhancement training in the mix. Creativity enhancement training is included along with the communication campaign. This, however, does not clarify whether the training has to happen before or after. That elaboration on the strategic positioning of the creativity enhancement training is provided in the next section.

$$\mathrm{CM} + \mathrm{C} \quad -\mathrm{i}-\!-\!-\!-\mathrm{I}-> \mathrm{D\&SC}$$

where,

CM = Communication Campaign
D = Development
SC = Social Change
-i——I-> = Impact/change on the Individual/Community
C = Creativity

13.5 Positioning of Creativity Enhancement

Communication for development and social change is a process that utilizes communication, as a harbinger for impacting the change. Since it is a process, it is systematic and therefore it can be explicated in a step-by-step format. The positioning of creativity enhancement as one of the steps has to be strategic. Before elaborating on the positioning of creativity enhancement, let me briefly share with you the steps in the communication for development and social change process.

1. An assessment is conducted to fully comprehend the need.
2. Based on the findings, a strategy is determined, and a plan is designed.
3. Next is the implementation of the plan according to the predetermined timeline.
4. The execution is evaluated and the change is monitored.

Based on the explanation above, communication for development and social change systematically follows steps more or less in an order. To fit in the order and for it to have an impact, creativity enhancement has to be positioned strategically. For that, it is pertinent to go back to the original gardening analogy. You till the ground before you plant the seed, which means that creativity enhancement sessions or workshops ought to happen before the actual communication campaign is

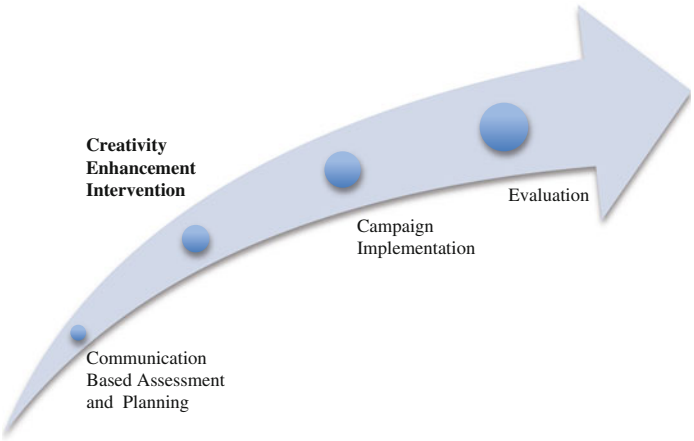


Fig. 3 Creativity enhancement intervention positioning

implemented. While the results of the need assessment are being analyzed and a strategy is being determined, creativity enhancement should be rolled out. Figure 3 illustrates the positioning of creativity enhancement intervention.

The creativity enhancement intervention has to be positioned precisely so that when the communication campaign is rolled out, the campaign benefits from the enhanced creativity.

13.6 Assumptions

- This concept assumes that the initiation of a campaign or the idea of social change required in a community is etic. In other words, an external observer instead of an internal player or a local resident initiates the development campaigns and efforts. This is not to say that creativity and creativity enhancement does not have a role to play in the case when an internal player initiates a campaign. Explication of what role creativity and creativity enhancement can play in those circumstances will be dealt at another time. As of now, it is outside the scope of this work.
- This concept assumes that creativity and creativity enhancement discussed here are used as tools, before the actual campaign starts, to prepare the community members for the incoming change. The creativity that is used in designing the campaign is not where this concept is trying to make a contribution. That creativity has always existed, to what extent might be a matter of debate.
- This concept also assumes that the author does not have a preference or a bias for one communication for development and social change approach over another. The author looks at all approaches and models equally.

13.7 Creativity Enhancement Intervention

Creativity is a skill. Just like every other skill, creativity can also be taught and can be enhanced with practice.

The million-dollar question, now, is how to enhance creativity. There are numerous strategies to enhance or generate creativity. Psychologists have studied creativity now for over many decades and the area of creativity, which is not restricted by product bias or art bias has been studied extensively. As a result of the practice and research, many creativity enhancement strategies have been developed such as Brainstorming, Design thinking, Seven Hats, Creative Aerobics, and others.

Creativity enhancement intervention is to be conducted by introducing people to a creativity enhancement strategy. Based on the evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of the different creativity enhancement strategies, the creativity enhancement strategy that is optimal for this intervention is creative aerobics.

Creative Aerobics is a set of four specific, interrelated word-driven exercises that alternate left- and right-brained thinking (George and Yagnik 2017). Creative Aerobics is a process-driven system instead of a solution driven system. Using it, one can generate lots of rich information quickly. The four exercises are:

1. Finding facts
2. Naming names
3. Finding similarities between dissimilars
4. New meaning for existing phrases

Creative Aerobics is a relaxing process that rids an individual of any anxiety or panic. Creative Aerobics has delivered results in boardroom and classroom for over two decades. Creative Aerobics also aligns well with the notions of participation, empowerment, social justice, and equity. Creative Aerobics does not require any special qualification or training to master. It is strongly rooted in one's own daily life and experiences.

Typically, due to the standardized schooling and parenting, we are trained to utilize our left-brain more and therefore our ability to use the right side of the brain is diminished. Creative Aerobics allows one to access solutions and ideas that were previously available but not accessible. Creative Aerobics allows you to explore your what it isn't fearlessly and be tolerant of ambiguity. The four exercises are explained in detail below.

13.7.1 Finding Facts

Finding Facts is Creative Aerobics 1 (CA1). This is the simplest of all the four exercises. In CA1, all you are required to do is to find facts about a product or an object and list them. List as many facts as you can. The only caveat here is to try and list as many lesser-known facts as possible. The lesser-known the facts, the better it is. To make this easy task easier, you can apply one of the three tactics to come up with facts:

- Research: A participant can perform secondary research, wherein s/he can do a quick Google search and list facts from there. A participant can also use the more traditional route of going to a library to find relevant information.
- Observation: A participant can use her/is observation and other senses to come up with facts that are seen or felt.
- Experience: The participant can list facts from her/is own past experiences with that object. This is accomplished by asking ordinary and out of ordinary questions to oneself.

13.7.2 Naming Names

Naming names is your Creative Aerobics 2 (CA2). "CA2 asks for new what it isn't names for existing object" (George and Yagnik 2017). Here, the learner is tasked to come up with new what it isn't (WII) names. This is the first step towards actively involving the right side of your brain, while being introduced to the key concepts of "what it is" and "what it isn't." What it is and what it isn't are layered concepts. This characteristic makes their comprehension impactful. What it is serves as an explanation of the current state of existence. WII is the imagination or elaboration of what one's state of existence could be. The only caveat here is that the new WII names or scenarios cannot be synonymous or antonyms and in the case of a product have to be a noun.

CA2 requires you to come up with new WII names. A trainer, in the development and social change context, after teaching the technique and strategies to come up with new names can ask the participants to come up with new WII state of existence. These new WII states of existence can be helpful in realizing and understanding the following:

- What state does the individual and his/her community live?
- What state does the individual and his/her community not live in?
- What state could the individual and his/her community live in?

These distinctions through creativity enhancement and imagination may enable individual to work towards while being accepting of the communication campaigns, development, and social change. There are five strategies to come up with new WII names. The first strategy will be especially a good fit for the development and social change context.

13.7.3 Finding Similarities Between Dissimilars

One of the major things that our brain is very good at, due to the training it receives, is the ability to distinguish between objects. It is relatively normal to figure out differences as opposed to similarities. Neither is difficult, it is just that one of it is seldom applied and therefore feels more unnatural.

Creative Aerobic 3, otherwise known as finding similarity between dissimilars, makes us utilize our right side of the brain actively. You can take any two dissimilar objects and still find similarities between them. For example, take orange and

clock, they are both round, they both have partitions, they both get eaten up, they both can be opened, and more. Keep in mind, no matter how dissimilar the objects are, you will always be able to find similarities between them when you allow the right side of the brain to inspire your thoughts. Let us take another example, sugar and shoe. They both start with letter "S," they are both used to cover things, they can both be bought, and using them both is comforting. In my class, I have an open challenge for my students. If they are able to come up with any two objects that do not have any similarity between them, then they can get a $100. I have never had to give my $100 away.

This can be utilized in the communication for development and social change context where they can find similarities between being scenarios of being underdeveloped and being developed. It is guaranteed that they will be able to find similarities between the two. These similarities can be built upon as foundation to mitigate the issue and accentuate the well-being.

13.7.4 Creating New Meanings for Existing Phrases

CA-4 is creating new meanings for existing phrases. This CA exercise teaches you to utilize the right and left brain in tandem. Let me start by giving an example of CA-4.

I woke up today and finished all my cereal. Who am I?

A cereal killer.

You see how the phrase serial killer has been given a new meaning by capitalizing on the inherent ambiguity that is made available to us. In CA-4, we discover colloquially popular phrases and give them new meaning. For example, venetian blind: a blind person from Venice; Fishing pole: a Polish person who is fishing or a voting poll among fishes.

CA-4 can be used in the development and social change context to give new meanings to existing situations and scenarios. These new meanings can help people in realizing whether a situation is good or bad, positive or negative, right or wrong, happy or unhappy. Creativity here has no limits, so you never know what realizations may emerge from this.

From a training perspective, this is the exercise that usually leads to the "Aha!" moment. This powerful realization makes it easy for the communication campaign to succeed because by then an individual is cognitively involved with the issue.

13.8 Adaptation of Creative Aerobics in Development and Social Change

Creative Aerobics, due to its ease and effectiveness, can be used for creativity enhancement of an individual or a large number of individuals constituting a community. Once a participant is trained in creative aerobics, then s/he can be asked to utilize CA in a particular context. Let us take the issue of higher female illiteracy due to menstruation. Millions of girls drop out of school when they hit menarche. This is due to several reasons but a few are lack of toilets, ridicule and

shaming, marriageable because they can now reproduce, and negligence of the importance of education for women independence and empowerment.

If the Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene (WASH) section in UNICEF were to launch a communication campaign for development and social change targeted at retaining more female students after menarche, then a few actions will need to be taken. Individuals and a community will need to go through knowledge, attitude, and behavior changes regarding menstruation. They will also need to be made cognizant of the long-term implications of female illiteracy. To prepare an individual and a community for comprehending the communication that is going to be directed at them or for realizing the problem and coming up with a solution, healthy and high levels of creativity and imagination are required. Without one's ability to imagine the consequences that are far away in the future her/is ability to receive and understand the communication efforts are limited. This is where creativity enhancement training comes in. It will be a two-step process:

1. Engage members of the community in the creativity enhancement training.
   (a) When they join, a creativity test should be administered to determine the level of creativity. This will serve as a pretest.
   (b) Then the individuals should be introduced to CA, as an ideation system aimed at aiding them in enhancing their creativity.
   (c) This introduction should not be in the context of menstruation and female illiteracy.
   (d) The duration of the sessions can vary from 2 to 4 h. This can be done in one day or can be spread depending on the circumstances.
   (e) Once they are done with the training, another creativity test should be administered. This will serve as a posttest.
   (f) The results will present with two options:
      (i) No significant change: Repeat the CA training.
      (ii) Significant change: Move onto the next step.

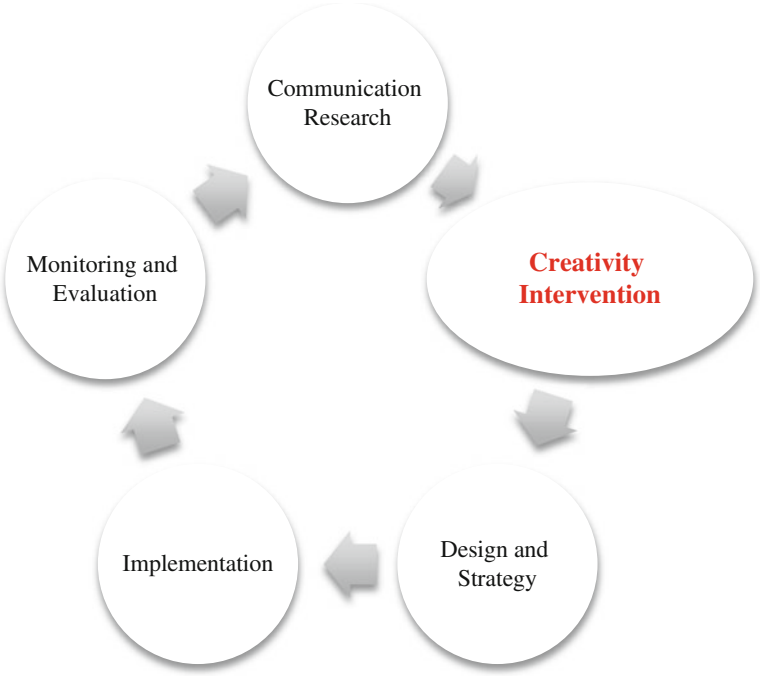
   Based on my professional experience, I can say with almost certain confidence that by now participants will be thrilled at the discovery of this new potential and power.
2. Invite them for an advanced CA session for community development.
   (a) When they join, inform them about the issue.
   (b) Task them with performing CA exercises about a given issue.
   (c) Document the knowledge, perception and solutions that emerge from it.
   (d) Based on the nature of the communication campaign and the level of participation utilize the knowledge emerged from the CA sessions.

13.9 Benefits of Creativity Enhancement Intervention

The benefits of a creativity enhancement intervention are multipronged.

- The important benefit is most likely to be seen in the reduced resistance towards the communication campaign. This can also be looked at increased acceptance or speedy acceptance of the communication campaign.

- The second aspect is that creative aerobics is a great motivator. It motivates people by giving them confidence in themselves and their ability. This is very important for a participatory approach because when you involve the people in a dialogue or an exchange you want them to participate, you want them to contribute, you want them to act like a stakeholder, you want them to come up with local and more sustainable solutions or ideas to increase sustainability. CA enables them to connect the seemingly disconnected and to give new meanings to existing situations. This is empowerment at an individual level, which can easily transpire into empowerment at a local or a community level.
- It fits in well with the existing frameworks and models of communication for development and social change. Given below is the modified version of the multitrack approach (Mefalopulos 2008) including creativity enhancement intervention.



- This advancement in theory may propel testing of this approach through research or practice and lead to further refinement of this approach or development of new directions for the field of communication for development and social change.
- By exploring and examining this, there is nothing to lose. Creativity enhancement will help individuals and communities in dealing other issues in their life not related to development and social change. It may give them a new life perspective, a new career, confidence, joy, and maybe even a way to cope with stress and calamity.

13.10 Summary

Communication for development and social change through creativity is an attempt at broadening the horizons of imagination in regards with approaching development and social change. This approach has not been tested yet but the hope is that considerable amount of time will be spent in testing this by scholars and practitioners. One of the immediate next steps is be to create a creativity enhancement training manual that can be utilized by trainers to train individuals in Creative Aerobics.

Enhanced creativity index of people also has other advantages such as boosting self-confidence, increasing flexibility, and ability to deal with calamity. The creativity enhancement intervention can also be a great fun way to connect with individuals and communities and build a rapport with them. This will also help them open up and share candidly during participatory or dialogic meetings. If nothing else, it will surely bring these communities and nations higher up in the creativity index ranking.

As mentioned earlier, if ideas are the new currency then clearly creativity is the mint where these ideas are generated. As much as it is important that the neglect of this universal force comes to an end, it is also important for creativity to be actively included and utilized in development and social change. Incorporating creativity into the equation is bound to have an effect. Remembering the gardening analogy, the effect of creativity enhancement training is likely to be positive social change and individual empowerment.

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The Relevance of Habermasian Theory for Development and Participatory Communication

14

Thomas Jacobson

Contents

14.1 Introduction 288
14.2 Part I: Modernization Theory 289
14.3 Part II: The Theory of Communicative Action 291
14.3.1 Cultural Value Sphere: Science, Technology, and the Objective World 295
14.3.2 Cultural Value Sphere: Law, Morality, and the Social World 296
14.3.3 Cultural Value Sphere: Art, Literature, and the Person 297
14.3.4 Criticism 299
14.4 Part III: Communicative Action and Development 301
14.4.1 Cultural Value Sphere: Science, Technology, and the Objective World 302
14.4.2 Cultural Value Sphere: Law, Morality, and the Social World 303
14.4.3 Cultural Value Sphere: Art, Literature, and the Person 304
14.5 Research Opportunities 304
14.6 Conclusion 306
References 307

Abstract

This chapter examines Jurgen Habermas's theory of communicative action as a theory communication for development and social change. In the main his theory has focused on analysis of industrial or postindustrial societies, but it is also relevant to the study of development and social change. This relevance extends beyond questions related to the public sphere. Habermas's work involves a general theory of social evolution. This he shares with early modernizationists along with his defense of at least some of the enlightenment traditions they shared. At the same time, the theory of communicative action has deep and

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systematic differences from modernization theory. Its critical theory shares with the many critics of modernization theory a deep apprehension regarding the negative effects of scientism and uncontrolled market rationality. It is fundamentally critical of the functionalist reason underlying early modernization research. Its theory of the lifeworld provides an elaborate framework for analyzing cultural change. It offers a sophisticated defense of universalizable human rights that eschews the idea of a priori universal rights. In sum, the theory defines development and social change as a process of increasing dialogical, and participatory, communication in all sectors of society. The chapter reviews modernization theory and its weaknesses, outlines the theory of communicative action, and then considers Habermas's theory as an approach to the study of development and social change. A concluding chapter suggests research opportunities using the communicative action framework.

Keywords

Habermas · Modernization · Communicative action · Development

14.1 Introduction

The relevance of Jurgen Habermas's work to studies of development and social change has been noted in a number of respects within the literature on communication. Chiefly these apply his theory of the public sphere to democratic and participatory processes in the global south. While these studies are productive, the relevance of Habermas's theory to development studies is broader than this. His theory of communicative action as a whole embodies a systematic theory of social change that is historical and evolutionary (Habermas 1984, 1987). It addresses the challenges of cultural change, institutional growth, economic fairness, and other matters of importance to development studies, and it does so within a unified theoretical framework.

The core of his theory is relevant to studies of development communication not only because of its broad scope. It is also relevant because the theory of communicative action identifies the chief driving force of development, in relation to economics, law, democratic politics, socialization, and more, as a participatory form of communication. For Habermas, development and social change is essentially a process in which communication, in the form of communicative action, plays an increasingly central role in all social subsystems across modern historical time.

In the paper that follows, the theory of communicative action is treated as a theory of development and social change, focusing on its analysis of communicatively driven social evolution. The paper begins in Part I with a sketch of modernization theory. This material is well known, but a selective review will help to make clear the relevance of Habermas's theory to a wide range of social and analytic subjects, as well as differences between his work and modernization theory. The theory of communicative action itself is presented in Part II. A number of criticisms are

reviewed, some general and others pertinent specifically to development studies. Afterward follows a comparison of modernization theory and the theory of communicative action, in Part III, identifying ways in which the two theories are similar and more importantly ways in which they are different.

Parts II and III are organized in a tripartite fashion. Each is divided into three parts by identifying what Habermas calls, following Max Weber, three cultural value spheres (Habermas 1984, pp. 143–273): science and technology, law and morality, and art and literature. A concluding section offers suggestions for research.

14.2 Part I: Modernization Theory

Modernization theory was based in considerable part on the work of founding sociologists such as Emile Durkheim, Ferdinand Tonnies, and Wax Weber (Black 1966). Perhaps the most influential of the founding sociologists was Weber. He more than anyone is identified with the idea that modernity proceeds through the institutionalization of rational ways of thinking, resulting in social specialization and bureaucratization. He characterized progress as evidence of a "great rational prophesy."

The 1950s saw these classical characterizations of the birth of modern society clothed in the biologically based metaphor of evolution. The evolution of social stratification was viewed naturalistically in terms of biological differentiation. Naturalistic as it was, this evolution was considered inevitable. As Marion Levy explained, "The patterns of the relatively modernized societies, once developed, have shown a universal tendency to penetrate any social context whose participants have come in contact with them. . ." (Levy 1967, p. 190). The result of this penetration was global cultural assimilation. Modernization was expected to reduce the variety of local cultures expressed across societies and move them toward a common vision. "As time goes on, they and we will increasingly resemble one another . . . because the patterns of modernization are such that the more highly modernized societies become, the more they resemble one another" (Levy 1967, p. 207).

Within this teleological model of change in societies as a whole, individual studies addressed subsystems within societies. The most widely influential of these studies early on was Walter Rostow's study of economic development, including his proposal of a series of five stages through which traditional societies must move in order to achieve self-sustaining economic "takeoff" (Rostow 1960). Closely associated with this economic growth, as a necessary input to production, was an increased incorporation of technology and scientific rationality. Following Weber, and speaking of modernization as an emerging universal culture, Lucien Pye explains, "It is based on a scientific and rational outlook and the application in all phases of life of ever higher levels of technology" (Pye 1963, p. 19).

Evolution in economy and the technification of culture required concomitant evolution in social structure. Most generally, modern economic institutions were characterized by the differentiation and specialization of social roles (Levy 1967). Because self-sustaining growth requires market economies and these in turn require democracy, modernization theory also included in its studies of differentiation the emergence of politically specialized democratic institutions. Almond and Verba

viewed democratization as a necessary component of modernization and saw it as moving from traditional authoritarianism toward a world culture of democratic participation, what they called "the participation explosion" (Almond and Verba 1963, p. 4).

To occupy roles in these new economic and social institutions, a new kind of individual person was required, one that was less bound to tradition and the stasis of traditional society. In order for individuals to escape rural torpor, move to urban areas, and become involved in a modern workforce, Daniel Lerner argued that traditional mentalities had to change. Individuals had to learn how to ". . . see oneself in the other fellow's situation" in order to be able to envision new and desirable ways of life (Lerner 1958, p. 50). Only then could one be expected to want to "achieve" – an attitudinal condition studied by David McClelland (1961). Given importance assigned to economic growth, rational thought, and individual achievement, the modern individual came to appear in the form of a modern factory worker (Inkeles and Smith 1974, p. 19).

Communication processes were focal in a considerable amount of research. Lerner's singular contribution was to study relations among literacy, media participation, and political participation. He was among the earliest to recognize that for economic and social institutions to change, change was required in individual knowledge, attitudes, and aspirations. Representing deliberations of the Committee on Comparative Politics, Lucien Pye was another early exponent of a communication-based approach. "A scanning of any list of the most elementary problems common to the new states readily suggests the conclusion that the basic processes of political modernization and national development can be advantageously conceived of as problems in communication" (Pye 1963, p. 8).

In general, Lerner's and Pye's approaches to conceptualizing communication corresponded with others in the transmission school of communication research. Harold Lasswell's definition of communication held that it was, "Who says what to whom through what channel with what effect" (Lasswell 1948). This expressed normal science in communication at the time. The media centrism of this approach to the study of communication was evidenced in the title of Wilbur Schramm's major work on development communication, *Mass Media and National Development* (1964), as well as in Everett Rogers' widely influential research on the diffusion of innovations (Rogers 1963).

The modernization process turned out to be more complicated and more difficult than assumed in early theoretical statements. Economically, Rostow's anticipated takeoff into sustained growth turned out for the majority of developing nations to be a takeoff into sustained debt (Korten 1995). Socially, newly modern institutions were often troubled by authoritarianism, corruption, and exploitation. At the level of individual experience, Lerner noted as early as 1976 that the "tide of rising expectations" he had foreseen was in many places turning into a "tide of rising frustrations" (Lerner and Schramm 1976).

Studies of the demise of modernization theory have included a wide range of theoretical perspectives. Dependency, neo-dependency, and then world systems theory analyzed the political economy of global economic structures (Amin 1997;

Chew and Denemark 1996; Frank 1984; Wallerstein 1979). Postmodernism and cultural studies have addressed cultural power (Escobar 1995; Spivak 1987; Chambers and Curti 1996). Rural participation studies have highlighted the need for local self-determination (Cernea 1991; Brohman 1996).

The theoretical variety found in the development literature can be found in communication research as well. Studies of political economy have explored distortions in information flows resulting from corporate power (Schiller 1976). Awareness of the importance of culture is reflected in calls for multicultural approaches to development policy (Servaes 1998). Participatory communication emphasizes dialogic processes in grassroots and community organizations (White et al. 1994; Servaes et al. 1996). Neo-modernizationist research addresses information campaigns and program evaluations without reference to the broad theoretical claims made earlier (Hornik 1988).

This brief account of modernization theory provides only a sketch of theoretical trends and is not intended to represent the full variety of modernization theory or its criticism. It allows one observation and sets the stage for one claim.

The observation concerns the breadth of social processes that are inevitably involved in development and social change and the relative paucity of contemporary theories addressing this breadth. Development studies over recent years have placed a worthy emphasis on participatory processes and on a lack of participation in much development work. However, this emphasis on participation focuses on local social change processes and to some extent on political participation. The understanding of large-scale social change requires, in addition, the analysis of large-scale institutions, including institutions responsible for economics, law, change in social norms, federated political systems, global institutions, and more. The claim is that the study of communication for development and social change must address all these.

Very few theories address the full breadth of these issues in a systematic way. Amartya Sen's capabilities approach is one of the few. Habermas's is another. Although it is not primarily oriented to development studies, Habermas's theoretical framework addresses a wide range of the social processes required for development. It does so systematically and critically.

14.3 Part II: The Theory of Communicative Action

Major differences between the theory of communicative action and modernization theory can be seen in their different appropriations of Weber's work. Noting its 1950s origins, Habermas explains that modernization theory had taken up Max Weber's program but associated it with social-scientific functionalism. "The theory of modernization performs two abstractions on Weber's concept of 'modernity.' It dissociates 'modernity' from its modern European origins and stylizes it into a spatio-temporally neutral model for processes of social development in general" (Habermas 1995, p. 2).

With this observation Habermas begins by criticizing both Weber's account of modernity and its functionalist employment by modernization theorists. At the same

time, he wants to retain some elements of Weber's approach and of the enlightenment legacy generally. White summarizes Habermas's position. "One of the underlying goals of Habermas's work has been to construct a middle position between an uncritical, endorsement of modernity and a 'totalized critique' of it" (White 1987, p. 128). This middle position rests on an analysis of Weber's historical view of societal rationalization and the position that Weber's treatment of societal rationalization relied on a one-sided conceptualization of reason generally.

It is in relation to this *critique of reason* that Habermas offers a communicative theory of reason upon which is built a new treatment of societal rationalization. A review of Habermas's treatment of social evolution therefore requires an understanding of his theory of communicative reason.

The theory assumes a certain linguisticality of experience (Habermas 1984, pp. 94–95). Language is more than a tool. It embodies beliefs and preunderstandings below the level of conscious reflection before it is used in any tool-like respect. Nevertheless, against this background of preunderstandings, language is used to communicate in more or less deliberate ways. And this use rests on three reciprocal assumptions (see Fig. 1). Any communicator assumes of his or her interlocutor that they are (1) speaking the truth, (2) acting appropriately in light of social norms when speaking, and (3) speaking truthfully or sincerely (Habermas 1984, p. 99).

These "validity claims" of truth, rightness, and truthfulness, respectively, are each treated as necessary. They do not always obtain insofar as any of the claims can be false during an actual, given interaction, and yet their existence as behavioral operating assumptions is considered necessary for any kind of communication at all, even deceitful communication.

If an implicit validity claim is challenged explicitly, then discussion can be attempted in order to resolve the disagreement. The relevant claim can be said to have been "thematized." Discussion, or discourse, may then follow in order either to justify or to disprove the claim. Discussion oriented toward understanding is characterized by the willingness of participants to meet certain speech conditions. They must allow a symmetric distribution of opportunities to contribute to discussion. They must be willing to entertain any proposition raised during discussion. And they must be willing to offer justifications for their own claims when asked to do so.

Within the framework of these validity expectations, communicative action is treated as interaction involving the willingness to justify validity claims, or as "action oriented toward understanding." When action is oriented toward success rather than understanding, or when the speech is manipulative, then it is treated not as communicative but as strategic action (see Fig. 2).

> I shall speak of *communicative* action whenever the actions of the agents involved are coordinated not through egocentric calculations of success but through acts of reaching understanding. (Habermas 1984, pp. 285–286) [original emphasis]

This formulation of communicative action provides the basis for Habermas's account of reason. Enlightenment thought generally holds reason to be a property of individual consciousness, characterized by its dispassionate and instrumental grasp

Conceptual category	Construct
Validity claims	Truth (accuracy)
	Appropriateness
	Truthfulness (sincerity)
	Comprehensibility
Speech conditions	Symmetric distribution of opportunities to contribute
	Ability to raise any proposition
	Full treatment of propositions raised

Fig. 1 Empirical concepts – validity claims and speech conditions

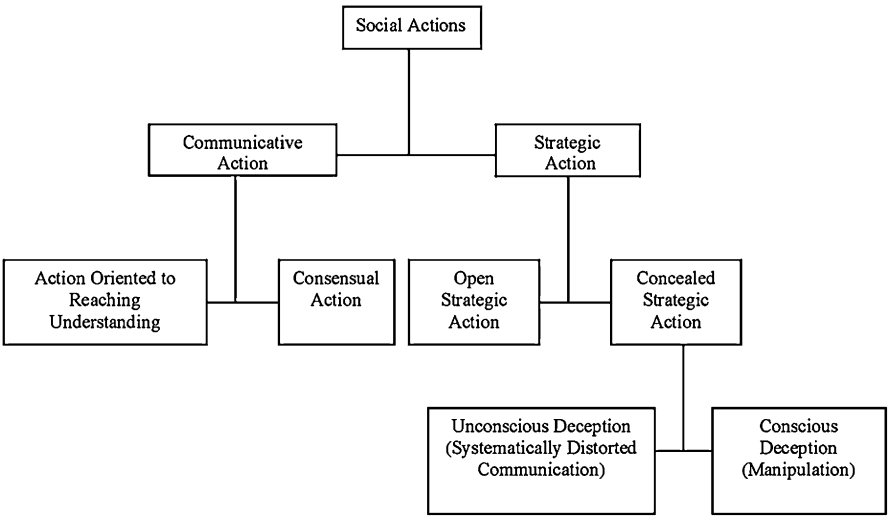

Fig. 2 Kinds of social action. (Modified from Habermas 1979, p. 209)

of truths about an external world. This treatment is assumed among both the classical sociologists, including Weber, and later modernizationists. A communicative approach, alternatively, treats reason not as the individual's instrumental grasp of the external world but as a process through which individuals interact to coordinate action with regard to the world.

Action coordination takes place with regard to different kinds of affairs, as indicated by the kinds of validity claims involved. And it requires different forms of discussion, or discourse, appropriate for each. Claims pertaining to truths about the world must be adjudicated using theoretical discourse, ultimately including the tools of observation, testing, and so on or reference to them. It should be noted that

Validity Claims	Cultural Value Spheres	World Relations
Truth	Science and Technology	Objective World
Rightness	Law and Morality	Social World
Truthfulness (sincerity)	Art and Literature	Subjective World

Fig. 3 Validity claims, world relations, and cultural value spheres

truths about the *objective* world are not considered to be absolute, but rather are defined in terms of a pragmatist epistemology (Habermas 2003). Claims pertaining to agreements within the social world must be handled with normative discourse of an ethical, moral, or political nature. Claims pertaining to the subjective world of individual sincerity can only be addressed using expressive discourse and, in the end, can only be justified through consistent performance of expressed positions (Habermas 1984, pp. 19–22).

Although they are usually implicit, or unconscious, these claims play an essential and pragmatic role in all social interaction. Assumptions regarding truth make it possible for individuals to interact in relation to the objective world. Assumptions regarding rightness make it possible for individuals to interact in relation to the social world. And those regarding truthfulness make it possible to interact in relation to subjective experience. These "world relations" enable individuals to coordinate their actions with regard to these different spheres of existence. And they do so through the option of giving good reasons for claims, in anticipation of the success of the better argument, regardless of the kind of discourse employed (see Fig. 3).

Given the different forms of discourse appropriate for each, then, these world relations require different forms of rationality. Reason is not a unitary skill, but is multiple. Or, in specific, it is tripartite. And reason is not only cognitive in an instrumental or scientific sense. It is also employed cognitively in matters related to social and subjective affairs, assuming communicative forms appropriate to each.

Returning to the question of the rationalization of society, the theory of communicative reason provides a foundation upon which social rationalization need not be understood as bureaucratization through the application of scientific reasoning and technology. More broadly, social rationalization can be seen as tripartite. The emergence of modernity comprises the application of reason within three different "cultural value spheres:" science and technology, law and morality, and art and literature. "With science and technology, with autonomous art and the values of expressive self-presentation, with universal legal and moral representations, there emerges a differentiation of *three value spheres*. . ." (Habermas 1984, pp. 163–164) [original emphasis]. Each cultural value sphere performs characteristic functions and accumulates knowledge and tradition. Habermas treats this in terms of the "differentiation of the structural components of the lifeworld."

14.3.1 Cultural Value Sphere: Science, Technology, and the Objective World

In modern scientific cultures, the economic sphere became more autonomous as instrumental rationality produced tools suitable for facilitating increases in productive capacity. Government became more autonomous as the state took on its own management, freed from the meddling of external social forces such as the aristocracy and the church. For the cultural activities of the arts, accepted artistic practices and autonomous standards of aesthetic appreciation evolved. In each case, one sphere might be informed or affected by the others, but the most effective mode of discourse for each is that in which its characteristic form of communicative rationality holds sway. Each operates "according to its own logic."

More generally, Habermas speaks of the rationalization of the lifeworld. And he emphasizes the manner in which the broader conceptualization of reason employed makes possible a more adequate grasp of the historical evolution of the legal, moral, and aesthetic characteristics of modern society, in addition to those associated with science and technology.

> The release of a potential for reason embedded in communicative action is a world-historical process; in the modern period, it leads to a rationalisation of life-worlds, to the differentiation of their symbolic structures, which is expressed above all in the increasing reflexivity of cultural traditions, in processes of individuation, in the generalisation of values, in the increasing prevalence of more abstract and more universal norms, and so on. (Habermas 1992a, p. 180)

This triadic approach to social rationalization in modernity differentiates the theory of communicative action from Weber's work, from modernization theory, and from previous approaches to modernity generally. And it is the chief means by which Habermas has attempted to develop his critical theory of society. For it provides an account of society in terms of which modernity's chief problem can be analyzed. This problem is theorized as the "colonization of the inner lifeworld."

The lifeworld as a whole includes activities dedicated to the transmission of cultural norms, to the integration of social institutions, and to the formation of identity. These activities are values-oriented, and their discussion requires communicative action utilizing all forms of discourse. Colonization occurs when instrumental reason is inappropriately used in place of more appropriate discourse in the attempt to fulfill such lifeworld functions. It occurs when, for example, science and/or bureaucracy is used in place of family interaction to make determinations on matters of child rearing. It occurs when market values come to determine the direction of aesthetic and artistic trends. And it occurs when bottom-line reasoning moves from the business to the editorial side of pressrooms.

The colonization thesis identifies the negative aspects of instrumental rationality, of social differentiation, and of confusing complexity in such a manner that they can be treated not as incidental misfortunes of modernity but as systematic expressions of unbalanced development. Colonization is the result of a "selective pattern of rationalization," in which normative and aesthetic spheres of society have not been

sufficiently worked up and have been distorted by outsized growth in the importance accorded to technical and administrative reason (Habermas 1984, p. 240).

14.3.2 Cultural Value Sphere: Law, Morality, and the Social World

The view that spheres of society become increasingly differentiated while interacting with and mutually affecting one another predicates, or grounds, Habermas's classification of historical stages into three periods. These include pre-conventional, conventional, and post-conventional stages of social evolution. Through this classification of stages, a framework for the analysis of social evolution is created that he treats as a "*. . . directional variation of lifeworld structures . . .*" (Habermas 1987, p. 145) [original emphasis].

In pre-conventional societies, the organization principle is reflected in kinship systems. In these, natural, social, religious, and artistic norms are interwoven within mythic systems. Conventional societies have class stratification as their organizing principle, where the production and distribution of wealth shifts away from regulation by family lineage and into the hands of centralized authority. The justification of this situation takes place through "dogmatized knowledge," in which the authority of king, pharaoh, or Caesar is proclaimed. Post-conventional society begins to emerge with what we know as the rise of modernity. The force of dogma wanes. The basis of legitimation for social practices is raised for examination free from otherworldly justifications.

It is only in the post-conventional stage of social evolution that communicative action becomes more fully institutionalized. For in this stage it is necessary. The complexities of later mercantile and capitalist economies required relative independence among the value spheres. In each sphere, new social arrangements can only be legitimately ordered through communicative action among affected social members without undue interference from the other spheres. Insofar as such new arrangements required modification of traditional practices, it became necessary that discourse be undertaken in the manner of a "reflective appropriation of tradition." This reflective appropriation is a collective social process in which choices are made about desirable forms of life, i.e., what to abandon through change and what to retain. In democratic societies, many such decisions as are of public concern are intended to be expressed politically. Here, input into governance requires the formation of public opinion. To differentiate it from the mere answering of opinion polls, Habermas treats this opinion formation process as being highly discursive in nature, referring to it as "collective will formation." Thus, communicative action emerges socially in the form of a public sphere (Habermas 1989).

To be clear, processes of reflective appropriation take place within public spheres both at the general level of a political public sphere and in more specialized spheres of science, law, and the arts, as well as within various social and cultural groups. In all cases, the discursive nature of the process is essential. In the political public sphere, discursive will formation is required to legitimize newly emerging political arrangements. Freeflowing discussion is required, taking into account the full range

of possible concerns. Unless these concerns are all addressed, along with the interests of those who express them, then any decision will be considered illegitimate by those excluded. This makes modern life highly dependent on communication. Increasing freedom from the unreflective practices of tradition increases the social need for "interpretive accomplishments." Finally, if these accomplishments are to become socially embodied in a fair and lasting way they must be validated within the institutions of law and justice.

14.3.3 Cultural Value Sphere: Art, Literature, and the Person

The freeing up of communicative practice that results from structural differentiation takes place not only at the societal and institutional levels. It also affects processes of identity formation and individual socialization.

> Under the functional aspect of mutual understanding, communicative action serves to transmit and renew cultural knowledge; under the aspect of coordinating action, it serves social integration and the establishment of solidarity; finally, under the aspect of socialization, communicative action serves the formation of personal identities. (Habermas 1984, p. 137)

Communicative action can be seen as operating both downward and upward, relating micro- and macro-level social processes. Microlevel, or individual behavior, is analyzed in terms of George Herbert Mead's symbolic interactionism (Morris 1962). For the requirements of communicative understanding are ultimately defined not in terms of sentential or grammatical sufficiency but rather in terms of the ability to coordinate social action.

Following Mead, the self is constructed insofar as it sees itself reflected in the behavior of others and in turn reacts to what it has seen. This is a process in which role taking is learned, in the ability to assume and to consider the perspective of the other. The emerging ability of an individual to coordinate action for the self and with the other comprises the development of ego identity. Through the course of maturation, in this sense, the ability to consider the perspectives of others is widened, resulting in a "decentered" ego.

As the process of identity formation takes place, so too takes place the process of socialization. Insofar as maturation takes place within the lifeworld of a given linguistic community, the interactions through which identity is formed reproduce among other things the sanctions and prohibitions of the community's values. Thus it is that the self becomes imbued with the particular values of a community at the same time as it learns who it is and how to behave (See Habermas 1987, p. 142).

A common attribute of both the individual and the social expression of values is moral/ethical maturation. Following Mead, the self is highly dependent early on. But eventually the self learns to operate in relative independence. Through stages of cognitive development, the self is increasingly differentiated off from significant others as it gains its own identity. And, as Habermas argues using Lawrence Kohlberg's (1984) work, this is associated with the development of moral reasoning.

First the self understands only the imperative of submission due to dependency. Then it learns the nature of norm conformative group expectations. Eventually the self learns to evaluate group expectations autonomously. And thus, the ego becomes socialized within a community's lifeworld but at the same time becomes relatively independent in terms of its ability to assume ethical and moral positions. This includes the expectation that others will behave the same and thus allow such autonomy universally. This final state is that of an ethically mature individual.

The theory of communicative action provides here the anchor for a discourse theory of ethics that emphasizes the universality of discourse assumptions but denies the existence of universal substantive rights. The group expectations comprising a community's values may extend globally, and may thus embody positions on questions such as human rights. These rights are not universally valid *a priori* in the sense of natural law, but they may always be universalizable in the sense that they can be valued globally (Habermas 1990, 1993).

Finally, it is in the value sphere of personality and subjectivity that aesthetic expression finds its home. As social conditions change rapidly, the individual experience of such change can find its most singular expression through art, as long as norm conformity is not absolutely required. Fears, promises and interpretations of change can be explored and shared. Along with the rise of governments whose authority was legitimated independently from religious institutions, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the world of art and aesthetics also began to evolve its own, autonomous domain. Thus, modernity has been characterized, in part, by the appearance of artistic expression freed from domination by outside concerns.

On one hand, the differentiation of artistic practices away from those of the church and state represents a gain in freedom for the individual artist. On the other hand, this differentiation expresses itself in benefits at the social level as well. Art becomes a means for collective social reflection on evolving social conditions, through aesthetic criticism and public appreciation. According to Habermas's analysis, in premodern eras values changed in an unconscious, naturalistic manner. Alternatively, in modernity, values can be held up for conscious, public evaluation. Values become "discursively fluidified." This makes individual aesthetic experience available for circulation through the spheres of law and morality and science and technology.

> To the extent that art and literature have become differentiated into a sphere with a logic of its own, and in this sense have become autonomous, a tradition of literary and art criticism has been established which labours to reintegrate the innovative aesthetic experiences, at first "mute," into ordinary language, and thus into the communicative practice of everyday life. (Habermas 1992a, pp. 168–169)

All of this illustrates the sense in which communicative action is not simply an abstract, formal process. It is not a rarefied form of interaction between hypothetical individuals, but is rather a form of behavior that is presumed in daily interaction between parents and children, teacher and pupil, performer and audience, and among

scientists, artists, and members of all groups who cooperate in the normal production and reproduction of society. And it emphasizes the manner in which social values are not mere attitudes or opinions. Social values are reflections of social structure, deeply built into identities formed during early socialization though subject to change through maturation. They are also the subject of aesthetic reflection, subject to public expression in a manner that both represents the social status quo and also facilitates social change.

14.3.4 Criticism

Of the many debates in which Habermas has been engaged while elaborating this theory, a small number must be addressed in the review undertaken here. I will briefly mention one standard objection related to the charge of idealism and then turn to somewhat lengthier treatments of objections particularly relevant to development debates.

One of the most common criticisms of the theory of communicative action is that it is idealistic and that it suggests people always try to understand one another. Both Foucault's analysis of power/knowledge and Lyotard's treatment of *agonistics* argue that power is inextricably bound up with interaction and that mutual understanding is seldom if ever at the heart of intentions (Foucault 1980; Lyotard 1984). From Habermas's perspective, this is an over reading of the theory, which aims to understand the basis upon which rests the possibility of communication of any kind. As noted, the theory identifies a variety of action forms, including as strategic action, some of which are agonistic. As Bernstein explains, the theory of communicative action is intended not to dispute the prevalence of power or difference, but rather to outline a program of research into difference without, "... ignoring or repressing the otherness of the Other" (Bernstein 1992, p. 313).

Other charges against Habermas's system are reflected in debates regarding the nature of national development processes. One is the charge that the theory of communicative action is ethnocentric. On this account, the ideal speech situation treats as universal values that in truth are only Western. Richard Rorty, for one, holds that Habermas's project falls prey to the same foundationalism characteristic of Western philosophy generally (Rorty 1985). The idea of reason alone, no matter how communicative, is enough to reveal the cultural particularity of Habermas's system.

This is one of the most difficult charges for Habermas's system to answer. The problem is indeed recognized. Speaking with regard to his discourse ethics, Habermas says that any system must do more than just "...reflect the prejudices of a contemporary adult white male Central European of bourgeois education" (Habermas 1990, p. 197). Following the simple fact of recognition, his counterargument emphasizes the idea that the content of any discourse relies on the background of preunderstandings and values embodied in lifeworlds. Any challenge of a validity claim, and any attempt to redeem that claim, takes place

within the lifeworld of actual participants. And the content of lifeworlds is not universal but is rather particular. Habermas differentiates the universality of the *kinds* of claims that are assumed in communication from the content of communication. "... the validity claimed for propositions and norms transcends spaces and times, but in each actual case the claim is raised here and now, in a specific context, and accepted or rejected with real implications for social interaction" (Habermas 1992b, p. 139).

The content of communication embodies particular cultural values that play a fundamental role in communicative exchange. This is a central tenet of the theory, and therefore the charge of ethnocentrism must focus on the presumption of validity claims rather than on cultural content. To this extent, the theory answers its critics. But the idea that validity claims are universally presumed among communicators is an ambitious one nevertheless.

Another charge related to development debates concerns ethnocentrism and universalism in a different way. This charge holds that structural differentiation of the lifeworld can no more be universal than anything else and that all social structures are equally deserving of respect, differentiated or otherwise. Habermas argues that differentiated social and cognitive structures are the hallmark of modernity's universalism. He also maintains that structural requirements do not determine cultural content and traditions that a society may wish to retain within such differentiated structures can be freely chosen. Therefore, the theory is culturally relativistic. However, it is clear that differentiation is not entirely independent of content. Tradition must be abandoned wherever it blocks differentiation. And this raises the problem of ethnocentrism in another light.

Consider theocracy. The theory of communicative action cannot count as modern the undue intrusion of religious reasoning into governance. Modernity requires the separation of church and state through a constitutional form that guarantees freedom of religious choice. This requirement in effect determines that religiously based states cannot be fully modern.

> The universalist position does not have to deny the pluralism and the incompatibility of historical versions of "civilized humanity"; but it regards this multiplicity of forms of life as limited to cultural contents, and it asserts that every culture must share certain formal properties of the modern understanding of the world, if it is at all to attain a certain degree of "conscious awareness." (Habermas 1984, p. 180)

Yet another place where the theory's universalism may be found objectionable, on related grounds, is in its treatment of historical stages. Habermas formalizes his conceptualization by drawing from the developmental psychology of Jean Piaget (1970). He does not intend to suggest that individual psychological processes can be used to explain social processes. But he does want to borrow, at an abstract level, Piaget's model of developmental stages. In Piaget's model, each stage of an individual's cognitive development is able to process more complexity than its previous stage, and thus some stages presuppose others (Habermas 1984, pp. 66–74). Similarly, Habermas argues that history's logic is developmental. Social stages

presuppose certain other stages. But this logic does not require that development be inevitable, as it generally was in modernization theory. Progress gained can be lost. It might be, ". . .eroded – even finally crushed" (Habermas 1992a, p. 196).

Neither is progress treated very hopefully. The consumer society envisioned by modernization theory seemed to promise much, a land of plenty, the good life. Alternatively, Habermas sees modernity simply as the enhanced capacity for responding to survival challenges. Quality of life, as inferior or superior, is not at issue. "For example, medieval societies, notwithstanding higher degrees of oppression than modern or primitive societies, could in certain circumstances be clinically healthier than either of them" (Habermas 1992a, pp. 204–205). Nor, finally, and to make the point clear, does progress imply happiness. "Emancipation – if we are to give this word a meaning that is foolproof against all misunderstanding – makes humanity more independent, but not automatically happier" (Habermas 1994, p. 107).

14.4 Part III: Communicative Action and Development

These reviews of modernization theory and the theory of communicative action provide the basis for an instructive comparison of the two. Similarities are evident at the most general level. Both seek to explain the evolution and characteristics of modern nations within a historically globalizing framework. They both try to relate individual and social processes, and both employ a notion of progress. Both address processes of change in tradition, social norms, and political systems. However, there are also significant differences between them at the general level.

Modernization theory was bipolar, involving two opposing stages, i.e., tradition and modernity, while the theory of communication action sees the emergence of modernity through three stages, including pre-conventional, conventional, and post-conventional stages. Modernization was in the main naturalistic, referring to the theory of biological evolution for its model of growth through differentiation, growth which was treated as being inevitable, while the theory of communicative action does not. Habermas consciously eschews the biological metaphor for social change while embracing a form of historicism (Habermas 1979, pp. 167–178).

Modernization theory began as a study of economic growth and later recognized the interdependence of economic, social, and cultural institutions. Nevertheless, modernization theory remained an economically centered theory, not only because economic growth was the major concern of involved governmental and financial institutions but also because the theory never fully abandoned its economistic origins. The theory of communicative action, alternatively, begins with a model of social evolution having three distinct and essential social spheres. The importance of economic growth is not denied, but it is removed from the central role it previously occupied. Evolution in the normative and subjective spheres is seen as being as important as evolution in economics.

In modernization theory, communication's role is to facilitate social evolution through attitude change. As students of Weber's thought, Lerner, Pye, and others shared the assumption that modernity was enabled primarily through the application

of instrumental reason. This approach to rationality fits well with a transmission theory of communication. But it is fundamentally different from a linguistically oriented approach to rationality emphasizing at the outset that communication and reason are intersubjective. Only with an intersubjective, or linguistic, starting point can attitudes, motivations, and identity be adequately explained in relation to social and cultural institutions.

The theory of communicative action does see communication as serving the spread of rationality. However, it refers not to instrumental rationality but rather to a tripartite scheme of communicative reason. This tripartite scheme is understood using a theoretical reconstruction of the conditions necessary for any kind of communication and includes the presumption of an inescapable and largely unconscious orientation toward mutual understanding. Because this orientation is always already assumed by all, it constitutes a steady pressure for its own historical embodiment in social institutions, in each of the lifeworld spheres. Communication is thus elevated from its role as an assistant to economic growth through the creation of scientifically rational attitudes. It becomes instead the main explanatory construct for social evolution in all three value spheres.

Given an intersubjective account of reason, a new approach to problems in each of the three cultural value spheres is possible. We can now turn to the differences between modernization theory and the theory of communicative action in relation to each.

14.4.1 Cultural Value Sphere: Science, Technology, and the Objective World

Modernization theory treated the emergence of a modern global culture as a consequence of the spread of rationality. In the marriage between technology and economy, reason was seen as leading the way to a future of material well-being. By treating individuals largely as rational consumers and economy as a matter of rational markets, social processes were flattened. Other social elements were analyzed insofar as they supported this flattened account. On one hand, market dysfunctions were almost invisible. On the other, traditional cultures were relegated to the dustbin of history. The theory of communicative action redresses the focus on economy and instrumental rationality with its triadic treatment of society, enabling criticism both of market dysfunctions and excessive reliance on such a narrow conception of rationality. And it does so in a manner similar to critiques of modernization theory.

While the theory of communication action does not address economics in the manner of dependency theory, its thesis on lifeworld colonization does provide its own justification for critical economic analysis under the rubric of the "suppression of generalizable interests." Habermas has reworked dialectical materialism in order to take into account methods employed by the modern state to diffuse contradictions, methods not foreseen by Marx (Habermas 1979, pp. 130–177).

For Habermas, the mechanism of social control is not ideology, but systematically distorted communication, and the result is not false consciousness, but fragmented, colonized world views. Instrumental reason operates in such a manner as to justify the emphasis on scientistic economic expertise, which in turn mystifies power relations through the use of specialist jargon and non-discursive information diffusion. The apparent mystifications of market behavior represent one example. The rush of diffusion expertise witnessed in the South exemplifies another.

14.4.2 Cultural Value Sphere: Law, Morality, and the Social World

Modernization theory's account of rationality rendered it unable to accord culture sufficient importance. Because modernization theory assumed that traditional values would simply disintegrate, its account of social progress could assume that values from the West would fill the cultural void left by this disintegration. However, once it is recognized that tradition cannot be simply abandoned, then a process in terms of which culture is carried forward and hybridized must be specified. Here the theory of communicative action uses the lifeworld as the background of tradition, and change becomes a matter of "selective appropriation of tradition." As a social process this can be done accidentally and unconsciously, or it can be done reflectively through recognized institutions and social practices. Elements of tradition and change can be carried forward intermixed. Insofar as this reflection requires institutionalization, it is likely to arise not only in political discourse but also in law and the arts.

The matter of public discourse receives very little treatment in modernization theory. In Lerner's work, media and political participation require media consumption along with the formation and expression of public opinion. But the formation of opinion is treated largely as a private matter, as an acquired skill of individuals, and public expression is treated as little more than voting and answering opinion polls. Public discourse and the mechanisms that facilitate discourse are never mentioned.

In his analysis of the public sphere, Habermas argues that commercial values have severely jeopardized the ability of mass media to facilitate collective will formation and public opinion. This "transformation of the public sphere" had already taken place in the North well before the time of political decolonization in the South. Therefore, the media institutions implanted in the South during and after the colonial period had already in a sense been lifeworld colonized. Thus, in the case of the South, lifeworld colonization didn't grow from inside as it did in the North. But Northern lifeworld colonization processes can reasonably be seen as having taken place in the South as well, imported as a form of neocolonialism.

The process of cultural change is much more complex than was suggested by the attitude change models employed in modernization theory, and if it is to be democratic, it requires discursive processes involving the public at large, taking place in all lifeworld spheres.

14.4.3 Cultural Value Sphere: Art, Literature, and the Person

Modernization theory's account of the person was individualistic. Drawing lightly on Freud, and more heavily on the Protestant Ethic, modernization theory produced a theory of the person that was anemic. Insofar as it was removed from its local and cultural context, the ego ostensibly became susceptible to Western influence. Attitudes, it was assumed, could readily be changed and modernized. Given the assumption that tradition could be abandoned wholesale, possessive individualism could be expected to immediately take on an attractive hue (Macpherson 1962).

As it turns out, wholesale abandonment of tradition was never a realistic option. Frantz Fanon (1967) analyzed the identity choices facing local blacks in colonized North Africa. Particularly insofar as race and class were concerned, healthy models of identity were unavailable. And thus, using Northern models, there emerged indigenous classes in which presentation of self became tantamount in Fanon's eyes to self-betrayal. On another continent, Paulo Freire's teachings on teaching illustrated the submersion of the self that results from systematic oppression (Freire 1968, 1973). And novelists from Chinua Achebe to Ruth Prawer Jhabvala to Salman Rushdie have explored the cultural gaps and disjunctions individuals must somehow transverse while making their way among cultures.

Compared to present need, the theory of communicative action's treatment of personality is thin too. It does not explore these problems from the subject's viewpoint in empirical detail. But it does provide a framework within which such viewpoints can be explored. The fact that Third World populations were driven off their farms and into factories is not news, but analysis of lifeworlds in the global South provides some leverage in understanding social problems. Social policy must monitor the health of lifeworlds and minister to them through a variety of mechanisms including cultural policy. Habermas points out:

> . . . Central concepts such as the happiness, dignity, integrity of the person are now changing as if before our very eyes. Diffuse experiences, which crystallize out under transformed life circumstances produced by changes in social structure, find their illuminating, suggestive, visible expression through cultural productivity. (Habermas 1992a, p. 169)

Habermas speaks here of conditions of the North. But in the South too, culture is changing as if before our eyes. Cultural policies must be used to carry a heavy burden in attempts to facilitate reflective appropriation of tradition in ways that facilitate health through the expression of subjective experience.

14.5 Research Opportunities

Debates over the nature of development and social change have over recent decades problematized the manner in which modernization theory analyzed social processes. The theory of communicative action offers an alternative approach for the study of many of these.

One line of inquiry could examine the theory's claim regarding the universality of lifeworld differentiation. If cultural value spheres must differentiate in modern societies, then science, government, and religion are expected to stay in their own backyards. Consider the possible impact of religion on governance. Does democracy require that the separation between religion and the state take the specific form that it has in Europe? Or, is it possible that a dialog between religious values and government might take various forms? Habermas seems to be suggesting as much in his recent thinking on religion (Habermas 2008, 2010).

Another line of inquiry could address the universalistic claim found in discourse ethics. Habermas's intent is to provide a minimal theory of ethics, one that makes the thinnest claims necessary to support a universalist account of justice, a "moral standpoint." He is well aware of the problems attending this project but has not yet addressed them in a multicultural setting, preferring so far to address them abstractly, within the framework of his own theory and that of philosophical ethics. The development context provides a setting that is particularly suitable for such multicultural inquiry.

The universalist element offers something akin to the right to communicate (Fisher and Harms 1983). The relativist element of discourse ethics is found in the idea that validity claims are necessarily embodied in statements whose content comes from the lifeworlds within which these statements are made and thus are culturally and historically specific. Given this account, substantive rights principles can be universal only insofar as they come to be generally recognized through adoption, as what Habermas calls "generalizable" rights or interests. Research could be undertaken to explore how rights become generalized and how particular cultural forms articulate with new rights as they emerge historically, including communication rights (Jacobson 1998).

The theory of communicative action of course provides an approach to evaluating the health of public discourse. Libertarian press theory places its guarantee of democracy in private ownership of the press (Siebert et al. 1963). Habermas's treatment of the public sphere, alternatively, places it in collective will formation. His recent work explores collective will formation in the context of industrialized nations, emphasizing the reliance of such will formation on discursive processes anchored in public lifeworlds (Habermas 1996). In the Southern context, emphasis on lifeworld integrity would suggest that local cultural forms should be integrated with modern press institutions. Development journalism (Shah 1996) and Third World applications of the more recently evolved "public" journalism could be examined in this light (Merritt 1995). Traditional forms of collective communication expressed in theater, music, and storytelling can be employed in the discussion of community issues (Brokensha and Werner 1980).

In the sphere of personality, the theory of communicative action suggests a number of research possibilities. Cultural hybridity resulting from globalization of cultural products is plainly important, but its effects are difficult to evaluate. Individual and social adoption of globally circulating aesthetics can be judged to be either positive expressions of free choice or negative expressions of market domination. But it is more difficult to explain why some are adopted and others are not.

The theory of communicative action provides its own approach for the study of such processes. On one hand, where trends represent the market-driven circumvention of public will, these trends could be considered to be a form of lifeworld colonization. On the other hand, where such trends represent public will regarding normative and aesthetic matters, they must be accepted as reflective appropriation.

14.6 Conclusion

The vision of modernization shared among students of national development in the postwar period has long faded in scholarly research. But current theories do not offer a systematic analysis incorporating what has been learned across fields of application and levels of analysis. The theory of communicative action addresses this situation with a critical theory of society. The terms of progress have been changed from that offered by modernization theory. Modernization is seen not as economic development driven by instrumental rationality. Instead, modernization is treated as lifeworld rationalization in a manner that accords equal importance to in the spheres of economy and culture, social equity, and personal emancipation. The terms for criticism of unbalanced development have changed as well. Rather than class-based analysis, as in dependency theory, a theory of lifeworld colonization is highlighted that identifies dysfunctions affecting all classes of society, in terms of distortions of communicative practice. Cultural critique is retained in a way that relies on insights shared with postmodernism, but holds on to the ideas of justice and progress nevertheless.

These analyses, of progress, of unbalanced development, and of culture, are all based on the role Habermas assigns to communication, or communicative action, in social change. In his approach to development, advances in social institutions, whether economic, political, or cultural, increasingly occur through processes of collective reflection.

The outcome of research into his universalist claims will determine the uses to which Habermas's theory can be put in the long run. He hopes to blunt charges that the staged theory of history is eurocentric by holding onto the relatively modest claim that stages represent neither inevitable change nor happiness, but only enhanced survival capability. He hopes to blunt charges against ethical universalism by holding onto the relatively modest claim that there are no *a priori* universal rights, but only the presumption of reciprocity underlying speech that explains the intuitive appeal of justice and so on.

If Habermas's formulations are to be taken as he intends them, then his critical theory of society provides the basis for a theory of justice that is universal, a theory of politics that is participatory, and a theory of the self that foregrounds personal emancipation. If these universalistic formulations are denied, then the theory nevertheless provides an elaborate framework for analysis of these subjects and their related institutions simply as products of the evolution of Western-styled societies. The structures and values they embody would then be taken only to represent options from which Western nations are choosing and others can choose to adopt, and

hybridize, or not. In either case, the framework provides an intricate approach to studying long-standing problems in global development: at once critical, hermeneutic, and modernist.

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The Importance of Paulo Freire to Communication for Development and Social Change

15

Ana Fernández-Aballí Altamirano

Contents

15.1 Introduction 310
15.2 Basic References About Paulo Freire's Life and Work 311
15.3 Contributions of Paulo Freire to Praxis in Communication and Education 312
15.3.1 Pedagogy of the Oppressed and the Breaking of the Subject-Object Approach in Social Sciences 312
15.3.2 The Paulo Freire Literacy Method, Popular Education, and Critical Pedagogy 312
15.3.3 Participatory Action Research and Participatory Development Communication 313
15.4 Freirean Epistemology 314
15.4.1 Basic References About Freirean Epistemology 314
15.4.2 Basic Concepts of Freirean Epistemology 315
15.4.3 Cognitive-Emotional Cycle of Freirean Epistemology 317
15.4.4 Levels of Conscientization: Cultural, Dialogic, and Power Structure Awareness 320
15.5 Implications of Freirean Epistemology to Communication for Development and Social Change 322
15.6 Conclusion 323
15.7 Cross-References 325
References 326

Abstract

Paulo Freire (1921–1997) was the father of critical pedagogy, popular education, and participatory action research (PAR), as well as a basic reference of liberation theology and of Latin American critical theory and a precursor of the epistemologies of the south. His main work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, marked a before

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and after in the fields of education, research, and communication, initially in Latin America and later on spreading to other regions both North and South. Particularly in the case of development communication and communication for social change, Freire's work had a definitive impact. As these disciplines were configuring into fields of thought and practice during the second half of the twentieth century, these currents were both fed and challenged by Freire's understanding of praxis. Freirean-based participatory action research became the basis of what we know today as participatory development communication (PDC), which ended up becoming, toward the end of the 1980s, a common ground between development communication and communication for social change. However, as PDC evolved, its practice was still – and is still – challenged by Freirean concepts. Currently, the field of Communication for Development and Social Change needs to continue reaching out to Freire's teachings, particularly to his epistemological and ontological framework based on his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

Keywords

Paulo Freire · Communication for social change · Communication for development · Epistemology · Awareness · Pedagogy of the oppressed · Participatory action research · Participatory development communication

15.1 Introduction

"Paulo Freire: 'He who in the middle of the night caused the sun to crack.'"
Carlos Alberto Torres in *Paulo Freire: Uma biobibliografia* (1996).

This chapter examines the relevance of Paulo Freire's work to the field of Communication for Development and Social Change. Freire raises questions regarding "who," "why," and "how" agents are involved in communicative and social processes from a focus of power use and abuse and provides the framework to engage with social transformation through awareness of power, cultural, and dialogic structures. Dehumanizing others, through the abuse of power, which is depriving any person of the ability or space to problem-pose, can only serve the oppressor, regardless of how progressive, good-willed, or apparently emancipatory certain proposals may seem. To identify power abuse in communication for social change, it is always useful to go back to Freire and particularly to his epistemological and ontological proposals.

Communication for Development and Social Change is constantly confronted with the role which oppressed groups should have in their own liberation to avoid what Freire calls cultural invasion. Understanding communicative interactions based on cultural, dialogic, and power structure awareness – conscientização – does not always find its way through the implementation of these projects and programs. In 1992, Freire publishes *Pedagogy of Hope*, where he revisits his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and three decades later still reinforces and calls upon the need for critical

radicalism as a way to fight oppression from whomever and however it may come. A year before his death, the Paulo Freire Institute in the Brazilian city of São Paulo edited a biobibliographical volume of Freire's life and work. This compilation shows the extent to which Freire's both actions and thoughts reached out to change the lives of many, particularly in Latin America, and to challenge abuse of power anywhere. Currently, the field of Communication for Development and Social Change needs to continue reaching out to Freire's teachings, particularly to his epistemological and ontological framework which assures all liberation processes are of – and never for – the oppressed.

The following chapter provides a brief overview of the basic references about Freire's life and work, his contributions to praxis in the fields of communication and education, and how *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has influenced social science, popular education, critical pedagogy, participatory action research, and participatory development communication. Furthermore, the chapter explores Freirean epistemology and how it generates awareness on cultural, dialogic, and power structures. Toward the end of the chapter, the reader will find a set of premises on the implications of Freirean proposals applied to the field of Communication for Development and Social Change.

15.2 Basic References About Paulo Freire's Life and Work

Paulo Freire (1921–1997) was a Brazilian thinker and educator born in Recife. He was incarcerated and exiled during the military dictatorship in Brazil in 1964. Freire goes on to live in Chile, the United States, and Europe until he returns to Brazil in 1980. His pedagogic, academic, and political trajectory is still relevant today. Freire is the father of critical pedagogy, popular education, and participatory action research, as well as a main figure in theology of liberation and epistemologies of the South.

Freire's work has had a significant influence in the development of critical thought disciplines. To name some of the most relevant in-depth studies of Freire's life and work are the texts by Carlos Alberto Torres *Estudios Freireanos* (1995), *La Praxis Educativa y la Educación Cultural Liberadora de Paulo Freire* (2005), and *First Freire: Early Writings in Social Justice Education* (2014). As a basic text to study Freire's work is *Paulo Freire: Uma Biobibliografia* (1996) written by Moacir Gadotti et al. Also of interest is the article collection titled *Paulo Freire: Contribuciones a la educación,* published by CLACSO in 2008.

Some authors who have built theoretical corpus which advance Freire's work are Orlando Fals Borda, who can be studied in detail in his anthology *Ciencia, compromiso y cambio social* (2014), Miguel Escobar's erotic pedagogy described in his book *Pedagogía Erótica: Paulo Freire y el EZLN* (2012), as well as the union between Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Theatre of the Oppressed developed by Tânia Baraúna and Tomás Motos in their book *De Freire a Boal* (2009).

15.3 Contributions of Paulo Freire to Praxis in Communication and Education

Although a complete and thorough overview of Freire's work is detailed in *Paulo Freire: Uma Biobibliografia* (1996), it is important to highlight specific contributions which were particularly relevant to the field of Communication for Development and Social Change.

15.3.1 Pedagogy of the Oppressed and the Breaking of the Subject-Object Approach in Social Sciences

Pedagogy of the Oppressed was first published in Portuguese in 1968. The text presented a system to anthropologically reinterpret the relations between philosophy, education, and politics (Gadotti et al. 1996). Half a century later, this text continues to generate debate all around the world about the nature, significance, and importance of education as a form of cultural policy (Gadotti et al. 1996) and is currently considered one of the founding texts of critical pedagogy.

The text is composed of four chapters. The first chapter defines the concepts and relations between oppressors and oppressed. The second chapter explains Freire's models of "banking education" versus liberating or problem-posing education as means to liberate oneself and the world in communion with others. The third chapter focuses on describing the basic epistemological and methodological elements of research and knowledge creation from the perspective of oppressed groups. The fourth chapter details different characteristics regarding dialogical action which are key to understanding how to achieve liberation through solidarity.

The main implication of this text is that Freire provides a theoretical and practical framework to break the subject-object relationship in educational, communicative, and research contexts. Orlando Fals Borda (2014) compares the significance of Freire's subject-subject approach in social sciences to what nuclear energy has meant for physics, in that it provides a new framework to understand and transform reality which is transversal through disciplinary and geographical frontiers.

Freire opens the way to a reconfiguration of science, politics, history, and social communication understood from the perspective of the oppressed. It is the oppressed – "the wretched of the Earth" – in communion, dialogue, and solidarity with each other, who are able to most accurately analyze, know, and change reality, since it is them who carry, see, and suffer the burden of the structural inequalities and injustices which conform the world (Fanon 1963; Freire 1975).

15.3.2 The Paulo Freire Literacy Method, Popular Education, and Critical Pedagogy

The Paulo Freire Literacy Method, extensively used in adult literacy programs throughout Latin America and beyond, is more than just learning to read and

write. Reading and writing are instruments to the method, where the main objective is that the person perceives him or herself as a maker of culture. In order to achieve this, Freire proposed a methodology where (1) the literacy group, conformed in what Freire denominates "circles of culture," identifies about 17 words – generative words – which have great phonemic richness and are relevant and commonly used in the community; (2) using these words, the participants explore their syllables and phonemic families, forming new words and learning the technicalities of reading and writing as they gain awareness of the significance of the word in naming and shaping their reality; and (3) the literacy becomes the stepping stone where individuals and groups become able to critically name, assess, and transform their surroundings (Gadotti et al. 1996). Once groups have learned to read and write, and most importantly to understand themselves as cultural makers, these processes can enter more complex stages of social transformation conforming into the field of popular education.

Popular education began in Latin America, namely, in Brazil, and spread rapidly to other territories, greatly due to the enthusiastic welcome of Freire's ideas and methods on education by progressive activists, educators, politicians, and religious leaders. Although this enthusiasm was abruptly shut down by the 1964 Brazilian coup – and the wave of bloody repression that was shaking the entire Latin American territory – the seed of resistance and radical liberation among different base organizations had already been planted. With the influence of Marxism, Bourdieu, Passeron, Illich, and Vasconi, the questioning of the school system was radicalized, the political character of the educational practices was made evident, and alternative pedagogical proposals were generated (Torres 2007). Popular education as a movement is still one of the most relevant theoretical and methodological fields in communication for social change, counting with worldwide networks, organizations, and grassroots experiences.

Both the Freirean literacy method and his approach to popular education were crucial to the field of critical pedagogy. However, in Freire's approach, critical pedagogy is not only centered in the development of critical thinking skills, rather it is necessarily linked to the social transformation of the self and of the community (Chege 2009). Freirean critical pedagogy goes beyond the "critical" to emphasize the political nature of education, inviting a reflection on power structures within our teaching-learning contexts to transform education into a "pragmatic and political art" (Arnett 2002, p. 490). Critical thinking in itself is not enough to construct solidarity and communal subjectivities, since it can be instrumentalized following the rational self into a neoliberal understanding of what critical thinking is and should be.

15.3.3 Participatory Action Research and Participatory Development Communication

Participatory action research (PAR), based on Freire's approach to dialogical action and later systematized by numerous authors and practitioners (Alberich Nistal 2008; Ortiz and Borjas 2008; Villasante 2010; Fals Borda 2014), is a reflection-action

spiral in which all persons involved in the research have the ability to propose and redefine the research itself. Participatory development communication (PDC) is a PAR-based practice within the participatory paradigm of communication for development. PDC focuses on the use of communication strategies and tools to facilitate and support the dynamics of local development through processes that actively involve the community – citizens, authorities, external agencies, researchers, technical teams, and associations, among others. PDC is a systemic and planned exchange process that is based on two pillars. On the one hand, it is based on the participatory processes of horizontal communication between agents through PAR methodology and on the other hand on the use of communication media and interpersonal communication as tools to support development initiatives identified in the participatory processes (Servaes 2003; Bessette 2004; Mari Sáez 2010). PAR, PDC, and the relationship between them have been studied thoroughly in the discipline (Alejandro and Vidal 2004; Bessette 2004; Alberich Nistal 2008; Tufte and Mefalopulos 2009; Barranquero 2014) both theoretically and methodologically. This chapter will focus concretely on the Freirean epistemological underpinnings of these fields.

15.4 Freirean Epistemology

15.4.1 Basic References About Freirean Epistemology

Freirean epistemology has already been defined as a field of study (Morrow and Torres 2012). In *Uma Biobibliografia*, Jacinto Ordóñez Peñalonzo specifically mentions Freirean epistemological proposal as one of the most significant contributions of his work (Gadotti et al. 1996). He establishes a difference between Freirean epistemology and other approaches in the field in that according to Freire any person can generate knowledge as long as that person is aware of the interrelation between three elements: the knower, the known object, and the method which relates them both. For Freire, in order to gain awareness of these three elements, the knowledge creator must begin with a process of critical pedagogy – a dialogue of teaching-learning based on cultural, dialogic, and power structure awareness – and end up with a theory to understand and explain reality (Gadotti et al. 1996). This process which links critical pedagogy to knowledge creation is made up of four complementary dimensions: the logical dimension (the method), the historical dimension (the relationship between knowledge and context), the gnoseological dimension (the purpose of knowledge), and the dialogic dimension (the communication of knowledge). As a result, all knowledge can be studied from its pedagogic, humanistic, scientific, and political implications (Freire 1994; Gadotti et al. 1996).

In the text *Reading Freire and Habermas: Critical Pedagogy and Transformative Social Change* (Morrow and Torres 2012), Freirean epistemology is described as a distinctive form of critical theory based on "a critical realist ontology that rejects essentialism; a constructivist and pragmatist conception of epistemology that is antipositivist but not antiscientific or purely subjectivist; and a pluralist conception

of methodology within which participatory dialogue provides a regulative ideal, but is not an exclusive model of social inquiry" (Morrow and Torres 2012).

Orlando Fals Borda refers to Freirean epistemology as extensive, critical, and holistic (Fals Borda 2014). This is further developed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2010, 2011, pp. 16–17) in his concepts of epistemologies of the South where "[a] The understanding of the world is more extense the the Western understanding of the world. . .[b] The diversity of the world is infinite. . .and [c] This great diversity of the world, which must and should be activated, as well as transformed theoretically and practically in plural ways, cannot be monopolized by a single general theory." Following these premises, de Sousa Santos (2010, p. 50) introduces the concept of *ecologies of knowledge* understood as "a general epistemology of the impossibility of a general epistemology."

15.4.2 Basic Concepts of Freirean Epistemology

One of the fundamental contributions of Paulo Freire to communication for social change is his systematization of the interrelation between "oppressor" and "oppressed" groups and the implications of these power relationships in the generation of knowledge and subsequent social processes (message creation, channels, educational actions, programs, etc.). In this sense, the first important question to address regarding Freirean epistemology derives from the notion that Freire's work is OF the oppressed and not FOR the oppressed. Freire (Freire 1975) frames this basic condition in his most known work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, with significant implications for the configuration of how communicative processes can be understood within the field of communication for development and social change.

Freire defines three categories: the radical man/woman, the oppressed, and the oppressor. The definitions that he provides of these three concepts are the following:

- The radical man/woman is one who is committed to the liberation of all men/women and is not trapped in "circles of security" which he/she also entraps reality. On the contrary, he/she inserts him/herself in this reality in order to know it better and hence transform it better (Freire 1975).
- The oppressor refers to those who exploit, abuse, and exercise violence due to a given power and/or privilege (Freire 1975).
- The oppressed are those who have been dehumanized by the violence of the oppressor and who nevertheless still hold within themselves the idea that *to be* means to *look alike* the oppressor (Freire 1975).

The Freirean proposal is directed toward the liberation of the oppressed man/woman, so that he/she can become a radical man/woman. Graphically, this distinction between OF and FOR the oppressed can be expressed according to Diagram 1.

This matter, which is far from trivial, determines the following concepts and premises which are the basis underlying all Freirean communication:

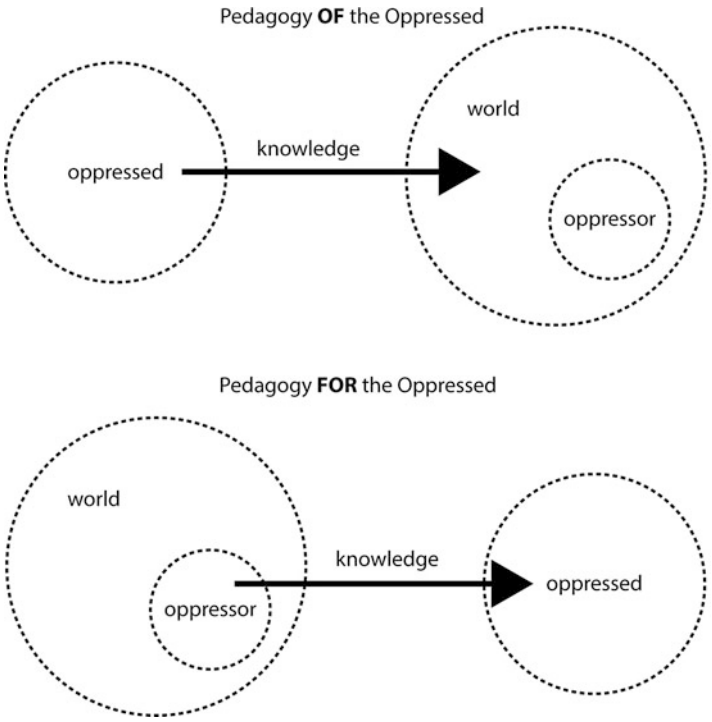

Diagram 1 Pedagogy OF and not FOR the oppressed. Diagram shows graphically the difference in knowledge flows depending on whether it is generated by the oppressed or by the oppressor group

- We call **oppression** a relationship in which a group uses its power to pressure, coerce, or prevent another group from doing something, which eventually perpetuates or increases the inequality of power between both groups.
- We call **liberation** the process by which the oppressed person or group undertakes a process of reflection-action (**awareness** through **praxis**) which eliminates the situation of oppression (Baraúna and Motos 2009).
- The oppressed group creates and instrumentalizes knowledge (**critical pedagogy**) to liberate itself from the oppressor group.
- The oppressor group and the oppressed group are mutually exclusive.
- The oppressor group cannot liberate the oppressed group.
- The oppressed group liberates itself if and only if it liberates the oppressor group.
- The oppressed group can be an oppressor of itself (**adherence**).
- Different groups oppressed by the same oppressor can liberate themselves and simultaneously liberate each other (**solidarity**).

These premises cannot be applied unambiguously since each context requires its own articulations and definitions. In any case, what can be considered objectively from the Freirean point of view is the overcoming of the situation of oppression

(Freire 1975), which results in the process of liberation/transformation. The Pedagogy of the Oppressed, as epistemology, can only be used rigorously when those who, deprived of privileges or having renounced them for their own gain out of solidarity and with no other intention than to put an end to injustice, undertake the task of transforming themselves to transform the world. This does not mean that in order to make rigorous use of Freire's epistemology, one must necessarily be part of the oppressed group, but one must be in solidarity, that is to say, one must have identified – or be in the process of identifying – his/her own oppressions to be able to undertake a process of union in solidarity. What is relevant is the act of reasoning about how, why, for what, and who benefits from a particular communicative action or program. This requires an awareness of one's own culture, ways of communicating, and the structures of power to which one is subjected to (both as a person who exercises power and a person over whom power is exercised). This union based on awareness and solidarity is what Freire calls *unity in diversity*, which is opposite of *cultural invasion*. That said, being aware of oneself implies trust in one's own abilities as well as in the abilities of others to overcome oppression. Solidarity implies making oneself vulnerable together with the people with whom we dialogue. In order to embark on a path of transformation in the Freirean sense, we must start from a shared vulnerability. In this sense, vulnerability does not mean being a victim nor is it a condition to be eradicated; nor does it eliminate the ability to act. On the contrary, vulnerability is an essential condition for dialogue and action (hence for knowledge creation) based on love, trust, hope, faith, humility, and indignation. Therefore, we could say that Freirean epistemology is based on an ontology of vulnerability. By definition, Freirean-based knowledge must always spur from those without voice and without power. This is the core identity of Freirean communication.

15.4.3 Cognitive-Emotional Cycle of Freirean Epistemology

Freirean epistemology, which is the basic underpinning of participatory action research, can be structured based on a cognitive-emotional cycle (Freire 1975, 1984, 1991, 1994, 2002a, b, 2007, 2012; Freire and Faundez 2010). The epistemological framework that Freire proposes was influenced by a diverse range of authors that marked his path (Freire 2002a): Marx, Lukács, Fromm, Gramsci, Fanon, Memmi, Sartre, Kosik, Agnes Heller, Merleau Ponty, Simone Weil, Arendt, Marcuse, Latin American popular groups, the Cuban revolution, Camilo Torres, Che Guevara, Mao Tse-tung, and student movements, among others. We also find in Freire's works countless anecdotes that refer to peasants, youth, colleagues, relatives, and friends who he acknowledges as co-creators of many of his concepts. Therefore, to speak of a Freirean epistemology is also to speak of an epistemology of collective creation.

Freire speaks of an epistemology composed of two moments (Freire 1994, p. 137): a first moment of *awareness* – or conscientization – and a second moment of *distancing*. These two moments are not exclusive; instead they are interrelated.

This dual process of recognition of reality allows for the identification of automated habits that make it impossible for the mind to work epistemologically and disable the curiosity to look for "the reason why things are" (Freire 1994). The process of *awareness/distancing* uses *coding* and *decoding* (see Diagram 2) to name, identify, and research collectively about the *generative themes* (Freire 1975). During this process, epistemological curiosity is developed (Freire 2004; Freire and Faundez 2010) in order to then change the beginning position of the group and to understand the reasons behind that change (Freire 1984). This change or transformation that begins with reflection-action is knows as *praxis*, which must always be analyzed from four complementary dimensions: the pedagogical, the scientific, the human, and the political one (Freire 1994). The relationship between these concepts is expressed graphically in Diagram 2.

The generative concepts of praxis proposed by Freire are framed in a cognitive-emotional circular process with two juxtaposed dimensions as shown in Diagram 2.

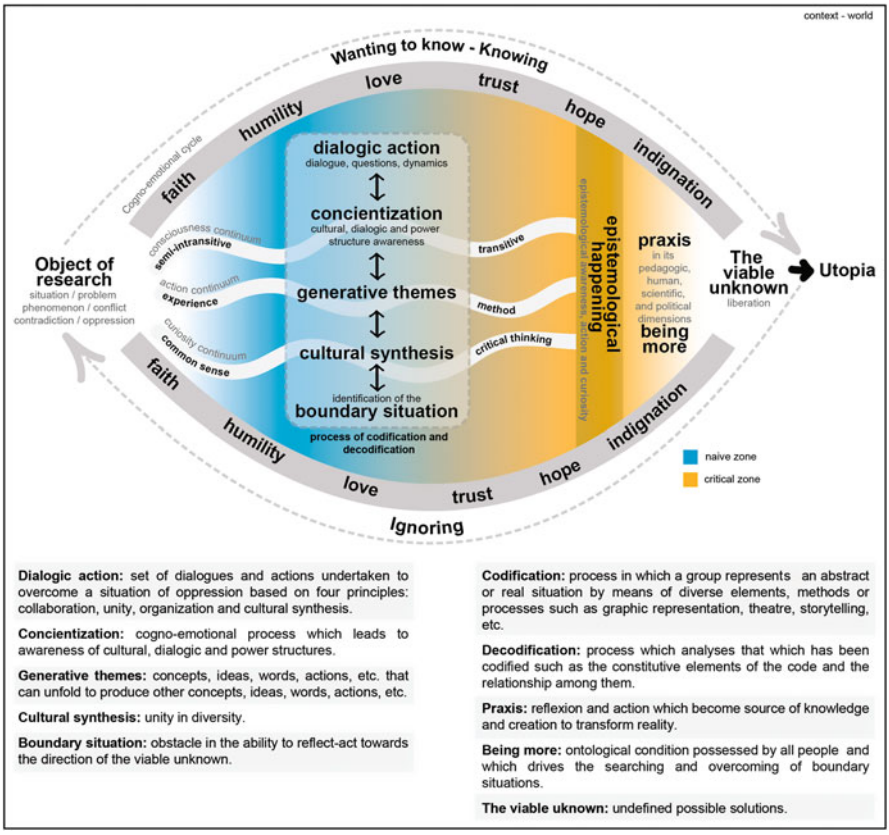

Diagram 2 Synthesis of the Freirean epistemology. Diagram shows the cycle of knowledge creation applied to any communicative process based on Freirean epistemology (Fernández-Aballí Altamirano 2016)

The first dimension refers to the ontology of Freirean theory that is hope, faith, humility, love, trust, and indignation (Freire 2002a). Defining the Freirean ontological basis in terms of a relationship of emotions generates an immediate conflict with the claimed objectivity and neutrality of hegemonic knowledge – even that of critical schools of thought (Freire 1984); but with the emotionality as the basis of knowledge, Freire invites to consider ourselves as emotional beings. Negating the emotional condition of humans dehumanizes and distorts the way in which reality is learned, taught, and transformed. From a Freirean perspective, rigor is not found in the denial of the human emotional condition but in its rescue, along with consistency, method, and, above all, listening (Freire 1994).

The second dimension of the cognitive-emotional circular process is the ignoring-wanting to know-knowing-ignoring cycle. Referring to these concepts, Freire writes (Freire 2002b) that knowledge does not have a permanent character but is rather a continuous and contextualized process. Knowledge and ignorance are both relative and interrelated. Once knowledge is achieved, it automatically becomes a form of ignorance. There is no such thing as absolute knowledge or absolute ignorance, since knowledge is always relative and relational. The entire cognitive-emotional process defined by Freire occurs simultaneously between what we have called the *naive zone* and the *critical zone*. Table 1 characterizes these two cognitive areas.

Some characteristics of the naive zone are (Freire 2002b) that when one's mind is in this frame, it reveals a simplicity in naming the causality among the different elements and agents of a system and/or problem, reaching conclusions which are rash, superficial, and with a tendency to idealize the past. In the naive zone, it is easy to fall into generalizations of behavior including the underestimation of those who have less access to power, and it considers reality to be static. In the critical zone, there is a longing for a deeper analysis of the problematic under consideration, with an understanding of the limitations and lack of tools to reach this analysis. In this cognitive area, there is a recognition of the changing character of reality, but the knowledge of how that reality is conformed is linked through causality, verified, and always open for revision. This area requires the elimination of prejudice and status conforming positions and does not reject "the old" just for being "old" or accept "the new" just for being "new" but rather evaluates all relevant options and chooses according to their validity in relation to the context and the problem.

The transitive quality of consciousness – the meta-skill to become self-aware of one's own ability to change – allows for fluctuation from naive consciousness to

Table 1 Characterization of the naive zone and the critical zone. Characterizes the different elements of cognitive-emotional continuum present in Freirean epistemology

Element of the cognitive-emotional continuum	Naive zone	Critical zone
Conscientization (awareness)	Intransitive and semi-transitive conscience	Transitive conscience
Action	Action based on experience	Action based on method
Curiosity	Curiosity based on common sense	Curiosity based on critical thought

critical consciousness (Freire 2002b). Likewise, dialogical action allows movement from experience to method – which is nothing more than systematized experience – and from a curiosity based on common sense to a curiosity based on critical thinking. That is, dialogic action makes it possible to reach the *epistemological happening* in which consciousness, action, and curiosity are aligned in the critical area. The epistemological happening allows us to overcome the *limit situation* (oppression) through praxis making the *viable unknown* possible and hence moving closer to utopia (Escobar Guerrero 2012).

It is important to emphasize that for the Freirean epistemological process, the naive area is as relevant as the critical area. Common sense and experience are of equal importance as critical thinking and method in order for the process of transformation to happen. These processes are circular, dynamic, and contextualized. That is, knowledge based on Freirean epistemology is of a phenomenological nature (Torres 2006; Key 2009).

To recapitulate the basic characteristics of Freirean epistemology:

- It is of the oppressed and not for the oppressed.
- It is based on an ontology of vulnerability.
- It is formed from collective knowledge.
- It is circular, dynamic, and contextualized.
- It is phenomenological.

15.4.4 Levels of Conscientization: Cultural, Dialogic, and Power Structure Awareness

Cultural awareness, dialogic awareness, and awareness about power structures are inherent to Freirean epistemology – and thus in participatory action research – during the various stages of communication for social change. We can graphically express the interrelation among these three levels of conscientization as shown in Diagram 3.

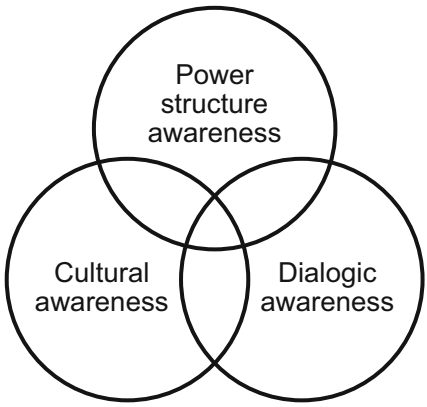

Diagram 3 Levels of conscientization. Diagram shows the different levels in the process of conscientization or awareness, where conscientization is achieved at the intersection of the three levels

Cultural awareness responds to the recognition of one's own cultural heritage (Freire 1975). Freire writes (Freire 1994):

> We cannot doubt the power of our inherited culture, of how it conforms us and hinders us. But the fact of being programmed, conditioned and aware of this conditioning, and not determined, is what makes possible to overcome the strength of our cultural inheritance. The transformation of our material world, of our material structures, where a critical pedagogic effort is simultaneously added, is the way to – the never mechanical – overcoming of this inheritance.

Cultural awareness relies on the extent to which one has explored one's own cultural framework (Cohen-Emerique 1999): language structure, will and participation frameworks, prejudices and stereotypes regarding different social groups, concept and organization of work, concept and organization of leisure time, concept/representation of time, concept/representation of space, sense of ownership/property, concept of development/progress, use habits of ICT, needs, motivations, ideals, local referents, nonlocal referents, religion, family composition, predominant educational system, verbal language, nonverbal language, beauty ideals, family/local economy, morphological cultural practices (traditions, festivities, folklore, music, food, etc.), life/death concept, personal ideology/local politics, organization of daily life, imaginary of alterity, and forms of consumption, among other cultural and communication dynamics.

Dialogic awareness involves questioning how communication happens in terms of occupation of space, themes, times, etc. What words does one use? How is one's discourse composed? How does one exercise power through discourse? How does one listen? Freire's conception of dialogic awareness is based on his concept of liberating pedagogy where (Freire 1975):

- All agents have the ability to teach and learn.
- All agents have some kind of knowledge.
- All agents are subjects of the process and never objects of the process.
- All agents have an equal right to speak and to be heard.
- All agents have the same right to propose problems, options, contents, and solutions.

To address the question of **power structure awareness**, it is useful to complement Freire's conceptualizations with Arnold and Amy Mindell's proposals of rank and privilege (Mindell 2002, 2008). According to their theories framed within the field of Process Work, power does not only function intersectionally adhering to criteria of gender, ethnicity, social class, and functional diversity, among other social configurations but also is actually a much more complex structure.

Amy and Arnold Mindell explain power structures referring to the anthropological and psychological concept of rank and define it in five categories: social rank, structural rank, contextual rank, psychological rank, and spiritual rank.

- Social rank is defined by our class, gender, age, appearance, ethnicity, etc.
- Structural rank is given by our position in an institution or a specific field.
- Contextual rank is defined by the imminent context of space-time in which the interaction occurs.
- Psychological rank depends on our level of awareness regarding our own experience and abilities.
- Spiritual rank is given by inner peace and the notion of being part of something that transcends the individual, such as faith or the sense of belonging to a collective or a community.

One's rank with respect to each of these categories provides the individual with certain privileges that are not chosen but are rather assigned socially. However, oppressed groups are not merely tied down to their low social rank to access and use power but can actually become aware and gain contextual, structural, psychological, and spiritual rank through Freirean communicative processes in order to resist and overcome oppression.

15.5 Implications of Freirean Epistemology to Communication for Development and Social Change

The application of Freirean epistemological and ontological premises to the current fields in Communication for Development and Social Change, particularly in participatory development communication, has practical implications in the configuration of projects and programs.

A project or program is Freirean-based when its definition and cycle comply with the following principles (Fernández-Aballí 2014):

- **All agents are subjects** and never objects of a project or program.
- Questioning **why, for what, for whom, with whom, and who** defined a particular problem addressed by a communication project or program is essential at the beginning of any transformation process (Hernández 2010).
- Development as a goal is not taken for granted. Communication for Development and Social Change should be **based on awareness raising** in the Freirean sense for all agents involved (project promoters included). Development is not necessarily a desirable outcome, nor does it have to be part of a community's world view (Tortosa 2011).
- Goals and objectives do not necessarily determine the final outcomes of a communication project. Project **cycles are open** to continuous change in all of its phases as agents involved learn and gain awareness of their own problems, desires, alternatives, and solutions.
- Methodologies based on **participatory tools and methods** are used in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the projects or programs.
- Projects are framed in processes of **reflection about the conditions derived from the existing hegemonic context** in global and local relations among agents, both

at the micro-level and at the macro-level (economic, educational, racial, gender, cultural, environmental, etc.).
- Projects are **thought and validated collectively**. This means that roles and responsibilities are agreed upon and clarified, and time is assigned for participatory brainstorming and proposal validation during project implementation.
- **Learning processes are explicit** for all agents involved (community participants, project promoters, project leaders, etc.). This requires assigning specific time allocations through project planning to address such learning processes where all agents must speak dialogically in the Freirean sense about the impact of the process to their own understanding of self and of the context.
- **New media and ICTs are facilitators in participatory processes** of awareness raising and are always used inclusively and with consideration of access and resources available by the community and agents involved in the project.

Regarding Freirean-based actions and content creation within communication projects and programs (Fernández-Aballí 2016):

- The **complexity and diversity** behind any given problem and context are taken into account and made explicit.
- **Historical and background information** about a context (not only statistics) is provided using that context's point of view in order to build critical spectators within and outside a community.
- **Local efforts** are recognized and reinforced explicitly to facilitate network creation, collaborative learning, and building up knowledge about a specific problem.
- **Historical memory, conflicts, and inequalities are acknowledged** to open up spaces for recognition of oppressed groups and facilitate healing and reconciliation within or among communities.
- **Power structures are pinpointed** as concretely as possible to allow for the identification of where and what type of actions are necessary for the enactment of change and to avoid diffusion of the responsibility of power abuse.
- All content created within a project or program is verified to **avoid symbolic violence** through the identification of discursive practices that might reinforce negative prejudices and stereotypes against a community or which in any form negates the capacity of agency of any group.

15.6 Conclusion

Paulo Freire, Brazilian educator and thinker of the twentieth century, evokes faith, humility, love, trust, hope, and critical thinking in communication to dialogue from the consciousness and to fluctuate in the teaching-learning continuum. This invitation is in itself a way of knowing, understanding, and naming the world, and Freire

provides a broad framework of ideas, concepts, and practices that generate a knowledge-creating space for transformation: an epistemological frame.

All this results in a synthesis of the Freirean epistemology posed as a cognitive-emotional cycle that is characterized as being: (a) of the oppressed and not for the oppressed; (b) based on an ontology of vulnerability; (c) formed from collective knowledge; (d) carried out through circular, dynamic, and contextualized processes; and (e) of a phenomenological nature. This cognitive-emotional cycle transits toward utopia understood as a world where "no one names on behalf of others" (Freire 1975), that is, it allows for *another possible world* to come to exist.

Freire writes (Freire 2012):

> . . .to accept the dream of a better world and to adhere to it is to accept entering the process of creating it, a process of struggle deeply anchored in ethics. A fight against any type of violence, against violence exerted on the life of trees, rivers, fish, mountains, cities, on the physical footprints of cultural and historical memories; against the violence exerted on the weak, on the defenseless, on the outraged minorities; against the violence suffered by the discriminated against, no matter the reason for the discrimination. A fight against the impunity that at this moment foments between us the crime, the abuse, the contempt towards the weakest, the ostensible contempt towards the life.

For Miguel Escobar Guerrero (Escobar Guerrero 2012), Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is the text that *pronounces-announces* the basis and cognitive paradigm change required for the dream of *another possible world*.

This chapter provides the basic ideas behind Freirean knowledge generation and the implications this approach has to the field of Communication for Development and Social Change. Regarding project and program definition and implementation, the shift to Freirean-based paradigm requires that all agents become subjects of the process; that critical question-posing is introduced from the beginning of the proposal; that projects are based on awareness raising of the self and the context about cultural, dialogic, and power structures; that project cycles are participatory and open; that learning process is explicit; and that the use of new media and ICTs facilitates – rather than impose – a path based on collective consensus. As important as project/program, definition is the content that is created within program framework. Freirean-based communicative content must contemplate the complexity and diversity of social contexts; provide historical and background information; recognize and reinforce local efforts; acknowledge historical memory, conflict, and inequalities; pinpoint power structures; and avoid symbolic violence.

Despite Freire's influence in the field, dehumanization of agents in project definition, implementation, and content creation is still a challenge (Easterly 2006; Tortosa 2011; Fernández-Aballí 2016). Peter McLaren (1999) writes in memory of Freire:

> Freire's life vehemently unveils the imprints of a life lived within the margins of power and prestige. Because his work was centered around the issue of social and political change, Freire has always been considered controversial, especially by educational establishments in Europe and North America. While he is recognized as one of the most significant

> philosophers of liberation and a pioneer in critical literacy and critical pedagogy, his work continues to be taken up mostly by educators working outside of the educational mainstream. The marginal status of Freire's followers is undoubtedly due to the fact that Freire firmly believed educational change must be accompanied by significant changes in the social and political structure in which education takes place. It is a position most educators would find politically untenable or hopelessly utopian. It is certainly a position that threatens the interests of those who are already well served by the dominant culture.

For progressive, radical, and critical thought currents, revision of their role in maintaining hegemonic systems is not only urgent but essential in generating emancipatory knowledge and change. This revision, which can be based partly on Freire's chapter of cultural invasion in the text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* must become a never-ending task due to the complexity and responsibility of the processes which compose the field of Communication for Development and Social Change. Freire's meta-approach opens a discussion on legitimacy and entitlement as part of the communicative process: Who is entitled to name truth? Whose truth is legitimate? How is this truth constructed, shared, taught, or imposed? For Freire, truth lies in how questions are produced, not in the answer; the answer is merely instrumental for the process of question-posing. How are progressive, radical, and critical thought currents, particularly in Communication for Development and Social Change, generating question-posing debates that break away from cultural invasion?

Nevertheless, the questioning and critical nature of Freire's epistemology forces a cautious approach to concepts to avoid a sense of exclusive ownership of them, since it is the words, their meanings, and their existence in terms of dialogue that define the transforming reflection-action, or praxis. Freire's invitation is to think from the word of "other possible worlds." Thinking-saying-acting in communion and solidarity – in unity in diversity – is urgent in the Freirean sense, since, as José Luis Sampedro described, *another world* is not only possible but certain.

15.7 Cross-References

- ▶ A Threefold Approach for Enabling Social Change: Communication as Context for Interaction, Uneven Development, and Recognition
- ▶ Development Communication in Latin America
- ▶ Fostering Social Change in Peru Through Communication: The Case of the Manuani Miners Association
- ▶ Key Concepts, Disciplines, and Fields in Communication for Development and Social Change
- ▶ Multidimensional Model for Change: Understanding Multiple Realities to Plan and Promote Social and Behavior Change
- ▶ Participatory Mapping

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De-westernizing Alternative Media Studies: Latin American Versus Anglo-Saxon Approaches from a Comparative Communication Research Perspective

16

Alejandro Barranquero

Contents

16.1 Introduction 330
16.2 Debates and Dilemmas in Alternative Communication Research 330
16.3 Latin American Alternative Communications During the Twentieth Century 331
16.4 An Overview of Alternative Media Research and Experiences in the Northern Countries 334
16.5 Potentialities and Limits of the New Literature on Digital Alternative Media 336
16.6 A Claim to De-westernize Alternative andCommunity Communication 337
References 338

Abstract

This chapter reviews and compares the historical grounds of alternative media in Latin America and in the Anglo-Saxon world. A number of theoretical works and case studies have been summarized in order to present a comparison between both academic communities from the perspective of communication for development and social change. What is the origin and evolution of theory and practice within both contexts? Are there differences between them? What are the basic features of Latin American approaches to citizen communication? The answers to these questions will be critically developed in order to shed light on a number of issues regarding communication processes made by, from, and for the people. Furthermore, we will try to build bridges between both academic communities from a comparative media perspective.

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Community communication · Alternative media · Communication for social change · Comparative studies · Communication theory

16.1 Introduction

In recent years, academic and activist literature in communication for development and social change is expanding and gaining in complexity and diversity (Tufte 2017). Furthermore, the last two decades have witnessed a growing interest in the specific field of community media, in special from 2001, when three relevant publications laid solid foundations for further research (Atton 2001; Downing 2001; Rodríguez 2001). On the other hand, the concern for media and communication repertories has gained importance in the field of social movement studies, where many academics have started to understand research from the perspective of a deeper collaboration with activists (Hinz and Milan 2010: 842).

This chapter reviews and compares the historical grounds of alternative media theories and practices both in Latin America and in the Anglo-Saxon context. We will first approach the field of community communication and its main academic debates. Then, we will compare knowledge and practices that emerged in both contexts, underlining the main continuities and differences and showing up a few limitations in recent literature on digital activism. Finally, a de-westernizing perspective will be adopted in order to encourage for the progressive incorporation of Latin American and Southern approaches in the Anglo-Saxon literature.

16.2 Debates and Dilemmas in Alternative Communication Research

Communication studies have historically centered their attention either in public or in private commercial media. Therefore, research on alternative media has been frequently dismissed as ephemeral and irrelevant (Downing 2010: 12), becoming thus "a blind spot in media historiography" (Howley 2010: 4). This neglect can be traced back to the very early origins of media studies in the USA and Europe, which systematically undervalued the transformative role of media and communication processes made by, from, and for the people. This disregard is also evident in the field of social movements' studies which has habitually focused either on the media framing of social movements or on their tactics they use to draw the attention of mainstream media in hope of winning adepts and political success.

Despite this oblivion, alternative media have historically operated at the margins of the dominant media system, and this represents "a dizzying variety of formats and experiences, far greater than mainstream commercial, public, or state media" (Downing 2010: xxv). To interpret this complexity, community media research is strictly interwoven with practice, and alternative communication is, in fact, not a model

(Gumucio 2011: 36), but the result of reflection about situated and local practices. This is perceivable in the multiple definitions generated along history to name the field: radical media (Downing 2001), popular media (Kaplún 1985), citizen media (Rodríguez 2001), community media (Rennie 2006), social movements' media (Downing 2010), etc.

Although creative and nuanced, the burgeoning of labels has also become a matter of controversies and even pit the different experiences against each other, especially at the moment of building citizen coalitions to advocate for the right to communicate. Besides, the Northern and Southern academic communities have developed separate bodies of knowledge which have rarely interacted, although dialogues have started to be undertaken in recent times. This is the case of a few ambitious compendia in the area, such as "Making waves" (Gumucio 2001), a systematization of 50 experiences along the world, and the more theoretical "Anthology" (Gumucio and Tufte 2006) and "Handbook" (Wilkins et al. 2014) of communication for social change. These efforts have been also taken on in the specific field of alternative and civic media (Atton 2015; Gordon and Mihalidis 2016), in particular after the publication of the first *Encyclopedia of Social Movement Media*, which included 250 essays on diverse media experiences over the planet (Downing 2010).

The introductory chapters of all the former anthologies demonstrate that there is an emerging interest to advance toward comparative communication research, which is a way to compare macro-units of knowledge (regions, language areas, social milieus, etc.) beyond the traditional borders of the nation-states (Esser and Hanitzsch 2012: 5). Nevertheless, cross-territorial comparisons have been far more recurrent in the field of communication for development (e.g., Servaes 1999; Manyozo 2012; Melkote and Steeves 2001) than in the embedded area ofcommunity communication, with a few recent exceptions (Cammaerts 2009; Hamilton and Atton 2001; Harlow and Harp 2013). The following lines attempt to initiate this dialogue between Latin American and Anglo-Saxon traditions in the field ofalternative media.

16.3 Latin American Alternative Communications During the Twentieth Century

In Latin America, the early precedents of alternative communication can be traced back to Pre-Columbian times (Beltrán et al. 2008). Nevertheless, these forms gained consistency during the anti-colonial struggles of the twenty-first century, which typically took the form of partisan press and seditious satirical posters (Vinelli 2010: 28). Later on, during the second half of the twentieth century, many grassroots media projects were conceived as an education and liberation tools (Freire 1970) against the historical dependency of local oligarchies and US imperialism. The pioneering initiatives were basically fueled by two major agents: the reformist sectors of the Catholic Church – also called liberation theology – and workers' unions and associations in both urban and rural areas (Vinelli 2010: 28). Theology of liberation was behind many radio schools along the region. These experiences combined radio broadcasts, workshops, and other teaching materials with the aim

of promoting distant and face-to-face education. On the other hand, the Bolivian miners' radio stations – such as *Radio La Voz del Minero* (1947), *Radio Sucre* (1947), and others – were integrally conceived, financed, and managed by the miners themselves as a way to challenge the mining oligarchies and offer an autonomous programming in local languages (O'Connor 2004).

Beside these landmarks, there is also a vast amount of pioneering initiatives which combined education and political claims. Many of them were influenced by the revolutionary and reformist cycles of the second half of the twentieth century, exemplified by the Cuban revolution (1959) and Chilean Salvador Allende's reforms (1970–1973). Among these projects, we can quote the experience of militant and guerrilla radios in Central America during the 1980s, which broadcasted from hidden environments not to be discovered by the governments. Other projects took the form of video and cinema, such as the so-called third cinema and many other community video projects (Gumucio 2014). In particular, third cinema aimed at representing groups which have been traditionally marginalized in the mainstream media (popular classes, indigenous people, etc.), and opposed the traditional patterns of Hollywood in order to make emerge the voice of the third world.

Despite their differences, many of the forerunning experiences aimed at gaining both cultural recognition and material values such as the improvement of labor conditions, housing, and education (Inglehart 1990). Within a context dominated by private broadcasters and weak public media systems, Latin American community media accomplished the public service functions neglected by the states, in particular by providing citizen access and participation in the media (Madriz 1988). In other cases, they helped to raise the voice of dissident groups that defied dictatorships or corrupted governments, although these kinds of experiences had to work underground or in the limits of censorship. The following table provides an overview of a number of projects developed in Latin America along the second half of the twentieth century (Table 1).

From the early 1970s, alternative media inspired a vast tradition of essays and empirical works. This task was led by a generation of thinkers who combined reflection and activism (Díaz Bordenave 1976; Kaplún 1985; Prieto 1980) and proposed to reconsider communication theory by approaching the concepts of dialogue (Freire 1970) and horizontal communication (Beltrán 1979). These studies were early qualified as "liberation communicology" since they aimed at building an autonomous communication science for Latin America, adapted to the necessities of the region and explicitly committed to social change (Beltrán 1974). Compared to the more empirical and theoretical academic traditions of, respectively, the USA and Europe, the importance of praxis – or theories emanated for and from practice – was at the core of manyalternative media approaches (Freire 1970). This idea also shaped the features of the so-called Latin American (Critical) Communication School. This denomination was used by the Brazilian pioneer José Marques de Melo (2009) to highlight that the region had contributed to a synthesis of both US administrative and European critical theories from the perspective of hybridization, attention to local problems, and search for social change.

Table 1 Paradigmatic community media experiences in the twentieth century

Radio	Video and cinema	Press and news agencies	Other cultural expressions
The Bolivian miners' radio station (1950s–1980s)	Community cinema, participatory video, and the so-called third cinema (*Tercer Cine*) (1970s onward)	Brazilian *nanica* press (*imprensa nanica*) (1970s)	Distant literacy projects based on the use of radio schools and radio forums (e.g., *Radio Sutatenza*, 1947–1989 in Colombia)
Militant radios in Central America: *Radio Rebelde* in the Cuban revolution (from 1958), *Radio Venceremos* & *Radio Farabundo Martí*, Salvadorian guerrilla radios (1980s)	Manuel Calvelo's Massive Audiovisual Pedagogy (*Pedagogía Masiva Audiovisual*) addressed to rural environments (1970s–1990s)	The industrial zone newspapers in Santiago de Chile, during Salvador Allende's government (1970–1973)	Grassroots edu-communication projects inspired by Paulo Freire & Orlando Fals Borda's participatory-action research
Community radios in impoverished urban environments such as *Radio Favela* in Brazil (1980s–...)	Indigenous video in Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Guatemala, México, Colombia, Brazil, etc. (e.g., *CRIC*, *Tejido de Comunicación*, *CLACPI*, *Ojo de Agua, Video nas Aldeias*, etc.)	The Nicaraguan political press along the Sandinist revolution (1980s)	Edu-tainment programs and methods developed by Mexican Miguel Sabido (e.g., soap operas for social change) and by Uruguayan Mario Kaplún (e.g., cassette forum)
Educational (catholic) radios integrated in networks such as the Latin American Association for Radiophonic Education (ALER)	Brazil's Worker's TV (*TV dos Trabalhadores*) and participatory video experiences in the Southern Cone (Argentina, Chile) before and after dictatorships	Rodolfo Walsh's *Agencia Clandestina de Noticias*-ANCLA (1976–1977) and *Agencia Latinoamericana de Información* (ALAI) (1977–...)	Augusto Boal's Theater of the Oppressed in Brazil

Own elaboration based on Beltrán (2005), Vinelli (2010), Gumucio (2001), and Downing (2010)

Research in alternative media peaked during the 1980s. At this period, many scholars shifted their attention to small-scale media projects (Reyes Matta 1983; Simpson 1986), considering the difficulties to implement the recommendations of the UNESCO McBride Report (1980), which encouraged the states to promote communication policies in order to control media monopolies (Madriz 1988). Nevertheless, during the 1980s, the debate ended up trapped into a too simplistic position that observedalternative media as spaces of alleged purity and goodness at the margins of mainstream media (Huesca and Dervin 1994). In fact, many scholars at the period were concerned with how to construct alternatives from small media

projects, neglecting structural constraints (such as regulation and policies) and sharing a certain "small is beautiful" mentality.

The solution to this theoretical impasse was partly proposed by Spanish-Colombian Jesús Martín Barbero (1987) who suggested to transit from "media" to "mediations" as a way to explore the multiple and reciprocal "interpenetrations" between the mainstream and popular cultures. In other words, Martín Barbero stated that popular cultures are influenced by mass media and "a major reason for the success of commercially produced mass culture" is the cooptation of "numerous elements of popular culture expressions" (Downing 2001: 4). His work was very influential, and it even inspired the widespread concept of "citizen media," by Colombian scholar Clemencia Rodríguez (2001). Her notion invited alternativist thinkers and practitioners to detach from the too simplistic and essentialist positions we have already described. Instead, she claimed that citizen media are perfectly able to be elitist, racist, or misogynist and they are not directly connected to democratization and social change. To face this complexity, Rodríguez invited scholars to concentrate not just on the realm of alternative contents or media outlets themselves but rather on the cultural processes that trigger when local communities appropriate information technologies to "create one's own images of self and environment" (Rodríguez 2001: 3).

16.4 An Overview of Alternative Media Research and Experiences in the Northern Countries

In the European context, a number of scholars have studied the long history of pre-modern popular communication forms, marked by oral or handwritten songs and ballads, almanacs, and other cultural expressions such as the satiric theater and the carnival (Bakhtin 1968; Burke 1978). Along the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Reformation in Germany and English Civil War (1642–1651) demonstrated the potentials of the printing press to disseminate oppositional ideas, especially "in the language of the ordinary people which could take on the weight of a material force for change" (Conboy 2002: 28). The Enlightenment ideals were also widely spread thanks to a vast web of underground printers and publishers, who disseminated clandestine books, pamphlets, and seditious papers and set the grounds of the French and American Revolutions (Hesse 2007: 374). The concept of "public sphere," originally proposed by Jürgen Habermas (1962/1989), shed light on the reading of newspapers and public discussions as the origin of a bourgeois public sphere during the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, his approach became a matter of controversy because it undervalued other historical dissident forms by marginalized groups such as women (Fraser 1992) and the working classes (Kluge and Negt 1993; Thompson 1963/1980).

In the first half of the twentieth century, a few seminal works contributed to the understanding of the immigrant and popular press in US urban environments (Park 1922; Janowitz 1952/1967), while in Europe, Bertold Brecht had started to describe the emancipatory potentials of the first radio transmissions (Brecht 1927/2006). However, academic interest in alternative media was scarce until the 1970s. Within a context of youth upheavals (e.g., May 68) and post-material values – feminism, pacifism, etc.

(Inglehart 1990) – this decade witnessed an explosion of critical art ensembles, culture jamming actions, and underground publishing. The 1970s is also the period when the first free radios started to operate in France, Italy, and the UK. The latter radios claimed for a citizen space in the radio-electric spectrum, and they were normally driven by cultural and political groups aiming at different vindications. Paradigmatic examples are British pirate radios – *Radio Caroline*, *Radio City*, *Radio Veronica*, etc. – and, in special, the free stations influenced by the May 68 spirit: Italian *Radio Alice* and *Radio Popolare* and French *Radio Verte*, among others.

The 1960s and 1970s were also prolific in counterculture and underground media experiences in the USA. Magazines, movies, arts, and other popular expressions gave voice to the demands of youngsters, feminists, pacifist, and environmentalists. They also helped to canalize the claims for cultural rights by the emergent Black and Latino movements (Hamilton and Atton 2001). Free and low-power radio stations also mushroomed in different regions of the USA, with pioneering landmarks such as *Pacifica Radio*, *Dale City Television*, *WTRA radio, Paper Tiger*, and the larger *Prometheus Radio Project* network. Accompanying these developments, the first systematizations of experiences were published in both sides of the Atlantic during the 1980s (Downing 1984; Lewis and Booth 1989; Siegelaub and Mattelart 1983; Soley and Nichols 1986) and, in special, along the 1990s, when institutions such as AMARC and UNESCO commissioned a few large-scale studies (Berrigan 1977; Díaz Bordenave 1977; Girard 1992; Lewis 1984, 1993). According to this overview, the following table summarizes the main differences between Latin America and Anglo-Saxon approaches to community media (Table 2).

Table 2 Academic traditions in alternative media along the twentieth century

	USA and Western Europe	Latin America
Birth of the field	Anecdotic academic studies since the 1920s (Park 1922; Brecht 1927)	Precursors in the 1970s (Freire 1970)
Institutionalization	2001 onward	Mid-1980s
Promoters and values of the first alternative media experiences	Social movements guided by post-material values: critical art collectives, youngsters, university students (May 68), women, immigrants, environmentalists, etc.	Civic organizations aiming at material values (unions, theology of liberation) and progressive presence of post-material demands (e.g., indigenous and feminist media)
Demands	Counterculture movements, fights to recognize identity and cultural rights and struggles to construct a community media sector beyond public and commercial media	Educate and empower marginalized groups; fight against oligarchies and colonial powers; community projects to alleviate the absence or the weak presence of public media
Most popular concepts	Alternative, community, citizen, radical	Alternative, popular, horizontal, participatory, media for development and for social change

Source: Own elaboration

Along the twenty-first century,community communication has exponentially expanded and gradually institutionalized as a research area (Coyer et al. 2007; Downing 2010; Rodríguez 2009). This development is closely connected with the ever-growing academic interest in the potential of ICTs for activism in globalized societies. In fact, the anti-globalization movement from 1999 (i.e., *Indymedia*) and the 2011 protest cycles – Spanish 15-M, Occupy, Arab Spring, etc. – demonstrated how digital media and social networks can be tactically used to expand protests and gain new participants. Furthermore, community media started to associate and construct large-scale networks from the end of the twenty century, and organizations such as the Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC) have extensively contributed to strengthen the sector and lobby for favorable policies in international and national regulations.

16.5 Potentialities and Limits of the New Literature on Digital Alternative Media

From the 2000s, the unstoppable digital revolution has shaken thedebates about the potentialities of ICTs to shape global transnational social movements. The uses and appropriations of Internet platforms by civil organizations have risen academic interest, especially from the birth of the so-called Web 2.0: blogs, social networks, wikis, etc. Within this new scenario, digital media have been interpreted as platforms for the birth of "participatory cultures" (Jenkins 2006), "mass-self communication" spaces for horizontal interchange of ideas (Castells 2012), and enhancers of new collective actors: "smart mobs" (Rheingold 2003) and "collective intelligence" (Lévy 1997). This emergence has led Jankowski (2006) to suggest the existence of a third wave of reflections in the field of alternative media, after a first and second waves, which respectively, focused on the press and on audiovisual media: radio, video, etc.

However, literature in digital resistance presents a few weaknesses that limit its potential to understand the new scenario. First, many studies show a too decontextualized, ahistorical, and presentist bias, since they are usually disconnected from historical reflections about non-digital media (Rennie 2006). Second, recent research in the Anglo-Saxon context surpasses in volume any other geographic community, but this literature is very Western in focus, and it systematically ignores the theoretical advancements of Latin America and the Global South. For example, there is a powerful research line on the so-called participatory cultures that emerge around the Internet (Jenkins 2006), but this literature neglects the prolific reflection about participatory communication developed in Latin America from the 1970s (Freire 1970/2000; Beltrán 1974; Díaz Bordenave 1976).

Third, the oblivion of historical research and Southern perspectives may have driven into an excess of technological determinism in recent alternative media studies, especially when they analyzed the role of the social networks within the new cycle of protests starting in 2011: Spanish *indignados* movement, Occupy Wall Street, revolts in Iran and in the Arab world, etc. Within this context, a few studies

(such as Castells 2012; Juris 2012; Shirky 2008) partly revitalized the "modernizing" idea of media as "magic multipliers" of development (Lerner 1958). Luckily, this trend has started to be criticized by a new generation of scholars who warn about the rampant techno-fascination in corporate, political, and media discourses (e.g., Fuchs 2014; Mosco 2004; Gerbaudo 2012; Morozov 2012).

Contemporary research in social movements and alternative media is currently insisting on the concepts of "media practices" and "mediatization" (Cammaerts et al. 2013) that help to "shift attention from the specific categories of media texts, outlets and technologies to what social movement actors do with the media at large, in order to grasp activist groups' agency in relation to media flows" (Couldry 2006: 27). Nevertheless, it is important to warn that the already studied concepts of praxis, mediations and citizen media, were deeply elaborated by Latin American scholars, although just a limited number of Northern authors acknowledge this heritage (Couldry 2013; Mattoni and Treré 2014).

16.6 A Claim to De-westernize Alternative andCommunity Communication

In the last years, postcolonial and decolonial perspectives from critical scholarship, indigenous people, and social movements – feminism, environmentalism, etc. – are vindicating the need to articulate new epistemologies from the side of exclusion and from the voice of the invisible (Santos 2010). This calls have been also heard in the field of communication, where different scholars are claiming to de-westernize (Curran and Park 2000), decolonize (Dutta 2015; Torrico 2015), and internationalize media studies (Simonson and Park 2016), beyond the "self-absorption and parochialism of much Western media literature" (Curran and Park 2000: 3).

In the last years, recent anthologies (e.g., Downing 2010) have started to build bridges between different alternative media traditions. Furthermore, these works offer a fruitful path to compare the different media cultures that have developed in large areas beyond the boundaries of the nation-states (Esser and Hanitzsch 2012). In fact, despite the multiple differences, Latin America can be partly understood as an intellectual unit, at least until the end of the twentieth century (Waisbord 2014). As we exposed above, the region developed a set of fruitful concepts and theorizations that helped to understand alternative media, even before the Anglo-Saxon academia started to systematically research on the topic, and setting the grounds of the participatory approach to communication for social change (Gumucio and Tufte 2006).

Lastly, this chapter has tried to summarize a long period of critical research and practices. Although limited and incomplete, we hope that this summary has helped to understand alternative media from situated local perspectives and historical contexts. In fact, community media can have different origins and motivations – from political demands to cultural and educational claims. But, as we have demonstrated, many of them tend to expand under contexts of crisis, when mainstream media neglect their commitment with citizenship and public service.

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Part IV

Context for Communication Activities for Development and Social Change

A Threefold Approach for Enabling Social Change: Communication as Context for Interaction, Uneven Development, and Recognition

17

Gloria Gómez Diago

Contents

17.1 Introduction 344
17.2 A Proposed Paradigm: Communication as a Context for Interaction 345
17.2.1 Communication as a Dependent Variable 348
17.2.2 Communication as Space 348
17.3 Two Concepts: Uneven Development and Recognition 349
17.3.1 Uneven Development 350
17.3.2 Recognition 351
17.4 Conclusion 353
17.5 Cross-References 354
References 354

Abstract

In a context where research aimed to intervene on an increasingly unequal society is very necessary, we are bringing a theoretical framework intended to enable social change. The frame presented here is conceived for assessing environments communicatively, and it is articulated through a proposed paradigm (communication as a context for interaction) and two concepts: uneven development and recognition.

Keywords

Epistemology · Communication research · Methodology · Recognition · Social change · Uneven development

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17.1 Introduction

Social and financial crisis, specially the high levels of corruption that stifle institutions and an increasing number of unemployed and of badly employed people (people who have precarious jobs, who receive salaries that do not allow them to survive), has generated and is generating an ongoing discontent and despair on citizens who are encouraged to click and to participate into online polls, but without having opportunities to experiment a real engagement with matters of their interest, with issues that have a direct influence on their lives, provoking that words such as participation, development, or empowerment are invoking empty signifiers (Ninam 2015). Notwithstanding the radical transformations on different dimensions provoked by the extension in the access and in the use of new technologies and by the global interconnection of computers, mobile telephones, and other devices, in order to be autonomous in our judgements and choices, free access to information and transparency as conditions for individual and collective autonomy is still needed (Papadimitropoulos 2017). Access to information and transparency are mainstream requirements for people to progress depending on their effort and their capacities. *Access to information* and *transparency* are core elements for allowing people to accomplish a social change to live worthily. Social change must be understood as the possibility for people and for groups of people to improve their life conditions. Social change must be approached as a criteria and as an objective which has utterance in the possibilities that people has for at least, having a salary that permits them to afford the minimum requirements that a human being needs: a roof, food, heat, light, and water. Further, social change must be granted by public institutions because it is the skyline that motivates people to continue in the effort. Without possibilities for social change, society will be more unequal and corrupt.

In a context of profound social crisis and ongoing social differences and in a context where political parties situated within extreme right are conquering the helm of the governments, communication but also communication research and, specially, academic communication research can do much for humankind.

Communication research is mainly focused on studying issues related with mass media. In this line, according to several investigations (Cáceres and Caffarel 1992; Martínez-Nicolás and Saperas 2011, 2016; Caffarel et al. 2017), for 25 years, Spanish communication research has been focused on "mass media contents." We contend that studying media contents is still needed, specially the study of the impact and the routines of production of media contents because these are lines of inquiry which can provide clues for reshaping journalism in a moment where, as Mosco (2018) states, Facebook, with its 2.3 billion users, was in 2018 the largest distributor of news and information in history. However, apart from working within the cited lines of inquiry more focused on studying contents and uses of mass media and social media contents, it is possible for communication scholars to analyze environments communicatively, assessing whether they meet essential requirements for facilitating relationships among citizens based on equality and respect. This type of analysis is especially urgent in public contexts, spaces, and institutions funded by public money, but we can also apply it to enterprises because they are expected to

comply criteria related with equal treatment to persons. For assessing environments from a communicative perspective, it is needed to transcend the consideration of communication as a linear process, approach from which aroused most of communication research, generating frameworks intended to identify the effects of media but also frames focused on relationships between communication and development, line of inquiry which generated *diffusion and participatory models (*Morris 2005), and also *modernization and dependency paradigms* (Tehranian 1991).

In this chapter we are proposing a framework for conducting research intended on generating environments that enable social change. We based our proposal on a paradigm that approaches communication as a context for interaction and on two concepts: uneven development and recognition. As we already expressed elsewhere (Gómez Diago 2017), the idea is to conduct research aimed to analyze whether citizens can participate in contexts exercising their rights and their duties while enjoying opportunities for progress. The frame here proposed seeks to contribute to fulfil the need of a type of research attained to society and to humankind while being of help for building a critical approach claimed three decades ago by most authors of the articles included in two internationally recognized volumes specialized in meta-research in communication and published in 1983 and 1993, respectively: the volumes of the *Journal of Communication Ferment in the Field*, 33(3), and *The Future of the Field-Between Fragmentation and Cohesion*, 43(3). As we concluded in the dissertation entitled *For Communication Research. 400 ideas from the last three decades and a proposal to update the interaction paradigm* (Gómez-Diago, 2016a), most of the authors of these flagship volumes consider that research must solve social needs. More specifically, Melody and Mansell (1983); Mosco (1983); Grandi (1983); Mattelart (1983); Davis and Jasinski (1993); Tunstall (1983); Curry Jansen (1983); Schiller (1983); Stevenson (1983); or Monahan and Collins-Jarvis (1993) pointed out the importance of conducting research to understand and to solve social problems, claiming the need of attaining investigations to real world, thus to professionals, to associations of workers, to organizations of women, etc.

To combat inequalities and to contribute to generate a society where citizens can progress according to their efforts, we need theoretical frames intended on assessing environments from a communicative perspective so it will be possible to study how interaction takes place between actors that shape the context under analysis while assessing whether relationships among them base on transparent procedures. Below we are introducing our theoretical framework composed by a paradigm (communication as a context for interaction) and two concepts (uneven development and recognition). Firstly, we will be introducing the paradigm proposed (Fig. 1).

17.2 A Proposed Paradigm: Communication as a Context for Interaction

Kuhn (1962) understands theories as social constructs that carry historical traces of its creators, of the time, and of the place where were created. A paradigm embraces a theory as well as a number of assumptions that are taken for granted and influence

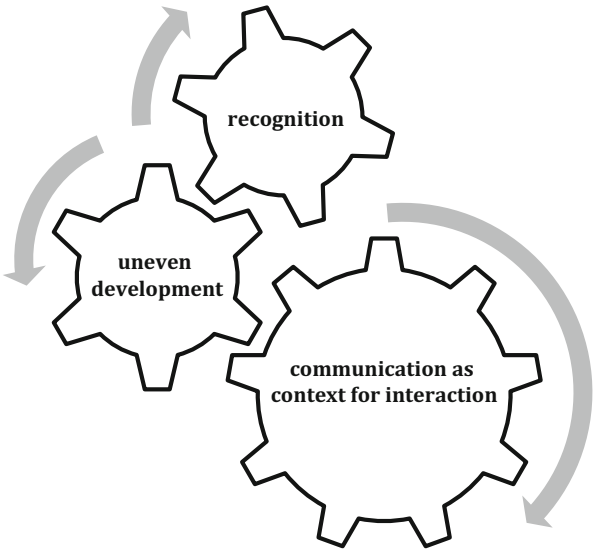

Fig. 1 A theoretical framework for conducting research intended on enabling a social change: communication as a context for interaction and uneven development and recognition (Gómez Diago 2017)

the research process and the formulation of questions, defining the methods used, influencing the selection of criteria for deciding what is accepted as data while shaping the standards for assessing the legitimacy of the claims made. Differences between research traditions depend on economic, social, and political objectives (Melody and Mansell 1983). Technologies, their uses, and their regulation also condition paradigms. In this line, Chaytor (in Meyrowitz 2009) argues that mechanization of writing created a new space of authorship, intellectual property, reforming the literary style, boosting the birth of nationalist sentiment, and modifying the interaction of words and thought.

A *paradigm shift* happens when investigators locate anomalies that they cannot explain by using the accepted paradigm (Kuhn 1962). Three decades ago, Rogers and Chaffe (1983) in the article they prepared for the volume of the *Journal of Communication*, "Ferment in the Field" and that is configured as a dialogue between both scholars, claimed that "source" and "receiver" cannot be distinguished in an interactive communication system, and they wondered whether a term like "participant" could adequately identify an individual member of a computer-mediated system or if the word "communication" modifies its meaning in the context of these new technologies. Rogers and Chaffee (1983) situate interactive communication as a historic turning point with respect to the one direction transmission model embedded on television, radio, cinema, press, and mass media, and the researcher considers that these transformations that unsettle society in several labels should motivate scholars to abandon his long dedication to the linear effects and move toward convergence patterns. The key element is, according to Rogers, the massively apparition of interactive communication and the role of computer as a type of communication channel and not only as a tool for obtaining data.

Thirty-five years after, the Internet has modified many practices related to how citizens use and access information, as well as how they communicate, motivating, according to McQuail (2013), the need of new paradigms to overcome a linear conception of communication that does not reflect anymore how communication takes place. The loss of power of mass media as content filterers and the possibility that political actors have now for addressing citizens, without depending so much on the media, has debilitated the concept of mediatization (Schulz 2004), whereas the idea of interaction has been reinstated as useful device to deepen how contexts are communicatively built. Three decades ago, Melody and Mansell (1983) demanded to assess research in light of its ability to promote beneficial change, warning of the danger of focusing only on discrete static relations among individuals or atomistic organizational units.

In a moment where research is needed that intervene on society and where new technologies have dramatically transformed communication, we are proposing to approach communication as a context for interaction. We will be introducing the paradigm that approaches communication as a context for interaction by outlining its epistemological basis. Instead of starting from a pre-defined concept of communication, this frame puts attention on how communicative elements give utterance to an environment. Considering communication as a context for interaction entails starting from the idea that communication cannot be an ultimate goal, but a context. From this lens, we approach communication as dependent variable and as space (Gómez-Diago 2015, 2016a, b, 2017), making possible to assess issues such as the capability of an environment to promote equality between the actors that shape it; its ability to generate transparency; its capability to enable, generate, and promote exchange of ideas; its ability to motivate participation or to boost and encourage collective creation; etc. Besides understanding communication as a tool necessary for other scientific fields, in words of Shepherd (1989), it is mainstream for communication studies to analyze the ways whereby manifestations of existence (individuals and or societies) are communicationally constructed. Rothenbuhler (1993) emphasizes that, as well as political analysis or psychological analysis of the "communicating" problem is possible, it is possible to perform communicative analyses of psychology and politics. From an epistemological perspective, approaching communication as a context for interaction implies to understand communication as a mechanism that shapes social manifestations simultaneously at the individual and at the collective level, working as an articulating axis of societies. This approach overcomes dichotomies based on a more or less deterministic conception of the nature of man, such as *superstructure/structure* (Marx), *systems/worlds of life* (Habermas), or *social actors/agents* (Giddens), frames that approach communication as a bridge between two worlds, between two "realities." Considering communication as a context for interaction implies adopting a holistic view to identify the actors and elements that intervene and shape what we are studying. From this angle, we do not worry much about analyzing communication, but about studying a context or situation from a communicative perspective. Below, we will be explaining two heuristics that we can use to apply the paradigm proposed: understanding communication as dependent variable and understanding communication as space.

17.2.1 Communication as a Dependent Variable

Most communication research followed a component-based approach where a source, message, channel, and receiver are variables, being modified to determine the consequences of this manipulation on the communication effects. Changes in the source, message, channel, or receiver are the independent variables, and the resulting communication effects constitute the dependent variables, largely provided by scholars from other disciplines such as political science, marketing, psychology, etc. As Krippendorff (1993) states, *message-oriented research* was conducted despite messages were not so obvious in these media. Within this context Lasswell (1948) proposed the formula "Who says what, in what channel, to whom, with what effect?"; Berelson and Lazarsfeld (1948) presented content analysis as an objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication; and in 1948 Shannon and Weaver published the mathematical theory. None of these approaches regards at human participants as capable of constructing their own meanings, negotiating relationships with themselves or reflecting on their own realities. Rogers and Kincaid (1981) cite, as example of this type of research focused on effects, an experiment on the sources' credibility carried by Hovland et al. on which researchers provided participants leaflets with equal content but with different types of sources. The aim of the research was to see whether participants had different perceptions depending on the sources cited but participants could not discuss among them, so the variable credibility was not allowed to vary in effects through their interaction.

While communication research has mainly approached communication as a factor that influences other issues, communicational behavior as a dependent variable has been less studied. By asking on what forms of communicational behavior individuals depend, we can focus on communicative behavior while building a coherent discipline. One area that shifted toward communicative explanations is the subfield of organizational communication. Scholars within this area consider communication as the underlying constitutive force behind all organizational activities, structures, and processes (Koschmann 2010). Foucault et al. (2014) bring also a holistic communicative angle from which to investigate when highlighting the fact that when two individuals communicate, their communication models will depend on their characteristics as individuals at that moment but also on the history of their communication models and on the communication models of the members of the group. Approaching *communication as a dependent variable* is an appropriate starting point to carry research from a communicative perspective because we can focus on how different elements and actors generate different types of relations. Below, we are explaining what we do mean with the other heuristic proposed consisting on understanding communication as space.

17.2.2 Communication as Space

Recent developments in postmodern geography highlight the advantages of placing space as a construct of multiple and heterogeneous sociomaterial interrelationships that coexist and are affected. Approaching communication as space allows to focus

in the capacity of communication for generating contexts oriented to different aims. This capacity of communication for giving utterance to environments has been multiplied with the spread in the use of new technologies of communication, especially of the Internet and of the possibilities brought by wireless connection because communication is no longer dependent on geographic locations. In this line, similar to the proposal of McLuhan, who identified that a global village emerged from mass media, Sassen (2012) posits that the circuits of interaction that formed through ICT-mediated exchange generate a new "layer" in the social order, something similar to a microglobal community. Contending that it is not a microglobal community but a lot of communities that have surged on cyberspace, we propose considering *communication as space.* From this perspective, we understand that communication functions as an environment while it gives form to it. Our understanding of communication as space resembles how Bakhtin approaches the concept of landscape. According to the scholar (in Folch 1990), space goes beyond the visual criteria that the geographer handles, turning into a continuous historical development that holds and destabilizes the "natural harmony" of a given region through an ongoing interaction between meanings created by a conversation.

Researchers underline the need to understand communication as both an object (communicational event) and a lens or model (communicative explanation) of research (Vázquez and Cooren 2013). In this line, Friedland (2001) proposes to study *communication ecologies* to analyze how communities are communicatively integrated. The researcher refers to "communication ecologies" as the range of communication activities linked to networks of individuals, groups, and institutions in a domain of a specific community. Friedland (2001) considers that it is no longer possible to separate the social structure from communication, if ever it was possible and seeks to develop a perspective inspired by the one that was according to him the first serious attempt to fuse structure and communication: the Chicago School of Sociology. Similarly, Meyrowitz (1985) contends that what determines the nature of interaction is not the physical context but the information flow models, and he emphasizes that by changing the limits of social situations, electronic media not only give us faster access to events and behaviors but also provide new events and new behaviors. The researcher proposes to approach situations as information systems to overcome the distinction made between studies on face-to-face interaction and mediated communication studies, and he also proposes to see media as certain types of social environments that include or exclude, unite, or divide people in particular ways. In line with this last idea, we are introducing two concepts to apply the proposed paradigm consisting on considering communication as a context for interaction: uneven development and recognition.

17.3 Two Concepts: Uneven Development and Recognition

We chose these two concepts for building our theoretical frame because they are core concepts in what respect to humanity. Uneven development and recognition are in constant interplay; they are simultaneously cause and consequence. Uneven

development is, most of the time, a consequence of a lack of recognition suffered by an individual or by an institution, and when there are a person or a group of persons that suffer uneven development, there are less opportunities for them to be recognized and, consequently, to have an opportunity to progress. Below we are introducing what we mean by uneven development and by recognition.

17.3.1 Uneven Development

Until 1970, the indices to assess development focused on quantitative measures that did not bother to perform comparative analyses. Poverty was associated with underdevelopment, and to be developed, countries should resemble developed countries in a context in which developed countries controlled the rules of the game. From this paradigm, the causes of underdevelopment are in the underdeveloped nations instead of being external to them or being produced by an interrelation of internal and external causes (Rogers 1976). Usually the line of inquiry *Communication for Development and Social Change (CDCS)* is cited as mainstream in attaching communication and social change, but this line of research encounters barriers when conducting empirical investigations because both terms (development and social change) convey different meanings depending on context, and therefore, applying an approach by using those concepts will mean to bring conceived ideas from one context to another making it difficult to deepen the features of the environments under analysis. Development is often associated with an interest on translating practices of capitalist environments than on achieving a comfortable situation for the majority of the population. In his line, Rist (2010) considers development as a toxic concept born without a little attempt to define itself while proposed as an unquestioned assumption. According to the researcher, the height of absurdity was reached when the Brundtland Commission (1987) created the concept "sustainable development" to reconcile the contradictory requirements to be met in order to protect the environment from pollution, deforestation, and greenhouse while ensuring that the economic growth was still considered a condition for general well-being. Rist contends that the essence of development is the general transformation and destruction of the natural environment and of social relations while increasing production of commodities (goods and services) geared, by means of market exchange.

Because of the problems that motivate the use of the concept development, we propose to utilize the concept of *uneven development*, understood as a situation when development occurs unequally. The idea of uneven development is born within a comparative perspective that we can apply to assess countries and locations but also to assess situations of citizens. Harris (2007) points out that uneven development occurs by persistent economic differences in levels and rates across many different countries during a long time. Avdicos (2007) explains that from the 1980s and onward, Marxism had brought an epistemological and methodological lens for looking at uneven development from an angle that sees evolution of local trajectories through the spatial power relations in localities. According to Bieler and Morton

(2014), Trotsky introduced the notion of uneven and combined development in his book *Results and Prospects* (1960), when analyzing the situation of disadvantage of Russia within the world economy. The researcher concluded that capitalist expansion is a result of the pressures of capitalist development on less developed countries. Van der Linden (2007) highlights one observation of Elster, who placed the theory of uneven development of Trotsky between two points of view from which history of world can be studied: (1) as the rise and decline of nations (Thorstein Veblen, Mancur Olson) and (2) as the rise and decline of institutions (Marx, Douglass North). We could add one third level of analysis which we are interested on covering from the frame here proposed: (3) the rise and decline of the lives of citizens.

We can apply the concept of uneven development to evaluate how citizens live. Are citizens enjoying a progress in their lives in line with their effort and their work? Is taking place an uneven development? If this happens, why is it happening? In what contexts? Which are the manners in which citizens can progress? Are there criteria that allow people to progress? What criteria manage public institutions and private enterprises to integrate and to promote workers? Are similar criteria being used around the world? Related to the criteria used or not used for assuring the development of people, we propose the second concept on which we build our approach: recognition.

17.3.2 Recognition

We base on the theory of recognition of Honneth (1995) to build our framework for the importance of this concept to articulate a society where citizens can achieve what is worth achieving. Recognition is the baseline of communication and the most important criteria because without it, actors who give form to a context are in unequal position to contribute and, hence, to provide ideas and insights, to intervene, and to develop their interests and objectives. A society where citizens are recognized according to their efforts is a healthy society. Citizenry has the right to enhance their social conditions because of their education, their effort, and their work. When this does not happen, citizens feel as strangers and discontent appears. According to Honneth (1995), every subject is given the chance to experience oneself to be recognized, in light of one's own accomplishments and abilities, as valuable for society. As the researcher acknowledges, this definition lacks specifics regarding the type of *rights* associated to individuals and regarding the mode of legitimating whereby rights are generated within a society. It is mainstream to identify the criteria that orient the social esteem because abilities and achievements are judged intersubjectively. Fuchs (2016) highlights that Honneth reformulates Hegel and Mead's approaches by identifying three modes of recognition at society: (1) emotional support provided by the family and friends, (2) cognitive respect supported by legal rights, and (3) social esteem given by solidarity communities of value. The three forms of recognition are social conditions whereby persons can develop a positive attitude toward themselves because it is through the cumulative acquisition of basic self-confidence, of *self-respect*, and of *self-esteem* – provided by the

experience of those three forms of recognition that a person can come to see himself or herself, as both an autonomous and an individuated being. Fuchs (2016) identifies forms of alienation/reification in society in three realms: economic, political, and cultural. Depending on the realm we are talking about, citizens can suffer work dissatisfaction, political dissatisfaction, and cultural discontent. We are including a table where the forms of *alienation* proposed by Fuchs are described by differentiating their consequences on four realms: subject (experiments, emotions, attitudes), intersubjectivity (social agency and interaction), object (structures and products), and struggles (Table 1).

The situations of alienation identified by Fuchs (2016) are related to recognition, to uneven development, and to communication; thus, the contexts that give utterance to the three realms proposed by the researcher (economic, political, and cultural) can be evaluated from a communicative perspective intended on identifying how the actors involved interact among them and on studying how they interact with information or resources available. Fuchs's approach is articulated around a conception of society as something opposed to the individual. From a *communicative perspective*, we can identify elements that produce and perpetuate alienation in the different contexts within they perform their lives. This perspective will allow us to identify which factors are those that contribute to generate more or less alienation, and it will enable us to detect elements to combat it.

Table 1 Forms of reification/alienation in society's three realms (Fuchs 2016)

Forms of alienation/ reification	Subject (experiences, emotions, attitudes)	Intersubjectivity (social agency and interaction)	Object (structures, products)	Struggles
Economic reification	Work dissatisfaction	Lack of control/ alienation of labor power: exploitation	Lack of control/ alienation of the means of production and output: property lessens	Individual: anti-capitalism Social: unionization, class struggles
Political reification	Political dissatisfaction	Lack of control/ alienation of political power: disempowerment and exclusion	Lack of control/ alienation of decisions: centralization of power	Individual: politicization Social: social movements, protests, parties, revolutions
Cultural reification	Cultural discontent	Lack of control/ alienation of influential communication: insignificance of voice, disrespect, misrecognition	Lack of control/ alienation of public ideas, meaning and valued: centralization of information	Individual: cultural literacy Social: struggles for recognition

17.4 Conclusion

The field of communication should aspire to become what Compte wanted for sociology, the queen of the social and behavioral sciences. It fulfils one of the conditions, the object of study, because communication and information play a key role not only in all issues of life but also in the central theories and models of all relevant disciplines (Beniger 1993). The objective is not only to critically understand communication today, which is an important aim, but also to assess environments from a communication perspective. For doing this, it is needed to reverse the widespread tendency that says that researchers do not use a theoretical reasoning in Media and Communication Studies, lacking epistemological validity beyond bringing information for control purposes (Erdogan 2012). We articulate our framework in a time where communication research must renew its perspectives and methods to intervene on society to combat inequalities and to contribute to generate environments where countries and citizens are enabled to progress according to their efforts. It is mainstream to develop approaches to evaluate contexts from a communicative perspective oriented to assess interaction between the actors that shape environments and to evaluate how relationships among these actors are built. It is mainstream to put attention on how recognition is granted and to evaluate whether there are elements, rules, and procedures intended on combating uneven development. In contexts where information is denied or where information is used to benefit few persons to the detriment of others, recognition is directly bounded with power, occasioning uneven development and impeding social change for most of citizens. The grid brought here is dynamic and flexible for its capacity to integrate combined perspectives, so apart from the two proposed here (uneven development and recognition), it is possible to add more conceptual devices to assess environments communicatively. One possible concept to be added is citizen participation. Most of the definitions available of citizen participation are articulated through indicators usually referred to a context of collective action and of necessary protest (demonstrations, associations), to actions related to politicians (affiliations, communication with politicians, etc.), or to the responses of the citizens to requests of collaboration from public administrations. We contend that when studying citizen participation, it is very important to take into account whether citizenry is reporting situations of abuse suffered in the contexts where they perform their lives and also to assess the nature of these complaints. Inquiring about these issues will allow us to deepen on citizen participation. It is necessary to put attention on complaints made by citizenry in the labor context and to the denunciations regarding the use of services. It is needed to investigate what types of complaints are being made and on what issues they are centered, as well as to identify the reasons why these complaints are not being made, if the case. In this way, we will know what citizens can do and what they cannot do and what they are doing. We will be in conditions to answer questions such as the following: Are there means for citizens to communicate with public institutions? For what? In which situations? It is needed to identify the existing shortcomings in a society where the economic and social gap between citizens is getting bigger. To investigate the genesis, characteristics and impact of citizen

participation are a means to identify ways to delve into relationships between society, public institutions, media, political parties, governments, and policies, and it is also a way to identify interests, needs, and opinions of citizens. Social relationships always occur between citizens who have different assigned functions in social life, depending on the position they perform. It is essential to regulate relationships between citizens through transparent procedures and criteria, and it is necessary to spread the opportunities, the advantages, and the possibilities of development for the citizens. Further, when there is a lack of procedures and means to denounce, to progress, and to achieve, a social change is very difficult. Communication research can have a function in achieving healthy environments where social change is possible. The framework here proposed is a step in that endeavor.

17.5 Cross-References

- ▶ Capacity Building and People's Participation in e-Governance: Challenges and Prospects for Digital India
- ▶ Protest as Communication for Development and Social Change in South Africa

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Shifting Global Patterns: Transformation of Indigenous Nongovernmental Organizations in Global Society

18

Junis J. Warren

Contents

18.1 Introduction 360
18.1.1 One Theoretical Framework 361
18.1.2 A Second Theoretical Framework 361
18.1.3 A Third Theoretical Framework 362
18.2 Strategies of Guatemalan Nongovernmental Organizations 363
18.2.1 Employing a Different Mode of Thinking 363
18.2.2 IL Mondo Immaginare's Shifting Paradigm 364
18.2.3 Transnational Alliances with NGOs and Other Institutions 365
18.3 GNGOs Across Local, National, and International Borders 366
18.4 Integrating Technology and Communications Network 369
18.5 Impact for Sustainable Development Policy 371
18.6 Conclusion 373
Appendix 1: Survey of Guatemalan Nongovernmental Organizations (GNGOs) 374
References 376

Abstract

Conventional nongovernmental organization (NGO) theory describes NGOs' function within predetermined neoliberal frameworks – migration, social movements, and developmental sustainability. Yet other organizational theories establish that NGOs can, in fact, be placed in particular frameworks or models. Therefore, attributing this transformation in global society to an adjustment to changes made by other types of NGOs pursuit in expanding social and equal justice to local communities. These theoretical assumptions describe NGOs role as either tied to international industries or controlled by multinational corporations and states. However, emerging case study analysis of NGOs in Latin

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America (Guatemala) and the Caribbean (Barbados) shows that local NGOs are redefining strategies and methodologies through a network of transnational indigenous nongovernmental organizations (TINGOs). (Warren J (2016) Case Study Analysis: "Integration Programs for Deportees in Latin America and the Caribbean." Global Stud J 9(2), Common Ground Publishing: Oneglobalization. Retrieved from: https://www.Oneglobalization.com. Manuscript Proposal: IL Mondo Immaginare: A New Framework for Assessing Transnational Indigenous Nongovernmental Organizations (TINGOs) (2017) is a grant-funded research project by The Gaston Institute, Andres Torres Series, University of Massachusetts, Boston. Retrieved from https://www.umb.edu/gastoninstitute) This chapter is a result of a grant-funded research project for the Gaston Institute, *Andres Torres Paper Series*, which analyzes and discusses four factors of GNGOs: (1) methods and strategies; (2) organizational structure across local, national, and international borders; (3) technology and communications network; and (4) impact on sustainable development policy.

Keywords

Guatemalan Diaspora Community (GDC) · Guatemalan nongovernmental organizations (GNGO) · IL Mondo Immaginare (IMI) · Multistranded approach · Nongovernmental organization (NGO) · Shifting global patterns · Sustainable development policy · Transnational indigenous nongovernmental organization (TINGO)

18.1 Introduction

The epistemological basis of this study conducted with NGOs in Guatemala, Honduras, and the USA explains a paradigm shift between traditional and transnational indigenous nongovernmental organization (TINGOs). Although much of the existing theoretical frameworks' attention has been paid to the traditional roles of NGOs and their role in the UN, Fernando and Heston (1997) write that "despite the lack of consensus about the meaning of the term 'NGO,' a large literature has been produced on NGOs and many claims have been made concerning their role as if there were a true and authentic NGO consistent over time and context" (p. 10). With the globalization of human rights and the role of the UN, not only has there been a transformation of nongovernmental organizations but also, as this study confirms, a realignment among local indigenous NGOs has occurred. Verifiable evidence demonstrates that these organizations that are venturing outside the normal modes of operating in the global community are restructured the distribution of power by INGOs. In this vain, Falk's (1993) "globalization-from below" discusses how a global civil society linked by transnationals social forces (environment, human rights), hostile to human community based on diverse cultures seeking an end to poverty, oppression, humiliation and collective violence will be linked through a "multi-stranded opposition" (p. 39). Falk's theory is mirrored with the kind of "bottom-up" method employed by NGOs assessed in this study. Moreover, it

precisely describes the structure and functions of transnational indigenous non-governmental organizations (TINGOs).

Therefore, this chapter builds on the study on Guatemalan Nongovernmental Organizations (GNGO) and uses some of these frameworks. However, it explores the function and new configuration of NGOs in the global community and provides an understanding of the linking of NGOs across borders and how they operate outside the institutional structures of the UN and the state. Edelman (2001) likened these "diverse sectors organizing across borders are explicitly directed against the elite and corporate-led globalization from above" (p. 304). Moreover, the literature shows that new groups are creating new organizational structures to continue addressing local issues in the global community. And just as Falk (1993) described assessment of NGOs, this study shows that TINGOs are not relying on traditional institutions but instead effecting changes in a variety of ways, including collectivism – the bottom-up and linking across geographically borders to find solutions to global problems.

18.1.1 One Theoretical Framework

The post-development alternative practice declares, Nederveen Pieterse (1996), is concerned more with participatory and people-centered development and redefining the goals of development with newly liberated nation-states. Post-development theory criticizes postcolonialism and developmental theorists like Arturo Escobar (1995) and Gustavo Esteva's (1998) who challenged traditional concepts of global development. For them, any understanding of development begins with colonial ideas of western dogma regarding the lack of development in the south. For Escobar (1995), development theories should focus on the intellectual and local agency's assertion into global development from two perspectives: local communities are encouraged to address their own problems because of similar resources and power to the west and, second, local organizations should criticize global economic and political misrepresentations that limit local communities' ability to develop independently (p. 3). During this period, different ideologies about postcolonial determination advocated for Third World strategies on local indigenous economic development, away from western concepts of development.

18.1.2 A Second Theoretical Framework

The scaling-up paradigm according to Uvin et al. (2000) is another way of describing current behavior of NGOs in the international community and their structure (p. 1409). The scaling-up theoretical framework categorizes NGOs as "thinking large and acting small," a new way of exerting or flexing legitimacy and influence in the global community. Scaling-up is also about the increasing way in which local community-based indigenous NGOs have selected to participate in the international arena on issues directly affecting their lives. *Shifting Global Patterns: Transformation of Indigenous Nongovernmental Organizations in Global Society* draws on the work of Uvin et al. (2000), Falk (1993), Edelman (2001), Tvedt (2002), Escobar (1995), and Esteva (1998) to make the argument that transnational indigenous NGOs

have contributed to a paradigm shift on global international organizations and how they are connected, interact, and organized. Furthermore, if, as indicated by Uvin et al., "scaling-up is about capacity and not size," then it is about TINGOs' shared practical tools and techniques for building influence and legitimacy within the global sphere. Empirical evidence illustrated in the literature coupled with the information gathered during the assessment of NGOs confirms that some of these approaches have been refined by TINGOs to help them navigate the increasing complexities that come with challenging the state to adopt or improve policies for ingenious populations throughout the Third World.

18.1.3 A Third Theoretical Framework

Sociopolitical development framework theorist describes the process by which NGOs acquire the capacity for action in the political and social systems necessary to interpret and resist oppression. This perspective contends that resistance becomes a factor to the interests and incentives facing organizations to gain knowledge on how politics, policies, and promotion of development hinder a community. In this vein, Tvedt (2002) suggested "new theoretical approaches are needed to encourage additional comparative research on the role of evolving NGOs as new actors in the new international social system" (p. 363). Generally, the literature shows that sociopolitical development theorists reason that organizations should be familiar with how formal political structures, rules of law, and elections impact their communities. Indigenous NGOs should understand relationships between formal structures and third sectors to identify power dynamics and recognize how resources are distributed and contested and how policy choices are determined (Mitlin et al. 2007; Atack 1999).

This approach is consistent with building on new theoretical approaches to further comprehend how NGOs and other indigenous organizations are focusing on new forms of economic and sociopolitical development going forward. Research and observation of IMI (IL Mondo Immaginare) show that this GNGO has morphed into a multipurpose and multidimensional organization. In essence, the assessment of TINGOs further illustrates that IMI's connection and collaboration with other NGOs across borders in a hierarchal structure demonstrate that indigenous NGOs have adopted Edelman's description of Falk's (1993) theory of these types of NGOs as employing a multi-stranded approach to sociopolitical development. This approach differs from other studies on NGOs and proves that these organizations actually impact the global addenda and, in fact, are offering solutions from a bottom-up approach that exemplifies Folk's theory of a multi-stranded approach to global solutions for indigenous populations. Notwithstanding, the increases in membership of states in the UN or that non-state actors have become worthwhile agents on the global stage, there are still some significant challenges emerging from the institutionalization of the UN and state's NGOs. Theoretical frameworks for conducting critical social research of GNGOs show that there is a shift in paradigm away from traditional NGOs that were either part of the state or receive funding from state institutions and the organizations that are hammering their basic human rights.

18.2 Strategies of Guatemalan Nongovernmental Organizations

18.2.1 Employing a Different Mode of Thinking

The philosophical underpinning of the architect of IMI, Senior Edgar Guillermo Castillo Barillas' worldview, "is rooted in new ways of thinking and in political theorist such as Arendt's (1961) nature of power and man's need to learn to 'how' to think about traditions of freedom, education, authority, culture, history and politics." Other theoretical influences include Huntington and Fukuyama (1996) who argued that "the differences between societies are not political distinctions but the degree of governments in society and that deficient states lack consensus, community, legitimacy, organizations and effectiveness" (p. 2). According to Senior Castillo Barillas, factors like these are the fundamentals of building organizations that are part of the community. For example, Taleb's (2007) theory focuses on the occurrence of highly improbable events and how society reacts to them, while de Bono's (1967) lateral thinking is on breaking habitual patterns of linear thought. Thinking in terms of dimensions of civil society and social movements, Senior Edgar Castillo Barillas discussed the need for civil society and third sector NGOs to change direction as de Bono suggested with regard to looking at trade, the economic sectors, technology innovations, political institutions, and the state in different ways versus the old in breaking barriers of structural oppression. These frameworks inspired his "out of the box" perspective about indigenous NGOs in a global society. And the challenges faced by civil society and social movements in Latin America had a profound impact and helped shape the core values and focus of IMI.

The name for IMI was adopted from Einstein's idea that "imagination is more important than knowledge because imagination embraces the entire world." A former career diplomat and NGO director in Honduras confirmed during an interview that the theoretical underpinning about revisiting Central America's engagement in the third sector, guiding economic principles and the core values of Senior Castillo Barillas' idea of self-sustainability, is essential for nongovernmental organization's ability to deliver services to the Guatemalan Diaspora Community (GDC). This thinking provides innovative frameworks for addressing sociopolitical issues in Guatemala and the rest of the Third World. Similarly, Mr. Pantis, Director of an NGO in Honduras, indicated that "Honduras and Guatemala have identical problems in human rights and women's rights; therefore, we are sharing ideas where we can continue to build alliances between the two organizations in reinvesting in Central America in tackling migration and immigration issues." Since its creation in 2007, IMI's guiding principle has been "service to others," rooted in a philosophy that economic sustainable is necessary for destabilizing structural constraints that create poverty.

The inspiration of IMI's model is an entrepreneurial social responsibility concept, which, according to Senior Guillermo Edgar Castillo Barillas, became an important concern in creating a deep consciousness among alliances that would build a better world through continuous investments in educational institutions and opportunities

for economic investments in local businesses to change the minds and lives of young people in Guatemala and Central America. Economic structure along with technology systems brings communication and collaborative networks in as many spaces as possible, "making the invisible visible." Some of the ideas and approaches promoted by IMI are justice, rule of law, and education as a way not to migrate and to generate opportunities in the third sector for the betterment of the GDC.

18.2.2 IL Mondo Immaginare's Shifting Paradigm

IMI's global shift began with the President of IMI, Eduardo Alvarez Castillo, Jr., due to financial irregularities in the financial sector of Guatemala and a series of events which changed the direction of the organization to a global focus, thereby building a collaborative relationship with NGOs in Guatemala, Honduras, and the USA between 2012 and 2015 and volunteering and working with different institutions from the international sector, private sector, government sector, and law enforcement in Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and the USA. According to Eduardo Alvarez Castillo, "Traveling through the northern triangle of Central America teaching women and entrepreneurs how to open markets and develop communities and to be self-sustaining, help IMI to generate a new focus and direction on a global scale." In addition, document reviews showed that IMI travel to Mexico lending the organization's knowledge of immigration and expertise on Tijuana and conducting trainings and workshops on domestic violence with women's organizations helps propelled this GNGO to international status, which included addressing issues about lack of justice, human trafficking for sexual exploitation, and organized crime in the rural areas of Latin America with other NGOs concerned about the same issues.

In assessing the relationship between IMI's global and migration policy for the Guatemalan Diaspora Community (GDC) and the sociopolitical relationships of IMI's connections and collaborations with other GNGOs along with other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from a holistic perspective, empirical evidence emerged that demonstrated how a local NGO gained a more global focus across borders. Over a 2-year period, the assessment of IMI's alliance presented a deeper understanding of its practices in Guatemala, Honduras, and the USA (Connecticut, New York, Florida, Kentucky, Maryland, Rhode Island and Virginia,). A single-case approach was applied in this assessment and a thorough investigation of a sociopolitical phenomenon that steadily suggests that INGOs are becoming the lifelines for the Guatemalan communities on a global scale.

This ethnographic qualitative approach documented and described a network of TINGOs through a comprehensive case study that investigated the sociopolitical relationships between IMI and NGOs by interpreting the functions, nature, and strength of these alliances to further understand how IMI's connections and collaborations translate into migration policy changes affecting the GDC (see Appendix 1: Survey of GNGOs). Semistructured interviews conducted by directors of GNGOs and representatives from government, technological, and media agencies having

Table 1 IMI and GNGOs areas of concern and decentralized alliance network. (Source: Author)

Sustainable Local Community Development preventing migration through an economic sustainability development Agenda among the GNGOs.	E-Government - Treasure and Transparency linked to the environment, energy and transportation and housing.	
Entrepreneurs & Small Business Franchises to the Empower Women & Households.	Migrant/Deportee Prevention of Crisis with Sustainable Recovery for the Region	Technology and Communications - Reach GDC through Social Media networks

connections to IMI were used. Questionnaires were also used with the same participants as part of a larger assessment process to comprehend and quantify the alliance networks' sociopolitical involvement with IMI, as the two most important sources of data (see Appendix 1: Survey of Guatemalan NGOs). In addition, the review of UN policies around human rights of indigenous populations and the growing importance of NGO's role within the global community along with documentation and records of services provided a better picture of the Guatemalan Diaspora Community and the GNGOs that provide services to communities across national and international borders (see Table 1).

Table 1 shows how IMI's multi-stranded method of building social capital among NGOs and the areas of concern among a decentralized alliance network helped IMI transformed into a global entity. Senior Guillermo Barillas Castillo referenced that "it is an operation goal of IMI," but Eduardo Alvarez Castillo, Jr., asserted that "the organization has assumed a more resourceful and active role in linking with other NGOs in the third sector across borders." Building on the organizations' shift, he continued, "I kept knocking on doors," and in 2015 began working with President Jimmy Morales' presidential campaign traveling to states in the USA, where IMI had established alliances with NGOs and the Guatemalan community to have a meaningful impact on policy initiatives. This was an opportunity to address migrant and immigration issues directly with a presidential candidate who presented himself and his future administration as the only option against organized crime, corruption, and impunity. Unfortunately, the lack of commitment to migrant and returning nationals' concerns by the state while remaining faithful to IMI's convictions of "learning to service" did not produce any meaningful policy initiatives from the state.

18.2.3 Transnational Alliances with NGOs and Other Institutions

Another area that helped shaped IMI's shift toward a more active global role has been its association with NGOs in Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and the USA. In building new frontiers of opportunities, IMI combined a variety of

factors: development centers, migrant cooperation, hometown associations, entrepreneurs, philanthropy, church, and volunteers. To accomplish this task, IMI envisions that 20% would come from "faith, perseverance, vision, trust, and loyalty among alliances but that 80% of the solutions would come from prosperity, change, understanding and community philanthropy from outside the network." The synergy to infinity indicated Mr. Eduardo Alvarez Castillo, Jr., is "that all members are important and it is the mission of third sector NGOs to help people." Results show that NGOs' areas of concern overlap and that organizations are amalgamating expertise, knowledge, and skills in building transnational third sector solutions for migrants, deportees, and returning nationals. One central theme that emerged was sustainable solutions for migrants in the Central America region and solutions that would stop migration by creating opportunities domestically. As such, Table 1 further summarizes IMI's new frontiers of opportunity within a decentralized network of NGOs in two or more geographical units of services to the GDC with 22% of GNGOs in Guatemala, 17% US based, and 39% in Guatemala and the USA. There are some NGOs within the first frame of networks that are in close alliance with IMI, but this structural design also contains NGOs in subnetworks and micronetworks each cumulating into one unit (see Appendix 1: Survey of GNGOs).

18.3 GNGOs Across Local, National, and International Borders

Surveys and interviews of 22 GNGOs show that the structure and background of IMI's network alliance are composed of GNGOs operating in Guatemala, Honduras, and the USA. GNGOs have male and female directors attempting to change and influence policy in Central America, particularly the Northern Triangle around migration and deportation issues. Epistemological basis of this research is divided into four distinct parts. Part I establishes the GNGO's background, where they operate, the populations they serve, and the services provided. Part II reflects past collaboration among IMI network alliances. Part III shows collaboration among IMI and GNGOs. Lastly, Part IV illustrates the effectiveness of IMI and GNGOs impact on policy changes in the Northern Triangle. When directors were asked: Are you currently collaborating with IMI? Their responses are mirrored in Chart 1, 78% of GNGOs are currently collaborating with IMI, and 22% indicated that they are not in current collaboration with the organization. This shows that most of those surveyed are presently collaborating with IMI on projects or in some capacity whether in Guatemala, Honduras, or the USA.

Likewise, when respondents were asked how satisfied they were in collaborating with IMI, 57% of GNGOs indicated that they are very satisfied, 36% are somewhat satisfied, and the remaining 7% are neutral. Chart 2 demonstrates the level of commitment and cooperation GNGOs have expressed in partnering with IMI and that GNGOs are receptive to new ideas and sharing resources and that the partnership among GNGOs are overall committed to improving conditions within the GDC community. Similarly, interviews with respondents stated GNGOs were able to gain a broader understanding of the issues affecting the GDC. Overall, the GNGOs

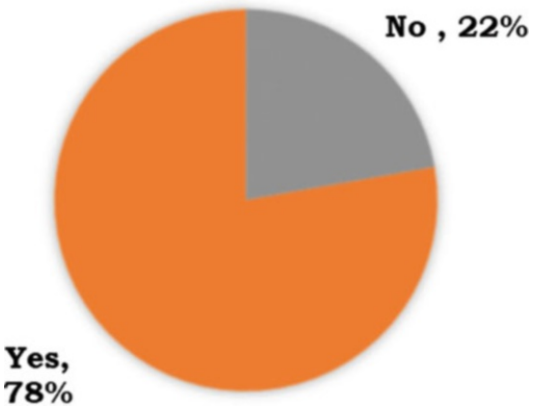

Chart 1 GNGOs currently collaborating with IMI. (Source: Author)

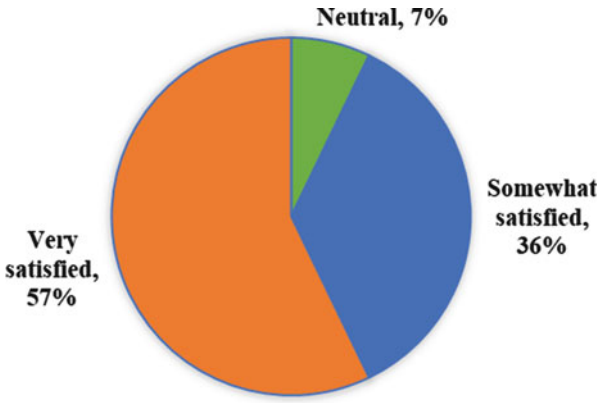

Chart 2 GNGOs overall satisfaction collaborating with IMI. (Source: Author)

gained a better understanding of the needs affecting the GDC through the decision-making process of the network alliance.

The study also discloses that 32% of GNGOs operate in Guatemala and the USA presently; 23% operate in Guatemala only and another 23% in the USA only; an additional 23%, although not all GNGOs, operate as other types of NGOs across borders. Nine percent operate in Honduras and Guatemala only and 5% operate in Honduras, Guatemala, and the USA (see Appendix 1: Survey of GNGOs). Additionally, the involvement of GNGOs with various services provided to the GDC shows that 50% offer basic social services such as food, shelter, and healthcare, 41% provide immigration services such as citizenship assistance and other issues surrounding migration, 36% provide education services, another 36% address miscellaneous community need, and 9% provide housing in the USA and Guatemala.

Furthermore, the general view among GNGOs shows that 71% (Chart 3) would be somewhat likely to recommend this type of arrangement to other non-governmental organizations, while 29% indicated they would be very likely to

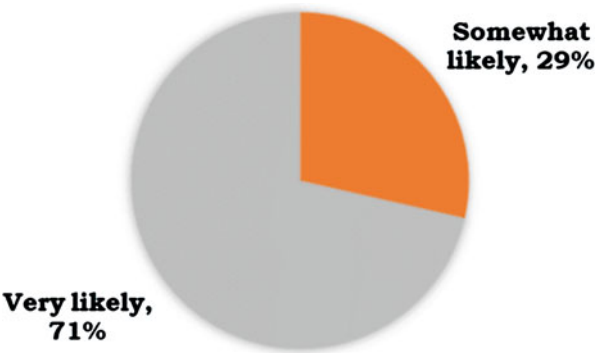

Chart 3 Recommendation of these types of arrangements. (Source: Author)

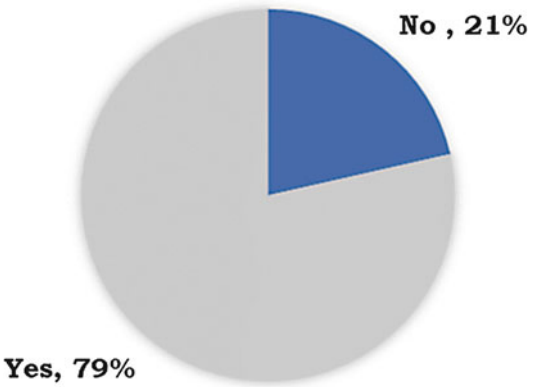

Chart 4 Improvement services of these types of collaborations. (Source: Author)

recommend connecting and collaborating with other organizations. To add, the data results also show other important aspects of GNGO's past collaboration with IMI: (a) 39% have been working with IMI for a period of 1 to 3 years; 28% collaborated for a period of 4 to 7 years, 22% for a period of 8 to 10 years, and 11% for at least 10 years or more. (b) Respondents expressed why they have collaborated with IMI, and 72% said they partnered with IMI to handle common illegal infractions (deportation, migrant, and other immigration issues), 33% in employment verification, another 33% on other related immigration issues, and 11% on detention matters with an additional 11% on worksite enforcement issues in the USA (see Appendix 1: Survey of GNGOs).

Similarly, Chart 4 shows that 79% of GNGOs would like to improve the services of these types of connection and collaborations with IMI, nongovernmental organizations, and other institutions; 21% of GNGOs expressed no interest in improving the services or collaborations with other NGOs; 50% are more likely to have collaborated with IMI on a weekly basis rather than once year and 39% on a monthly basis, and the remaining 11% indicated that they have collaborated once a year.

18.4 Integrating Technology and Communications Network

Fernando and Heston (1997) contend, "that contemporary NGOs occupy a place between a readily changing political economy at both the national and the international level" (p. 9). As such, the GNGOs alliance network makes them a new kind of NGO, playing significant "bottom-up" sociopolitical roles between states and the global community. Through various connections and collaborations with IMI, GNGOs have not only experienced stability but have also strengthened their communications globally by integrating technology and participating in the communication network.

This is exemplified in Fig. 1, with 86% of GNGOs providing services and sharing resources with the GDC; 32% served the private sector, and another 32% provided for the public sector; 18% serviced international clients, while another 18% helps agency cliental from GNGOs. This demonstrates that GNGOs are reaching a diverse group, and this was evidenced with the adjustment made to the questionnaire showing the expansion of services provided in multiple places, and the types of services provided the GDC often overlapped.

Integrating technology and communications is further illustrated in Fig. 2 documenting GNGOs ability to provide services to locations with very little resources and only the availability of social media and a strong community in the USA. There are 36% of GNGOs operating in Guatemala and 32% in the USA; 18% provide services in both locations, with another 9% in Guatemala and Honduras, and the remaining 5% provide services in Honduras. This confirms that GNGOs are not only knowledgeable about what service are needed but also where they are needed (see Appendix 1: Survey of GNGOs).

It is not surprising in Fig. 3 when respondents were asked what other types of services they would be interested in collaborating on the majority, 68% responded with educational services; 55% want micro-business opportunities; 45% felt they needed skills and training and 43% employment, and 32% want more focus on immigration issues, while 18% did not show a preference. Furthermore, when GNGOs were asked what are some of the advantages when combining forces with

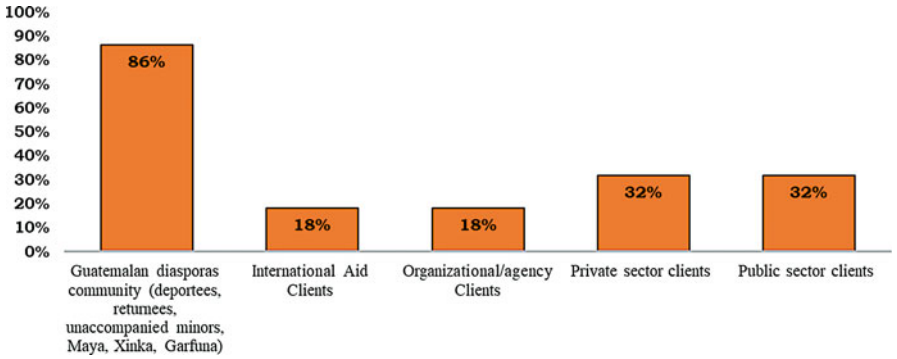

Fig. 1 Types of populations served by GNGOs. (Source: Author)

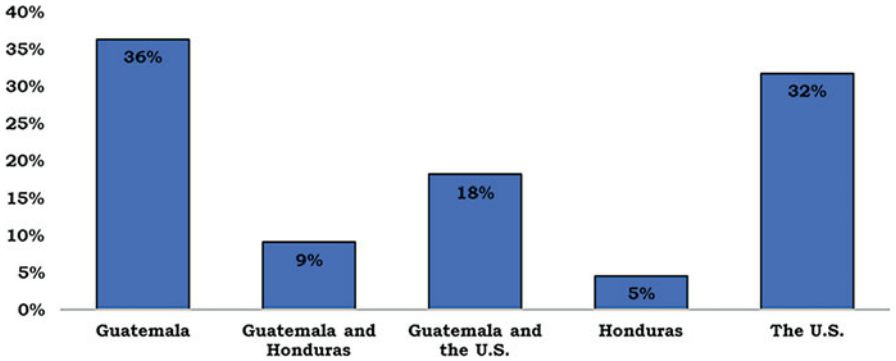

Fig. 2 Locations of GNGOs. (Source: Author)

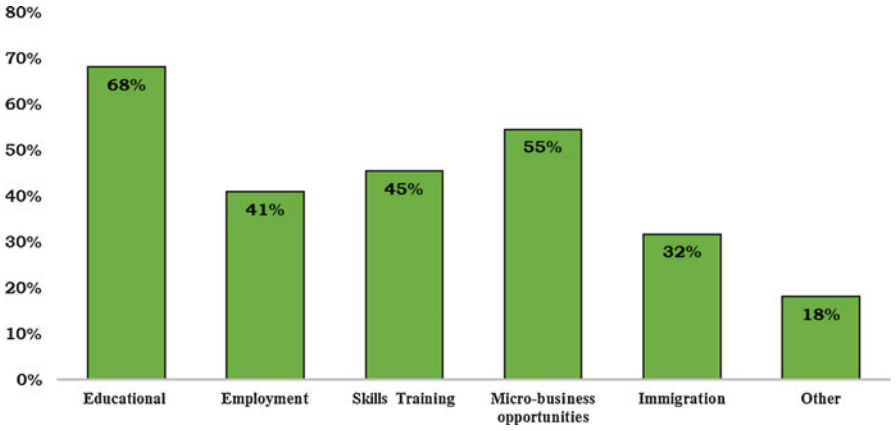

Fig. 3 Other types of collaborations GNGOs want. (Source: Author)

IMI and other alliance network members, 79% responded that it is a good idea for unifying policy initiatives under one umbrella; 36% believes it strengthens effective and efficient program delivery; another 36% feel it improves communication between NGOs and agency, and an additional 36% expressed enhancement of professional development (see Appendix 1: Survey of GNGOs).

It is clear that this structure has contributed to the following: (1) With limited resources, IMI and GNGOs have carved out other vehicles to reach a greater portion of the GDG through the linkage of organizations that operate in multigeopolitical areas in Central America and the USA. (2) Majority of GNGOs feel positive about connections, collaborations, and exchanges with IMI and are eager to extend involvement with other NGOs in Central America and the USA. (3) Extended

periods of integration across borders have allowed GNGOs to link and extend service delivery in multi-areas, in three geopolitical locations (Guatemala, Guatemala/Honduras, and Guatemala/USA). Moreover, 55% are providing immigration services and 41% immigration and constitutional services; 27% of affiliations are connected only on entrepreneurship for the GDC, with another 18% focused on constitutional rights and 14% on foreign and central affairs (see Appendix 1: Survey of GNGOs). GNGOs' structured and overall purpose leads to the realization that these organizations exist with the certainty that they can make a difference in ending migration through socioeconomic development and at the same time address human rights in Guatemala and neighboring Central American countries.

18.5 Impact for Sustainable Development Policy

IMI and GNGOs have adopted and integrated existing frameworks and models of socioeconomic development for sustainability and economic growth in Guatemala and Central America within a predetermined set of goals, strategies, and a philosophy grounded in third sector community development theory. Central to this theory are connection, collaboration, technology, and communication between IMI and GNGOs, which transpired on two different levels. On one level, IMI's efforts in working with GNGOs, NGOs, and institutions became evident by the implementation of a transnational strategy integrating local-national GDC policy agenda migration globally. On the other level, partnering with USNGO, the Children's Aid Guatemala (CAG), a medical healthcare facility, put IMI in contact with different groups domestically and with foreign personnel. According to Judy Freeman-Schwank, "four things are impacting Guatemala: child starvation, droughts, hydroelectric (mining is polluting the water of indigenous populations) and foreign companies' lack of social responsibility in giveback to the country." With the lack of corporation's social reasonability in Central America, GNGOs often respond with volunteer help within the community when displaced populations need for services increased. It is within these categories that IMI and Children Aid of Guatemala (CAG) began working to deliver services to remote areas of Guatemala and the transnational relationship developed between the two organizations and others. Significantly, the adoptability and implementation of GNGOs into an integrative best practice framework with a global strategy with little resources on projects with a cross-border emphasis (Table 2).

Using an integrative framework with other international NGOs allows IMI to continue working on building connections and forging collaborations with emerging opportunities for broader global involvement and building association or affiliation with organizations/institutions (religious, academic, and government) that GNGOs have expressed interests (see Table 2). These actions further demonstrate and support the discoveries in this study by displaying a shifting view of

Table 2 IMI integrative best practice model. (Source: Author)

GNGO	Integration of services across borders	Emerging opportunities
IMI	Macro model of immigration and deportation into socioeconomic development model: Migration – Health – Education training – Small business development	Growing numbers of migrants and deportees flooding Guatemala and central America. GNGOs integrate ideas and goals
US-based PPLC	Children's aid Guatemala a nonprofit NGO linked with IMI to deliver healthcare to remote area in Guatemala • Created three different NGOs from 1985 providing 3000 women and children from 14 countries medical care • Women's health and domestic violence	Defends immigration from the northern triangle • Infrastructure exist to establish and link services with other institutions and NGOs on immigration • Create programs the community needs in ESL, immigration, education, and employment training • Facility can also serve as a site for graduate internship on migration, community development for students in urban or Latin American studies programs
Northern-triangle NGO	Work with private/public/religious sectors to deliver services to GDC residents, migrants, deportees, and African refugees	Build upon existing structures to pursue further inquiry into regional phenomenon. Support and develop further studies of migration

indigenous nongovernmental organizations that warrants further exploration and investment. For example, the geographical scope of this network reaches across seven states within the USA and connects with other NGOs in Guatemala and Honduras. And as such, civil society and social movements' scholars are encouraging additional theoretical understandings of this social phenomenon in the global community.

Some scholars agreed that research on indigenous NGOs should expand to include empirical data on what impact these organizations make. Fisher (1997) is correct when he explains that "changes in studies illuminate understandings of trans local flows of ideas, knowledge, funding and people; shed light on changing relationships among citizenry, associations and the state" (p. 439). This perspective was reinforced by Senior Guillermo Castillo in explaining that "IMI's three-dimensional diagram of commercial division, social organizations and a thinking model of organizations were used to create IMI. It was designed to show people that they have shortages and constraints." In addition, Ana Judith Ramirez Garcia of the Dioceses Fronterizas in Esquipulas explains a three-dimensional diagram as "integration structures with solutions and resources that are urgently needed to assist the GDC, but also to help with an increasing flow of other displaced populations of Africans who travel from Brazil – into Venezuela – to Guatemala,

Mexico and on the U.S. in recent years." Moreover, 79% of GNGOs wants to improve services with IMI, other NGOs, and institutions in the USA. Some directors voiced a need for the USA to understand the problems of immigration and to support programs with local indigenous NGOs. Furthermore, 78% of GNGOs are presently in partnership with IMI, while document reviews and interviews confirmed that although GNGOs are not assisted by government or corporations, they managed to adapt to existing political structures. In addition, the data shows that GNGOs provide services to 31.8% of the public sector clients and 36% have little resources and a staff of volunteers.

A majority of GNGOs are positive about the impact on policy changes with 71% of them believe that connection and collaboration with IMI have been effective in policy changes on immigration and deportation. Forty-three percent said that changes also happened in education, health, and welfare issues; 21% saw changes in family and child custody issues; 14% said changes occurred in criminal issues, while an additional 14% responded that GNGOs are ineffective in producing policy changes. Furthermore, the impact and sustainability from GNGOs validate the following: IMI has been overall effective in influencing policy changes for the GDC while others believe it to be somewhat effective; the level of commitment and cooperation of the GNGOs shows that 79% are more receptive to new ideas and sharing resources; 43% voiced that the partnership among GNGOs is, overall, committed to improving conditions within the GDC community; similarly, 43% indicated GNGOs were able to gain a broader understanding of the issues affecting the Guatemalan community; and the remaining 43% gained a better understanding of the needs affecting the GDC in the USA specifically through the decision-making process of the network alliance.

18.6 Conclusion

In sum, assessment of IMI and 22 GNGOs provided a better understanding of how and what makes indigenous nongovernmental organizations transnational. Empirical analysis of these types of organizations shows three significant things: First, IMI and GNGOs share and are guided by a set of beliefs grounded in third sector socioeconomic development as the vehicle for change in Guatemala, the USA, and the global GDC. Second, there is verifiable evidence of their connection and collaboration on issues such as immigration services, housing and healthcare issues, and deportation. Lastly, these types of organizations have overlapping ideas and pooled resources to achieve common interests across geographical locations which resulted in changing policy for the GDC.

Appendix 1: Survey of Guatemalan Nongovernmental Organizations (GNGOs)

Gender	Guatemala		Guatemala And Honduras		Guatemala and Honduras The U.S.		Honduras		The U.S.		Comparative	
Female	3	37%	1	50%	1	25%	0	0%	2	29	7	32%
Male	5	63%	1	50%	3	75%	1	100%	5	71%	15	68%
Total	**8**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**7**	**100%**	**22**	**100%**
What is your title?												
CEO, President	1	13%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	29%	3	14%
Director, Manager	4	50%	2	100%	2	50%	0	0%	3	42%	11	50%
Executive Director	0	0%	0	0%	1	25%	1	100%	0	0%	2	9%
Some Other	3	37%	0	0%	1	25%	0	0%	2	29%	6	27%
Total	**8**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**7**	**100%**	**22**	**100%**
How long has your organization existed?												
13 years or more	2	25%	1	50%	3	75%	1	100%	4	57%	11	50%
2-4 years	2	25%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	14%	3	14%
5-8 years	2	25%	0	0%	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	3	14%
6 months – 1 year	1	12.5%	1	50%	0	0%	0	0%	2	29%	4	18%
9-12 years	1	12.5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%
Total	**8**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**7**	**100%**	**22**	**100%**
Does your NGO receive assistance or aid from government/agency or international NGO?												
No	6	75%	2	100%	4	100%	1	100%	7	100%	20	91%
Yes	2	25%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	9%
Total	**8**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**7**	**100%**	**22**	**100%**

GNGOs Services to Guatemalan Diaspora Community (GDC)	Guatemala		Guatemala & Honduras		Guatemala & The U.S.		Honduras		The U.S.		Comparative	
Less than 25	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	4	57%	4	18%
25-50 GDC clients	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	14%	1	5%
50-100 GDC clients	2	25%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	14%	3	14%
101-200 GDC clients	1	12.5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	5%
201-500 GDC clients	1	12.5%	1	50%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	9%
500 or more	3	38%	1	50%	2	50%	1	100%	1	14%	8	36%
Other	1	12.5%	0	0%	2	50%	0	0%	0	0%	3	14%
Total	**8**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**7**	**100%**	**22**	**100%**
Length of Time GNGOs Worked with IMI												
1-3 years	2	33%	1	50%	1	33%	0	0%	3	50%	7	39%
4-7 years	2	33%	0	0%	1	33%	0	0%	2	33%	5	28%
8-10 years	1	17%	1	50%	1	33%	1	100%	0	0%	4	22%
10 or more years	1	17%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	17%	2	11%
Total	**6**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**3**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**6**	**100%**	**18**	**100%**
Where GNGOs Collaborate With IMI												
Guatemala	3	50%	1	50%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	4	22%
Guatemala & Honduras	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1	6%
Guatemala & U.S.	3	50%	0	0%	2	67%	0	0%	2	33%	7	39%
Guatemala, Honduras & U.S.	0	0%	1	50%	0	0%	0	0%	2	33%	3	17%
U.S. Alone	0	0%	0	0%	1	33%	0	0%	2	33%	3	17%
Total	**6**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**3**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**6**	**100%**	**18**	**100%**

Frequency of GNGOs Collaboration with IMI	Guatemala		Guatemala & Honduras		Guatemala & The U.S.		Honduras		The U.S.		Comparative	
Weekly	2	33%	1	50%	2	67%	0	0%	4	66%	9	50%
Monthly	3	50%	1	50%	1	33%	1	100%	1	17%	7	39%
Once a Year	1	17%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	17%	2	11%
Total	**6**	**100%**		**2 100%**	**3**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**6**	**100%**	**18**	**100%**
GNGOs Current Collaboration with IMI												
No	2	33%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	33%	4	22%
Yes	4	67%	2	100%	3	100%	1	100%	4	67%	14	78%
Total	**6**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**3**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**6**	**100%**	**18**	**100%**
Length GNGOs Participation with IMI												
1 week-3 months	1	25%	1	50%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	14%
6 months -1 year	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	25%	1	7%
1 year	0	0%	1	50%	0	0%	0	%	0	0%	1	7%
1 - 2 years	0	0%	0	0%	2	67%	0	0%	2	50%	4	29%
3 years or more	3	75%	0	0%	1	33%	1	100%	1	25%	6	43%
Total	**4**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**3**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**	**14**	**100%**
Frequency GNGOs Meet/ Communicate with IMI												
Every week	1	25%	1	50%	2	67%	0	0%	2	50%	6	43%
Every month	1	25%	1	50%	1	33%	1	100%	2	50%	6	43%
Every 2-3 months	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	7%
Once/Twice a year	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	7%
Total	**4**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**3**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**	**14**	**100%**

GNGOs Overall Satisfaction with IMI	Guatemala		Guatemala & Honduras		Guatemala & The U.S.		Honduras		The U.S.		Comparative	
Neutral	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	7%
Somewhat	3	75%	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	5	36%
Very	0	0%	0	0%	3	100%	1	100%	4	100%	8	57%
Total	**4**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**3**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**	**14**	**100%**
GNGOs Effectiveness of Changes												
Little difference	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1	8%
Somewhat Effective	1	50%	2	100%	1	33%	0	0%	2	50%	6	50%
Very effective	1	50%	0	0%	2	67%	0	0%	2	50%	5	42%
Total	**2**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**3**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**4**	**33%**	**12**	**100%**
GNGOs Recommendation of these types of Collaboration												
Somewhat Likely	2	50%	1	50%	1	33%	0	0%	0	0%	4	29%
Very Likely	2	50%	1	50%	2	67%	1	100%	4	100%	10	71%
	4	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**3**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**	**14**	**100%**
Suggestions for Improving these types of Collaborations												
No	0	0%	1	50%	1	33%	0	0%	1	25%	3	21%
Yes	4	100%	1	50%	2	67%	1	100%	3	75%	11	79%
Total	**4**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**3**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**	**14**	**100%**

Assistance of Policy Initiatives for the GDC	Guatemala		Guatemala & Honduras		Guatemala & The U.S.		Honduras		The U.S.		Comparative	
Don't Know/Not Sure	1	12%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%
No	5	63%	1	50%	2	50%	1	100%	5	71%	14	64%
Yes	2	25%	1	50%	2	50%	0	0%	2	29%	7	32%
Total	**8**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**7**	**100%**	**22**	**100%**
GNGO Interested in Partnering with other NGOs												
Don't Know/Not Sure	0	0%	1	50%	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	2	9%
No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	29%	2	9%
Yes	8	100%	1	50%	3	75%	1	100%	5	71%	18	82%
Total	**8**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**7**	**100%**	**22**	**100%**
GNGOs Seeks Collaboration Align with U.S. Engagement in Guatemala												
Need More Information	2	25%	1	50%	0	0%	0	0%	1	14%	4	18%
Yes	6	75%	1	50%	4	100%	1	100%	6	86%	18	82%
Total	**8**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**7**	**100%**	**22**	**100%**
GNGOs seeks Future Collaborations												
Need More Information	0	0%	1	50%	0	0%	0	0%	1	14%	2	9%
Yes	8	100%	1	50%	4	100%	1	100%	6	86%	20	91%
Total	**8**	**100%**	**2**	**100%**	**4**	**100%**	**1**	**100%**	**7**	**100%**	**22**	**100%**

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Women's Empowerment in Digital Media: A Communication Paradigm

19

Xiao Han

Contents

19.1 Introduction 380
19.2 Power as a Theoretical Basis: Uncovering the Communicative Character of Women's Empowerment 381
19.3 Rethinking Women's Empowerment as a Communicative Process and the Role of Digital Communication 384
19.3.1 Developing Women's Consciousness Through Communicative Action of Voice 384
19.3.2 Constructing a Public Identity: Emergence of Social Empowerment 385
19.3.3 New Dynamics of "Power with" for the Organization of Women's Collective Action 386
19.4 Digital Communication and the Emergence of a Political Process of Women's Empowerment? 388
19.4.1 Providing Organizational Information for Identity Projection 388
19.4.2 Disseminating Information to Raise Awareness of Gender Issues 389
19.4.3 Creating a Sense of the Collective Through the Internet 390
19.4.4 A New Space for Political Campaigns Within an Authoritarian Context? 391
19.4.5 Developing Interorganizational Relations 391
19.5 Conclusion 391
References 392

Abstract

The study of women's empowerment, inspired by various women's movements from the late 1960s onward, encompasses a wide range of concepts, approaches, and practices in different disciplines. Moreover, while the Internet has experienced dramatic technological development since the late 1980s, fierce debates about the empowering potential of the Internet for women's liberation have also

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raged. In particular, feminist theorists have grasped this opportunity to enquire whether women can become empowered by the Internet. However, the existing feminist research lacks systematic theoretical frameworks that would help us investigate what roles digital media play in the process of women's empowerment. This chapter aims to address this gap by drawing on the literature from digital media studies to investigate the communicative affordances of online platforms for the development of women's empowerment. To approach this problem, there is a need to place communication at the center of the issue in order to conceptualize the open-ended process of women's empowerment. This chapter starts by acknowledging that women's empowerment is a multifaceted concept and drawing upon the feminist interpretation of power – the core concept of empowerment – to anchor the proposed argument. In regard to digital media, the existing literature well documents that women have had a great opportunity to capture various forms of horizontal, participatory communication to exercise power in their living circumstances. This sets the scene for creating possible theoretical links between digital media and women's empowerment. The role of Chinese women's groups in the process of women's empowerment will be presented in this chapter to demonstrate the explanatory value of the framework.

Keywords

China's Communist Party (CCP) · Communicative action of voice · Empowerment · Feminist · Social networking sites (SNSs) · Women's empowerment

19.1 Introduction

The study of women's empowerment, inspired by various women's movements from the late 1960s onward, encompasses a wide range of concepts, approaches, and practices in different disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, development, and feminism. However, since the 1990s, the term "empowerment" has been transformed from a political concept into a *buzzword*, as major international development agencies, from a top-down perspective, have institutionalized it as mainstream policy or agenda while neglecting its original meaning and conceptual value (Batliwala 2007).

Indeed, within the academic field, many scholars insist that we need to treat women's empowerment as a concept and explore its theoretical underpinnings (Batliwala 2007; Kabeer 2010). In particular, "women's empowerment" has become a pressing issue in contemporary feminist scholarship, at least since the second wave of women's movements. This body of literature, not least from the strand of feminist political theory, has developed various approaches to uncover the theoretical underpinnings of women's empowerment by focusing on process rather than finished product (Allen 1998; Carr 2003; Collins 2000; Young 1990, 1994; Yuval-Davis 1994). Furthermore, some feminist political theorists have cast light on the constitutive role of *communication* in the process of empowerment of women where

"dialogue" (Mansbridge 1993; Young 1994; Yuval-Davis 1994), "solidarity" (Allen 1998; Yuval-Davis 1994), "recognition" (Fraser 2000), or "participation" (Fraser 2009; Phillips 1992) is considered paramount. A stepping stone in this line of enquiry is a group of theorists from the feminist development communication who advance the view that *empowerment is fundamentally a communicative process* (Papa et al. 2000).

As the discussion about women's empowerment intensifies, the Internet is simultaneously emerging, developing, and expanding around the world. Of particular note is an intense questioning of whether the new communication infrastructures afforded by the Internet may offer empowering potential for women's liberation. One of the most recent strands is that, following the studies of the relationship between social media and protest in the current context, many feminist writers have marked out communicative characteristics of the Internet to renew feminist politics (Baer 2016; Fotopoulou 2016). An emerging strand in this field devotes attention to participation and investigates how women participate in digital spaces and how they challenge power structures through online participatory practices (e.g., Hasinoff 2014; Portwood-Stacer 2014). Within such discourses, participation does not simply involve online activities such as logging, clicking, writing, commenting, or networking – which is not necessarily empowering. Rather, it involves women's unique participatory practices – in terms of "a bodily reaction to flows of information" and "a positioning of subjectivity in an experiential relationship" (Levina 2014, p. 279) – which has a necessary relationship with empowerment.

However, there seems to be no analytical framework that would help us link the communicative characteristics of the Internet with the understandings of women's empowerment as a communicative process. To approach this problem, there is a need to place communication at the center of the issue in order to conceptualize the open-ended process of women's empowerment. This chapter starts by acknowledging that women's empowerment is a multifaceted concept and drawing upon the feminist interpretation of power – the core concept of empowerment – to anchor the proposed argument. In regard to digital media, the existing literature well documents that women have had a great opportunity to capture various forms of horizontal, participatory communication to exercise power in their living circumstances. This sets the scene for creating possible theoretical links between digital media and women's empowerment. The role of Chinese women's groups in the process of women's empowerment will be presented in this chapter to demonstrate the explanatory value of the framework.

19.2 Power as a Theoretical Basis: Uncovering the Communicative Character of Women's Empowerment

As the root concept, it is no surprise that the existing theoretical discussions of women's em*power*ment have attached great importance to the notion of *power*. As Collins (2000) suggests, "how does one develop a politics of empowerment without understanding how power is organised and operates?" (p. 292). In this sense, the

feminist critique of power offers a useful starting point for developing a thorough understanding of women's empowerment.

Amy Allen's (1998) synthesized triple models of power represent a valuable addition to this strand as they provide a multidimensional view of power that helps to illuminate the dynamic process of women's empowerment. The power models outlined by Amy Allen are analytically integrative, but each model entails a different focus.

The first model, "*power over*," offers a useful entry point in recognizing "what women's empowerment is fundamentally about." From the feminist perspective, Allen's (1998, p. 38) "power over" goes as follows:

> Not only is male power over women exercised by men who do not deliberately intend to do so, [but it also] is exercised by men who deliberately do so. This is because, whatever their intentions are, they still act within a set of cultural, institutional, and structural relations of power that work to women's disadvantage.

Underlying this interpretation of "power over" is the recognition of the existence of patriarchy and the subsequent urge to end men's domination over women as the starting point for women's empowerment. In other words, it is the exercise of "power over" that motivates women to initiate their empowerment process. This is because social systems are, overall, structured around relatively stable patterns in which rules, norms, beliefs, and practices are defined by the dominant group of men, which leads to patriarchy being a very significant order of the social reality (Fraser 2009). In such a male-dominated world, not only are women excluded from political participation but their experiences, values, and interests are also neglected (Mansbridge 1993; Phillips 1992).

However, this "power over" model only provides a one-dimensional view of women's empowerment, as it primarily carries masculine connotations of domination and control (Allen 2005). In fact, many feminists, albeit from different theoretical stances, have noticed this problem and argued for an alternative conception of power to complement "power over," i.e., the second power model of "power to." Compared with "power over," "power to" focuses on the positive elements of power, instead of seeing power as a negative force in association with repression, prohibition, or coercion. In this respect, power refers to a capacity that drives women as individual actors to achieve their goals and ends but not necessarily at the expense of others (Allen 1998, 2005). Thus, women's empowerment is closely linked to the realization of women's potential to take actions to attain a series of ends and goals in their lives.

Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that "power to" needs to be considered as a response to "power over." In other words, "power to" is not located within a vacuum, wherein women only place their personal experiences at the center of an appeal for freedom, but instead is conceived as resistance to "power over." Women's resistance, therefore, lies in their ability to "attain an end or series of ends that serve to subvert domination" (Allen 1998, p. 35). In this formulation, "power to" and "power over" models are in a dialectical relationship. That said, women can be described as being "both dominated and empowered at the same time and in the context of the same norm, institution, or practice" (Allen 1998, p. 31).

Women's empowerment is also more than just an individual or personal matter, as collective power is much greater than isolated efforts of individual women, even if they have benefited from "power to" to bring about changes to their subordination (Collins 2000; Phillips 1992; Young 1990, 1994; Yuval-Davis 1994). In this respect, feminist researchers have adopted a new approach – the third model of "power with" – to shed light on the collective aspect of power. As such, "power with" suggests a necessity for the formation of a collectivity in the empowerment process. In this way, "power with" can be understood as "the ability of a collectivity to act together for the shared common purpose of overturning a system of domination" (Allen 1998, p. 36). Within this perspective, women's empowerment needs to be organized around common goals to tackle the social problems associated with gender-related inequalities.

Again, similar to "power to," "power with" is also motivated by resistance to "power over." A typical example in this sense is the women's movement that challenges men's position of dominance by bringing women into the decision-making process (Young 1990; Yuval-Davis 1994). As Allen (1998) notes, to challenge systematic relations of domination and oppression, "some sort of collective action or struggle seems necessary" (p. 164). Moreover, it should be noted that the essence of "power with" involves people participating in decision-making based on the "working together" model rather than in a top-down manner to achieve social change. For feminists, this is "a form of coalition politics" (Yuval-Davis 1994), which involves women's negotiation, joint effort, collaborations, and mutual support to pursue their common goals.

The feminist conceptions of power introduced above serve as a particularly useful starting point in setting the scene for a clear theorization of empowerment, as mentioned already – power is the root concept of em*power*ment. Power, based on Amy Allen's synthesis of key feminist ideas that underpin the concept of power, is thereby understood as a dynamic process that involves the development of women's capacities to exercise "power to" and "power with" to make significant changes to the ways in which men exert "power over" women. These three power relations are not isolated from each other; rather, they need to be seen as the coproduct of questioning of and reaction against patriarchal structure by women.

In fact, the aforementioned power models have indicated the communicative character of women's empowerment that entails a process of change. That said, in the process of challenging gender-related structural constraints, it is through communication that female actors recognize their subordinate status, raise consciousness, express their standpoint, make decisions, participate in actions, build solidarity, and organize collective action. Thus, underlying the process of women's empowerment is, indeed, a communicative process whereby individual and collective actors produce generative senses of "power to" and "power with" to change gender inequalities where men exert "power over" women.

Furthermore, the extensive use of digital media for contemporary feminist politics has brought communication into a central place, leading to communication as an important entry point to explore the relationship between women's empowerment and the Internet. A prevailing tendency in this regard is to suite communication capacities of the Internet to the communicative practices that underline the process of women's empowerment.

19.3 Rethinking Women's Empowerment as a Communicative Process and the Role of Digital Communication

In this section, three specific aspects will explain how the communicative action shapes the empowerment process: development of women's consciousness, construction of a public identity, and organization of collective action, as well as the role of digital communication in these processes.

19.3.1 Developing Women's Consciousness Through Communicative Action of Voice

The above discussion on women's empowerment as a process seems to underline the importance of *consciousness-raising* as the point of departure. A possible explanation in this regard might relate to the fact that the concept of empowerment has roots in Paulo Freire's theory of "conscientization" in the field of popular education. In regard to women, conscientization suggests that "women can connect their experiences of oppression with those of other women and thereby see the political dimensions of their personal problems" (Carr 2003, p. 15).

Following this logic, *communicative action of voice* would play an important role in the process of "conscientization" for female actors. Through the lens of women's empowerment, voice refers to "the different ways in which women might seek, individually or collectively, to bring about desired forms of change in their lives and relationships" (Kabeer 2010, p. 107). Women's capacity for voice is thus closely related to the communication processes through which women can narrate their personal stories and express their concerns.

In this respect, the Internet is claimed to offer a combination of communicative elements (e.g., profiles, posts, comments, bookmarks, and hyperlinks) that allow people to become storytellers in their own right. This activity has been recently referred to as *digital storytelling* (see Lundby 2008). In light of this, we can see that digital storytelling provides a means to distribute more widely the capacity to reflect on both one's thoughts and oneself (Couldry 2008). This also suggests that the self can be realized through the process of digital storytelling.

One key aspect of digital storytelling associated with women is the portrayal of their intimate stories in real life. The emergence of hashtag feminism in relation to Twitter actions of #PussyRiot, #YesAllWomen, and #Slutwalk (see Baer 2016; Fotopoulou 2016) can be put forward here as one of the most recognizable examples to illustrate how digital media have helped women become a social, and potentially political, agent through the posting of their intimate and sexual stories. At this moment, following the observation of Brickell (2012), it is "a matter of empowered becoming" (p. 30).

This also leads to the Internet's potential for *self-expression*. In this sense, self-expression involves the process through which women have their views heard and achieve personal change. As Papacharissi (2010) notes, "self-expression values are connected to the desire to control one's empowerment, a strong desire for autonomy,

and the need to question authority" (p. 134). These values are aligned with, as Stavrositu and Shyam Sundar (2012) argue, "ultimately a deep sense of empowerment" (p. 370). A growing body of evidence has also suggested that the expressive affordances of digital media can be adopted by women as a mediated activity aimed at raising awareness, demonstrating personal beliefs and values, and challenging feminine stereotypes (Antunovic and Hardin 2013; Sinanan et al. 2014).

The notion of voice further links well with the concept of *dialogue*. By drawing on various perspectives from communication studies, Ganesh and Zoller (2012) identify that dialogue can be viewed as "a special form of mutual relationship building and collaboration" (p. 70). This is also alluded to in studies of development communication, suggesting that dialogue is "the route to self-reflection, self-knowledge, and liberation from disempowering beliefs" and "the route to mutual learning, acceptance of diversity, trust, and understanding" (Papa et al. 2000, p. 94). Moreover, if we examine dialogue from feminist perspectives, this form of communication would eschew "persuasion, which is associated with patriarchal attempts at domination and control" (Ganesh and Stohl 2013, p. 70). A similar point is used by Yuval-Davis (1994) to place dialogue as central in the building process for women's empowerment. For Yuval-Davis, women, especially those who are powerless, would engage in dialogue with each other to interpret and understand their subordination status and to see the possibility of creating successful alliances to bring about social change.

Underlying this process is a necessity of a more participatory, dialogical, non-directive, and horizontal communication space in which all "powerless" women in a group could have a conversation with each other to promote a collective sense of consciousness-raising. In this vein, the Internet is claimed to offer the potential for participants to seek to engage in a constructive dialogue, which in turn facilitates the building of mutual relationships, allies, and collaborations. This is particularly evident in the use of "comments." In her research on the ways in which commentary occurs between Swedish female top bloggers and readers, Lövheim (2013) finds that the Internet helps women to build self-centered social relations that serve as a possible generator of a sense of empowerment.

19.3.2 Constructing a Public Identity: Emergence of Social Empowerment

The foregoing analysis draws our attention to the communication processes with which women become aware of their subordinated position and thus form a collective consciousness, which deepens their sense of empowerment. In this respect, it is important to note that these processes occur in the context of social relations. Thus, the processes of women's empowerment also involve the construction of public identities through which both individual and group actors can produce a desired impact on others (see Buckingham 2008; Jenkins 2008). This is very relevant to the ways in which women produce their subjective self through social practices within a cultural framework. It is worth noting here that while cultural norms modify women's

social interactions, they do not determine them. Instead, individual women do not merely draw from but transcend gendered roles and norms to manage the self-impressions given to other participants in the interaction, which contributes to the development of a creative and reflexive identity (Elliott 2014).

In regard to online space, the open architecture of the Internet is claimed to provide powerful new communication platforms for the projection of personal self-disclosure. For women, the Internet would be seen alternatively as a manipulated resource that allows them to think in new ways about their identities. There is some early work investigating the ways in which women can use the text-based online environment as a playground to experiment with different gender identities regardless of the existence of their physical bodies (e.g., Danet 1998; Nakamura 1999; Turkle 1995). Current work has, in contrast, focused on the embodiment of women's everyday experience as an online performance of their gender or sexuality (e.g., van Doorn et al. 2007, 2008). More recent studies in this field present a commonly adopted approach to the ways in which women can perform their gendered and sexualized identities in online contexts, either constrained or empowered by the rules of online platforms and the opportunities they offer, and in offline contexts (Dobson 2013; Paechter 2013).

In other words, within online environments, people, especially those who are marginalized, have come to realize the importance of online self-presentation, as they have a great opportunity to become visible to others. For these people, "the performance of identity and practicing code-switching are a matter of survival and a way of life" (Mann 2014, p. 293). We can advance these important points by noting that the Internet constitutes a new source of power for women to exert control over their identities, which comes close to realizing the Internet's communication capacity for women's empowerment.

Furthermore, many scholars have noted the capacity of digital media for the promotion of the self and the management of personal reputation and their potential for public presence and popularity (e.g., van Dijck 2013). This point has also been supported by some empirical evidence in relation to women, whereby self-promotion is a crucial aspect for female actors to meet their social needs and interact with the outer world (e.g., Carah and Dobson 2016; Marwick 2015). In turn, these experiences of integration into public space and the satisfaction of social needs pertain to women's feelings of competence, confidence, and assertiveness, which subsequently translate into a sense of empowerment.

19.3.3 New Dynamics of "Power with" for the Organization of Women's Collective Action

The possible mechanisms underlying the relationship between the Internet and women's empowerment discussed so far outline an analytical framework that helps us understand the "power to" sense of empowerment through digital communication. That said, the communicative affordances of the Internet confer a high degree of autonomy to women who now can engage in an array of activities to express their

concerns and perform identities. To be fair, this individual facet can only present a partial picture of women's empowerment, as becoming empowered requires more than an enhancement in a sense of agency. This subsection goes beyond women's experiences of personal empowerment and speaks to the political-collective possibilities brought about by the communicative potential of the Internet for the goal of collective empowerment. Writings on the role of digital communication in collective action can be helpful here, as they can turn our attention to the communicative mechanisms that underlie the development of "working together" – an important means by which to profoundly impact the system of male domination.

It has been widely documented that collective action in the new communication environment is characterized by diversity, decentralization, fluidity, and open communication (Fenton 2016; Papacharissi 2015; Tufte 2017). This synergy also heralds a new world of feminist movements and activism – a salient aspect of "power with," as the Internet makes it easier for women, and young women in particular, to be actively engaged in micro-politics and less formal activities concerning lifestyle issues (Baer 2016; Fotopoulou 2016). All these cases suggest that the emergence of digital media has opened up a discursive avenue for women through which to arrive at common understandings of their problems, which in turn might help forge alliances, coalitions, and networks based on the common causes resulting from dialogue and knowledge exchange occurring in online spaces.

In digital environments, perhaps the most striking aspect of the change has been the emergence of heterogeneous forms of organizations that facilitate women's collaborative work, bonding, and coalition. At the outset, the Internet helps women's organizations share knowledge in relation to feminism and gender with individuals, which fundamentally reflects their capability to manage problem perceptions and their ways to advance a political agenda for women (see Foot and Schneider 2006). In this respect, women's organizations would play a critical role in constructing issues, leading to powerful sources of identity for a movement's own constituency (see Ganesh and Stohl 2013).

Subsequently, organizations become important actors to persuade potential participants to join in, make an effort, remain, and manage and coordinate their contributions and resources (Bimber et al. 2012). In this way, women's organizations can use the Internet to facilitate the process of interaction with individuals, to consolidate the sense of being in a collective. This is because, to challenge a male-dominated structure, not only do women's organizations have standpoints but involved participants have their own perspectives as well. Thus, one process vital to an organization is the learning gained from its members' perceptions, opinions, and viewpoints for joint agenda setting, so that both organizations and individuals have a clearer idea about what they are going to achieve (Papa et al. 2000). As such, through the use of the Internet, women's organizations can actively engage in the production and maintenance of values, causes, and cultural trends in association with gender issues to guide their participants as one overall unity.

In addition, the Internet allows participants to take part in virtual, ephemeral actions, such as online petitions, memes, or practices of political satire (Earl et al. 2014). These online tactics, according to Earl et al. (2014), are particularly suitable

for authoritarian contexts, as they are "harder for authorities to control and less costly for protesters than street protests" (p. 2). Following this logic, the Internet enables women's organizations to mobilize participants into flash mobs to express their concerns, which is also an efficient way to escape the control of government censorship.

Finally, the connective affordances of the Internet allow women's groups to form interorganizational coalitions and alliances to pursue their political and social aims (Fotopoulou 2016). In this process, organizational actors can form two types of networks: "a hyperlink network" and "a frame network" (Ackland and O'Neil 2011). In the former, women's groups can simply use hyperlinks to connect with each other without exchange of ideas, resources, and information. In this sense, hyperlinks are just a public strategy to signal who is fighting the same cause. In contrast, in the latter, it is the "mutual use of a particular frame component" (Ackland and O'Neil 2011, p. 180) that links organizations into a network.

19.4 Digital Communication and the Emergence of a Political Process of Women's Empowerment?

Then, how can we demonstrate the explanatory value of the proposed framework to study the relationship between digital media and women's empowerment? In doing so, women's groups in the context of China will be used as examples to illustrate how they use the Internet to persuade participants to join in, negotiate with them, construct common issues, and collaborate with allies to exercise collective power.

The women's groups were chosen for their common goal to promote gender equality or change the status quo of women in Chinese society but also for their differences in causes, organizational resources, and campaign tactics. In addition, they were selected in light of four organizational types based on their relationship with the government and the organizational structure: "government agencies," "civic associations," "university-based centers," and "online communities." These organizational types serve as a way to shape female group actors' political purposes and priorities in relation to a breadth of Chinese women's issues, including gender equality, domestic violence, sexual abuse and harassment, law reforms, women's development, homosexual rights, poverty of rural women, and equal pay.

19.4.1 Providing Organizational Information for Identity Projection

From the outset, women's groups showed their desire to catch up with technological development for fear of being left out, as they were already in a periphery position in the Chinese society. In their eyes, showing their online presence seemed to be the "only choice" to draw public attention. Through the use of online platforms, these studied organizational actors had opportunities to present information about themselves and emphasize their identities. However, given the different organizational types involved, the underlying purposes in this regard were varied. Represented as

the mouthpiece for China's Communist Party (CCP), the "government agencies" predominantly used the Internet as a new marketing tool in public relations exercise. The aim of their online content was to present their work accomplishments, "singing the praises of the government." Hence, it is no surprise that engaging or exchanging ideas with the audience was not the prioritized focus of their use of the Internet.

This ran in sharp contrast to "civic associations": although this type of actor also relied heavily on the Internet to present information about the group to the general public, their underlying intention was to "make their voices heard." However, because of government control, they did not have sufficient money to develop their online platforms into a resourceful space. At times, several groups needed to censor their online content, as their organizational goals were to promote law reforms – a key target of online surveillance in China. Worse still, "civic associations" had to compete with big commercial sites to be heard, which was also the case for "online communities." Thus, even though "civic associations" and "online communities" showed their willingness to draw public support, a lack of resources and marginalized position constrained them.

19.4.2 Disseminating Information to Raise Awareness of Gender Issues

At the same time, for women's groups, online platforms were used to shape audiences' perceptions of gender ideas, beliefs, and values and served as an important means of generating women's awareness about their subordinate or even oppressed status. Women's groups frequently updated the postings in retweeted news, commentaries, and articles to enhance the visibility of various women's issues to their visitors. Among these issues, the most important was to educate the public about Chinese gender equality, which had been established as a basic state policy since 1995.

However, different types of organizational actors approached this issue from different perspectives. For "government agencies," the focus was mainly on policy aspects to introduce the government's efforts to protect women's rights and interests, such as having the same retirement age for men and women, women's health, and women's participation in decision-making. However, again, this can be interpreted as an alternative strategy to present the CCP's achievement in the promotion of gender equality in China.

In the case of "civic associations," more light was shed on specific issues and on addressing different groups of Chinese women. These included fighting domestic violence, rural women's rights, sexual harassment in the workplace, equal pay, women's development, and stereotyped gender representations in the media. A possible reason for this may be that all these issues have been closely related to women's lives and circumstances since the economic reform era in the late 1980s and are written into the national legislative framework. Thus, although "civic associations" published information on a wide range of women's issues on their online platforms, they still followed structural rules to help women gain greater control over

their own lives. In other words, the views, ideas, and beliefs they spread through the Internet were within the governmental framework but did not challenge or change the existing structure.

In terms of "university-based centers" and "online communities," they paid more attention to reshaping the discourse on gender. For instance, the group actors "university-based centers" used their online platforms as a public lecture space to spread proper knowledge on feminism. Apart from feminist rights, "online communities" also mobilized participants to debate issues of gay rights and sexual rights but only attracted a small group of followers.

19.4.3 Creating a Sense of the Collective Through the Internet

Furthermore, women's groups also used online platforms to facilitate communication with individual supporters, but there was an absence of a collective sense created between them. On the surface, the Internet allowed for greater ease of affiliation between women's groups and individuals. While all groups welcomed individuals to directly email them, a limited number provided the general public with access to register as "official members." This might be the result of the way in which interested people registered. To become part of the "inner ring" of certain groups, people needed to offer detailed personal information, which in turn put their privacy at risk. In this sense, the majority of women's groups provided much easier access to encourage people to join them, such as becoming email subscribers or followers of their social media accounts.

In addition to using online platforms as a way for like-minded people to form an aggregate, many of my studied women's groups also realized the potential of the Internet to construct interaction with people to reinforce a sense of the collective. However, the results show that these groups were reluctant to develop interactive features on their social networking sites (SNSs), even though they knew that they ought to do so. The main reason for this was the *public character* of these sites, in which readers' comments were visible to all, including the Internet police. The situation was worsened if some commentators posted messages against the government – which would put the group at risk of being blocked, as the group's SNS coordinators could not control what they could say. This contextual factor hindered many groups from fully developing the interactive features on their SNS. Furthermore, a lack of resources was another reason for the groups' reluctance to increase the degree of online interactivity. In addition, although social media could facilitate communication with audiences in a more efficient manner, some groups expressed their concerns over the tension between speed and organizational credibility.

However, this does not mean that the Internet did not play a role in developing strong ties between women's groups and their supporters. Instead, the empirical evidence shows that a few groups turned to more private communication platforms (e.g., QQ discussion group) to maintain participants' engagement through which mutual interactions emerged between them, something that was, at times, accompanied by face-to-face communication.

19.4.4 A New Space for Political Campaigns Within an Authoritarian Context?

In regard to campaigning, it is clear that women's groups, aside from "government agencies," included limited conservative online actions on their online platforms to mobilize individuals to take part in their activities. Among the few conservative features, "plans of offline activities" was the most relevant, particularly for "civic associations." The reason this is called "conservative" is more evident in this respect, as the activities presented online were mostly lectures, seminars, photography/drawing contexts, community services, or training activities – none were related to "protests."

Thus, in the online public space, it was impossible for women's groups to show "protests" or "radical" elements. However, it is worth keeping in mind that all of the information about activities published online were about plans but not actions – these instead occurred in the offline realm. From this perspective, no one could promise that the content of offline actions would not be related to "radical" elements, even if the activities or events organized by women's groups were in conservative form. However, online censorship did not diminish the need for women's groups to organize ephemeral campaigns (e.g., e-petitions) to express their concerns. Sometimes, some "civic associations" used their online platforms as broadcasting platforms to disseminate information about their offline lobbying activities, aiming to present their efforts to change the structural constraints on women's status.

19.4.5 Developing Interorganizational Relations

Finally, although the Internet relaxed the constraints of geographical distance to facilitate connection building among organizations who fight for a common cause, the women's groups I studied were not obsessed with using their online platforms as a base for alliance-building. Instead, most of them heavily relied on face-to-face contact to build, maintain, or reinforce interorganizational relations. Still, it is worth noting here that the data revealed that hyperlinks did indeed provide new opportunities for women's groups to connect with each other and to form an information-sharing circle among themselves, an activity that could form a virtual interorganizational relationship. Nonetheless, the fact remains that such collectivity, regardless of "the virtual" or "the real," was placed at the periphery of Chinese society. Hence, it was still a long process for them to claim a legitimate political voice and bring about social change.

19.5 Conclusion

Women's groups, albeit with different positions and prioritized goals, are under no illusion that the Internet harbors the source of success for women's empowerment. For one thing, the Internet has not been used as an effective means to interact with

prospective individual participants or to help develop the sense of a collective. The fact remains women's groups have predominantly treated their online platforms as a cost-efficient tool to enhance group recognition. In contrast, instead of the Internet, women's groups have primarily relied on face-to-face communication to form interorganizational alliances. Thus, in the present study, the potential for the Internet to form "coalition politics" (Yuval-Davis 1994) to bring about changes in existing structures of power is rather limited.

Therefore, the Internet is claimed to provide potential, opportunity, and new practices for women, but it falls short of determining the emergence of women's empowerment. We also should keep in mind that the research on the digital media and women's empowerment is connected indelibly to the context. For example, in China, the promise of empowerment is mainly undermined by state control. Contextual factors prevent women's groups from fully realizing the possibilities of the Internet for increasing their organizational visibility, promoting public awareness about gender issues, building a sense of the collective, campaigning, and networking. In this respect, it is also important to note that exploring the relationship between women's empowerment and digital media has generated a complex picture, rich in detail but difficult to capture entirely.

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Development Communication and the Development Trap

20

Cees J. Hamelink

Contents

20.1 Development Communication and Development 396
20.2 Development as Delivery 398
20.3 Development Trap 400
20.4 From Envelopment to Development 402
20.5 Development Communication Agencies as Convivial Institutions 404
References 405

Abstract

The basic argument of this chapter is that development communication as "part of overall development" (UNGA 1962) can only contribute to "positive social change" if the field manages to escape from the "development trap." A constitutive element of this powerful trap is the colonial conception of development as external intervention in a process of linear transfer. This process contributes more to "envelopment" than to genuine development as mobilization of inherent potentialities. For a productive way, forward development communication needs to be based upon the grounds of evolution theory and postcolonial cosmopolitanism. This requires rethinking development as an evolutionary adaptive process, reconceptualizing communication as a complex adaptive system, and challenging agencies operating in the field of development communication to transform into convivial institutions.

The colonizers came to wither the flowers. To nourish their own flower, they harmed and sucked the flower of others. Chilam Balam, Maya prophet, 1500

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Keywords

Convivial institutions · Darwinian evolutionary theory · Digital solidarity fund · Envelopment · MDGs · Sustainable Development Goals

20.1 Development Communication and Development

Development communication is the container descriptor of projects, strategies, and policies that use human communication – in a multitude of formats – to achieve positive social change. (In most definitions of development communication, there is a strong link with the overall field of international development. In most definitions of development communication, one finds a strong link with overall international development. According to the World Bank, development communication is the "integration of strategic communication in development projects" based on a clear understanding of indigenous realities. And UNICEF views it as ". . .a two-way process for sharing ideas and knowledge using a range of communication tools and approaches that empower individuals and communities to take actions to improve their lives." In UNDP documents, the term "development support communication" was used to refer to the role of communication in promoting UN agricultural and development programs.) Nora C. Quebral – sometimes referred to as the mother of development communication – defined the field as "the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country and the mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater social equality and the larger fulfillment of the human potential" (2001). The field of development communication finds its origin in the concern of UN member states to "develop media of information in underdeveloped countries" (United Nations General Assembly, -UNGA- 1957]. In 1962 the UNGA stated that "development of communication media was part of overall development." From here, an impressive array of communication projects came to be executed, funded, and evaluated by a growing community of international states and nongovernmental institutions. Development communication projects have focused on such issues as mass poverty, malnourishment, women's empowerment, educational capacity building, agricultural extension, mortality of women and their babies, and illiteracy. Its agenda coincides pretty much with the global MDGs (The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were established following the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in 2000 and the adoption of the United Nations Millennium Declaration. All 191 United Nations member states at that time, and at least 22 international organizations, committed themselves to help achieve the following goals. For the post-2015 period, the UN member states adopted in September 2015 "Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The Agenda 2030 establishes 17 Sustainable Development Goals to be achieved over the coming 15 years." According to former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon "The seventeen Sustainable Development Goals are our shared vision of humanity and a social contract between the world's leaders and the people. They are

a to-do list for people and planet, and a blueprint for success." Early 2016 the SDGs went into effect.):

1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.
2. Achieve universal primary education.
3. Promote gender equality and the empowerment of women.
4. Reduce child and maternal mortality.
5. Improve maternal healthcare.
6. Combat HIV and AIDS, malaria, and other major diseases.
7. Ensure environmental sustainability.
8. Develop global partnership for development NOTE ON MDG.

The MDGs represent positive social change, and the field of development communication is by and large fueled by the need to contribute to positive social change.

The irony of the field is that development communication refers – in the colonial perception of the world – to social change to be achieved in the global South. There are few if any communication projects that are initiated by consultants from the South to achieve social change in countries of the global North. And yet there are numerous countries like the member states of the EU or the USA that would benefit from positive social change to deal with such burning issues as rising inequality, drug abuse, organized crime, racism, populism, refugee policies, banking crises, dwindling space for civil action, or urban violence. In all these issues, failing communication (fake news, commercial censorship, political propaganda, or the lack of social dialogue) plays a crucial role. However, if one surveys the field, then judging by numbers of projects and volumes of financial resources development communication was and remains Northern business and very much part of international aid programs that have been described as "the circus that never leaves town."

The targets of the MDGs, for example, practically all focus on changes in the global South and ignore that the problems of the South may only be solved in case the global North implements radical changes in its trade policies, military projects, and environmental politics and faces the reality of the colonial mind which is still prevailing in North-South relations. The key aspects of colonial rule continue to shape global power relations. Most colonizers never really gave up, and many of the colonized became accomplices in continued external domination. More often than not the Western image of how humanity should live continues to be the standard. Needed is – according to Dutta – a "postcolonial approach to communicative processes" that examines the colonial discourses that circulate and reify the material inequities across the globe (2011, 5).

The global contemporary development effort is best represented by the MDGs that were mentioned above. However, these laudable were not achieved – as hoped by 2015 – and were relabeled Sustainable Development Goals for All. There are evidently – as always – exceptions where on a small scale through the application of local knowledge by local communities, remarkable changes have been realized. What has been called the "world's largest promise" is for its realization obviously

dependent upon communication in the broad sense of information provision, conscientization, stimulation, and conversation. To achieve the positive social change that the MDGs and the new SDGs strive toward communication is a crucial tool (In the context of the MDGs or SDGs, communication is rarely mentioned except for the references to advanced information and communication technologies. The emphasis on the need to use the ICTs is remarkable in the light of the absence of concrete evidence that these technologies have substantially contributed to the changes their protagonists promised.), but with the exception of community radio projects (Good illustrations are found in Jallov 2012.) across the globe, the dominant media continue to function as conduits for cultural invasion and globalization as neoliberal market integration.

20.2 Development as Delivery

In the debates on the global digital divide (during the United Nations World Summit On The Information Society (2003 and 2005)), it was not critically questioned whether rich-poor divides can at all be resolved within the framework of the prevailing development paradigm. In this paradigm development is conceived of as a state of affairs which exists in society A and, unfortunately, not in society B. Therefore, through some project of intervention in society B, resources have to be transferred from A to B. Development is thus a relationship between interventionists and subjects of intervention. The interventionists transfer such resources as information, ICT, and knowledge as inputs that will lead to development as output. In this approach, development is "the delivery of resources" (Kaplan 1999, 5–7). This delivery process is geared toward the integration of its recipients into a global marketplace. There is no space for a different conceptualization of development as a process of empowerment that intends "to enable people to participate in the governance of their own lives" (Kaplan 1999, 19). In the WSIS discourse there was a strong tendency to consider the global digital disparity as a problem in its own right. This divide was not primarily seen as a dimension of the overall global "development divide." Since this bigger problem was not seriously addressed, a romantic fallacy prevailed which suggested that resolving information and communication problems, and bridging knowledge gaps or addressing inequalities in access to technologies, can contribute to the solution of the world's most urgent and explosive socioeconomic inequities. This "ghettoization" of communication ignores the insight that the solution of the "global development divide" has little to do with information, communication, or information and communication technology. This divide is a matter of political will which is lacking in a majority of nation-states. Instead of the strong political commitment that is needed, the WSIS discourse focused on the possibility of a global "Digital Solidarity Fund." This is an almost scandalous proposition in view of the fact that since the 1970s all the efforts to develop and sustain such funds for communication development, telecom infrastructures, or technological self-reliance have failed because of the lack of political will. The WTO ministerial meeting in Cancún (September 2003) demonstrated once again that not all stakeholders are equally intent on solving rich-poor divides. As Walden Bello commented, "Not even the most optimistic developing country

came to Cancún expecting some concessions from the big rich countries in the interest of development" (Bello 2003, 16). Fortunately, the poor countries understood that the rich countries (particularly the USA and the EU countries) intended to impose yet another set of demands on them that would be very detrimental to their societies and their people. In this sense the Cancún meeting was a great success. That same sense of alertness did not inspire the poor country representatives at the December 2003 WSIS.

A difficult problem is that if indeed greater global equality in access to information could be achieved, this would not guarantee an improvement in the quality of people's lives. "Even when these disparities are recognised and new organisational models such as telecentres are proposed, the policy emphasis is frequently biased towards improving access to networks rather than towards content creation and the social processes whereby digital content can be converted into socially or economically useful knowledge" (Mansell and Wehn 1998, 8). Including people in the provision of basic public services does not create egalitarian societies. The existing social inequality means that people benefit from these services in highly inegalitarian ways. Actually, the growing literacy in many societies did not bring about more egalitarian social relationships. It certainly did have some empowering effect, but did not significantly alter power relations. Catching up with those who have the distinct social advantage is not a realistic option. They too use the new developments, such as ICTs, and at a minimum the gap remains and might even increase. It is a common experience with most technologies that the powerful players know best how to appropriate and control new technological developments and use them to their advantage. In the process they tend to further increase their advantage. The conventional approach to development may correct social disadvantages through the equal treatment of unequal but does not structurally change relations of power. Providing equal opportunities to unequal parties often functions in the interest of the more powerful.

The conventional discourse has no strong interest in the cosmopolitan ideals of communal responsibility and collective welfare. A cosmopolitan discourse accepts reciprocal obligations among the members of society. The essential issue of cosmopolitanism is the conversation with the other. The question however is on whose terms is this global conversation conducted. Often the engagement with the other – despite assurances of participation, deliberation, and empowerment, managed by a dominant, missionary culture – thus remains a colonial adventure. Establishing a complex adaptive framework for development communication in the twenty-first century requires a postcolonial [institutional] mindset that accepts reciprocal obligations in development and communication. It needs a global community that realizes that the destinies of the powerful and the powerless are intertwined.

In his final report on the MDGs, the UN Secretary-General (in 2010) did not address the question of the adequacy and effectiveness of the conceptual framework within which the goals are embedded. The report stated that the goals are achievable and that the shortcomings in progress can be fully explained by a lack of political will, insufficient funds, a lack of focus and sense of responsibility, and insufficient interest in sustainable development. However, this is only part of the explanation. More than anything else, the "development trap" stood in the way of achieving positive social change.

20.3 Development Trap

The development goals as formulated by the international community are laudable moral aspirations that are possibly achievable, and communication (in different formats from information provision to social dialogue) is undoubtedly a crucial factor in realizing them. However, the "world's largest promise" cannot become reality as long as overall development (of which development communication is part) is captured by a colonial conceptualization of development as an interventionist, linear process. Too many development communication projects were and are based on the colonial mental model that assumes that one can develop others and that social change can be achieved through external intervention. However, development is always from within. It is an inherent process and "In that sense, you cannot grow potatoes. Potatoes grow themselves" (Sankatsing argues, 2016, 34). Genuine development is a process of natural evolution that has been largely obstructed by development projects and policies. As Sankatsing proposes, "Development is the mobilization of inherent potentialities in iterative response to challenges posed by nature, habitat and history to realize a sustainable project with an internal locus of command" (2016, 35). Against this what has been called development by international agencies and development scholars is better described as "envelopment." As Sankatsing defines it "Envelopment is the paternalistic, disempowering control of an entity by an external locus of command at the expense of its internal life process and ongoing evolution" (2016, 38). Contrary to a process of unfolding inherent human potentialities development as envelopment became a "unidirectional process of transformation by incorporating the other into an alien destiny" (2016, 38). Envelopment is disruptive "since it prevents a community from responding in a natural way to contextual conditions and environmental challenges" (2016, 39). Many development communication projects – as part of overall development projects – fell in the trap where development was really envelopment and where positive social change in the evolutionary sense was seriously obstructed. It is tempting to counter this reasoning by pointing to successful "empowerment through communication" projects, but also here the focus is usually more on the empowerment of the other and not on the self-empowerment of the other. Empowerment projects often take place in asymmetrical relations and hamper "a process in which people liberate themselves from all those forces that prevent them from controlling decisions affecting their lives" (Hamelink 1994, 142).

As part of overall development, development communication can only escape the development trap if the field is reconceptualized as an evolutionary, complex adaptive process and implicitly accepts nonlinearity in thinking about communication. This means that development communication should be based on the solid scientific basis of evolutionary thinking. The most general observation in Darwinian biology is that species (and their behaviors) evolve over time through successful adaptation to their environment. The key to biological evolution is the finding of solutions to adaptive problems.

It seems sensible to argue that a similar process occurs in forms of nonbiological evolution, such as cultural and psychological evolution. In these forms, human

beings find nongenetic solutions to adaptive problems. One such adaptation is human communication: an evolutionary response to problems in our environment. Communication is essentially linked to human evolution: evolutionary theory. The origins of human communication can only be meaningfully approached from evolutionary theory. Although "evolutionary communication is a powerful theoretical perspective that applies to all forms of biological and social interaction" (Lull and Neiva 2012, 16) and evolutionary theory "is one of the most powerful scientific explanations ever put forward" (ibid., 16), there is no impact on communication theory. The social sciences have marginalized biology and particularly Darwinian evolutionary theory from its efforts to understand the world. Therefore, Lull and Neiva argue "for a major infusion of Darwinian thinking into communication theory. . ." (ibid., 16).

Communication is a crucial instrument in both our biological and cultural evolution, and yet the social sciences and the humanities have been unable to provide a solid understanding of how culture evolves. The thinking has been too much focused on the individual and not on the group. Cultural evolution and with it the evolution of human communication would be best studied at the level of the group since human life is characterized by living in large groups (nations, corporations, tribes). The focus of much research has been the individual, whereas human communicative behavior can be best understood if studied as behavior in social groups (see Richerson and Boyd 2006 on "population thinking"). The basic Darwinian algorithm for successful adaptation is based upon variation, selection, and replication. In the domain of human communication this can be applied as follows. Communicative behavior evolves through variation. A great variety of modalities of communication evolve because of the need to adapt to different and changing environments. This evolution is both nonintentional and intentional and limited by both genotypical and historical factors. Much of it proceeds (as in the evolution of knowledge in science) by trial and error. In the evolutionary process, the best adaptive solutions are kept. Communication forms that optimally serve human survival and reproduction be retained. Those forms of attention and memory that are designed to notice, store, and retrieve information inputs and that are useful to solving adaptive problems will further evolve. Inadequate communicative solutions will disappear. The most adequate adaptations will be transmitted to future generations.

The field of development communication equals the complexity of a tropical rainforest in which everything is related to everything else (interdependence), where small events may have big and unpredictable effects (nonlinearity) and where one cannot make reliable forecasts as flows of ideas and opinion may unexpectedly and rapidly change (uncertainty). A complex system is a collection (universe) of interacting agents that compete for a scarcity of essential resources (like space in traffic or oxygen + glucose in cancer cells). Characteristic of such systems is a mixture of order and disorder. Without a central controller, the emerging disorder (the traffic jam) may resolve as if nothing had happened and without external interference. The traffic jam appears for no reason and then disappears again (Johnson 2010, 19). Development communication is both orderly and chaotic. The

conduct of its agents is dynamic. To understand this complexity, the prevailing scientific preference for determinism, reductionism, and quantification is not helpful to understand nonlinear processes in which unpredictable and surprising phenomena emerge without a central controller (Hamelink 2015, 46).

From the study of evolutionary biology, we learn that human communication was always driven by the instinct to cooperate. The species homo understood early on that their communities would benefit from cooperative communication. Communication made the kind of coordination that hunting required possible and facilitated the organization of complex societies. There is a good deal of evidence to safely suggest that the origin of human communication lies in the instinct to cooperate. Through cooperative communication, humans designed adequate adaptive systems that secured their survival and reproductive capacity. Human communication is a key player in the biological and cultural evolution of humanity (Tomasello 2008). Human cooperative communication emerged as a collaborative activity that was needed for an effective adaptation to rapidly changing environments. Understanding development and by implication development communication as a complex adaptive system helps to see how these processes have to be – almost chaotically diverse, innovative and the dynamic so they can cater for the constant changes in human communicative behavior and the nonlinear and probabilistic nature of human communication.

20.4 From Envelopment to Development

Leading the road toward development as the liberation of inherent potentialities is an evolutionary understanding of development as adaptation to external realities. If the field could be reconceptualized, this would also imply a redefinition of the agencies (statal and nongovernmental) that design and implement strategies for the application of communication tools to development.

As development communication is practically always an organizational effort, it is important to address the quality of institutional formats that prevail in these organizations.

Large protocol-driven bureaucracies (such as UN agencies and the larger INGOs) are well equipped for envelopment but not equally well for development. As Ramalingam argues that what is most needed is the creative and innovative transformation of how aid works. Foreign aid today is dominated by linear, mechanistic ideas that emerged from early twentieth-century industry and is ill-suited to the world we face today. The problems and systems aid agencies deal with on a daily basis have more in common with ecosystems than machines: they are interconnected, diverse, and dynamic; they cannot be just simply re-engineered or fixed. A crucial element in institutional transformation will have to be the way in which policies, strategies, and projects will be evaluated in terms of their contribution to positive social change. Today, the key agencies have not developed reliable instruments for assessing effects of communicative interventions. The tendency to quantification and thus simplification makes it impossible to seriously monitor

complex processes such as development communication. The agencies and their result-based management strategies and evaluation instruments focused on the measurement of quantity, and ". . .despite technically sophisticated efforts to develop tools, techniques and frameworks, the majority of accountability solutions and practices retain an upward focus to donors" (Ramalingam 2015, 120).

Institutions evolved as adaptive responses to the need to cooperate (in order to make communal living possible), to the need for collective action (for survival purposes; in hunting big game and distributing it; defense against predators or con-specific bullies), and to the need of social behavior. Pro-social behavior stands for cooperation, altruism, generosity, trust, and trustworthiness. Antisocial behavior stands for competition, selfishness, distrust, and unreliability. Although institutions such as the law may be intended to prevent antisocial behavior, they may end up engaging in antisocial behavior. The direction that institutionalization has taken in modern societies – in such fields as education, healthcare, or law – tends to produce unsettling antisocial behavior. In development at large and development communication, the institutional factor is important: effective and safe institutions may lead to cooperation, generosity, altruism, trust, and trustworthiness, and poorly functioning, corrupt institutions may lead to the opposite (Jordan et al. 2015, 95).

Human beings are institutionalizing animals. "The role of institutions in human cooperation has received much less attention among experimentalists using economic games than direct and indirect reciprocity. But several recent studies have begun to demonstrate the power that institutional incentives have over human cooperative behavior in the lab" (Ibid., 91). Humans introduced institutions (like law, market, education, social communication, religion, healthcare, politics, family, money, and arts) as abstract notions that were operationally translated into organizations such as courts, media, cultural industries, schools, hospitals, political parties, the family, the banks, or trade bodies. These organizations came to be governed by hierarchical divisions of roles, by policies, codes of conduct, rules, directives, best practices, and feedback processes. Through these organizations we meet the satisfaction of basic needs. Not even our closest associates such as chimpanzees or bonobos design – for the satisfaction of their alimentary needs – agrobusiness conglomerates or mega meat processing organizations. We institutionalize the satisfaction of our needs that are increasingly characterized by organizational criteria such as (applied by the fast food industry) efficiency (we love our clients but they should not hang on too long), predictability (we hate uncertainty: the same French fries across the globe), calculation (the biggest hamburger for the lowest price), and rationalization (we mechanize the frying of burgers and the service to our clients). In addition, modern organizations feature hierarchization (although we know that in hospitals with strict hierarchies more patients die and that airlines with strict hierarchies have more crashes), professionalization (we ask people to outsource their own capabilities to those who know better), and protocolization. The latter is arguably the most essential feature of current institutionalization processes. Experience is replaced by protocols. In educational institutions, the competent teacher is no longer the person with a great experience in teaching but someone who follows the teaching instructions through which his/her teaching activities are monitored and evaluated. In healthcare organizations, the

competent physicians are the ones that rely on evidence-based practices and not on experiential knowledge. The road to reliable diagnosis is blocked by protocols designed by outside interim managers. The core of the protocols is the rationalization of accountability. Desire for rational justification stands in the way of creativity and innovation in organizations; in education, it leads to uninspiring and boring teachers; in healthcare institutions, it kills people. The rules of the book are taking the place of the capacity for intelligent assessment based upon experience.

Rules and protocols originate from decisions: often incorrect decisions and often badly informed decisions. The rules once laid down in protocols are no longer open to intelligent human assessment and lead to wasting time in hospitals and universities on filling out forms and ticking off boxes whereas that time should have been used for teaching and caring. Evidently personal assessment –however competent – can be abused and should be subject to some sort of check but not without a reasonable balance between freedom and control. We have to try to undermine the tyranny of playing by the book and open up organizations for the use of intelligent capacities at assessment based upon experience.

20.5 Development Communication Agencies as Convivial Institutions

The concept "convivial" denotes the combination of cheerfulness with cooperative helpfulness. The link is important as we know from a range of experiments in social psychology that people who are cheerful tend to be more helpful and cooperative; they evaluate themselves and others more positively and think more creatively. This is precisely what organizations that operate in the field of development and development communication need. Their major challenge is that they are often driven by the idea that bigger is better and try to reach economies of scale through expansion, take-overs, and mergers. However, the scale at which humans can conduct meaningful conversations about cooperation is limited. Technology allows us to communicate with many more people, but our cognitive abilities do not. The suggestion of unlimited social networks is deceptive. Whatever the technology facilitates, our mind will prefer a limited number of people in our networks. Convivial organizations are nonhierarchical places where humans learn, develop, and produce through creative storytelling. People are not seen as resources or as raw processable materials. The convivial organization will dismantle its office of human resources. People are seen as creative artists. The convivial organization will establish an office of creative production. In the convivial organization, transformation is fun. It is realized that when we want people to change types of behavior or mindsets, then we should be able to demonstrate to them that the alternative conduct or mentality is fun. People are willing to do all kinds of (new) things if they are pleasurable. Pleasure is an underrated motivating force in processes of change!

The conclusion is that the "world's greatest promise" can be met if humanity institutionalizes the best moral ideas it has created (such as the global development

goals) into organizations in which participants cooperate with cheerfulness because they found the common challenge of using the basis of human existence: cooperative communication to release human potentialities.

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The Soft Power of Development: Aid and Assistance as Public Diplomacy Activities

21

Colin Alexander

Contents

21.1 Introduction 408
21.2 Morality and Foreign Policy 410
21.3 Public Diplomacy, Soft Power, and Foreign Aid 414
21.4 The Domestic Audience 416
21.5 The Governments of Recipient States 417
21.6 Other International Audiences 418
21.7 Recipients of Aid and Assistance 419
21.8 Conclusion 419
References 420

Abstract

Following a political communications framework can provide useful critical understanding of the international philanthropic industries beyond the more traditional approaches of political economy, anthropology, and postcolonial studies. To this end, this chapter frames foreign aid and development assistance through theories of soft power, arguing that these activities are acts of public diplomacy and thereby conducive to the source government's power accumulation motive. This is open to some contest across the literature as research framed under international political economy or social anthropology often assumes that international power redistribution is the primary motive. Analysis of these programs under the soft power framework allows for the discussion of the multitude of audiences that the activities engage with beyond the direct recipients of assistance as part of the power accumulation precedent. The chapter will hereby discuss the role of morality and compassion within the policy-making process,

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which leads to the question of whether we should really be considering whether most aid and development is in fact meant to work rather than the more popular query of why so much of it does not work.

Keywords

Department for International Development (DfID) · Foreign aid and development assistance · Neoliberalism · Morality and foreign policy · Public diplomacy · Soft power

21.1 Introduction

The propaganda that surrounds foreign aid describes its altruistic and compassionate motives. However, far from any empathetic or developmental intent, foreign aid is primarily motivated by the consolidation of the power status of the source as usurper and the recipient as usurped. To this end, an understanding of foreign aid and development assistance through the prism of soft power – the term coined by Joseph Nye (see 2004) at the end of the Cold War to describe when power in international politics is achieved through attraction rather than coercion or persuasion – is useful to wider understanding of the grand purpose of these industries. At the crux of this paper then is an attempt to provide an explanation for why the so-called foreign *aid* and *development assistance* does not work. If, by "work," it is meant that programs facilitated by international governmental actors reduce extreme poverty, relieve destitution, improve educational attainment, and deliver vital skills training while at the same time respecting aspects of culture, human movement, and the environment, then foreign aid and development assistance has been a catastrophic failure as it has made no contribution to a more egalitarian and fairer world that purports to be its motivation. To this end, the question may be better phrased as "is foreign aid meant to work?" because its perpetuation seems to be based on it satisfying alternative power ambitions to those that it claims.

The nineteenth century German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1995) argued that compassion should be the only motivation if an action is to be considered as philanthropy. As such, the foreign aid industries communicate from a disingenuous platform as they primarily exist to fulfil the power ambitions of the source or self-styled "donor" state. We understand this because, as Arturo Escobar (1995: 21) explains in jest, the poverty of certain parts of the world appears to have been "discovered" after World War II when the narrative surrounding the planet's poorest people became one of deliverance from their destitution. It was as though the former colonial exploiters had suddenly discovered their moral compass. To this end, the postwar growth of the foreign aid industries was part of attempts to ensure political and economic continuity in the postcolonial era and was only interested in poverty alleviation to the extent that it benefited the major powers as they continued their exploitation of these territories.

The key argument made by this chapter is that communications analysis of foreign aid can provide an alternative framework to those more commonly used from political economy, anthropology, or postcolonial studies and that this may assist with the repositioning of wider questions concerning development studies

generally. As such, this chapter will discuss foreign aid as acts of public diplomacy: a distinct political communications terminology referring to attempts made by governments to engage with foreign publics as befitting strategic goals. The intent of these activities is normally the generation of soft power for, or the bestowment of attractiveness upon, the source of these communications. To be clear therefore, the mechanisms of foreign aid tacitly communicate messages of virtuosity regarding the source to numerous domestic and international audiences. Thus, while public diplomacy is predominantly considered to have international priorities, it can also be linked to governmental priorities concerning its domestic public. Beyond this, foreign aid under a public diplomacy framework also forms part of governmental attempts to demonstrate congruence with prevailing international ideological norms and deontological guidelines regarding the responsible behavior of wealth states. In today's case this involves the propagation that supposed international philanthropy can be an adequate counterweight to the acceleration in global inequality that has been the result of neoliberalism. However, much like other activities that are propagated as philanthropy under this ideology, foreign aid and development assistance have little intent to offer social justice and should always be considered part of the exploitation rather than any offset against it.

Herein lies one of the fundamental limitations of democracy: that it cannot deliver meaningful change, partly because group consensus almost always produces an egotistical outcome (see Niebuhr 1932). For example, democracy is ill-equipped to reverse or stifle the effects of climate change because its institutions refuse to enforce the necessary restrictions on the consumptions of the electorate lest the leadership become unpopular. Democracy involves the art of dream selling and the limitation of toil, and this rarely involves a utopia of human reintegration with the natural world. Thus, political leaders who fail to adequately nourish the collective ego of the electorate normally have short-lived political careers. Consequently, governments maintain the fiction that foreign aid is motivated by philanthropic rather than strategic and economic interests because this assists with the nourishment of a domestic collective ego that the country and its citizens make a positive contribution to the planet beyond consumption of its resources. It then gains uncritical support from many echelons of the public who misguidedly support foreign aid as a form of state charity because this feeds the individual ego's desire to perceive oneself as virtuous within the prevailing ideology. However, this is a subconscious self-deception that has been incentivized by ideological hoaxing seeking to create feelings of worthiness within the consumer that lead to optimal consumption. As such, worthiness is normally maintained in one of two ways under these conditions: either through forms of collective or individual voluntary penance that are paid at the point of transaction to permit a guilt-free continuation of a supposedly virtuous existence of inconsequential behavior or in the form of foreign aid, wherein a government claims that taxation monies are assisting the world's poor who suffer misfortune rather than the effects of an organized system of denial. These propagandas essentially seek to maintain capitalism's profit-making imperative by detaching the consumer experience from the reality of its implications on the world's poor, and indeed the environment, and keep hidden that a reduction in consumption would assist both the balance of

humans with the planetary ecosystem while also improving the relations of humans with other humans.

Much of the philanthropic industries then exist in a doublespeak world reminiscent of George Orwell's classic dystopian novel *1984*. Orwell (1949) provides the adage of the Ministry of Peace, which makes war; the Ministry of Truth, which lies; the Ministry of Love, which tortures; and the Ministry of Plenty, which starves. Orwell argued that these acts of doublespeak are essentially attempts by the state to misconstrue the consciousness of the people. To this end, much like our Ministries of Defence are more concerned with outward aggression, it can be argued that the use of words like "aid," "development," "assistance," and the notion of "donors" and "donations" are Orwellian-style propaganda. The industry communicates in a philanthropic language using terms like "support," "dignity," "compassion," "capacity," and the "alleviation of hardship." However, perhaps rather than being called the *United States Agency for International Development* (USAID) or the British *Department for International Development* (DFID), it would be more accurate to call them Agencies or Departments for *International Diminution*.

The remainder of this chapter has been split into three subsections. The first provides a wider academic discussion of the compatibility of morality with the foreign policy process. This is important because it helps to frame the extent to which foreign aid misrepresents itself as an act of state philanthropy. The chapter will then provide a specific discussion of soft power and public diplomacy within the context of development studies. Finally, the chapter will provide some concluding remarks concerning foreign aid and development and wider positions regarding prevailing ideology and the propaganda that justifies itself.

21.2 Morality and Foreign Policy

The eighteenth-century philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote in *The Social Contract* that:

> Since no man has a natural authority over his fellow, and force creates no right, we must conclude that conventions form the basis of all legitimate authority among men. (Rousseau 1993: 185)

These "conventions" may pose as moral authority. However, they are upheld for the primary purpose of the maintenance of power structures by those who propagate their value. Transferred to international politics then, it can be argued that no state has entitlement to its international power. As a result, states strategically communicate with domestic and international audiences in an attempt at orchestrating value judgments about themselves that serve their power ambitions. To this end, public diplomacy activities form part of the alibi that states propagate in an attempt at convincing others of their power ambitions despite a lack of legal or moral entitlement therewith. Indeed, if power was guaranteed, then there would be little need for these strategic communications. As such, public diplomacy is often the ground on

which governments propagate an ethical compliance of sorts with prevailing international norms. This is notwithstanding the authenticity of these communications as it is power rather than compliance that is their primary objective.

On the role of morality in foreign policy then, Nicholas Spykman has argued that:

> The statesman who conducts foreign policy can concern himself with values of justice, fairness, and tolerance only to the extent that they contribute to or do not interfere with the power objective. They can be used instrumentally as moral justification for the power quest, but they must be discarded the moment their application brings weakness. The search for power is not made for the achievement of moral values; moral values are used to facilitate the attainment of power. (Spykman 1942: 18)

Henceforth, the role of the state in international affairs is always, as Spykman says, to "facilitate the attainment of power," with the harboring of any contrary opinions only resulting in eventual disappointment. Accordingly, the moral accompaniment to power ambitions is delivered explicitly and implicitly through communications activities like public diplomacy, which includes, but is not limited to, international broadcasting, cultural diplomacy, education and knowledge exchange, endorsements of other governments, state visits, gestures of goodwill, media and public relations, and foreign aid and development assistance. However, all of these activities have the potential to become redundant if they are deemed to be unimportant or even detrimental to the power quest. This includes all foreign aid. Indeed, foreign aid's usefulness to the power equation is its association with the philanthropy that forms a key part of the prevailing neoliberal ideology's moral justification of itself. In short, neoliberalism's exploitation is propagated as being acceptable as long as a remedy for the suffering that it induces is also provided in some measure. However, this industry, indeed most supposedly charitable acts under neoliberalism, is motivated not by collective compassion but by ego. In short, many of those engaged in these industries are at least partly motivated by the self-confirmation of virtuosity that such a career brings. Additionally, positive external acknowledgment may also be sought for their actions, and offence may be taken if the person being assisted does not bestow an expected level of gratitude. Alternatively, recognition is sought for charitable acts as part of the formation of public persona, now most commonly pursued on social media platforms.

Therefore, neoliberalism has conveniently created a multibillion dollar foreign aid and development industry ready to dispense the advocated prescription and provide some outlet for the ego that capitalism prioritizes over compassion. In many ways, therefore, foreign aid resembles a global form of the medical illness Munchausen's syndrome by proxy where sickness is induced in a person by a caregiver in order that attention be drawn to themselves. This rather uncomfortable analogy is at the crux of the conceptualization of foreign aid as public diplomacy that we will return to later in the chapter.

The writings of the Italian philosopher and political prisoner Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) have been used in many contexts related to the study of power and communications. Gramsci wrote the following on the uses of morality and culture by the powerful in their pursuit of authority:

> In my opinion, the most reasonable and concrete thing that can be said about the ethical and cultural state is this: every state is ethical in as much as one of its most important functions is to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level, a level (or type) which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces of development, and hence to the interests of the ruling classes. The school as a positive educative function, and the courts as a repressive and negative educative function, are the most important state activities in this sense: but, in reality, a multitude of other so-called private initiatives and activities tend to the same end – initiatives and activities which form the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes. (Gramsci, cited in Forgacs 1988: 234)

Thus, for Gramsci, whatever that "particular cultural and moral level" ought to be for those within and beyond the powerful state was decided by whatever the forces of production require it to be. To this end, the landscape of foreign aid at a given time can be linked to the requirements of the means of production through its delivery of a cultural or moral authority that befits the priorities of the prevailing world system and manufactures a sense of power by attraction under the ideological guise. To this end, the key to the maintenance of hegemonic power was through what Gramsci called the "guardians" of any society. Most likely inspired by Plato's *The Republic*, Gramsci's guardians essentially amounted to intellectuals whose moral leadership is admired by society and who gain credibility and authority through the perception that they act as intermediaries between the powerful and the suppressed. Think: celebrity endorsement of charities. Gramsci concluded that this is a fabrication as the intellectuals seek the maintenance of at least a semblance of the power status quo. Indeed, they would not be conferred as guardians if they sought anything more radical or revolutionary.

This position is articulated well by the American ethicist Reinhold Niebuhr who wrote that:

> No society has ever achieved peace without incorporating injustice into its harmony. Those who would eliminate the injustice are therefore always placed at the moral disadvantage of imperilling its peace. [. . .] This passion for peace need not always be consciously dishonest. Since those who hold special privileges in society are naturally inclined to regard their privileges as their rights and to be unmindful of the effects of inequality upon the under-privileged [. . .]. (Niebuhr 1932: 78)

Thus, those who are held to be guardians of a community will not be advocates of any anarchy, false or otherwise. Niebuhr continues:

> The moral attitudes of dominant and privileged groups are characterized by universal self-deception and hypocrisy. The unconscious and conscious identification of their special interests with general interests and universal values, which we have noted in analyzing national attitudes, is equally obvious in the attitude of classes. (Niebuhr 1932: 72)

This argument concerning the association between privileged class interests and supposed "universal values" helps to explain the educational narrative of foreign aid and development assistance, which preaches that if only the world's poor could become more efficient and learn from the developed nations then they would

somehow "catch up." However, this is propagated as part of the creation of attraction that the source seeks for itself as part of its soft power ambitions.

The generation of attraction leads to the question of access to, and control of, cultural spaces and fora, in short, whose voices are heard, who is listened to, and who is marginalized, vilified, or even absent altogether. The notion of cultural space, and its control, was discussed at length by the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre during the late twentieth century. Lefebvre's (1991) explained how the narratives of cultural space embody future notions of utopia of the prevailing ideology at a given time. These narratives are the result of "knowledge" that is propagated as objective but which is framed by the means of production. Lefebvre (1991: 9) wrote that "[t]his ideology carries no flag, and for those who accept the practice of which [...] it is indistinguishable from knowledge." It is also indistinguishable partly because of the individual's egotistical desire to believe in their own virtue and the validity of their life choices. This denial or repression is lived at such a level that various subconscious defense mechanisms are engaged so as not to encounter the discomfort brought by the realization of contradiction. This critical path is also no doubt discouraged by the mass distractions that all ideologies employ to prevent the potential for cognitive dissonance within their advocates.

In terms of foreign aid then, Foucault (1991) discussed the notion of the "humanitarian mode of power" in which a subversive authority portrays themselves as the provider of solutions to prevalent social issues while simultaneously utilizing natural resources and human labor to meet their own ends. Foucault discussed this within the context of the prison system and the notion of rehabilitation. However, the argument can also be used to explain foreign aid narratives. During the colonial period, for example, the notion of "civilizing" the "uncivilized" to Western cultural standards became the popular moral justification that accompanied economic exploitation, and this has continued in the postcolonial period in practices of foreign aid and development assistance within the "catch up" mentality. Foucault's work on the dynamics of discourse and power in the representation of social reality also revealed the mechanisms by which a certain order of discourse produces permissible modes of being and thinking while placing other beyond the pale. This creates senses of what is to be revered and what is unattractive. Thus, the argument that foreign aid represents state philanthropy, rather than an essential part of the power accumulation strategy that dominates policy objectives, likely sits so safely within the perimeters of prevailing discourses that the majority of people consider it to be no argument at all.

The great literary figure Oscar Wilde (1900: 2) once said that "[...] the worst slave-owners were those who were kind to their slaves, and so prevented the horror of the system being realised by those who suffered from it." To this end, therefore, in many ways foreign aid is an unsatisfactory stopgap that prevents its recipients from receiving social justice and perpetuates, even justifies, their exploitation. Some of those engaged in the industry may mean well, particularly those on the ground performing its functions. However, they are ultimately misguided or self-deceiving because, far from any moral catalyst, foreign aid symbolizes much of the alibi that this deeply unfair world system uses to preserve its legitimacy.

21.3 Public Diplomacy, Soft Power, and Foreign Aid

Public diplomacy can be defined as the governmental act of attempting to communicate with foreign publics to assist the power ambitions of the source of these communications. These ambitions are always strategic and economic, such is the overlap between the motives, and involve efforts at engineering cognizant or incognizant positive value judgments about the source and its domestic and international actions and intentions, in the hope that these transfer into social, economic, and political gains. Thus, public diplomacy works well when it balances tendencies toward sharing, equality, understanding, and connectedness with other humans while also stimulating the ego which often prevents the enjoyment of a collective compassionate experience to any great extent. This represents public diplomacy's exploitation of human dialectic for its own ends. As such, public diplomacy's engagement with human tendencies toward compassion for others is one of the main reasons for the positivity and sometimes romanticism that can be found in much of its academic literature. However, its stimulation and incentivization by the powerful for accumulative and conservative ends, much like foreign aid, ultimately result in the industry existing on a fallacy of compassionate authenticity.

The terms public diplomacy and soft power are frequently found together in academic literature with the rationale for this usually that public diplomacy is concerned with the generation of soft power for the source of the communications. Consequently, an actor cannot "do" soft power, so to speak, as soft power can only be bestowed upon an actor by another. Furthermore, soft power can be bestowed upon a benign actor who makes little purposeful or proactive attempt to improve their soft power status but simply acts in a way deemed to be attractive. Thus, soft power status can be achieved without engaging in public diplomacy activities. Finally, while it can be acknowledged that public diplomacy normally seeks to make the source more attractive, this is not a precondition. Indeed, public diplomacy activities have been known to present the source as less attractive to some groups as strategic objectives determine, for example, when seeking to deter some economic migrants or refugees from travelling to the source.

Public diplomacy narratives and activities often epitomize the cultural and national identity of their source. To this end, public diplomacy often uses the knowledge capital of the source's domestic public as part of the persona that it attempts to create in the international sphere. Thus, domestic publics can perform an informal ambassadorial role when public diplomacy activities become an international outlet for the skills of that group. This is particularly prominent when public diplomacy concerns foreign aid, development assistance, and some forms of cultural diplomacy, which often seek to harness the talents, knowledge, and emotions of the public. What is more, public diplomacy often seeks to massage the collective ego of the domestic public by linking to nationalist desires to believe in the positivity of one's own country's role in the international system and one's individual contribution to it. It can also assist with community building at home.

This domestic function of public diplomacy can be overlooked such is the focus of the literature on international communications. However, most governments considered it important that a country has a clear sense of its past, present, and future and incentivizes propaganda to induce this. To this end, most countries are founded on myths concerning the shared history of all echelons of society. These are propagandas designed to manufacture the obedience of those experiencing a power deficit and may involve the propagation of a glorious past involving the defeat of barbarous enemies who posed existential threats, a tragic past involving gallant defeat to external forces displaying immense brutality, or a past from which history has been reckoned with or learned from and from which the domestic public can now provide assistance to others around the world as befits public diplomacy priorities.

As this author has argued in other publications (see Alexander 2014a, b, 2015), foreign aid and development assistance fit well within the remit of public diplomacy and soft power because it seeks to improve the attractiveness of the source within the minds of target domestic and international audiences, such is its positive propagation under prevailing ideology. This chapter has already discussed the notion of morality and foreign policy, and this has provided a platform from which specific details of the audiences that foreign aid seeks to engage with can now be understood. This section will now discuss four specific audiences in turn. However, the political elite's consistent unwillingness to acknowledge that foreign aid and development assistance are linked to power ambitions results in the following discussion being largely based on critical analysis alone. Indeed, in many years of interviewing politicians, civil servants, and even volunteers involved in foreign aid from a variety of countries, this author has only rarely heard an interviewee admit the power motive of the industry.

One example of such a narrative came from Yen Ming-hong, who, when interviewed in 2013, was the Deputy Director for Technical Cooperation at the Taiwan International Cooperation and Development Fund (ICDF). He stated the following about his government's primary concern over the health of diplomatic relationships as motive for providing foreign aid. For Yen, Taiwan's foreign aid had previously amounted to an intergovernmental bribe that befitted Taiwan's international priorities at the time.

> In the 1960s the reason why we were involved in international aid was totally a diplomatic concern. As you know, we are no longer a member of the United Nations, and during that time the Taiwan government tried to keep our allied countries in Africa. So what they came up with was to send out a lot of technical missions to stay there and to provide agricultural assistance in the hope that we can have their diplomatic support. In that time, we were not focused on the results of the projects. We did not care about the results. We just wanted the support of the local governments. (Yen 2013)

Nevertheless, Yen was adamant that Taiwan's contemporary intent was more philanthropic. This was despite a volume of evidence to the contrary (see Alexander 2014a, 2015).

21.4 The Domestic Audience

Let us begin this subsection by reviewing transcripts from the leaders' debates in the lead up to the 2017 UK general election. These narratives do much to reveal how political parties in wealthy states present the notion of foreign aid to their domestic publics.

> Transcript of ITV Leaders Debate 18 May 2017
>
> Paul Nuttall (PN) (Leader of UK Independence Party): [. . .] *We also would put £1.4 billion a year into social care. And how would we pay for this? Well we would take that money directly from a foreign aid budget that is costing us around £13 billion every single year. We would cut that back to 0.2% of GDP, which is exactly the same as it was in the United States under Barack Obama.*
>
> *— (later in the debate) —*
>
> PN: *We take that money from the foreign aid budget which is costing us £30 million every single day [. . .]*
>
> Leanne Wood (LW) (Leader of Plaid Cymru): *Taking it away from refugees then, yeah?*
>
> PN: *[. . .] Hang on, hang on. If we reduce foreign aid to 0.2% that is, as I said earlier, the same as the United States under Obama, the point is [. . .]*
>
> LW: *You're stopping refugees coming here, preventing them.*
>
> PN: *[. . .] this is about low hanging fruit, there's no need to put up taxation, we can simply take it from the foreign aid budget [. . .]*
>
> Nicola Sturgeon (Leader of the Scottish National Party): *Take it from the poorest people in the world?*
>
> PN: *[. . .] supporting British people first. Charity begins at home.*
>
> (ITV 2017)
>
> Transcript of BBC Leaders Debate 31 May 2017
>
> PN: *[. . .] we would slash the foreign aid budget that is costing the British people £30 million a day.*
>
> [Incoherent commotion]
>
> Caroline Lucas (Joint Leader of the Green Party): *Shame on you!*
>
> (BBC 2017)

These short transcripts present the political propaganda that foreign aid amounts to a form of state charity. Wood, Sturgeon, and Lucas, whose parties all occupy the center or center-left ground in UK politics, do not question the philanthropic guise of foreign aid that the more right-wing Nuttall emphasizes and are appalled, genuinely or not, by his apparent lack of compassion. The discussion within these debates then, and one that is replicated in political debates in wealthy countries around the world, surrounds how much international state charity should be provided, not whether foreign aid amounts to a form of philanthropy at all. These narratives form a key part of the public discourse that conceives of foreign aid as an act of kindness on the part of government with the primary topic of debate how generous the government ought to be on the electorate's behalf. This nourishes the notion of a domestic collective ego concerning a country and its citizens making a positive contribution to the planet beyond the consumption of its resources but which is, in reality, motivated by the manufacture of the consent of the domestic public to be ruled.

21.5 The Governments of Recipient States

The second audience of foreign aid that can be discussed is the governments and powerful people within recipient states. In the postcolonial era, these individuals and institutions have been responsible for ratifying the contracts that the governments of wealthy states and international corporations have made to rent and purchase land for a variety of purposes within these countries. This quality land then becomes unavailable for use by the publics of recipient states, squeezing them either into city slums or onto land that is susceptible to climatic variation and/or not suited to the agriculture that it is then asked to produce. This system produces a ready supply of destitute communities primed for "saving" by foreign aid and development assistance while also allowing wealthy governments to propagate their moral responsibility to the world's poor and providing an international outlet for philanthropic, but ultimately misguided, members of their domestic publics. To this end, the next time an appeal from a charity or aid agency appears on the television stating that someone must walk many kilometers from their home to find fresh water, perhaps it should be asked why they live so far from fresh water as this has been the basic premise of all human habitation since the birth of organized society.

Although somewhat limited in its breadth and analysis, Saskia Sassen's (2014) account of the *expulsions* of people from land that their families have farmed for generations is a powerful argument about the responsibility for the plight of the world's poor ultimately lying with the rich. Sassen also notes that the twenty-first century has seen an intensification of land acquisition with two significant factors being the main contributors to this. The first is that the rise in food prices has made land an even more desirable investment by international buyers, even for speculative reasons; and the second is the growing demand for industrial crops, notably palm for biofuels, and for food crops, the latter particularly coming from the rapidly developing states of East Asia and the Middle East. The intensive industrialization of these countries has resulted in additional demands for the products that tend to follow economic growth, with greater meat consumption one area of note.

What Sassen does not discuss, however, is the process by which the governments of wealthy states and international corporations engineer elections around the world in an attempt at ensuring that the candidates who will provide a preferential treatment of sorts are elected to office. To this end, elections in countries where a significant percentage of land is used for export purposes tend to be swamped with clandestine foreign monies, which by and large control the menu of political choice for the voters. Indeed, even moderately socialist or protectionist groups struggle to start a campaign such is their lack of access to the capital needed to compete in a national election resulting in some turning to violence. This is before consideration is given to the communications professionals who join the teams of preferred candidates to structure the delivery of campaign messages and researchers who "muckrake" candidates less favorable to the priorities of international interests, attempting to

find any kind of underhand dealing or personal demon. As such, foreign aid in this context is used as an attractive political incentive committed by wealthy states and international corporations to their preferred candidates in recipient states as part of an exchange package that essentially limits the role of the government of poorer states to the welfare of its citizens and largely thwarts any movement toward them achieving social justice within the international system. The governments of these states, and those close to power, thus form one of the key audiences of foreign aid under soft power analysis.

21.6 Other International Audiences

This subsection is formed of a variety of groups and clusters who may have contact with, or become aware of, a government's contribution to the foreign aid industries and who may then make positive value judgments about that contribution and its source. It includes international political, economic, and societal groups that a source government conceives of and wants to appeal to as part of their broader strategic international ambitions. The most important of these is the United Nations as this is the primary fora for the debate of global governmental legislation and the international platform for the articulation of the prevailing values of the world system and the policies and positions that follow from them. Other international political groups that source governments regularly attempt to attract include the World Health Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the European Union, and a variety of regional military alliances.

At the crux of this process of manufacturing attractiveness through foreign aid is a desire to demonstrate conformity with perceived international norms of responsible or dutiful behavior as have been determined to befit the power status of the source. This process does not necessarily exist on a platform of morality, but moral obligation may form part of the propaganda here. Perhaps the most prominent articulation of this ambition comes from separatist regional governments of wealthy states, who, in a bid to demonstrate congruence with prevailing values and consensus on global issues, engage in small amounts of foreign aid as part of what is known as "protodiplomacy." By engaging in protodiplomacy, these regional governments are implicitly confirming that in the event of their independence from the parent state they would become consistent, regular, and reliable members of the so-called international community as their power status would determine. A strong recent example of this has been the Scottish government, which has used foreign aid and development assistance as part of its pro-independence international communications strategy and charm offensive toward major international governmental organizations (see Alexander 2014b). However, this is a regular activity of all state governments engaged in aid provision as they all articulate their contribution to the industry as part of their political communications toward a host of international audiences beyond the immediate recipients of foreign aid. Indeed, some governments may have reservations about the manner in which aid operates, concerns over corruption, for example, but will nevertheless continue to engage in the practice in

some form as it assists their power ambitions and prevents any negative attention being drawn to themselves lest they be labelled as some kind of foreign aid "scrooge" by those they seek to influence.

21.7 Recipients of Aid and Assistance

The final audience that requires discussion is those in receipt of an aid package or development program. Often the receipt of aid or assistance is recognition of some form of capital or usefulness within the priorities of the world system. Beyond this, those facing a nadir of destitution, with seemingly minimal capital, may become recipients because of the so-called CNN effect, where the international mainstream news media shine a light on suffering and, if certain criteria are met, successfully pressurize governments to act (see Robinson 2002). Linking more to the domestic audience within donor states, this may also present as a form of the so-called poverty porn, wherein media viewers watch images of suffering as a form of fetish that they subconsciously do not want to see eradicated for it excites them, makes them feel good about themselves, or presents them with a guilt narrative that can be conveniently alleviated by charity donation or endorsement of government programs (see Zizek 2009). The notions of *jouissance* and *schadenfreude* are noteworthy here. Finally, the foreign aid industries require a regular supply of "success" stories as part of their propaganda that it can make a positive impact on reducing global poverty and capacity building.

21.8 Conclusion

Foreign aid and development assistance are very motivated by the source's power imperative. To this end, these industries ought to be thought of as public diplomacy outputs aimed at the generation of power for the source government in the form of attractiveness rather than power as a result of coercion or persuasion. Foreign aid's lack of regular inclusion within the portfolio of ministers assigned to public diplomacy is synonymous with the fictional demarcation of government departments and a likely attempt by government to prevent the growth of a sense of hypocrisy within their own publics over the international role of those who govern them. This is primarily because public diplomacy tends to be thought of as a communications arm of regular state foreign policy rather than any form of philanthropy. As such, while ministries of foreign affairs are concerned with the consolidation or accumulation of the power status of the source, departments of international development operate separately under the pretense of being motivated by power dispersal. They are not, however, and this demarcation represents part of the Orwellian misconstruction of government.

To conclude then, the evidence presented here strongly suggests that foreign aid is conducted for purposes beyond that of philanthropy despite much of its propaganda narrative indicating philanthropic intentions. One of the most significant factors behind this is because the modern corporate state is increasingly run like a business

that is power and capital hungry. To this end, governments employ spin doctors, undertake branding initiatives, perform "reputation management," and are increasingly subservient to corporate industry rather than the people to which they remain accountable (at least within democracies). Why then should departments of international development be any less "spun," so to speak? What is more, calls for transparency mean the publication of accounts, much like a public limited company, and subsequent scrutiny and justification of expenditure by the domestic public and media. Therefore, it follows that the funding of foreign aid must be in line with the economic and political interests of the source, if the government is to avoid accusations of financial mismanagement or squandering of public funds. Indeed, public diplomacy has had a long and arduous battle with government finance because its results are essentially unquantifiable such is the solipsistic nature of its activities. Thus, while outright plunder cannot occur as it did in colonial times, the ideologically constructed "benefit" that foreign aid has for any recipient remains utterly subordinate to the source's self-interests.

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Asian Contributions to Communication for Development and Social Change

22

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Contents

22.1 Introduction 422
22.2 Development Communication in Asia: Overview 423
22.3 Asian Contributions to Development Communication 424
22.4 Schools of Thought 425
22.4.1 Participatory Planning 425
22.4.2 Rural Communication 427
22.4.3 Learning as Capacitation 431
22.4.4 Professional Degrees in Devcom 434
22.4.5 Mainstreaming of Devcom in Civil Service 435
22.4.6 ICT for Development 436
22.4.7 Evaluation Framework for Capacity Development 437
22.5 Conclusions and Challenges 439
References 440

Abstract

The debates on the role of media and communications in promoting sustainable development acknowledge the multiple experiments that were undertaken from the 1940s and 1950s as being key to laying the foundations of the field we now call development communication or communication for development. Yet, as has been emphasized over the years, it is the agriculture communication and extension experiments at the University of the Philippines, Los Baños, that would

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herald the pioneering contestation of development thinking using media and communication in Asia. Considered together with the Asian Tigers' approaches toward radical economic development, the Asia's schools, institutions, organizations, and governments demonstrated that there was a different way of thinking about and doing development beyond what the western modernist theories and perspectives were proffering.

This chapter is a celebration of the Asian contributions to development communication, which was a term employed by the pioneers of the field. Over the years, other terms have come into use, including communication for development and social change. While the emphasis has been placed in the fact that these were pioneering contributions, this chapter examines the specific attributes of such a contribution and how, considered in retrospective, students of society will come to appreciate the fundamental aspects of theory and practice today that trace their origins to these experiments. The chapter highlights seven of these contributions in order to demonstrate the fundamental concerns that drive the agenda, processes, and partnerships in the field. The chapter acknowledges that the field has moved on; there is a growing danger of a growing disregard for history, as if the field just emerged without a historical context. Yet it is this very historicity, in Asia, as much as in Latin America and Africa, that continues to shape the practice on the ground, even in the face of the historical revisionism of modernist development approaches mostly being promoted by international development institutions.

Keywords

Development communication · Participation · Development thinking · Knowledge management · Capacity building · ICT for development

22.1 Introduction

The chapter aims to celebrate the contributions from Asia to the theory and practice of development communication. There are many reasons for this. First, there is an increased western footnoting of the history of the field, in which the pioneering contributions from the Asian region are being footnoted and written out of global scholarship in development communication. Such an aversion is very much orientalist (Said 1978), with the consequence that the liberatory and postcolonial ideals that shaped the emergence of the field have been submerged under the hysteria of instrumentalist participatory communication or social and behavior change communication. It seems to us, there is a deliberate proposition suggesting that either the field emerged from the west or it just emerged from without. The release of various books, handbooks, or articles on the field by major western publishers is a case in example. Second, there is an increased emphasis in a media-centric discourse that either celebrates media and development or social and behavior change communication. This is not problematic in itself. Yet, it seems as if development

communication is just about changing people's behaviors, as reflected in the preeminence of social and behavior change models and theories. Third, there is a need to remind current students of society, of the specific attributes of the pioneering contributions from Asia that shaped the theory and practice of development communication, and continue to do so in much of the global south. This is the main agendum of this chapter.

The chapter acknowledges the simultaneous pioneering contributions from Latin America, observing that the emphasis on liberation and deconstruction of inequality provided a postcolonial prose and discourse for rejecting the modernist development, which continues to undergo what Mansell (1982) describes as "superficial revisionism." Particularly for this chapter, the discussion demonstrates that for Asia, there were seven areas of focus that would shape the emergence of the field of development communication. Consideration of these areas allows for the appreciation of the fact that, at its center, development communication remains as alternative theory of development in practice that rejects and undermines the modernist, capital-intensive, or technology-driven development models that emerge from the metropoles of western capitals and think tanks. These seven contributions were (1) participatory planning (Bessette 2004; Quebral 2012), (2) rural communication (Sainath 2016; Loo 2009; Verghese 1976), (3) learning as capacitation (Cadiz and Dagli 2010); (4) devcom degree training (Quebral 1988, 2012), (5) mainstreaming development communication, (6) ICT (information, communication technologies) for development (Agrawal 2006; Kumar 1981; Mansell 2017), and (7) evaluation frameworks (Campilan et al. 2009).

22.2 Development Communication in Asia: Overview

Development communication or, as widely accepted now, communication for development has been described as a phenomenon more akin to the Third World (Quebral 1976/2012) or the developing countries. As a planned social intervention, Quebral categorically stated that its allegiance is to the poor, the powerless, and the disadvantaged in developing societies, many of whom are found in Asia. The pro-poor emphasis is also evident in the Latin American scholarship and experiments (Freire 1970; Gutierrez 1971/1988). In fact, development communication actually grew in response to the pressing problems of underdevelopment, namely, poverty, unemployment, high population growth, inequality, environmental degradation, malnutrition, and even ethnic conflicts (Ongkiko and Flor 2003; Quebral 1988, 2012).

Hence, the Asian version of development communication thinking and practice is closely tied up with Quebral's (1976/2012, 9) definition of the concept as "the art and science of human communication linked to transitioning of communities from poverty in all its forms to a dynamic, overall growth that fosters equity and the unfolding of individual potential." This is an important definition for students of society to ponder, perhaps in more ways than one. In referring to the "art," Quebral recognized that the creative industries are critical in providing pedagogy of the oppressed. In the Philippines and Asia as a whole, music, folk media, theater, and

indigenous communications, groups of men and women were already creating productions and performances that aimed to empower people. Also critically, is the fact that development communication is a collective endeavor, whose process of empowerment is not scripted off site. For Quebral, art was always about two things, co-design and learning. Likewise, the incorporation of science was in a way prophetic. Current debates in the field emphasize the evidence-based, method-driven, and theory-informed discussions, focus being on investment thinking. In fact one of the most tenuous debates today concerns the contestation between learning-based and evidence-based approaches and perspectives (Lennie and Tacchi 2013).

Alongside the pioneering experiments at the University of the Philippines, Los Baños, where Nora Quebral and colleagues would introduce development communication degree training programs in the 1960s (within the College of Agriculture) and the 1970s (within a new College of Development Communication), were other schools and institutes within the region. Over and above the numerous experiments that are too many to accommodate in this discussion, a couple stand out for their overall contribution to the field. This chapter explores the key ones.

22.3 Asian Contributions to Development Communication

In Asia, development communication struggled to be recognized as a legitimate field of study and practice in the early years. Quebral (1976/2012) discussed the suspicions that stakeholders had with this concept. For governments, they were concerned with the focus on empowering people. For other development organizations, the focus on promoting the country's goals appeared as a form of legitimation of authoritarian governments. But now, it is acknowledged as a discipline in its own right. It has established its own body of knowledge, built up its theories, and accumulated good practices in various development themes and settings.

Among other regions in the world, Asia has been the setting of many development struggles. It is, thus, expected that development communication will find it as a good breeding ground in shaping the philosophy and theory that drive its actual practice on ground. To acknowledge categorically what those from Asia have contributed to its growth and to its evolving challenges is but a fitting tribute. The topics discussed in succeeding paragraphs may not be that comprehensive; they are, however, indications of how vibrant the field has remained despite that "the old guards have left and institutional support for the field petered out" (Quebral 2002).

Contributions of Asian scholars, practitioners, and community partners to development communication or devcom, as mentioned earlier, include participatory planning, rural communication, learning as capacitation, devcom degree training, mainstreaming devcom, ICT for development, and evaluation frameworks. They are not meant to be mutually exclusive as some features of one tend to be also present in others.

22.4 Schools of Thought

Manyozo (2012) introduces the six schools of thought that he argues have shaped the emergence and current approaches to the theory and practice of development communication, namely, Bretton Woods, Latin American, African, Indian, Los Baños, and the Communication for Social Change Schools. Devcom literature will be incomplete without acknowledging that two of its schools of thought originated from Asia: the Indian School and the Los Baños School. Though influenced by different circumstances and development challenges, both produced systematic, theory-based, and method-informed development communication practice through time (Manyozo 2012). In its emergence, the Indian School focused more on broader social issues such as family planning, dynasty, gender equality, and social harmony. Today, it is characterized more by the use of folk media, indigenous communication, entertainment-education, development broadcasting, and use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) for development.

The Los Baños School, on the other hand, grew out of its earlier agricultural extension function, it being situated in an agricultural university. Hence, it focuses more on new farm practices and technologies yielded by agricultural research. In terms of media, Los Baños School in early years thrived on the use of broadcast-based distance learning, development broadcasting, community newspapers, and others that fall under the category of community media. The growth of both schools can be attributed also to the assistance, financial and otherwise, extended by universities from the West. What has not been explored well in development communication scholarship is the Chinese approaches and practices in development communication, which seem to have a deeper history than many anticipate. Over the years and until today, both schools are engaged in developing and testing theories on how people-oriented communication may well serve the goals and facilitate the process of human development. So what were the key contributions from Asia to development communication?

22.4.1 Participatory Planning

Asia's landmark contribution to devcom is undisputedly in the area of participatory planning. Though devcom evolved parallel with other western communication models, its thrust has always been co-design – the engagement of relevant stakeholders in the development process itself. As elucidated by Quebral (2002), the devcom philosophy includes that "the people be participants in their own development."

While many development workers would easily buy-in the noble idea of participatory planning, there was no clear method, model, nor guide readily available that would show the way. This is especially so in Asia where many countries are still living with the remnants of their colonization days, thus their tendency to cling to the modernization and diffusion mindset. The early experiments in integrated pest management would emphasize this notion of participatory planning. Ironically, in some of these experiments, the funding and support has come from western partners and stakeholders.

Giving flesh to the concept of participatory planning would also occur around 2001–2002 when the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada piloted the *Isang Bagsak* (IB) program in Cambodia, Vietnam, and Uganda. The learning program was undertaken by teams of Asian researchers and development practitioners. The program would field-test and implement a carefully designed communication approach anchored on participation called participatory development communication or PDC (Bessette 2003). It was applied in the implementation of community-based natural resource management projects (CBNRM) in selected rural communities of the three pilot countries.

PDC refers to "a new form of dialogue that aims to engage local communities in the process of charting their own future" (Kavanagh et al. 2006). It employs clearly planned communication activities to facilitate community participation in a development initiative (Bessette 2004). Community participation in turn means facilitating the active involvement of different community groups including the development and research agents working with the community and decision-makers (Bessette 2004). It is planned to facilitate dialogue among stakeholders to achieve an agreed upon goal. It puts premium on learner participation and ownership of the learning process.

As a methodology, PDC follows a logical process composed of ten clear steps (Fig. 1): (1) establishing relationship with local community and understanding local setting, (2) involving local community in identification of problem and solutions, (3) identifying relevant stakeholders, (4) identifying communication objectives and activities based on needs, (5) identifying appropriate communication tools, (6) preparing and pretesting communication materials, (7) facilitating building of partnerships, (8) producing an implementation plan, (9) planning the monitoring

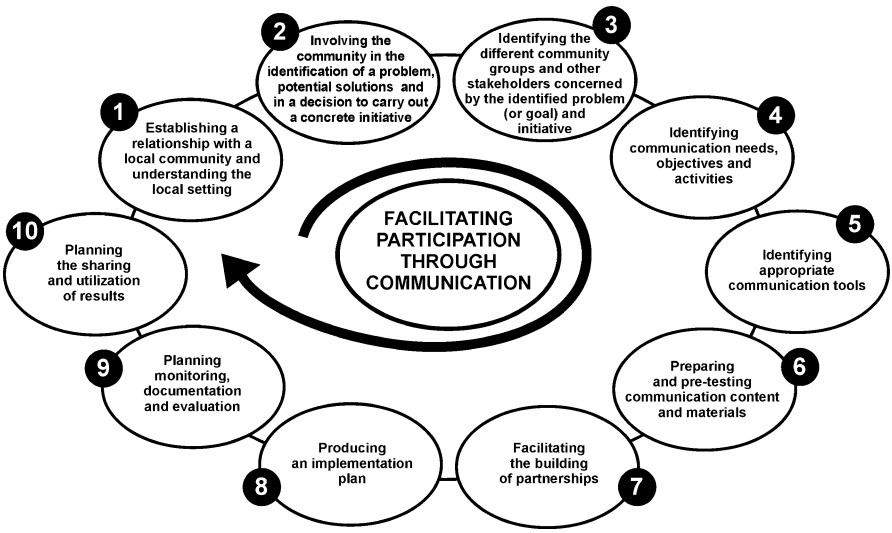

Fig. 1 Participatory development communication process (Bessette 2003)

and evaluation, and (10) planning the sharing and utilization of results. All throughout the cycle, communication facilitates the participation of the community stakeholders. On top of this, the process also builds mutual understanding and collaboration which favorably push the development process forward.

One year of pilot testing (2001–2002) led to the refining of steps and activities of PDC using the peculiarities of the Southeast Asian (SEA) setting. The process was again worked out in the field using selected SEA countries in 2003–2005; this time adding the Philippines to Cambodia and Vietnam. This leveling up of experience contributed to the firming up of the steps in the PDC process and the wider application of PDC to other NRM settings.

Evidence generated about *Isang Bagsak* indicate that the participatory nature of appraisal, planning, implementation, and evaluation as well as engagement in constant dialogues and innovative communication methods helped raise awareness about existing NRM problems. This in turn enabled community members to agree and work on their own solutions. Bottom-up communication provided local government and researchers the window to actively engage with their respective communities and later on secure commitment from them (Cadiz and the College of Development Communication IBSEA Program 2004).

Non-Asian scholars might have started the operationalization of PDC, but it has been enriched together with their Asian counterparts. In no certain measure was it nurtured and brought to fruition in the Asian setting. This peculiar context in the region and the deep involvement of Asian players in the process provided the needed flavor and medium where PDC was able to mold its authentic form.

22.4.2 Rural Communication

Writing in the 1970s, Quebral (1976/2012, 4) observed that "when we speak of development today, we are mainly concerned with the majority of people in the developing societies, most of whom live in the countryside." This is a fundamental observation. Yes over the years, the attention has shifted from rural to other economic and social issues that exist in urban economies as well, but the rural was always the starting point. For Quebral, mastering development in the rural space would provide the blueprint for dealing with urban development questions, after all, they were both products of marginalization, exclusion, and inequality. It therefore makes sense that much of the pioneering experiments in Asia aimed to address problems of rural communication as well. Two of these problems stood out. Problems existing as a result of inadequate communication systems and literacy in the rural area and the problem of communication between policy makers and rural audiences. In emphasizing the significance of the rural polity, Quebral (1976/2012, 11, 14) argue that:

> One problem in the developing country is to get the majority into the dialogue. Where the old and new media are concentrated in cities, the rural populace is virtually voiceless. What is passed of as public opinion is urban opinion. How to give voice to the voiceless is a concern

> of the development communicator. [. . .] When we speak of the poor and the disadvantaged, are they still in the rural areas? They are the families of small farmers, labourers and fishermen most of whom are still in the rural areas though many of them have migrated to urban slums. They are also the indigenous people who live apart from the main population and are economically and socially deprived.

To deal with these challenges, three strategies of development communication emerged, both of which aimed to bring the rural population into the decision-making space. First were the development journalism experiments in India, the Philippines, and the whole region. As has been noted before (Agrawal 2006; Kumar 1981; Manyozo 2012), India's approaches to development communication were rooted in its pre-colonial rich traditions of folk media and indigenous knowledge communication; the post-independent entertainment-education experiments; and of course, the growth of indigenous language press. Important to mention is that India has relied on its academic institutions to expound development communication thinking and practice (Manyozo 2012). Notable among the academic centers were the University of Poona, the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, and the University of Kerala. A major experiment in development journalism would emerge with the *Hindustan Times* in the 1960s, when George Verghese introduced a column on rural issues, "Our Village *Chhatera*," based upon a village located about 25 miles from Delhi (Verghese 1976, 2009). This initiative enabled the *Hindustan Times* newspaper to "win the affection of a village community and encouraged it to grow" (Verghese 1976, 3). As explored by Eric Loo (2009) in great detail, alongside this experiment, were other similar experiments in development journalism focusing on rural populations that would take hold in the whole Asia.

Second, were community communication experiments. Community communication has long been part of development communication literature, but it is noticeably not widely spoken of in the Asian setting, though its practice is pervasive. Community media such as community radio or newspapers are usually associated with it. The strongest distinction of this domain is its being interactive and participatory. It may or may not be mediated (Berrigan 1979). Even if it is mediated, the medium is only a means to facilitate the social interaction in small groups. If it is not mediated, it uses interpersonal or indigenous means for communicating like folk songs and theater. It is associated with grassroots and, hence, is biased toward stories, orality, proverbs (Manyozo 2012), and other folk media.

Historically, Asian countries would have closer affinity with community communication given their cultural tradition for being communal rather than individualistic. Farmers, women, or youth usually decide and behave on what the community thinks, feels, and believes in despite the irrationality and inconvenience this may create. Despite the advent of ICTs, many of the intended stakeholders of devcom are located in areas with very limited access to electricity, virtual connectivity, and other modern communication infrastructure. As such, community communication as an area of practice is highly relevant in development communication.

As experienced in many rural areas of Asia, community communication facilitates community decision-making, problem-solving, conflict resolution, interest articulation, advocacy, and social mobilization (Ongkiko and Flor 2003). In the 1960s and 1970s, development programs in the Philippines particularly those associated with population experimented on the use of folk media to promote family planning methods among the rural poor (Flor 2004). Employed were puppet shows, shadow plays, rural theater, folk songs, *balagtasan* (poetic debate), and *balitaw* (an extemporaneous exchange of love verses between a man and a woman). These helped popularize the message as the medium enabled it to cater both to the heart and head.

In later years, the traditional media were tapped to boost environmental conservation campaigns. Legends and myths about mountains, rivers, and other natural landscapes became popular as a way of explaining how man can harm the spirits that reside in nature and how the latter can take their vengeance and punish man (Oroza 2008). Though folklore may run against the grain of science, they definitely were effective to some extent. Fear of nature's wrath worked to minimize man's abuse of nature as commonly shared in informal and media discussions and documented in some academic studies.

In one particular case, community communication facilitated the coffee farmers' adaptation to climate variability in Cavite, Philippines (Ilagan 2013). As part of their regular routine, four to five farmers gathered together after visiting their farms to talk about what was happening with their coffee plants. They discussed as peers or coequals about how climate has become so erratic and highly variable such that their coffee plants also became unproductive. In the course of their gatherings, they shared and studied deeper the information gathered from extension workers, traders, and cooperative officials about their problem. As they experimented on the technological advice they obtained from various sources, they themselves sorted out what worked.

As a result, the coffee farmers adapted their farming practices to climate variability by introducing another crop for intercropping, adjusting their time of fertilizer application and harvesting, more frequent weeding, regular pruning, covering of harvested coffee beans, and stocking their harvest before selling. All these they have learned from intensive discussions of the realities they were facing and the price they have to pay for changing some of their practices. In other words, the adaptation practices were not something merely "extended" to them (as in typical agricultural extension work) but out of their own self-discoveries of what will work for them at certain cost. These adaptations manifest their potentials that were being unfolded as they went through the community communication experience.

Third were the considerations for inclusive Rural Communication Services (RCS). RCS refers to the provision of need-based, interactive, ICT-enabled, participatory communication processes (FAO 2014). It is delivered regularly to the rural population to perform three major functions: (1) facilitate equitable access to knowledge and information, (2) enable social inclusion in decision-making, and (3) build stronger links between rural institutions and local communities.

For the first function, it strategically employs interpersonal and mediated communication (community media, ICTs) to enable stakeholders to access information and knowledge for their unmet needs. For the second, it purposively selects participatory methods to engage stakeholders in various stages of development work, i.e., planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. For the third, it provides platforms through which institutions and members of local communities can be linked together and work in partnership in meeting their common needs.

While many might think that RCS is just a new name for agricultural extension, it is quite different in that it does not subscribe to the one-way information service flow. It does not focus only on the farmers but tries to bring into partnership the research and extension services, local institutions, NGOs, academe, media, and private sector so that the needed communication services are orchestrated well to serve the needy population (Torres et al. 2015).

In 2011–2013, the Agriculture Information Service (AIS), Ministry of Agriculture in Bangladesh, ventured into the establishment of RCS primarily through rural radio and mobile phones in Patuakhali, Barguna district, a distant coastal village in southern part of the country. The demand for agriculture information was high in this area due to the effects of climate change on their already marginal and saline farmlands. Radio and mobile phones were noted in the baseline study as the most available and highly accessed media in the area.

Following the basic project planning cycle, various stakeholders were identified, information/communication needs assessed, RCS strategy crafted, action plans and budget laid down, and mechanisms for participatory monitoring and evaluation completed. All these involved the participation of relevant stakeholders through a series of meetings. Likewise, sustainability plan was put in place as early as the conception of the project. With radio as the locomotive medium, rural radio planning and programming were done together with the needed capacitation for various stakeholders.

After 2 years, a rural communication unit (RCU) was set up at AIS, manned by personnel redeployed from existing AIS units. RCU coordinates with the different stakeholders for their contributions to RCS: research institutions for the needed technologies, extension service for field demonstrations and training, academe for baseline and other needed studies, community media for local awareness raising, farmer groups for organizing listenership groups, youth for their performance numbers in community assemblies, and women in gathering local news. Everybody helped in monitoring radio listenership.

RCU coordinates with the rural radio station, called Krishi Radio, set up in the pilot area. Stakeholders listened to radio programs mostly through mobile phones. Program content during the pilot focused on the introduction of the saline-tolerant rice variety (STRV). Radio and mobile phones were gradually complemented by computer-based services provided by AIS in the established ICT centers in villages.

When FAO funding ended, the project was continued by IFAD in 2015–2017 in cooperation with the Local Government Engineering Department. This time, three more existing rural radio stations were tapped in Radio Nalta, Radio Lokobetar, and Radio Sundarban, all located in poverty-stricken coastal areas in the south. Program

content was expanded to include climate-resilient technologies, aside from STRV, that address water siltation, soil erosion, deforestation, and others as expressed by members of local communities.

Despite some constraints, the initiative brought about appreciable outcomes: improved institutional and local capacities in the design and implementation of communication strategies; initial establishment of an RCU unit to respond to information priorities demanded by farmers; strengthened linkages among institutions in agricultural extension, research, information services, as well as NGOs, local government, and farmer organizations; effective use of rural radio talk shows for explaining demanded technologies; proactive crafting of sustainability efforts; and drawing out of lessons learned that drive iterative planning.

The four rural radio stations have formed an alliance called "Voice of the Coastal People" and have organized a number of listener groups whose members also form part of the radio program production and hosting. There have been 100 listener clubs established, with 15–20 members per listener club, or a total of 15,000 listeners for all the four rural radio stations. Being part of the communities, these volunteers know exactly what information would cater best to their needs and how these may be delivered in the most comprehensible manner.

22.4.3 Learning as Capacitation

For devcom to create a dent on poverty and an appreciable impact on development, it needs a critical mass of practitioners who would be able to operationalize consistently its philosophy, theories, methods, tools, and techniques. While there are tertiary level schools that produces professionals, the need for a sizeable number to help multiply the efforts in a shorter time can only be augmented by nonformal training courses.

A number of devcom trainings must have been undertaken in various parts of Asia by more than a hundred devcom training providers spread out all over the region. As documented and captured in CCComdev Web Portal (cccomdev.org/index), these providers include universities, development organizations, NGOs, media organizations, and some civil society organizations. The full profile, contact details, and description of courses offered by nonformal education providers in Asia can readily be accessed from the portal using the training map and under training opportunities.

One regional program can be cited to have contributed to the systematic capacitation of devcom practitioners, development workers, and other development actors in the region: the Adaptive Learning and Linkages in Community-Based Natural Resource Management or ALL in CBNRM. This program evolved out of IB and was implemented in 2006–2008. Its thematic focus broadened from PDC to a wider array of participatory development approaches. It may be considered significant in terms of the breadth of geographical coverage, program objectives and content, number of institutional learning facilitators, number of learning groups, and combination of learning modalities.

ALL in CBNRM is an adaptive learning network and a collaborative program for CBNRM covering six countries in SEA: Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam. Adaptive learning implies customized learning that should enable people to cope with their changing environment. It is based on the premise that learning from experience empowers people to respond more effectively to new uncertainties, enabling them to change old ways of doing things and allowing them to make better decisions (Cadiz and Dagli 2010). In all these, communication plays a central role.

As a capacity building program, ALL in CBNRM was designed for CBNRM researchers and practitioners in SEA working in different ecosystems such as forestry, coastal, and wetlands. It aims to create a community of participatory-oriented NRM researchers and practitioners, a wider knowledge base and network, and develop synergies among the community or network members. Here, the community covered a regional level but was more virtual, mediated by an online medium, the Internet.

Content-wise, it adopted the perspectives and methods of participatory research and development including social and gender analysis, adaptive and social learning, participatory rural appraisal, participatory action research, and participatory monitoring and evaluation (Cadiz and Dagli 2010). The program was facilitated by a regional partnership of recognized institutional players in rural development: the Regional Community Forestry Training Center for Asia and the Pacific (RECOFTC), International Potato Center-Users' Perspectives with Agricultural Research and Development (CIP-UPWARD), Community-Based Natural Resources Management Learning Center (CBNRM LC), International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR), and CDC- UPLB. Using adaptive learning, they worked with nine learning groups composed of CBNRM researchers, development workers, and local community members engaged in NRM.

The program involved the participation of nine learning groups from the academe, NGOs, government agencies, and people's organizations engaged in CBNRM. Each of the group was in itself a case in search for more solid, dynamic, and ultimately, useful and meaningful learning processes (Campilan et al. 2009). Learning within and across groups took place through a combination of face-to-face discussions, regional workshops, field mentoring, technical back stopping, and regional online discussions.

Based on program evaluation conducted in a participatory manner, ALL in CBNRM accomplished several outcomes (CDC-UPLB 2008). In terms of capacity development, improved capacity of the individual led to improved capacity of the group, which in turn led to improved capacity of the organization. Subsequently, this led to development outcomes at the community level (Fig. 2). More specifically, the change in individual knowledge, attitude, and practices led to strengthened teamwork and improved group processes. This then led to improved organizational performance vis-a-vis their mandates. Consequently, it led to improved communities' capacities, their livelihoods, and to conserved natural resource base.

Other reported outcomes were manifested by strengthened collaboration and partnerships, heightened trust building, enhanced women participation and

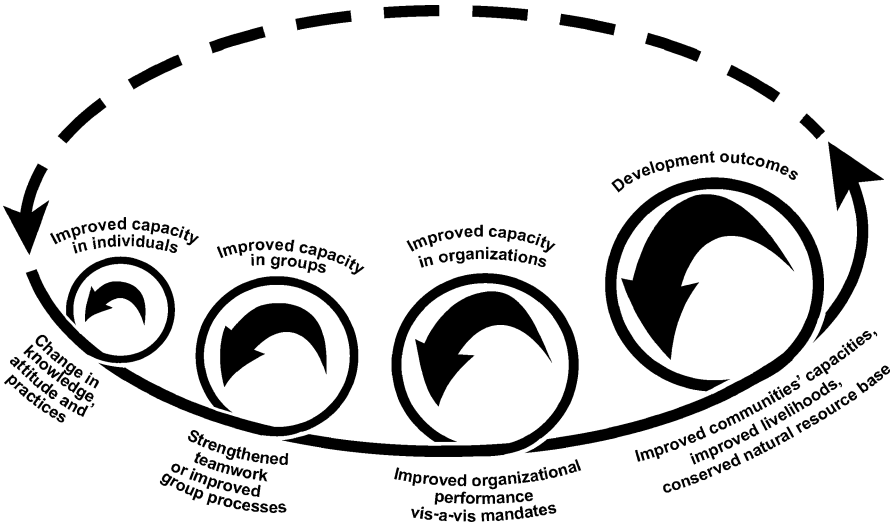

Fig. 2 Capacity changes and development outcomes

development, stronger community-based organizations, improved livelihood, and more active community participation in agricultural technology development (CDC-UPLB 2008).

The program also contributed improvements in policy, governance, and conservation of the NRM sites. Moreover, it enabled the facilitators and learning groups to produce knowledge and learning resources. In a way, all these paved the way for the mainstreaming of adaptive learning and networking in CBNRM at local and regional level (CDC-UPLB 2008). It appears that adaptive learning strategies are effective way to respond to, cope with, and reshape people's new reality – although gradually and not without challenges (Campilan et al. 2009).

22.4.3.1 Knowledge Exchange as Capacitation

As early as 2010, an initiative to link devcom practitioners across various countries in the regions, and among regions in the world to create a space for knowledge sharing in devcom, has been put in place. Called the Collaborative Change Communication (CCComdev), it is being spearheaded by FAO in partnership with academia, community media organizations, farmer organizations, and field projects. Content covers the themes on agriculture, forestry, natural resource management, food security, climate change, and resilience, among others.

CCComdev primarily uses a global web portal for worldwide access as well as regional hubs for Asia (ComdevAsia.org), Africa (Yen Kasa Africa), and Latin America (Onda Rural). It aims to create a global community of practice, strengthen partnerships, and promote knowledge sharing among a variety of rural actors including farmer organizations, community media, rural institutions, universities, research organizations, and development and communication practitioners.

The ComdevAsia.org is managed by AMARC (World Association of Rural Radio Broadcasters) Asia Pacific office. As a regional platform, it documents experiences and promotes knowledge sharing and joint initiatives in communication applied to agriculture and rural development. It supports communication, development, and community media practitioners based in Asia Pacific in the areas of sharing experiences and knowledge resources on communication for rural development, strengthening capacities and facilitating fruitful partnerships at regional and country level, and promoting a regional agenda and advocating for devcom in the rural sector. It is still a work in progress.

The online platform features good practices and lessons learned on devcom as applied to rural development challenges in Asia and the Pacific. It regularly posts news and updates keeping an eye on what's going on in the region. It also offers multimedia resources, useful links, and virtual community where registered members can connect to participate in thematic group discussions and online exchanges with colleagues in the region and even worldwide.

A notable activity of the platform was the conduct of regional virtual consultation last 2014 on three concerns affecting family farming: contribution of community media and ICTs to family farming; trends, challenges, and priorities for rural communication services; and a common agenda to promote south-south collaboration in devcom. Participants included those from the farmers' associations, media organizations, devcom practitioners, development organizations, civil society organizations, and academicians. Results have been collected to constitute a compendium that could help guide policy and program direction for devcom in family farming.

22.4.4 Professional Degrees in Devcom

Quebral (2002), the devcom torch bearer herself, acknowledged that the Los Baños School does not have the monopoly nor the ownership of intellectual property rights to devcom study and teaching. But it is to her credit, and the devcom faculty she worked with, that the first and the only three-tiered formal degree program in devcom can be found only in Asia – the Philippines that is. Based at the College of Development Communication (CDC), University of the Philippines, Los Baños (UPLB), the course offerings in devcom were started in the 1970s for the baccalaureate (BS) and masters (MS) and in the 1980s for the doctoral (PhD) degree. It also offers the Master of Professional Studies in devcom jointly with the UP Open University. Through the years, the BS Devcom curriculum has been adopted as a regular program offering in nine other universities all over the country.

The undergraduate curriculum at CDC-UPLB is unique as it does not only cover core courses in communication and related social sciences. It also includes elective technical courses readily available in other colleges in the same university such as agriculture, environment, nutrition, human ecology, and forestry, among others. This is to equip the students with technical grounding on the context when they eventually get employed in either the government or private sector.

The MS Devcom program prepares the student to be grounded both in devcom theory and practice and enable them to apply these as they serve at mid-level career positions. The PhD Devcom aims to produce competent planners and leaders of institutions engaged in communication designed primarily to assist development work.

Outside the country, the CDC has helped institutions to establish postgraduate devcom programs perceived from local perspectives and contexts. A case in example being CDC's collaboration with the Kasetsart University in Thailand, helping the latter develop a postgraduate program in devcom, Manyozo (2012) observes that Kasetsart's devcom courses, such as broadcasting for development, writing for development, or communication systems management, reflect the influence of the agricultural origins of the Los Baños development communication. Similar programs have emerged in India (Govind Ballabh Pant University of Agriculture and Technology), Europe (University of Reading), and Africa (Universities of Malawi, Mozambique, and Zambia). It is important to note that some of these programs do not necessarily offer subjects directly dealing with development, poverty reduction, economics, or sociology, but their philosophical orientation leans toward poverty reduction as well as the farming and rural communities since the "sheer number and its central role in the economy give the rural family the edge" when it comes to development communication training (Quebral, 1976/2012, 5).

22.4.5 Mainstreaming of Devcom in Civil Service

Mainstreaming devcom has always been one of the big challenges for the practice. Initially and while there are project funds, support to devcom is steadfast. Once project ends, devcom ends with it. The experience of Sarawak, Malaysia, in mainstreaming devcom in state civil service is an exception. Sarawak is a rich state, but at some point its officials realized the value of devcom in bringing about the needed social transformations among its populace.

No less than the former Chief Minister Tun Pehin Sri Abdul Taib Mahmud acknowledged the value and contributions of devcom in state governance. He is among the noted leaders in Asia who applied devcom principles in his work during his term. In addition, the current State Secretary made this pronouncement: "Development communication is people-centric and that should be the core of any development project that intends to bring about change among its intended stakeholders," (Sarawak Tribune, June 23, 2015). He knew that in any major development plan, there is an urgent need to listen to the people's fears as well as aspirations. Support from the people of Sarawak is crucial for the success and smooth implementation of the development program.

In 2015, the state was about to roll out its Sarawak Corridor of Renewal Energy (SCORE) program, a master plan for its socioeconomic development until 2030. Aware of people's lack of awareness and hesitant support to SCORE, the State Secretary decisively chose to bring in devcom to the state civil service.

Immediately, he called for sensitization and orientation seminar about devcom among other state officials and heads of key agencies to insure that everybody will be on the same page about devcom. A few months later, all heads of key government offices representing various sectors (energy, forestry, agriculture, health, education, lands management, indigenous peoples, etc.) were gathered in a 4-day devcom strategic planning course. Not satisfied with the short training, the head of the state through the Sarawak Development Institute (SDI) arranged for an 18-week mentoring program for officers of major government agencies and statutory bodies. He likewise promised to send the five outstanding performers to be sent to graduate programs in devcom abroad under full scholarship.

Recognizing further that continuous partnership with a devcom institution would be key to strengthening his devcom pillar in governance, SDI sought for a memorandum of understanding with a devcom service provider in the Philippines. Though the document took time to get approved, it took only a few weeks for another major decision to be made: a Development Communication Centre for the Sarawak state has to be established. It is to serve as a research and training center in devcom for civil servants in support of the government development programs.

In December 2017, the first devcom training under the DevCom Center's programs was carried out. The set of officers earlier trained, and a devcom student, about to complete her PhD in devcom, took over the training with invited devcom resource persons. Sarawak is now on its way in making devcom a mainstay of their state development programs and operations. More programs are being developed by the Center to cater to Sarawak's needs.

22.4.6 ICT for Development

Discourses of ICT for development have their roots in some of the experiments carried out in the region. The emphasis then was not just about the penetration of technology in the rural areas. It was about ethical inclusion of socially marginalized groups who were being digitally marginalized as well. As such, from a political economy perspective, ICT for development has always been about breaking up of knowledge monopolies, so as to ensure the access and participation of citizens in the knowledge society (Mansell 2017). This was the case with the landmark SITE experiment in India. This experiment emerged in light of the questions of broadcasting and how it could be employed to serve the ethnically and culturally diverse post-independent India. Even though one concern in India always revolved around heavy state intervention in media and communication policy, the focus on employing local rural radios in rural and regional areas was always critical (Kumar 1981). Over the years, various policies and committees have highlighted the need for establishing local radio stations within various districts, to provide educational broadcasting for both formal and nonformal instruction (Agrawal 1981; Kumar 1981).

It would make sense, therefore, that in the 1950s and in collaboration with UNESCO, India introduced a carefully designed network of rural radio forums,

known as the *Charcha Mandals* (Kumar 1981; Masani 1976). These forums provided rural development information especially on agriculture, which was transformed into horizontal communications through participatory discussions (Agrawal 2006, 1981). Binod Agrawal (2006, 5) observes the positive impact these listening forums were having, noting that the "summative impact evaluation indicated positive outcome of radio rural forum. Impressive knowledge gains as a result of radio listening were reported across illiterates and literates, agriculturists and non-agriculturists, village leaders and others." By 1960, the Indian government scaled out the project nationally by ensuring that these forums were part of the country's development plans (Manyozo 2012).

Probably building on the rural farm forum project, the Indian government would introduce two rural television projects; the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) which would be followed up by Kheda Communication Project (Agrawal 1981, 2006; Kumar 1981). Binod Agrawal (2006, 6) notes, regarding SITE:

> The one-year experiment aimed to provide direct broadcasting of instructional and educational television in 2400 villages in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan. Over 500 conventional television sets spread over 335 villages in Kheda district, Gujarat was also part of SITE. Satellite technologists had called SITE as leapfrogging from bullock cart stage to satellite communication, which did not discriminate between rural poor and urban rich for information and communication.

Even the educational model might have seemed very top-down and driven by technology, a major aspect of India's approach to ICT for development was the emphasis in the sociocultural context in which technology was made to operate. It was not just about technology. Important to mention is that all these ICT for development experiments were taking place alongside other national and regional development communication experiments.

22.4.7 Evaluation Framework for Capacity Development

As capacity development becomes a main staple in devcom interventions, the need for it to be part of evaluating the results, outcomes, and impacts has become an imperative. But beyond the typical changes in knowledge, attitudes, and practices that pervade devcom evaluation, two considerations arise: how can capacity development be effectively and meaningfully monitored and evaluated? What approaches may be used to systematically assess both the process and outcomes of capacity development?

This concern was at the heart of the "Evaluating Capacity Development" or ECD initiative launched in 2006 by CIP-UPWARD. It brought together nine Asian partner organizations working in ALL in CBNRM into an informal network. The network then embarked on the following tasks: develop and pilot methods for evaluating capacity development processes and outcomes, promote the effective

use of evaluation by organizations engaged in capacity development efforts, and facilitate wider learning and use of evaluation in capacity development (Vernooy et al. 2009). These organizations represented the academe, regional network, and community-based organizations from China, Mongolia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Developed and tried was the so-called 5Cs evaluation framework for capacity development: context, content, capacity, the capacitated, and capacity development process (Campilan et al. 2009).

Context refers to existing historical, sociopolitical, and environmental conditions and realities in the area where capacity building takes place. It includes local needs and interests, previous efforts, resources at hand, and policy situation. ***Content*** has to do with the themes and topics covered by the learning strategies. ECD, being attached to ALL in CBNRM as the capacity development program, focused on the earlier ten themes of PDC (Fig. 1). ***Capacity*** refers to the practices and other competencies that need to be improved among individuals, learning groups, and organizations where they belong. Under ECD, CBNRM-focused capacities were as follows: identifying and addressing rural development issues coherently, dynamically, from multiple perspectives and grounded reality; working with other stakeholders and bridging worlds of knowledge, expertise, points of view, aspirations, and interests; conducting participatory action, research addressing key challenges, or exploring new opportunities; designing and supporting viable CBNRM strategies in local context; as well as designing and using effective participatory monitoring and evaluation strategies that reinforce learning.

Beyond individual capacities and onto organizational capacities, these were defined as the ability of the organization to "be" (i.e., to maintain its specific identity, values, and mission); its ability to "do," that is, to perform functions and achieve stakeholder satisfaction; and its ability to "relate," that is, to manage external interactions while retaining autonomy (Campilan et al. 2009).

Capacitated refers to the learning participants – they could be researchers and practitioners as individual members, their learning groups as a collective entity, and the CBNRM organizations as the formal unit where the individuals and groups belong. They have been clearly identified at the onset of the initiative. ***Capacity development process*** refers to the learning strategies employed. The ECD initiative exemplified an egalitarian, partner-driven, open-learning approach and a responsive support system to empower all partners (Campilan et al. 2009). It employed a number of clearly defined learning strategies all throughout the ECD timeline. These included introductory workshop, online team discussions for the PDC themes, face-to-face regional forums, midterm workshop, online team evaluation and planning, cross-visits, and writeshop.

The experience enabled the participants to draw from their individual and collective experiences a basis for building up a practice-informed theory of ECD using the 5Cs. As an insight derived from the experience, it is recommended though that an adaptive mode of learning be used to continuously refine the concept and methods as better understanding of the context and the capacitated are acquired in the process.

22.5 Conclusions and Challenges

The chapter acknowledges that various practices and experiments in communication for development did emerge in different parts of the world, and in fact, for much of the global South, these would precede western modernity and development thinking. The Asian contributions have become widely celebrated as being the foundation stone of the field that is also known as communication for development and social change. The reason is that unlike other schools of thought that emerged in 1950s/1960s, the Asian contributions were supported by a comprehensive package of theory and scholarly experiments. These institutions have, over the years, comprised the Universities of the Philippines Los Baños, Kasetsart, Hyderabad, and regional research centers such as Southeast Asian Regional Center for Graduate Study and Research in Agriculture (SEARCA). It is out of these experiments and scholarly endeavors that the field of development communication would emerge as a distinct discipline of study.

It can thus be observed that the Asian contributions to the growth of development communication revolve more around practice and development of methodological models and techniques. More efforts on theorizing are needed to allow for a more robust growth of the discipline in the region.

Suffice to highlight however that these contributions have also been facilitated by technical and funding assistance from UN agencies and international development funding agencies. Though outsiders, the enabling environment they provided has favored the Asians to bring development communication practice to what it is today.

This discussion has thus attempted to spell out the seven areas in which Asia made original and substantial contributions to the field. As has been explored in the chapter, these contributions comprise the following aspects: (1) participatory planning, (2) rural communication, (3) learning as capacitation; (4) devcom degree training, (5) mainstreaming devcom, (6) ICT for development, and (7) evaluation framework for capacity development. Central to these contributions was the idea that a well-skilled graduate with the relevant tools for living with people could bring people and relevant stakeholders to co-create development interventions that would benefit families and communities in ways that they could explain and experience at that local level. And it is the cumulative contributions of these local-level interventions that would bring about social change. In this case, social change was not considered a social force that sweeps through a society, a community – rather social change is a confluence, a sum of gradual changes taking place in various local communities. This is the essence of the Asian contributions – and it explains why, then as well as now, a development communicator should first and foremost master the skills and tools for community engagement.

Yet with increasing influence of donor funding and multiple players, standardization of capacity building initiatives becomes a problem. There are increasing cases where capacity building through training has become arbitrary, rather than selective. Some important but simple questions may need to be raised to better rationalize the proliferation of development communication trainings – what knowledge, attitudes, and skills are needed to accomplish the task? Is training in development

communication the best option to pursue the task? Nevertheless, some concept building initiatives are still relatively new in Asia and in the formative stage like ECD. More systematization is needed so that a practice-driven theory in evaluating capacity development in development communication may be enhanced to stand a firm ground.

The chapter recommends that a strong political will from a development communication champion can be a game changer. The afore-discussed Sarawak experience shows how a typically top-down state governance can introduce radical change if there is a devcom champion around. How do we look for or build devcom champions? Mainstreaming development communication is one such approach. There are now few successes in the area of mainstreaming devcom in development work. But on the whole and despite years of field work, capacitation, technical assistance, and evidences gathered, devcom in Asia is still considered a suspicious or unwelcome guest in many development programs. Development planners see it as something they can do without; and for project implementers, it is just a burdensome add-on to their undertakings. While some windows of opportunities are slowly opening up, the scale of appreciation for devcom remains insignificant. This is borne out by the simple fact that every time we do development communication in Asia, the first thing that will be asked of us is "what is devcom?"

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Development Communication in Latin America

23

José Luis Aguirre Alvis

Contents

23.1 Introduction 444
23.1.1 A Long Way to Reach the Utopia of a Democratic Communication 445
23.1.2 Communication for Development in Latin America: A Trend of the Past 20 Years 451
23.2 The Use of the Radio as a Central Promoter of Communication for Development 454
23.3 The Introduction of the Right to Communicate as a Central Goal of Communicational Changes 457
23.4 Existence of Diverse Social Sectors Fighting for the Right to Communicate 458
23.5 Knowledge Production from Returning to C4D in Latin America, Emerging Communication for Living Well, and a Decolonial Approach 461
23.6 State of Training and Capacity Building in C4D 463
23.7 Conclusions 464
References 465

Abstract

Latin America has strong roots in the field of communication for development (C4D) which started even before any kind of theory on this subject emerged in western academic centers. The social and cultural context of this region sets conditions for a natural existence of experiences related to C4D approaches. A reason for this might be the oral tradition of most Latin American cultures which has been based on their indigenous origins and forms of communication until now. Another factor that makes communication practices be linked to efforts to promote social change is the structural setting in several countries and the

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persistence of poverty conditions and unequal distribution of opportunities among the diverse social sectors. Despite the course of at least three moments of the presence of C4D in Latin America identified as development communication, development support communication, and alternative communication for democratic development, this approach is permanently modified by the presence of new social and collective actors, different resources, and means that allow this practice, as well as new social demands of the community. These experiences are, however, recovering the regional tradition of understanding the process of communication as an ethical, aesthetical, and political practice based on dialogue and participation to reach conditions for survival and social change. Contemporary Latin America presents new visions which have an impact on C4D paradigms of Communication for Living Well and the analysis of the decolonial approach in the field of communication.

Keywords

Alternative communication · Horizontal communication · Latin American School of Communication · New world information and communication order · Social change · Communication for development

23.1 Introduction

This chapter's scope of interest is communication for development (C4D) or communication for social change in the Latin American region. This chapter aims to provide a description of the theoretical and practical existence of C4D in this region taking a closer look at its origin and analyzing its current state showing main actors, proposals, and stages of tendency in a non-exhaustive descriptive manner. The chapter also aims to inform about the existence of the communication for development field regaining part of the thought of the Latin American School of Communication that set a critical perspective in all its comments as well as showing the contextual scenario of the region considering that C4D operates under a social, economic, and political framework. The literature review completed is partial because a thorough picture of the whole field of C4D might require a more extensive analysis. This chapter also offers a description of the current tendencies and practices of C4D in Latin America organizing this review in five areas. A summary of the intellectual production made in the past 20 years offering a glance of relevant documents related to C4D is included too. More than a catalog-driven approach, this chapter intends to introduce information about C4D or communication for social change experience from the very deep roots which characterize this field from the Latin American point of view, needs, and theoretical characteristics. The final aim of this chapter is to find central points which, from the Latin American experience, will allow the reader to understand and pinpoint the specific context, characteristics, and theoretical conditions that provide a current and future perspective about the relation between processes and means of communication and social change and better living for the people in this region.

23.1.1 A Long Way to Reach the Utopia of a Democratic Communication

Farewell to Aristotle: Horizontal Communication (1979), a representative paper written by Luis Ramiro Beltran, Bolivian communicator, set the beginning of democratic communication. Because of communication for development studies, a radical shift from the traditional perception of the process of social communication to its one-way-oriented model started in Latin America. The linear structure – source, encoder, message, channel, decoder, receiver, and effect and its main purpose of persuasion – shifted to a relationship model or a reciprocal paradigm. The information structure under discussion allowed the use of notions, such as bidirectional relation, dialogic process, horizontal contact between equal parts through process and similar horizontal new elements. Later on, Beltrán used other scholars' previous work, such as Frank Gerace and Juan Díaz Bordenave's. These authors had previously attempted to look into the human communication experience as a bilateral sharing dynamic. Beltrán, therefore, devised a definition of the nature of the human communication process based on three basic elements: access, dialogue, and participation (Beltrán 1979). Both Bordenave, known historically and a pioneer of this kind of dynamic as the "returned communication" concept (Bordenave 1962), and Gerace came out before using the concept of "horizontal communication" for the first time (Gerace 1973), but Beltrán used these perceptions structuring a concept about the nature of the human communication process as a democratic experience rooted in three basic elements: access, dialogue, and participation (Beltrán 1979).

The concept of human communication process by Beltrán also recaptured the regional political debate of the 1980s which stated deep criticism toward the social field and its relation to power, in which practitioners and philosophers in the education and communication fields, among others, Antonio Pasquali (1970) and Paulo Freire (1970, 1973), took part. They brought back the notion of communication as a mental cooperation process and a shared dialogue. This led to Beltrán's core definition, "Communication is the process of democratic social interaction based upon exchange of symbols by which humans voluntarily share experiences under conditions of free and egalitarian access, dialogue and participation. Everyone has the right to communicate in order to satisfy communication needs by enjoying communication resources. Humans communicate to carry out multiple purposes. Exerting influence on others' behavior is not the main one" (Beltrán 1979: 16).

Beltrán introduced a horizontal or bidirectional approach challenging the unidirectional perceptions of the human communication process and the persuasion control-oriented models. However, loyally he considers as promoters of this notion in Latin America intellectuals experienced in the reality of this region; he refers: "Frank Gerace, an American living in Bolivia, was the first to suggest the notion of horizontal communication. Paraguayan specialist in educational communication Juan Diaz Bordenave (1962) soon engaged in creative reflection on the matter, which made him a chief proponent of theoretical bases for the democratization of communication for development" (Beltrán 2008: 253).

Until now Latin America and its local communication experiences have kept a tradition that characterizes the core thought in communication that was used in the 1980s which expressed the idea of social communication as a human-centered experience rather than an informative act. In this region, social communication practice maintains a close relation to communal styles of living not only due to a theoretical drive but also due to its particular social, cultural, and political context. Cultural roots of indigenous societies, whether Andean or Amazonian, connected to their sharing practices and community life and its relation to nature, which are all a characteristic of precolonial and indigenous societies, are closely related to today's communication practices, for instance, the oral tradition, the connection among their context, nature, and the spiritual aspect which provide people with content structure and message direction as well as knowledge transmission and preservation very different from sense diffusion oriented toward individualism or self-reference.

Beltrán explains Latin American scholars' position and perception by stating, "Latin Americans have been the earliest opponents of the traditional concept of communication derived from unilinear Aristotelian thinking, which prevailed across the world unchallenged until the late 1960s. It was them who, digging beyond the apparent simplicity of the paradigm, discovered its undemocratic implications. And, as a consequence, they were also among the first ones to propose new views on communication, new models to reshape it according to genuine democracy. This intellectual innovation not only had broad acceptance in the region, but it was also eventually acknowledged, and even adopted by some of the most prestigious U.S. theoreticians in this field, such as Schramm and Rogers, and even Lasswell himself" (Beltrán 1993:32).

Everett M. Rogers recognized the impact of Beltran in his own perception and new definition of development by saying, "The definition of development I proposed was very much influenced by a Latin American communication scholar, Luis Ramiro Beltran. If anyone ought to be given credit for this definition, he should be the one. And this new definition dealt not just with economic development but also with social development: Increases in literacy levels, more years of education, lower infant death rates, greater life expectancy, fuller equality and more press freedom. This is still the main definition of development" (Rogers 1994: 3).

The Latin American Critical Communication Approach named by the Latin American School of Communication, and historically proposed by José Marques de Melo (Marques Ferrari and Antoniacci Tuzzo 2013) in the 1980s, combined the intellectual production of social communication researchers and practitioners, concentrating their critical approach on central factors, such as challenging the concept of development, the concept of communication, the blindness of communication studies related to the social structure, foreign theoretical and methodological influence into the practice of communication research, and the need to put a human center approach into development studies.

Despite criticism to the western-oriented theory in the field of communication, Uranga acknowledges that "We will not fall, however, into the simplicity of assigning the full weight of our ills to the decisions that came from abroad. None of the above would have happened without the open and active complicity of many political and military leaders and, most importantly, individuals and economic

groups within our countries. Many of them obtained, at least momentarily, huge profits and profits that were supported by the misfortune of many of their compatriots. Today, without totally neglecting any of the previous items, problematizing the relationship between communication and development requires putting the most relevant data of this social scenario on the table. This should also be done in the democratic system, citizenship, modes of participation, and the public space where all this is debated and introduced symbolically by communication. By choosing this path, we are clear that we will leave other traditional reflections on the contribution that communication has made to the development of other initiatives which are also valuable and can be the subject of other considerations. We start off with a concept of development that focuses on the human being, on his personal and cultural best, and seeks to harmonize all material and symbolic resources based on a social construction that contributes to a dignified life of all the citizens. Thus, understanding development from all aspects is tied to culture and communication processes. Communication and communicators are required to make fundamental contributions to the construction of development, but they acquire very different characteristics in each period" (Uranga 2005:77).

23.1.1.1 Theoretical Disagreement and Need for Social Change

Social communication in Latin America has been historically guided by its critical nature. Peirano refers to this characteristic pointing out, "In order to understand and study communication in Latin America it has always been said that we should understand and analytically process all several theoretical traditions that came to the region trying to explain communication advance worldwide" (Peirano 2017:11).

In addition, Peirano states that the ones interested in "thinking communication" have worked processing and stating that the worldwide knowledge that was inherited was not enough. It is a fact that the most important researchers in social sciences and the ones concerned about communication issues in Latin America approached the field demonstrating strong criticism toward social knowledge that was delivered along the countries of this region in the midst of the twentieth century, period in which the first communication programs arose showing a clear influence by US theories (Peirano 2017).

According to Peirano, this regional quality shown in communication studies has been a permanent proof of the close relation between communication and politics. In Latin America, supporting social change was related to questioning the status quo and confronting the establishment. This critical approach also influenced communication for development theories that started in this region. The first theory challenged the spread of innovations articulated by Everett Rogers, considering that the conception of development was oriented toward the modernization of the subcultures of the Third World. The use of the means of communication was meant to deliver information to promote the adoption of practices mainly in the fields of agriculture and health. Latin American practitioners opposed to straightforward models of communication linked their criticism to revealing ideological or non-contextual foreign approaches.

A trend in communication for development, introduced and spread in Latin America in the 1960s, was challenged by the recognition of practices in "alternative communication" (Reyes Matta 1983; Atwood and McAnany 1986). The forms of this alternative communication reached global goals in communication. Atwood and McAnany state, "Hence, the goals of alternative communication endeavors include the creation of a New International Information Order (NIIO) as well as democratic and popular communication systems" (Atwood and McAnany 1986:19).

23.1.1.2 The Nature of This Utopia

According to Beltrán, communication for development was introduced as a theory in Latin America by the end of the 1950s and early 1960s; however, this approach started years earlier through some practice (Beltrán 1993). This took place a decade before any kind of theory was developed, specifically by foreign universities mainly in the USA. It is recognized that the communication for development approach began thanks to two phenomena in Latin America. The first phenomenon has to do with the existence, nature, and style of broadcasting events called worker's radio that belonged to a network of radio stations, named the Bolivian Miner's radio. This experience is the genesis of the practice of communication for development because of its collective broadcasting style of property, use of local native languages, close contact with and participation of local listeners, production of dramas based on regional tales and daily life stories, and self-financed nature of their activities.

The second phenomenon, in Latin American history of communication for development, took place in Colombia by the end of the 1940s simultaneously. This was an experience of a radio for peasants called "Radio Sutatenza," a Catholic Church radio station located in the rural valley of Tenza in Colombia and directed by José Joaquín Salcedo, a priest. The original approach that was introduced in 1948 meant to use radiobroadcasting to promote educational content and even literacy for its large indigenous and peasant listeners. Radio Sutatenza contributed to the origin of a long-lasting tradition called educational radio experience in Latin America. Despite the closing of ACPO (Acción Cultural Popular), the leading program that was generated by Sutatenza's experience, its original effort using radio to promote social inclusion of rural population, as a model, was imitated in Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador.

In this region, there has been a widespread belief regarding leading an economic expansion as a goal of progress since the 1950s. Then, a critique from the field of economy gradually came out at the very center of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), or CEPAL as it is known in Latin American countries, the most relevant center in this field located in Chile. Doubts regarding the idea of concentration of benefits from technological progress and development conditions began. An intellectual movement located in Portuguese, Mexico, Buenos Aires, and Caracas also expressed a need to understand development in light of wealth inequalities and opportunities that derive from the capitalist expansion and later on from the strengthening of imperialisms as it was mentioned by Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto in their classic analysis of *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (1969).

A theory about understanding dependency conditions and its close relation to development possibilities was presented as a counter-critique, so the nature of unequal conditions for growing Latin American societies asked for another kind of development. This is because the imbalance affected most of the rest of the Third World. Beltrán refers to the emergence of a proposal of another kind of development that was presented in the United Nations General Assembly in 1975 by a group sponsored by the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, in which Juan Somavía, a Latin American economist, played an important role. This model proposed a development based on the satisfaction of needs of the majorities, on endogenous and self-reliant approaches, and on harmony with the environment (Beltrán 1993:13).

More importantly, Cardoso and Faletto's ideas helped to change the linear models of development introducing a dual approach. As they mentioned, "our approach is both structural and historical. It not only emphasizes the structural conditioning of social life, but also the historical transformations of structures due to conflict, social movements, and class struggles. Thus, our methodology is historical-structural (. . .) In other words, our approach should bring both aspects of social structures: a mechanism of self-perpetuation and change prospect to the fore front" (Cardoso and Faletto, 1979:10–11).

Cicilia Krohling states, "a theory of dependency is somehow a theory of participatory development. A theory of modernization, as was delivered by Walt Rostow, considered development as a linear process, a point reached through a modernization strategy. A theory of dependency means to cut the vision of modernization. The pioneers of this approach, such as, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, criticized the unequal relation between central countries and peripheric countries, because the first ones looked for benefits and commerce been benefited by the peripheric nations. The central countries did not have the perception that development was further than economic growth and industrialization, then a theory of a participatory development was growing based on an active community participation, because development was a process built in common and directed to solve real conditions and concrete needs of a nation. In this sense Jan Servaes says that there is not only a universal model of development, furthermore, development is a dialectic process, integral and multidimensional, because this might be different for one nation in comparison to another" (Krohling 1997: 2).

Servaes and Malikhao in relation to the dependency theory that grew in Latin America conclude, "As a result of a general intellectual 'revolution' that took place in the mid-sixties, this Euro-or ethno-centric perspective on development was put into discussion by social scientists in Latin America, and gave birth to the theory of dependency and underdevelopment. The approach from the dependency was part of a general structural re-orientation in the social sciences. The 'dependentistas' at first, they concentrated on the effects of dependence in the countries peripheral, but implicitly in their analyzes was the idea that development and underdevelopment they should be understood in a global context (Chew and Denemark, 1996). The paradigm of dependency played an important role in the movement the New World Economic Order (NWEO) and the New World Order of Information and Communication (NOMIC) from the end of the 1960s to the first years of ninety. At that time, new states in Africa, Asia and the success of the Socialist movements in

Cuba, China, Chile and other countries provided the objectives of political, economic and cultural self-determination within the community of the nations. These new countries shared the idea of becoming independent of the superpowers and moved to form the Non-Aligned States. The movement Non-aligned defined development as a political battle" (Servaes and Malikhao 2012:12).

The dependency approach helped to make a clear difference between development and underdevelopment conditions. The analysis went further from the economic dependency to the cultural dependency. In this field found a relation between mass communication as a key tool for cultural domination. Some followers of the dependency theory conclude ". . .in short, that underdevelopment is not due to the survival of archaic institutions and the existence of capital shortage in regions that have remained isolated from the stream of world history. On the contrary, underdevelopment was and still is generated by the very same historical process which also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself" (Cockcroft et al. 1972:9).

23.1.1.3 Understanding C4D Path in Latin America Before Communication for Social Change Started

Beltrán presented a three stage model of the communication for development evolution in Latin America in 1993. This trend started by the end of the 1950s and lasted until the end of the 1980s. This description includes three major conceptualizations that have prevailed in Latin America in reference to understanding the relationship between social communication and social development: "development communication," "development support communication," and "alternative communication for democratic development" (Beltrán 1993).

The latest period, alternative communication for democratic development, somehow is still alive leading some specific practices of C4D. It was characterized by ". . .expanding and balancing people's access and participation in the communication process, at both mass media and interpersonal grassroot levels. Development should secure, in addition to material gains, social justice, freedom for all, and the majority rule" (Beltrán 1993).

This perception was linked to Paulo Freire's ideal of social change in Latin America that started with the promotion of a radical shift in the institutional educational practices considered oppressive by its authoritarian and instructional style and which have impacted on the communication field claiming a change in perceptions and practices from extension structures to dialogic and democratic contacts among people. Freire's democratic utopia in communication found close relation to rejecting the sender/receiver schema that operates under a persuasive paradigm changing it with an alternative communication, participatory, democratic, popular, and horizontal experience bringing back the meaning of human communication process. Freire said, "What is utopian is not unattainable. It is not idealism. It is a dialectic process of denouncing and announcing; denouncing a dehumanizing structure and announcing a humanizing structure" (Beltrán 1979:1).

In Latin America, there is still a debate between searching objectives for social change through communication processes (utopia) and advocating technological use

of the mass media expecting to reach large numbers of people to influence their behavior and attitude (information). These views arose and clearly clashed in the 1980s although the grassroots practices outside the theoretical framework showed their own perspectives and goals linked to producing social change.

23.1.2 Communication for Development in Latin America: A Trend of the Past 20 Years

Beltrán's three moments of the existence of communication for development in Latin America identified the timeline of this experience starting in the end of the 1950s and going along toward the 1980s (Beltrán 1993). Years later, Beltrán enlarged his analysis that took 10 years through his study *Communication for Development in Latin America: An Account of Fifty Years* (Beltrán 2005). This study extended the scope until the 1990s presenting a review of some of the advances and failures of the trend related to reaching the utopia of communication and development in Latin America under the principles of access, dialogue, and participation.

An attempt to draw the scenario from that path to the following years might be an almost impossible task due to its complexity and broadness. However, it might be useful to keep using Beltrán's three stages of communication for development to organize an approximate review so that it is necessary to take a look into the Latin American context in which the communication and development is located.

23.1.2.1 Political Context in Latin America and the Growth of C4D After the 1990s

The political scenario of Latin America in the 1990s showed the consolidation of democratic structures of government that came back to the region as a common aspect by the end of the 1970s. Cayuela describes the political context of Latin America stating, "Throughout 1978 and 1979, a series of political events occurred that seemed a presage of the progressive democratization of Latin America, a continent traditionally ruled by military dictatorships. Presidential elections were held in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, and Venezuela. Other forms of popular vote also took place: parliamentary elections in Brazil, parliamentary and municipal elections in El Salvador and Guatemala, and intended elections for the formation of a constituent assembly in Peru" (Cayuela 1980: 29).

Despite the existence of democratic structures in this region, there were not only differences among countries and their realities but also perceptions and practices regarding the same democracy. Uranga expresses that democracies that came after strong dictatorships in Latin America can be known as minimal democracies because of factors such as election of authorities through voting, alternation in power, constitutional legality, and the fact that rights such as association and information might be far from a true democratic sense. This also turned into an obstacle for ideals or proposals on national projects, political sovereignty, or economical independency due to the inheritance of neoliberal governments that dominated the economy and

policies in the 1980s leaving an effect of a greater concentration of political and economic power associated with the loss of prestige of political parties for new governments (Uranga 2005).

An undermined democracy also leads to an increase in inequalities and avoids equal opportunities for a good living among population, especially among historically neglected sectors of society. This context demanded communication for development or communication for social change as a necessary means to defend human rights and also to produce political structures that can represent the interest of the powerless. One of the tasks of democracy, within this context, is to allow living in a reality that is essentially diverse. Therefore, according to Uranga, communication for development needs to promote democratic communication by working on otherness and its complexity in order to avoid the traditional existence of unilateral powers (Uranga 2005).

Under actions and persistence to pursue an alternative communication in Latin America, debates on practice and concepts had been guided, since the 1990s, by civil movements and their expectation for bringing back and expanding the notion of the right to communicate that was proposed at UNESCO's debates and the MacBride's report long ago (MacBride 1980).

Throughout the 1990s, this critical approach of communication has shown its presence in the communication for development field in Latin America, mainly oriented to discuss the neoliberal economy models. This is because the political environment stated norms that affected people's interest in their access to telecommunication, radio frequencies, and the concentration of means of communication among private and even public networks.

Following up Beltrán's third stage of development for communication in Latin America, alternative communication for democratic development, three attempts to describe a new scenario after the 1990s were made. The first one refers to development-communication or communication for development coined by Adalid Contreras Baspineiro (2000). Contreras refers to this new moment as, "Development as a conscious process design built by people. It starts with a horizon that is constructed, everyday, from a substantial, contradictory field with cultural conflicts which is permanently reconstructed under continuous tension" (Contreras 2000:21). This scenario shows new routes that link communication and development. Contreras explains that communication is then enriched by studies on cultural consumption, drawing a paradigm that puts value on mediation and meaning shift regarding the appropriateness of messages due to cultural complexity.

The second one, within the evolution of communication for development, was proposed by Alfonso Gumucio Dagron who called the period after the 1990s as communication for social change (2007). Gumucio believes "The contribution of Latin America that has pioneered communication for development" is significant, both in generating concrete experiences and also critical thinking. We have developed critical thinking on communication for social change as well as for development, from a participatory perspective, which is one of our remarkable advantages. We have developed important experiences at a local, national, and regional level, and "we have proved that citizen and community communication that is based on dialogue and

participation ensures sustainable and appropriate social development and social change" (Gumucio 2007:1).

Gumucio explains, "From communication to development, communication for social change has inherited a concern for culture and community traditions, respect for local knowledge, horizontal dialogue between development experts, and development subjects. While communication for development became an institutional model, and to some extent vertical, applicable and replicable, as shown in experiences supported by FAO, communication for social change does not intend to define neither the means, the messages, nor the techniques before hand because it is considered that it is from the process itself, inserted in the community universe, that proposals for action must emerge" (Gumucio 2003:22).

The concept of communication for social chance has main premises to be characterized. Gumucio takes into account seven aspects as strengths for CFSC: "a. the sustainability of social change is safer when affected individuals and communities embrace the process and the communication contents as theirs; b. the CFSC, which is horizontal and empowers community feelings, should spread the voice of the poorest, and have at its core local contents and the view of appropriation of the communicational process; c. communities must be agents of their own change and managers of their own communication; d. instead of the emphasis on persuasion and the transmission of information and knowledge from outside; e. the CFSC promotes dialogue, debate and negotiation from within the community; and. the results of the CFSC process must go beyond individual behaviors, and take into account social norms, current policies, culture and the context of development; f. the CFSC means dialogue and participation, with the purpose of strengthening the cultural identity, the trust, the commitment, the appropriation of the word and community strengthening; g. the CFSC rejects the linear model of transmission of information from a sender center to a receiver. It promotes a cyclic process of interaction between community shared knowledge and its collective action" (Gumucio 2003:23).

Gumucio says, "The central concept of communication for social change has been presented as a dialogic process and debate which is based on tolerance, respect, equity, social justice, and active participation of all" (Gumucio 2003:22).

The third one, view that came into Latin America after the 1990s, is Communication from Diversity coined by José Luis Aguirre Alvis, which might still be current. It explains that today new constants converge which have to do with the emergence of debates on decoloniality, complexity in the social sciences scenario, inclusive citizenship, as well as the observation of the same technological environment of telecommunications that unlike the previous belief that discourses and media would concentrate on a few hands can be seen as spaces of opportunity and inclusion of greater diversity. At the moment, communication makes its intercultural dimension visible, and perhaps because of this, it recovers its essential meaning: communication is only given. It is possible a goal thanks to the encounter of one ego with another one. They function in a constant discovery without ignoring the existence of tension as well as the possibility of experiencing the same dialogue as a transitory condition. This tension is also the product of being left or not occupied

by an alter ego or another. It can also be considered that the communicative space itself is supposed to be given through the encounter between diverse communities because only then this difference, which creates the experiential, existential, and symbolic load, is capable of generating the construction of a space for dialogue in which one willingly participates without a desire of invading the Other. Let's imagine that the Other takes part in the construction of the meaning dynamics, contributing to the encounter and construction of this sense considering diversity and divergence which gives the communicative experience the demand of being willing to listen, being welcoming and generous, and accepting that communication is the means to learn who one is as well as who the other one is as a result of the interaction between them (Aguirre 2011:6).

23.1.2.2 Current Practice of Building Alternative Communication for Development

Latin America has been the ground of experiences that nurtured practice of alternative communication for democratic development in the past 20 years. This trend can be summarized on five lines of evidence that can describe part of the contemporary C4D context in this region: (1) the use of radio as a central promoter of communication for development; (2) the introduction of the right to communicate as a central part for a communication for social change; (3) the presence of diverse social sectors using communication to fight for rights; (4) knowledge production from bringing back the concept of C4D in Latin America, communication for Living Well, and a decolonial approach; and (5) training context, building capacity in C4D, and knowledge production.

23.2 The Use of the Radio as a Central Promoter of Communication for Development

Radio in Latin America is strongly and historically related to experiences of alternativity, ranging from alternative property, diverse actors and their needs, diverse bands of broadcasting, diverse power, and technology to a direct presence of listeners and community radio, which are part of a tradition which had been rooted in almost 70 years. Community radio, as it is known today, has gone through a long previous process using radio stations in the rural area and native speakers in urban radio stations. This had been somehow similar to practices of popular communication. Radio is still the means that creates proximity with its listeners and has more chances than others to establish participatory relations. Community radio, in several countries and regions in Latin America, created varied and rich diversity of experiences. This might have caused that many studies related to C4D in Latin America have radio as a central point. A tradition of community radio, which started in the 1940s with the genesis of the Miner's radio, is still going on with different conditions regarding the legal framework. After a long fighting in some countries, community radiobroadcasting is recognized legally. Radio in Latin America, especially in the rural and native areas, keeps

the oral aspect of its local cultures which can fit contextual communicative systems as its most important advantage. Due to an unfair lack of acknowledgment of the existence and role of community radio in the 1990s, this condition has changed in some countries, so that it has become a legal practice that arouse in the middle of traditional commercial radiobroadcasting and government radiobroadcasting. Community radiobroadcasting is a third path and no longer an invisible experience of using a means of communication in order to reach social change. Not only segments of rural population at international borders and isolated regions but also cases of community radio within urban areas are a spread growing experience. This is the case of school radio that was spread in Colombian projects which is linking the use of radio and rebuilding a culture of peace.

However, despite the power it has as alternative media, community radio has found opposition in some countries where these cases are rejected by government or commercial interests. Regarding changes in relative regulations to allow the existence of community radiobroadcasting, Herrera explains, "Regarding secondary bills, the Organic Bill of Communication of Ecuador passed in 2013 proposes the democratization of the radio spectrum by allocating 34% of radio and television frequencies for community media, 33% for public media and 33% for commercial media. Allocating at least a third of the spectrum seeks that popular organizations, indigenous peoples and social movements (youth, environmentalists, feminists, etc.) could create means to freely and fully exercise their right to communication, producing and transmitting their own content. Something similar happened to audiovisual media bills of Argentina and Uruguay – passed in 2009 and 2014- which were discussed by the entire population, approved by a large majority in national congresses and endorsed by constitutional courts. However, the Argentine bill was changed by executive decree in 2016 generating a strong rejection from community media, social organizations, universities and even the office of the Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (CIDH) which urged Mauricio Macri's administration to pass a new law in accordance with international standards of freedom of expression (Busso 2016)" (Herrera 2017:7).

Regarding Bolivia, its constitution asserts that the "State shall support the creation of communitarian means of communication with equal conditions and opportunities in Art. 107" (Bolivia 2008). Telecommunications Bill 164 of 2011, also acknowledges a new division of the spectrum allowing the existence of community radiobroadcasting, Article 10. Distribution of frequencies for broadcasting. I. Distribution of all frequency band channels for the service of modulated frequency broadcasting and analog television nationally where there is availability will be subject to the following:

1. "State, up to thirty-three percent.
2. Commercial, up to thirty-three percent.
3. Community social, up to seventeen percent.
4. Peasant indigenous peoples, intercultural and indigenous communities as well as African-Bolivian communities, up to seventeen percent" (Bolivia 2011:15).

In contrast to both cases, this scenario is unequal and complex for the rest of Latin American countries. Throughout the 162nd period of public hearings of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) held in Buenos Aires, Argentina (May 2017), Javier García a representative of Observacom stated, "Out of the thirteen countries studied in Latin America, only four of them, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Colombia, have a regulation that is in agreement with Inter-American standards developed by the Rapporteurship (Special Rapporteurship for Freedom of Expression) and IACHR. Then, the other nine countries recognize community media but with discriminatory rules of higher or lower severity."

At the same IACHR hearings, it was concluded that "In Guatemala, Chile, Brazil and Peru, communities that operate their radio stations and then arrange their regulation with the government, are criminally penalized. In Peru and Guatemala, advocates of these radios are punished with the crime of 'aggravated theft' or 'theft of frequency,' which the AMARC representative explained has no relation to radio broadcasting. Legally, you cannot steal a frequency because the theft is either of energy or heat, and a radio frequency does not adhere to either situation. This has been explained several times by the ITU (International Telecommunications Union, of the United Nations), Loreti explained." In addition, García from Observacom said that "Legal recognition of community broadcasting is not enough. Rules of recognition of this media contain discriminatory conditions that prevent their development." He added that "restrictions on the exercise of freedom of expression continue. Several Central American countries continue to deny this right to indigenous communities and indigenous peoples to have their own media outlets." This is the case of Guatemala. García said that another difficulty faced by community radio stations in many cases, according to Loreti, is their definition as rural radios. "Radio stations should be recognized with a community of interests that are not limited to a specific geographic location." Loreti explains that this is happening in Peru and Paraguay, where the definition of "community" unequivocally mandates that they should be rural or remote radios. One of the examples mentioned by this researcher was Brazil "whose legislation only allows community radios to have a kilometer, a little more than half a mile, of coverage in the radio spectrum."

To the field of communication for development, community radiobroadcasting in Latin America represents the ground in which the right to community is under fight. New community sectors, innovative approaches for using radiobroadcasting potential, and even finding convergence with new technologies to offer opportunities to deliver messages through online radio are arising in several countries of the region. Another case is the recent opening of online radio that has also been more affordable for social sectors that were neglected access to radiobroadcasting frequencies. This digital shift is not totally present in Latin America, but it is expected to do so in the upcoming years despite the fact that technology and access to this new system might be slow and somehow costly for listeners and viewers. However, this expansion of channels might be an opportunity to redistribute the access to sources that were scarce in the analogical system.

23.3 The Introduction of the Right to Communicate as a Central Goal of Communicational Changes

There are evident changes in the legal framework for communication and information of countries that consider the practice of communication as a human right. Regarding this, Latin America is the only region in the world that can show cases in which the right to communicate has scaled to reach the constitutional level. This happens in two countries: Bolivia and Ecuador.

The right to communicate was initially established by Jean D'Arcy in 1969. It expressed a dream in which one day, all states might recognize a new right, the right to communicate (J. D'Arcy Revue de l'UER, November 1969), and this seems to be the case of Latin America.

Herrera explains that Latin America reports important progress in the recognition of the right to communicate in regulation frameworks and its implementation through public policies aimed to building new media models that ensure content diversity and plurality of voice plurality in the public debate. In Bolivia and Ecuador, the right to communicate is recognized in their Constitutions. "In Argentina and Uruguay, bills were passed to democratize the spectrum of audiovisual media, and in El Salvador, there were legal reforms that at least recognize community media and democratize access to media and radio electric spectrum" (Herrera 2017:5).

This new legal framework creates conditions in favor of a communication for development and social change. According to Herrera, the Constitution of Ecuador, approved in 2008, establishes a section on Communication and Information in the Chapter of "Rights of Good Living." Article 16 states that all individuals, independently or collectively, have the right to:

- "Free, intercultural, inclusive, diverse and participatory communication, in all areas of social interaction, by any means and form, in its own language and with its own symbols.
- Universal access to information and communication technologies.
- The creation of social communication media, and equal access to radio frequencies for management of public, private and community radio and television stations, and free bands for wireless networks functioning.
- Access and use of all forms of visual, auditory, sensory and other communication that allow the inclusion of people with disabilities.
- Incorporating participation spaces established in the Constitution in the field of communication" (Herrera 2017: 5).

Regarding Bolivia's case, the Constitution of the Plurinational State of 2008 introduces a specific chapter for social communication and in two articles (106 and 107) states "I. The State ensures the right to communication and the right to information (Article 106). II. The State ensures Bolivians the right to freedom of expression, opinion and information, to amend and reply, and the right to freely publish ideas by whatever means of publication, without prior censorship. Freedom of expression III. The State ensures freedom of expression and the right to

communication and information to workers of the press. IV. The conscience clause on workers' information is recognized. Article 107. I. Public means of communication must contribute to the promotion of ethical, moral and civic-minded values of different cultures of this country with the creation and publication of multi-lingual educational programs and in an alternative language for the disabled. II. Information and opinions issued by public means of communication must respect principles of truth and responsibility. These principles shall be put into practice through rules on ethics and self-regulation of journalists' organizations and means of communication and their law. III. Public means of communication shall not form, either directly or indirectly, monopolies or oligopolies. IV. The State shall support the creation of communitarian means of communication with equal conditions and opportunities" (Bolivia 2008: 42–43).

The right to communicate is also promoted by the civil segment and academic organizations in Latin America. This is the case of the CRIS (Communication Rights in the Information Society) movement that was articulated to represent civil interest into WSIS debates (2005 and 2006) even if the goals of this organization could not greatly affect international WSIS (World Summit of Information Society) debates at the local level and that experience was later focused to promote the introduction of the article of right to communicate throughout the Constituency process (2005) in Bolivia allowing its introduction. Besides this, the ecumenical movement of the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) in Latin America is also a promoter of this debate and supports experiences on the ground regarding right to communicate even expanding the concepts to protect alternative practices such as the right to communicate of people with disabilities or traditional indigenous practices of communication seen in several Latin American countries.

23.4 Existence of Diverse Social Sectors Fighting for the Right to Communicate

Indigenous people, youth, children, women, rural women, people with disabilities, and migrants can be seen as part of the promoters of this media and strategies of communication that are spread in Latin America. These civil society movements have a common goal which is to develop capacities in communication or using the media to promote their visibility and to express their demands particularly in cultural aspects, reach security and peace, and being acknowledged as citizens with equal rights.

This kind of practice occurs in several countries of this region, and some of the recent cases represent the struggles for preserving their security, cultural survival, and use of native languages. As a short reference, a few cases of C4D in Argentina, Guatemala, and Colombia can be mentioned. According to a comparison of experiences presented by WACC (www.waccglobal.org), those cases are as follows.

In Argentina, MOCASE, an organization that belongs to the National Movement of Indigenous Peasants, located in Santiago del Estero in northern Argentina works to protect land rights of indigenous peasants and promote solidarity, healthy food,

agroecology, development, justice, and social change. The indigenous peasant people in the area are constantly threatened to be evicted from their land and have limited access to means of communication. The mass media in the area replicates discrimination and marginalization felt by the rural indigenous people. MOCASE felt that it is essential to construct their own means of communication that can help communities to generate and distribute their own information that reflects their life and struggles and help to build consensus as they move forward. This project established a community radio station and provided technical and academic training in radio production to local youth. The radio station allows youth to articulate and share views on the problems they face and protect their indigenous identity and lifestyle. It also reinforces the links between rural people to advocacy of nature and food sovereignty.

Another case of C4D in Argentina is oriented to recuperating indigenous languages. This experience has been developed by Fundación ASOCIANA that works with a native organization called Lhaka Honhat located in Pilcomayo, Salta province. This project works with four native communities, Wichí, Chorote, Chulupí, and Toba, in the Pilcomayo area in order to defend their territory by developing training in communication within the communities so that they can make their voice be heard toward the whole Argentine society by demanding respect for their culture and practices.

In Guatemala, Central America, there is a set of C4D cases, and some of them are taking advantage of radiobroadcasting. One of these ones is the experience of The Voice of the Hills supported by Asociación Estoreña para el Desarrollo Integral (AEPDI). El Estor is a municipality where 80 percent of its population speaks Q'eqchi and considers itself to be part of the Mayan nation. The area receives little attention from the state in terms of development, and there is a marked lack of media content that reflects the community's priorities. Over the past several years, AEPDI, one of the most active community organizations in the area, has used commercial media – and paid high fees – to promote indigenous rights and demand the right to land and territory for their communities. In light of this, AEPDI has been attempting to establish a community-owned radio station for years hoping that the station would become a means to inform, educate, and entertain the community. This project consists of establishing a community radio station in El Estor. This entails the purchase and equipment installation and training for community reporters and editors. The establishment of the station will be the first step toward enabling people in El Estor to fully exercise their communication rights. This radio station also seeks to become a vehicle to strengthen indigenous governance systems and community organizing efforts.

"Freedom of Expression for the Q'eqchi' People," a project that aims to strengthen Radio Nimlajacoc in Guatemala, is another example. Nimlajacoc is a geographically isolated community in Guatemala. Nimlajacoc was impacted by civil war during the 1980s as many families were murdered, kidnapped, or displaced. After the conflict, local indigenous authorities established a community radio station as a way to facilitate communication among survivors, as well as to help local communities to get organized. Today, the Nimlajacoc community is facing

uncertainty over a possible approval of a local hydroelectric project that would threaten natural resources and violate their right to Free, Prior and Informed Consent. The community radio station plays a critical role in spreading information and reinforcing bonds of solidarity and collaboration.

A third case, in Guatemala, is Radio Ixchel, a community radio station serving the community of Sumpango Sacatepéquez located far away from Guatemala City. The station works to meet the communication needs of community members including the need for locally relevant information, availability of culturally relevant and sensitive content, and preservation of the Kaqchikel language. In recent years, the Sumpango Sacatepéquez community has seen a decline of the use of indigenous languages and a diminished appreciation and understanding of indigenous world views, especially among youth. This is the result of, among other things, close proximity to the capital city. Through volunteers and community reporters' training, Radio Ixchel helps to reinvigorate social change objectives. This project focuses on creating new participation spaces for children and youth within Radio Ixchel.

A fourth case is a Training Building Project for community communicators at Radio Xilotepek, a Maya Poqomam community radio that serves in San Luis Jilotepeque community, department of Jalapa, in southeastern Guatemala. This community faces issues brought by the growth of the mining industry in this region. Most community members disagreed with the growth of extractive industry. This project seeks to strengthen Radio Xilotepek's ability to educate community members about their rights, especially in relation to the preservation of natural resources.

A fifth case in Guatemala is Radio Sinakan, a Kaqchikel community radio located in Chimaltenango, Guatemala. It plays a key role in the preservation of the Kaqchikel language as its use is declining due to the community's proximity to Guatemala City. This project trains volunteers so they get involved as community reporters and media editors able to make significant contributions in terms of media content that draws on rights frameworks. In the long-term, this project will help this region in Guatemala to preserve and reinvigorate indigenous identity and culture.

The project entitled Youth Building Peace, located in Colombia, sponsored by Comunicarte Group is our last example. This project seeks to engage youth and adolescents, living in Arauquita village, department of Arauca, in the Colombian Orinoco region, in media-based initiatives to build peace for their communities. Building on the momentum of peace agreements between the state and the FARC reached in Colombia in 2016, this project seeks to enable youth in Arauquita to use media to protect themselves from other armed actors in their communities that might fill the void left by the FARC, as well as to promote their participation and engagement in local peace initiatives. Special attention is given to providing youth with the opportunity to use media to tell their own stories, share their dreams and aspirations, and advocate for peaceful conflict resolution in their schools and neighborhoods. Project activities seek to foster active citizenship expressed through media and communication.

23.5 Knowledge Production from Returning to C4D in Latin America, Emerging Communication for Living Well, and a Decolonial Approach

Knowledge production in the field of C4D in Latin America has been showing reference materials in planning, theoretical proposals, and a return to a critical thinking tradition, systematizing experiences, and the alternative media approach. From an extensive list of publications, articles, and documents, we have selected some of them to give you a glance at this rich area of thought and action.

Regarding C4D's planning stage, the following is a glance at literature written in Spanish: *Strategic Communication-Communication for Innovation* by Sandra Massoni (2011) and *Towards a General Theory of Strategy-The Paradigm Shift in Human Behavior, Society and Institutions* by Rafael Alberto Pérez and Sandra Massoni (2009). An updated reflection on the C4D field is also proposed in *Grays of Extension, Communication and Development* by Ricardo Thornton and Gustavo Cimadevilla (2008). An extended review of the C4D field rooted in new visions of the South is discussed in tree volumes of *Communication, Technology and Development* compiled by Gustavo Cimadevilla, Debates and perspectives from the South (2002); Current debates (2004a), and Debates of a new century (2006). Gustavo Aprea also compiled a set of documents about debates in communication for development in *Problems of Communication and Development* (2004), and Gustavo Cimadevilla presents deep critics toward the practice of communication and development in *Domains Criticism of Interventionist Reason, Communication and Sustainable Development* (2004b). And the Latin American Institute of Communication for Development (ILCD) located in Paraguay designed an updated approach to C4D through an inclusive perspective in *From Communication. Bet for Inclusive Development* (2011).

Thought development in the C4D field also has been innovated by the emergence and new reflections connecting concepts of communication for Living Well and the theoretical approach of communication under a decolonization model.

The relation between communication and the paradigm called Living Well, which emerged in Latin America, came from the political arena and was related to the discourse of Latin American governments aligned to radical social changes. The concepts of Living Well are used depending on the country where the debate is set. The representative of this new approach is Adalid Contreras with *Sentipensamientos, from Communication-Development to a Communication for Living Well* (2014) written in Spanish; *The Limit is Infinity-Relations between Integration and Communication* (2015) also in Spanish; *The Word that Walks. Popular Communication for Living Well* (2016) in Spanish; and *Jiwasa: Participatory Communication for Coexistence* (2017). Regarding radio and development practice, the Latin American Association of Radiophonic Education (ALER) contributed by setting a framework for a practice of right to communicate and living well with *Sowings of Good living. Between utopias and Possible Dilemmas* (2016) written in Spanish.

Erick Torrico is a representative of communication from the paradigm of decolonization with *Towards Decolonial Communication* (2016a) and

Communication Thought from Latin America; *1960–2009* (2016b), both written in Spanish. Another broad document in the same line is *Communication and Decolonization. Horizon under Construction* by Erick Torrico and others (2018) written in Spanish.

In Latin America, the intellectual production in C4D has also been oriented to bring back a tradition in critical thinking, systematizing experiences, and alternative media approaches. This is a glance of noteworthy literature such as *Another compass. Innovations in communication and development* by Rosa María Alfaro (2006). Compilation made by the Latin American and Caribbean Catholic Organization of Communication (OCLACC) and Universidad Técnica Particular de Loja *Communication, citizenship and values. Reinventing concepts and strategies* (2008). Additionally, *Communication, education and social movements in Latin America* by César Bolaño and others (2010) is a compilation that links communication for development and social movements in Latin America. Identifying experiences of C4D in the Colombian Andes, we can find a large map of cases in *Experiences of communication and development on the environment. Case studies and life stories in the Andean region of Colombia* by Herrera Huérfano and Eliana del Rosario (2011). A compilation written by José Miguel Pereira and Amparo Cadavid that presents a broad range of topics related to C4D is *Communication, development and social change. Interrelations between communication, citizen movements and media* (2011). From a perspective of the right to communicate and indigenous movements, we have *Right to communication; reality and challenges in Latin America. Indigenous peoples and public broadcasting policies* by Rosa Elena Sudario (2013). Another extended compilation of documents of the current debate of C4D in Latin America is *Thinking from experience. Participatory communication in social change* by Amparo Cadavid and Alfonso Gumucio (2014). Another compilation of cases of C4D and environment is *Emergency of the territory and local communication. Experiences of communication and development on the environment in Colombia* by Eliana Herrera Huérfano and others (2014).

In Brazil, we can also find work on C4D written by Cecilia M. Krohling from Universidade Metodista de Portuguese. She is one of the most prolific writers in this field. That is the case of her work *Communication for Development, Communication for Social Transformation* (2014) written in Portuguese.

Communication, Citizenship and Democracy: for a Fulfilled and Plenty Life by SIGNIS ALC (2018) written in Spanish is a document that recovers papers of the 5th Latin American and Caribbean Congress of Communication (V COMLAC) that took place in Paraguay and which brings back Juan Diaz Bordenave's ideas. He was the first theoretician of C4D and rural communication in that country.

Academic production on C4D reveals important additional sources in Latin America. One of them is Asociación Latinoamericana de Investigadores de la Comunicación (ALAIC), the largest organization of scholars of communication research in the region which started in 1978. Events promoted by ALAIC encourage the knowledge production under specific areas of interest. This is the case of Work Groups (Grupos de Trabajo – GTs) introduced in its 2nd Congress that took place in Guadalajara, México, in 1994. A GT of communication for social change is part of

it. This GT is one of the most active groups among 20 others under ALAIC (www.alaic.org) that submit advances in the theory and practice of C4D in this region.

Additionally, *Anthology of Communication for Social Change: Historical and Contemporary Readings* by Alfonso Gumucio and Thomas Tufte (2008), an extensive and complete recompilation of main international documents that follow the trend of C4D, printed in Bolivia, should be mentioned due to its relevance for the study of C4D in Latin America. This anthology was originally written in English and later on was expanded and published in Spanish thanks to the support of Communication for Social Change Consortium (CFSC).

23.6 State of Training and Capacity Building in C4D

The field of communication for development is nurtured by training projects as well as university programs specifically oriented to this field in Latin America. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú has provided a venue to study communication for development which is offered as a concentration at Facultad de Ciencias y Artes de la Comunicación. This program's description is the following: "The concentration on communication for development promotes the analysis and management of communication strategies in order to generate or improve processes of interpersonal, group, and mass communication for social development. It seeks to prepare students to do research, design, manage and implement strategies, actions, and messages in communication projects and organizations, emphasizing current issues for the improvement of quality of life, such as health, education, citizenship and human rights, gender, institutional development, productivity and environment."

Gumucio (2002) states that, in Latin America, there are important academic efforts that favor C4D and comments on experiences of Universidad Nacional de Tucumán in Argentina, Universidade Metodista de Portuguese in Brazil, Universidad de Lima in Peru and Universidad NUR in Santa Cruz, and the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar in La Paz, in Bolivia. All these cases are mentioned due to the existence of graduate programs in C4D training.

One of the most visible projects of training to develop capacities in C4D is Onda Rural "a regional initiative that was born to strengthen the exchange and collaboration between stakeholders interested in the participatory use of community media and ICT for family farming, resilience and sustainable rural development in Latin America. Onda Rural starts a new stage, promoted by the International Center for Advanced Communication Studies in Latin America (CIESPAL) and the United Nations Organization for Food and Agriculture (FAO), with the collaboration of the Specialized Meeting on Family Farming (REAF MERCOSUR), the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC) and the Latin American Association of Radiophonic Education (ALER)" (Onda Rural, www.ondarural.org).

Onda Rural offers a distance training course in Communication for Rural Development. According to its promoters, "This course provides a global view of the Communication for Development (CpD) approach, which seeks to address the information and knowledge needs of rural actors as well as to enable their

participation in development initiatives. This course aims to guide users in the design and implementation of communication strategies for agricultural and rural development initiatives by combining participatory methods with processes, means, and communication tools, more appropriate to a specific context, which vary from community media to Information and Communication Technologies (ICT). This course mainly targets facilitators and field agents, communicators and development professionals who need to improve their skills to formulate and implement participatory rural communication strategies" (Onda Rural, www.ondarural.org).

Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, UASB, created in 1985 as an academic mean of Comunidad Andina de Naciones, opened its studies in communication and journalism in 1996. After this, in 1998, the first Master's degree in Communication and Development was opened. Today this experience has changed its venue to become a virtual program; therefore, it is the first case of this concentration in the Andean region, and right now it's offering this program for the tenth time under the name of Strategic Communication (www.uasb.edu.bo).

Finally, an online tool which promotes debate and practice on C4D in this region is the Communication Initiative. Its proposal reaches Latin America and Caribbean regions in order to build communication for development practices and studies. This online resource is activated and permanently active on www.comminit.org.

23.7 Conclusions

Communication for development in Latin America has a long tradition of practical and theoretical history. This field was not a result of academic proposals, but it came as a practical result of the specific conditions of social and technological inequality and the need to protect the existence and cultural richness of local societies in the region. This approach was historically characterized in the region by its criticism and opposing concepts or models of unidirectional and persuasive structure. The theoretical introduction of C4D to Latin America presents different stages, and each one brought a specific view on communication as a human process and also a conceptualization of social development. Today, the ground of C4D has a close connection to social demands and people's movements like the right to communicate, language, and local systems of communication preservation, land security, and also social and cultural vindication. Several diverse community actors participate in these movements.

The soul of this utopia set by the most distinguished specialist in communication for development and C4D practices in Latin America, Luis Ramiro Beltrán, is persistent. These concepts have been expanded with the incorporation of different actors, means and resources, objectives, and demands showing that the practice of communication for development in Latin American acquires sense and an ongoing need supported by integral political, ethical, and aesthetic dimensions to envision more democratic and inclusive societies.

The means able to keep a tradition in C4D in Latin America is still marked by radiobroadcasting and community radio using native languages, new technological

applications, and local innovations more widely. It's also marked by the voices of diverse social sectors which gradually recognize that communication is a skill on its own that empowers their presence in order to reach conditions for equal participation. Analyzing practice and the utopia of a democratic and inclusive society goes through empowering means to use communication processes which follow already old elements based on access, dialogue, and participation. These can lead to self-empowerment and to the possibility to reach social justice in societies structurally diverse and culturally plural. Communication is a means rooted in self-expression which might prompt effective social change.

A regional thought about communication and communication for development is providing new opportunities for reflection because of an increase of university programs so that the body of knowledge in this field can expand. Additionally, new approaches that bring back a critical debate on communication and social change are emerging. This is a new paradigm of Living Well. This also happens thanks to an understanding of how conditions rearrange communication processes as well as development under a decolonial approach. Latin America might have the opportunity to offer new dimensions to the communication for development field in the near future. They could avoid the use of the same view, but due to administrative or technical tendencies, as development and interdevelopment is a result of structural and historical forces within the construction of social systems, it could also be neglected once again.

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Development Communication in South Africa

24

Tanja Bosch

Contents

24.1 Introduction 470
24.2 ICTs for Development in South Africa 471
24.3 Health Communication 472
24.4 Community Radio 473
24.5 Community Television 475
24.6 Social Movements and Nanomedia Strategies 476
24.7 Conclusion 477
References 478

Abstract

Despite a peaceful transition to democracy in 1994, South Africa is still considered to be a transitional democracy, due to high levels of social equality which has resulted in a rise in social protests. This chapter provides a brief overview of development communication strategies in South Africa within this context, focusing on the following key areas of media for social change: ICTs for development, health communication, and community radio and community television initiatives. In addition, a brief overview of the communication strategies of civil society activist movements is provided.

Keywords

Development communication · Community radio · Community television · Health communication · ICT4D · South Africa

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24.1 Introduction

South Africa experienced a peaceful transition to democracy in 1994, with the country's first democratic elections and the end of the system of racial segregation known as apartheid. Despite a shift in the political landscape, a number of inequalities persist to present day, as a result of the legacy of apartheid political and socioeconomic policy. South Africa is one of the most economically unequal societies in the world, with 10% of the population owning 90–95% of the wealth and high unemployment levels (Von Fintel 2017). South Africa has characteristics of both a developing and an advanced economy, with access to technology, a strong private sector and fiscal resources, etc., though half of the population live below the poverty line (Gillwald et al. 2012). The South African economy has been impacted by international and domestic factors such as low economic growth, continuing high unemployment levels, lower commodity and higher consumer prices, lower investment levels, and greater household dependency on credit, with 55.5% of South Africans living in poverty (www.statssa.gov.za).

South Africa is thus considered to be a young, transitional democracy. Since the country's first democratic elections in 1994, there has been a steady rise in community protests, as a response to the inadequate provision of services such as water, sanitation, housing, etc. Growing citizen frustration with the new government's failure to share the dividends of democracy and high levels of government corruption are most often listed as reasons for these sometimes violent protests, described by Alexander (2010) as a "rebellion of the poor." A range of social movements have also emerged in the late 1990s, with civil society groups confronting "questions of social exclusion in terms of gender, sexuality, education, labor status, access to land, housing and services, poverty and citizenship: issues which sit at the intersection of recognition and redistribution" (Ballard et al. 2005: 615).

The role of the media and communications sector has been highlighted as a central tool in facilitating the participation of citizens in development activities.

This chapter provides a brief overview of development communication strategies in South Africa and focuses on the following key areas: ICTs for development, health communication, and community radio and community television initiatives. The South African government has implemented a number of projects around the country, with the aim of strengthening development communication and empowering previously disadvantaged communities. In particular, multipurpose community centers have been set up and identified as spaces through which the government can dialogue with citizens and address socioeconomic inequalities. The Government Communication and Information System (GCIS) was tasked by cabinet "to provide development communication and information to the public, to ensure that they become active participants in changing their lives for the better." (www.thusong.gov.za/documents/policy_legal/gdc.htm) Concepts such as community-based or people-centered development, citizen participation, and public-private partnerships are found in many documents of the postapartheid state, with calls for community involvement across a range of sectors (Emmett 2000).

24.2 ICTs for Development in South Africa

There is a relatively sophisticated ICT sector in South Africa after telecommunications reforms since the mid-1990s, but as Gillwald et al. (2012) argue, growth in the sector has not been accompanied by the primary policy objective of affordable access for all. In South Africa, the government has demonstrated the political will to drive programs aimed at improving the lives of the poor, through various policy initiatives. The Comtask Report, for example, mandated the government to establish Thusong Service Centres (multipurpose centers) to implement development communication (Naidoo and Fourie 2013).

The growth of the Internet and related technologies and platforms has created new possibilities for development in Africa. In the field of education, for example, ICTs have been listed as playing a number of roles, including providing a catalyst for rethinking teaching practice, developing the kind of citizens required in an information society, improving educational outcomes, e.g., pass rates, and improving the quality of teaching and learning (Jaffer et al. 2007).

There have been several initiatives related to the use of ICTs in education in South Africa, as one strategy for addressing teaching and learning challenges. Jaffer et al. (2007) explored the role of educational technology in higher education, with specific reference to the pressure on the sector to provide diverse graduates who can meet the social transformation and skill needs of the country. Specific challenges in the South Africa context include students' lack of academic preparedness, large and multilingual classes, and a range of other issues related to the previously unequal and racially divided educational system. The Fees Must Fall student protests highlighted these ongoing divisions in the higher education sector, with national protests highlighting various issues related to uneven access (Bosch 2016). Jaffer et al. (2007) list several ways in which ICTs can be used to respond to the range of educational challenges. These include using interactive spreadsheets to develop mathematical literacy skills, providing online feedback, using videos to simulate tasks such as video editing, and thus contributing to student learning experiences, as well as curriculum design.

The South African ICT sector has demonstrated dynamic growth, particularly with respect to growth of the mobile sector, though this growth has not met the national objectives of affordable access to the full range of communication services, and access to fixed broadband, for example, remains low in comparison to other lower-middle-income countries (Gillwald et al. 2012). The growth of mobile telephony has been a big factor with claims of penetration rates of over 100% and the availability of smart devices at lower costs, together with reductions in the cost of services (Gillwald et al. 2012). As Aker and Mbiti (2010) have shown, mobile phones or m-development can facilitate economic benefits by improving access to and use of information, creating jobs and income-generating opportunities, and being a vehicle for the delivery of financial, agricultural, health, and educational services.

There have been a number of projects set up by government which experience "sustainability failure" which means that they succeed at first but are then

abandoned shortly thereafter. One example is the setup of a set of touch screen kiosks for remote rural communities in the North-West province, but the lack of recent and local content and lack of interactivity led to disuse, and the kiosks were later removed (Heeks 2002). Naidoo and Fourie (2013) argue that government communication often initiate projects which engage in partnerships with communities, but these are linear – communities do not have equal levels of influence and decision-making authority, preventing them from actively sustaining development efforts.

24.3 Health Communication

ICTs such as e-health, telemedicine, etc. are often considered ways to bridge the digital divide between rural and urban healthcare centers and to resolve challenges in the rural health sector (Ruxwana et al. 2010). The potential for mHealth, i.e., the use of mobile phone technology to improve health services is growing in South Africa as a result of the widespread availability of mobile phones, together with the low levels of literacy required to use them for this purpose (Leon et al. 2012).

However, in South Africa there is uneven access with some hospitals experiencing a limited number of computers, telephone services, and telemedicine equipment, while others had a wide range of these plus videoconferencing services. A study by Ruxwana et al. (2010) showed that while ICTs have the potential to improve the lives of people in rural communities, an Eastern Cape e-health project had limited success due to structural barriers such as a lack of computer equipment, skills, and poor or no internet connection.

While the international trend has been toward using a range of ICTs in health, cellphones have emerged as the most popular and cost-effective in Africa, with cellphone penetration on the continent increasing rapidly since the privatization of telephone monopolies in the mid-1990s (Bosch 2009).

There have thus been a range of mobile telephone-based provider-patient intiatives in South Africa, such as the Cell-Life Project which allows counselors to use mobiles to monitor the treatment and health status of HIV patients. Similarly, a company called On Cue uses a system to send SMS messages to patients reminding them to take their TB medication (Lucas 2008). Other projects include SIMPill which also helps patients to remember to take their medication, SMS helplines such as the Teen SMS Helpline of the South African Depression and Anxiety Group. Several other projects have been run, using mobile phones to improve patient referrals between local clinics and district hospitals and to facilitate communication between rural hospital doctors, e.g., photographing test results and sending them for instant analysis (Bosch 2009). A rural wireless tele-health system has been active in two remote rural areas of the Eastern Cape since 2004. There have also been initiatives focused on Mobile Deaf Communication and Mobile Finance.

24.4 Community Radio

Unlike many other developing countries, South Africa has a constitutionally protected public broadcaster, and community, and private free-to-air broadcasters; and radio and television remain primary modes of information and education (Gillwald et al. 2012). The growth of community radio and community television projects have created opportunities for the use of media in development communication; and South Africa is one of the only countries which makes legislative provision for community radio stations. Community broadcasting is defined in Section 1 of the Convergence Bill as a broadcasting service that is fully controlled by a nonprofit entity and is carried on for nonprofit purposes; serves a particular community; encourages members of the community served by it, or persons associated with or promoting the interests of such a community, to participate in the selection and provision of programs to be broadcast in the course of such broadcasting service; and may be funded by donations, grants, sponsorships or advertising, or membership fees or by any combination of the aforementioned.

The nationwide nonracial elections of 1994 marked only the start of the restructuring of the broadcast sector (Barnett 1999), and community broadcasting was acknowledged for the first time and defined as "initiated and controlled by members of a community of interest, or a geographic community, to express their concerns, needs or aspirations without interference, subject to the regulation of the Independent Broadcast Authority—IBA" (Duncan and Seleoane 1998). Hence, community-run, nonprofit broadcasting has only been possible in South Africa since 1994, when the IBA was established in terms of the 1993 *IBA Act*. The IBA accordingly granted the country's first set of community radio licenses in 1994–1995, which needed to be renewed every 12 months. In addition, the IBA granted 1-month "special-event" radio broadcast licenses to radio groups awaiting the outcome of longer-term license applications.

Globally, community radio stations give citizens a platform to create alternate public spheres for the promotion of local culture and language, as well as a space for dialogue and deliberation, and alternative political information in the face of concentrated media ownership. Radio is still the cheapest and most widespread medium, and in Africa it is particularly effective in reaching rural and illiterate constituencies. Community radio stations can provide local communities with development-related information, as well as a platform to engage in dialogue on a range of developmental issues. When community radio emerged and established itself in South Africa in the mid-to-late 1990s, it occupied a position that challenged the state-owned and commercial media that had existed until then (Hadland et al. 2006: 37). In allowing citizens to play a role in the production of community media, the medium fulfilled an important empowerment need and was seen to represent a radical shift in the country's media industry (Bosch 2011).

The emergence of participatory community radio in South Africa in the post-apartheid era represented a key shift in the country's media landscape. Until then media had been primarily owned and operated by the state and served as a

propaganda tool. The opening up of the airwaves represented a major shift, and over 100 community radio stations around the country were granted broadcast licenses by the newly formed regulatory authority (Bosch 2006). These stations were tasked to "empower and educate the community," though there has not been much policy guidance on exactly what this entails in practical terms. There are several types of community radio stations in South Africa – geographic stations broadcast to specific areas, campus radio stations are located at universities, and community of interest stations cater to specific groups and include the religious Christian and Muslim stations. The key features of community radio are as follows:

1. Access, i.e., they provide access to all members of the target community and act as a public forum, giving everyone a voice
2. Participation, i.e., they encourage participation of all in management, planning, and production.
3. Training is provided in content and radio production as well as physical maintenance of equipment, giving community members the ability to operate their own station and empowering them with technical skills.
4. Nonprofit, i.e., they may receive funding, but profit is plowed back into the community. In South Africa community radio stations are nonprofit Section 21 companies with Boards of Directors.
5. Community owned, i.e., the highest decision-making body is usually an annual general meeting which is open to all, and leadership structures are often horizontal.
6. Volunteer driven and mostly run by volunteers who sometimes receive only a small stipend to cover, e.g., transportation costs.
7. Local, i.e., content is predominantly local and relevant to the specific community served by the station (Tucker 2013).

The notion of community participation is premised on the assumption that there exists a "community" which can participate in development projects, though in South Africa the concept of community has become associated with other referents such as race or class (Emmett 2000). The audiences of community radio stations in South Africa were originally conceptualized as formerly disadvantaged, predominantly black communities; and community radio was a symbolic development, granting access to and demystifying media production processes for a group of people who had until then only had access to the state-owned propaganda media system.

However in more recent times, communities are seldom homogenous, which often presents a challenge for community radio stations. In addition, South African community radio stations face the primary challenges of financial and social sustainability. While many stations were originally funded by internationally based donors, this funding dwindled in the postapartheid era. This, together with the fact that stations target audiences that are not perceived as high priority consumers by advertisers, has resulted in many stations struggling financially and often relying on government funding to remain operational. Social sustainability refers to the notion

that stations are strongly rooted in communities who feel a strong sense of affinity or sense of ownership, which may result in financial contributions from local businesses, but this has been difficult for stations that attract socioeconomically and racially diverse individuals in urban areas, making it difficult to foster a sense of shared group identity. Stations rely on unpaid volunteers who rarely have broadcasting experience, resulting in a perception that community radio stations are "unprofessional." The primary goal of community radio stations is their development orientation and focus on encouraging ordinary citizens to because media producers (and not just media consumers), which makes it difficult for stations to compete with the more "professional" commercial stations that are their primary competitors (Bosch 2011).

Despite various challenges, community radio remains a key tool for development communication in South Africa. Audience numbers for community radio stations continue to grow, demonstrating the popularity and need for these alternative platforms in an increasingly centralized media space. While community radio stations in South Africa are themselves diverse, there are many success stories of stations who play a key role in terms of development communication. Radio Khwezi.

24.5 Community Television

During apartheid, South Africa's community media sector served as "a tool to counter state propaganda, inform, mobilise and educate the masses about their rights and to facilitate the building of strong community organisations" (Berger 1996: 4). Hadland, Aldridge, and Ogada (2006: 2) argue that the extent to which community media can play a role in participatory democracy is questionable without the presence of community TV, especially within the context of democracy in South Africa. While there was a strong postapartheid policy imperative in the case of community radio, the community TV sector remained without a position paper. It was only in August 2003 when ICASA released its *Local TV* (LTV) *Discussion Paper* that attention was turned to creating an enabling environment for community TV. It soon became clear that the struggle for public access to community TV still had a long way to go. For a long time, it appeared as if the political will to make community TV a reality was lacking, as the IBA and ICASA "sent mixed messages to community TV stakeholders eager to get on air" (Greenway 2005: 48). Finally, ICASA's position paper on *Community Television Broadcasting Services* was released on 30 November 2004, with the paper calling for, among other things:

- Four-year renewable full-time licenses for nonprofit, South African-controlled local TV groups able to prove local support.
- An amendment of the community TV special-event license rules to allow for the awarding of special-event licenses of as long as 1 year in duration (instead of the current 1-month limit).

- Financing of the stations through adverts, sponsorships, and donors, provided the stations remain nonprofit (i.e., don't have shareholders, don't pay out dividends).
- A 55-percent South African local content quota for community TV broadcasters.
- License applications from community TV groups to begin sometime in the 2005–2006 financial year.
- No public or private/commercial community TV stations.

On distinguishing between the two types of community television, i.e., geographic and "community of interest," ICASA has made it clear that the former will be favored. In the case of community radio, majority of the stations have adopted geographically defined interests (Armstrong 2005: 24). Today, there are five geographically defined television stations on air: *Cape Town TV* in Cape Town, *Soweto TV* in Johannesburg, *Tshwane TV* in Pretoria, *Bay TV* in Port Elizabeth, and *1KZN TV* in Richards Bay, and one community of interest, *TBN Africa*, which is also the oldest licensed community TV channel in the country. ICASA has also issued "test-licenses" to other stations such as *Fresh TV* and other community TV projects, including *Ekurhuleni TV* and *Alex TV*. However, until the launch of DTT, there is no new spectrum available for any other community TV stations (Thomas and Mavhungu 2013).

24.6 Social Movements and Nanomedia Strategies

Social movements in South Africa, and around the world, depend on the public discourse and to broaden the scope of their campaigns (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993), though they often compete for media attention with many other issues and organizations, alongside the imperative of news values. Biases in coverage of social movement activities have been well documented, with limited media attention even though media discourse is a crucial source of strategic information for activists, upon which they base decisions and provide information for their future strategies. (Koopmans 2004). As a result of skewed media attention, social movement activists have tended to use smaller-scale media to publicize their struggles, including demonstrations, dress, slogans, murals, songs, radio, dance, poetry, and political theatre. Dawson (2012) has highlighted these strategies as examples of nanomedia, arguing that they play a key role in mobilization processes. The term nanomedia was coined by Mojca Pajnick and John Downing (2008), to refer to small-scale media, which includes alternative media such as community radio or video but also refers to "popular song, dance, street theatre, graffiti, murals, dress along with print, broadcasting, film and the internet" (Downing 2010: 2). The term "media" is used broadly to include the symbolic, ritual, and performative modes of communication. Further examples of nanomedia include flyers, jokes and songs, revolutionary pamphlets, dance performances, street theatre, and even the diapers worn by the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo who protested the Argentinian military dictatorship in the 1970s (Downing 2010). In South Africa, the most well-known example of nanomedia is the

toyi-toyi street dance, which is often used in present-day protest marches and demonstrations.

South African social movements engage in a wide repertoire of strategies for internal mobilization, as well as for advocacy particularly in efforts to draw the state's attention to their problems. Civil society organizations and protest movements frequently employ traditional and "new" methodologies to achieve maximum impact. Members of these organizations cite pamphlets and t-shirts as critical mobilization tools, while murals and graffiti are also to raise awareness about social issues. In addition, music and songs, together with protest marches, are commonly used to mobilize support, together with the tactic of physically occupying spaces which is commonly used.

In addition to nanomedia strategies, digital media is increasingly used for mobilization. Social media, Facebook and Twitter in particular, is used by activists in parallel with traditional media, to raise awareness about their campaigns and social issues. Twitter, for example, is used by activists to disseminate general information and organization events and news and is also seen as a useful mechanism to communicate with journalists in order to get mainstream media coverage. Facebook is often used by social activists for lateral linkages, to connect with similar movements locally and internationally. Social media was primarily seen as important for raising awareness and for networking with activist groups nationally and even internationally. While social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook are widely used, they complement existing traditional and nanomedia strategies and are not the primary tool for civic engagement. However, activists do social media as a tool used to enhance public engagement, coordinate offline action, and used for instant dissemination and exchange of information, in particular using it as a "choreography of assembly" (Gerbaudo 2012) to coordinate offline activities. But rather than being the primary method of communication and mobilization, digital and social media serve as complementary tools for South African activists (Bosch et al. 2018).

24.7 Conclusion

A range of government initiatives in the field of development communication exists in South Africa, but official government strategies often demonstrate a linear information-dissemination process which does not align with the basic principles of development communication, or Freirian notions of communication as participatory, dialogic, and reciprocal, because "communities are consulted but not fully involved" (Naidoo and Fourie 2013: 105). Moreover, in these projects, the feedback from communities is often not well structured, and monitoring and evaluation of projects are poor on nonexistent. However, in the South African context, participatory community media fills this gap. "Community media are strategic interventions into contemporary media culture committed to the democratization of media structures, forms, and practices" (Howley 2005: 2). Community media activists argue that the role of community media has risen to the fore as an invaluable tool to empower

previously disadvantaged citizens (Opuku-Mensah et al. 1998). A range of community radio and community television projects fill the gap and provide local communities with access to the media and a space for debate and dialogue in local languages.

With respect to ICTs, policy exists to facilitate the introduction of ICTs in communication strategies, but this is often not prioritized by government. Most people do not have broadband internet access – and the digital divide within the country limits the possibilities for the use of ICTs for social change. However, the growth of the mobile internet and increased access to feature phones and smartphones with internet capability represents an opportunity for e-democracy and m-health projects; and social media is increasingly being used in the campaigns of social activists and civil society organizations.

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Development Communication as Development Aid for Post-Conflict Societies

25

Kefa Hamidi

Contents

25.1 Development Communication as Education for Post-conflict Societies 482
25.2 Literature Review: Mass Communication and Development Countries 483
25.3 Development, Journalism, and Education 487
25.4 Journalism and Competence 488
25.5 Social Framework in Afghanistan 489
25.6 Media System and Journalist Education 490
25.7 Mediation as a (New) Journalistic Competence 492
25.7.1 Journalist Should Mediate Between State and the People 492
25.7.2 Urban and Countryside 493
25.7.3 State and Opponents 493
25.7.4 Social Consensus Between Ethnic Groups 493
25.7.5 Conflict Resolution 493
25.7.6 Constructive Journalism as an Agent for Change 494
25.7.7 Education and Enlightenment 494
25.8 Conclusion 494
25.9 Future Discussions 496
References 497

Abstract

For a couple of years now, a discussion has been going on about the role that journalists should play in so-called fragile states. According to the following understanding, the journalist should not only report on the most up-to-date, neutral, and objective events but also "educate," "mediate," "convince," and thus adopt a "mediation function." Although this function is often seen as the

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core responsibility of the media in the developing countries, so far hardly any differentiation has been made as to what exactly this "concept" means for journalism education and how this could be integrated into the models of journalism education. Here, this gap is to be closed by developing a competence model for academic journalism education for a fragile state, using Afghanistan as a case study. This article presents the partial results of the project "Professionalization of Academic Journalist Education in Afghanistan."

Keywords

Community journalism · Conflict resolution · Constructive journalism · Journalism education · Organizational competence · Participatory action research · Professional competence · Social orientation

25.1 Development Communication as Education for Post-conflict Societies

Approach, aim, and purpose of the project "Professionalization of Academic Journalist Education in Afghanistan" funded by the Volkswagen Foundation was to develop a theoretical competence model for the reform of academic journalism training and initiate a communication studies program in Afghanistan based on the current state of research on the one hand and a discussion and negotiation of possible solutions and problems with the recipients on the other hand. They were specifically asked for their ideas and how the reform shall proceed. Thus, 40 interviews with Afghan experts of media practice, media policy, media studies, and higher education policy were conducted to determine which journalistic skills should be taught to students in academic journalism education in a fragile state such as Afghanistan. For the project, the premise was to derive the model for an academic journalist education not only from the scientific theory or from Western academic models and to introduce it from a "foreign" perspective. A sustainable reform of academic journalist education will only succeed if this reform takes into account the social and cultural value orientations, the structural conditions, as well as the interests, expectations, and opportunities of the actors involved in this reform process. An essential prerequisite for success, therefore, is to seek from the experts involved in this reform, on the one hand, opinions and assessments of the theoretical and practical training objects and, on the other hand, experience and recommendations for the process steps to ask their coordination and sequence, which are necessary at different levels, to successfully develop and test the model. To achieve this goal, the "participatory action research" (PAR) strategy was applied. The approach of participatory action research differs in some key points from other empirical social science methods. Characteristic of participatory action research is not a concrete method, but the underlying understanding of how and by whom research

is to be conducted. "Participation" and "action" are here the key aspects. The term "participatory" means that persons in the field are not only included as research objects in the research, that is, as researched on which data are collected, but actively participate as "co-researchers" (Wöhrer and Arztmann 2017, p. 29). It is generally requested that persons, groups, and institutions are involved who are affected by the research topic and the expected results. For this study, 40 interviews were conducted with stakeholders from academic journalism training over a period of time from mid-February to the end of May 2017 via Skype. Each interview lasted for about 2–3 h and was in either Pashto or Dari. They were recorded, transcribed, and translated into English. This sample included (1) 20 university and college teachers, (2) 5 representatives of regional and national higher education policy, (3) 10 heads of regional media organizations (press, radio, public relations, news agency, online services), and (4) 5 executive boards of regional and national professional associations of journalism. The second important term in the PAR, "action," means that a change in the sense of problem-solving is sought. The PAR research process often starts with a problem that causes "pausing" or "stopping" and reflection begins. This reflection leads to a research question for which answers are sought. In order to be able to answer, data is needed that is collected, reflected, and analyzed. This brings new options and solutions. The purpose of this study, with the help of the interviewed experts, was to first assess the current state of academic journalism education in Afghanistan (problem) and identify the needs and expectations for improving (approach to) journalism education in Afghanistan both inside and outside state universities. Accordingly, the survey instrument was divided into three parts, each with a detailed explanation and a guide with 35–55 questions. The first part of the survey asked about the general function of the media and journalism in Afghanistan. In the second part, we asked the co-researchers which journalistic skills (theoretical and practical skills) in academic journalism education should be offered to students. Specifically, we asked the co-researchers referring to Weischenberg (1998) and others the items that belong to the theoretical skills in journalism education and asked them if they should also be offered training in journalism in Afghanistan and what additional skills should be taught. The third part of the survey then dealt with the implementation of solutions and suggestions for improving journalistic training. In this article only the partial results of the second part (theoretical competencies) are presented. The answers were evaluated by (MAXQDA) software and subjected to a cluster analysis.

25.2 Literature Review: Mass Communication and Development Countries

Hallin and Mancini's *Comparing Media Systems*, published in 2004, has become a classic in comparative media studies. These four comparative dimensions are not enough to summarize the media systems beyond Western countries (Shen 2012) or

fragile state (Schulze and Hamidi 2016). The reason for this is that comparative cross-national or intercultural research too often starts from an "implicit Western bias" and "models and frameworks developed in a Western context are used as templates for evaluation and comparison" and "implicitly disregards, apart from the proverbial lip service, the importance of cultural dimensions in media systems and societies" (Servaes 2015). For some years now, there has been a discussion about how media should be organized (and described) in so-called developing countries and what functions they should include. According to this understanding, mass communication should not only report on the most up-to-date, neutral, and objective events, but primarily journalism should assume a kind of "mediation function" and not only inform, but "educate," "mediate," and "convince" the population. The common denominator of these approaches could be summarized under the following normative view: The mass media should contribute to *national development* (Kunczik 1985, 1988) and *social harmony* (Massey and Chang 2002; see also Bandyopadhyay 1988; Menon 1996). The central assumption of the *first conception* is that mass media (newspapers, radio, television, and ICT) have not only programmatically but have an extraordinarily important role as facilitators of development policy programs for the formation and consolidation of social change. Therefore, various international studies show that the professional attitudes of journalists are very different. Christians et al. (2009) argue that journalism tend to fulfill four core-normative roles, namely, a monitorial, a facilitative, a radical, and a collaborative role, and do point to different ways in which journalism is positioned on society: the *monitorial role* refers to the classic liberal role of a neutral and objective media watching the authorities; the *facilitative role* refers to the need for more independence from power structures as this refers to the media's role to provide a platform to citizens (ordinary citizens); the *radical role* is fulfilled by oppositional forces that challenge those in positions of power; and the *collaborative role* is taken up by those media and journalists who operate and act unequivocally to protect and safeguard the interests of those in power. Especially the last two rolls fit in this context. Hanitzsch et al. (2011, p. 275) refers to three central areas in which journalism cultures materialize the perception of journalism's institutional roles, epistemologies, and ethical ideologies. He mentions these three domains together constitute "the basic elements of difference between journalism's cultures and the domain of institutional roles refers to the normative and actual functions of journalism in society." His key empirical findings on role perceptions (Journalistic role perceptions denominate the journalists' self-image of their social roles and functions (Hanitzsch et al. 2011, p. 281). They can be defined as "generalized expectations which journalists believe exist in society and among different stakeholders, which they see as normatively acceptable, and which influence their behavior on the job" (Weischenberg 1995, 1998)) from a comparative survey of the "role perceptions" of 1800 journalists from 18 countries show that "that journalists across the globe pay high regard to the normative ideals of detachment, providing political information, and acting as a watchdog of the government." But the journalists from non-Western contexts tend to be "more interventionist in their role perceptions (. . .) for particular values,

ideas and social change" (Hanitzsch et al. 2011, p. 273). The journalists in developing countries point that they pursue an "active, interventionist role" (Hanitzsch et al. 2011, p. 273) and to understanding "social change" as an elementary goal (see also Hamidi 2016; Ramaprasad 2004, 2006, 2007). Such a function, which can be placed in the context of the idea of "development journalism" (Hanitzsch et al. 2011, p. 273), is much more endorsed among journalists in developing societies and transitional contexts. In another paper Hanitzsch et al. (2011, p. 278) extracted the four global professional milieus (These professional milieus (re)constitute themselves on the ground of "shared assumptions and beliefs" that provide the cultural framework for journalistic practice (Bourdieu 1998, p. 47 zit n. Hanitzsch et al. 2011, p. 274)): the "populist disseminator," "detached watchdog," "critical change agent," and the "opportunist facilitator." He points out that the "detached watchdog milieu" clearly dominates the journalistic field in most Western countries, while the milieu of the "opportunist facilitator" reigns supreme in several "developing, transitional, and authoritarian contexts." The main characteristic of journalists in milieu of opportunist facilitator group he describes "their relatively strong opportunist view of journalism's role in society, namely as constructive partners of the government in the process of economic development and political transformation (286). So many scientists and practitioners in developing countries argue for a "mass media development model" that should or should be in line with key concerns in their countries, particularly "nation-building" (see McQuail 2000; Jayaweera 1987). McQuail (1983, p. 95) speaks in his approach of "a specific media model for the developing world" as an important common feature, considering "the acceptance of economic development per se" and the "emergence of a nation as the ultimate goal." The mass media can play a crucial role in social progress, as any transitional society will encounter new attitudes, a new mindset, and a new value system (Namra 2004, p. 17). Basically, it is assumed that mass media are able to influence the social development process by reporting on development programs (ibid., Grossenbacher 1988), because only mass media might reach the vast rural population and give them a voice in debates affecting their lives. In this context, Hedebro (1982, p. 16) attributes to the mass media the potential for conveying the meaning of "nationhood" (sense of nation-ness). He justifies this by arguing that "many developing countries are mixtures of different cultures, languages, political systems and religious beliefs. This is regarded as a serious obstacle to social change on the national level." For Lozare (2015) the key roles of communication in the "building of a nation" foster "meaningful dialogue among different sectors of society," "nurture a shared vision for the country's future," and "harness non-material and material resources to realize the national shared vision." In particular, reporting on national projects that could "constructively" contribute to the development and improvement of living standards is desirable (Kunczik 1992). Of course, one cannot attribute omnipotence to the media, as modernization theorists have thought. The media system should be considered as reflectors or indicators of progress, freedom, state of development, and modernization of a country rather than determinants. They can be a factor among others that can bring national development and harmony (ibid.). The *second view*,

that the media and journalists have a "social responsibility" and are therefore responsible for the preservation of "social harmony," is represented in the context of so-called Asian values. The "classic models" to describe the media systems are based on a "too restricted (Western) description of concepts like "freedom," "democracy," "objectivity," and so on, which allow little or no generalizations" (Servaes 2015), for example, to explain journalism in the context of Asian values. In this context of "Asian values," journalists and the media are also expected to maintain "social harmony" through "sensitive reporting" and to be constantly aware of the effects that the impact of coverage may have on society (Bayuni 1996; Xu 1998). Therefore, Gunaratne (2000, p. 15) states that the concept of "social responsibility" is understood differently in Asian societies than in Western countries. While the Western approach is defined by the individual's political, social, and economic freedom, the Asian approach refers to "collective social security and economic prosperity." This means that mass media have to generate more than anything else "nation-building," "national consciousness" and "unity," and the "encouragement of co-operation and peaceful co-existence between diverse and sometimes hostile communities" (Massay and Chang 2002, p. 991). These *two views are interlinked with the definition of development communication*, which is mainly used by researchers from countries in global south, emphasizing the aspect of "societal consensus" enabled by "development communication" (Quebral 2012). Nora Cruz Quebral (2012, p. 14) from the Philippines, an important representative of this view of development communication, explains in detail what the usual tasks of communication media in developing countries are. She states four basic items: (a) circulate knowledge that will inform people significant events, opportunities, dangers, and changes in their community, the country, the region, and the world; (b) create and maintain a base of consensus that is or community life may be discussed to achieve a better life needed for the stability of a state; (c) provide a forum where issues affecting the national; and (d) teach those ideas, skills, and values that people need. First, Quebral (2006) sees "development communication" as "an art and science of human communication apply to the speedy transformation of a country and mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state and the larger fulfillment of the human potential." Second, she reacts to the question "how can communication media help create and maintain consensus?" and argues "[l]ike a marriage, a nation is founded on a bedrock of common experiences and shared values. Conflicts among groups in a nation cannot be helped, but with a wide enough base of agreement, the answers are sought not in secession but in accommodation and compromise. It is communication through the mainstream and new media that can project this national identity to a people and that can demonstrate to them that a united nation can be fashioned out of diverse cultures." Third, she describes what "providing a forum" means. Discussion through communication media is one of the basic features of a democracy. There must be a marketplace where ideas and opinions on public issues may be heard, answered, or exchanged. How to give voice to the voiceless is a concern of the development communicator, as well as reporting events as they happen, which certainly is not a new task for communication media. Fourth, she considers the

question why communication media should assume the role of a teacher and argues that for a country to develop, its citizens must be exposed to progressive ideas, skills, and accompanying values. Formal education that happens in schools cannot do this yeoman task alone. It must be supplemented and reinforced by other social institutions, not the least of which is a country's communication system. Therefore Quebral (2012, p. 7) defines "development communication" as it "circulates useful information and knowledge; provides a forum where problems and issues may be aired, teaches needed ideas, skills, and values; and creates a base of consensus that stabilizes the state."

25.3 Development, Journalism, and Education

The challenge to develop curricula and do research based on the realities in developing countries and steeped in contextualized theory is one that is acknowledged by several journalism educators (see Mensing 2010). Apart from creating the appropriate political and economic environments for an independent media system, it is crucial to educate journalists to the highest ethical and professional standards possible (Servaes 2015). Professional education of journalists should be based on local or national parameters (ibid.). Journalism that ignores a community dimension can end up being used as a tool to divide people by interests, rather than build relationships critical for functioning communities (Mensing 2010).

The journalism education in developing countries must contend with defining a new academic identity for itself, extricating itself from dependency on Western-oriented models of journalism education and training (ibid.). Many feel that the Western or "libertarian" model of journalism had not contributed fully toward national progress because of its emphasis on the entertainment function of the mass media and its treatment of information as a "saleable market commodity" (see Ali 2011). Western news values of timeliness, prominence, proximity, conflict, and the bizarre exclude the ordinary people in the news unless they are involved in accidents, violence, or catastrophes (ibid.). For very different reasons, journalists in developing countries are dissatisfied with the Western model of journalism and have been trying to develop models they feel would serve their needs better. Development journalism is stemming from the dissatisfaction with the Western news values that do not serve the cause of national development (Ali 2011; Yin 2008). Development journalism is an important part of development communication that can be conducted by professional or lay journalists. In the first case, one speaks of "constructive journalism" and in the second case of citizen journalism. Accordingly, community journalism is often associated with this type of journalism. In all cases, the aim is to report on answers to social problems and to shed light on the effectiveness of approaches to solutions so that the recipients of such reporting can learn from them or be inspired by them. The concept of development journalism has been developed and tailored to the needs of countries in the Global South, especially in Asia since the 1960s in contrast to Western watchdog journalism, but is currently

also being adapted in Western countries. According to Xu (2009, p. 358), the main components are, among other things, not only to focus on current affairs, but long-term development processes; to work independently of the government and criticize the government constructively, but to place the journalistic focus on news about economic and social development and to constructively engage in nation-building with the government; and to empower "normal" people to improve their lives and those of their communities. Here communication not only means the transfer of information but also includes the participation in the society and in the community (Namra 2004) and focus on the educational function of the news, stories about social needs, self-help projects, and obstacles to development (Gunaratne 1996). Each journalist role (creator of forum and consensus, teaches or advocate) could be associated with a specific set of competencies (and skills and values), which the journalist (fragile states) of the future needs to acquire in order to perform adequately (see also Servaes 2015).

25.4 Journalism and Competence

The job description of journalists has changed over the past decades toward more professionalism. Nevertheless, there is still no uniform or legally prescribed way in which future journalists can gain their journalistic competence. Weischenberg (1995, p. 492) defines journalistic competence as "specific knowledge, values, norms and standards of conduct of the profession acquired through systematic training." Competence therefore includes knowledge, values, and behaviors. If skills are to be acquired during training, knowledge, values, and behavioral patterns must be systematized. Within the project "Journalism and Competence," Weischenberg (1990, p. 21f) developed together with Sigrid Schneider and Lutz Michel an analytical grid of journalistic competence. Despite some shortcomings, this competence model became an important basis for later competence and curriculum discussions in Germany (Nowak 2007, p. 82). He divides journalistic competence into professional competence (Fachkompetenz), special competence (Sachkompetenz), presentation competence (Vermittlungskompetenz), as well as social orientation (Soziale Orientierung). According to Weischenberg (1990, p. 45), "professional competence" includes research, selection, editing, and organizational techniques, often referred to as "craft," and specialist media knowledge of media studies, media economics, politics, law, history, and technology. This media knowledge should provide in the mediation process the theoretical basis for the fields of competence "functional awareness," "reflectivity," and "autonomy awareness." In terms of special competence, Weischenberg (1990, p. 34) attaches great importance to the fact that the requirements in this area are constantly increasing. On one hand, he demands the study of a special subject in order to acquire departmental knowledge. On the other hand, aspiring journalists should acquire orientation knowledge in order to classify their knowledge in social, political, and economic contexts. The presentation competence includes a general articulation ability and knowledge of the forms of

presentation in order to present the contents in a recipient-oriented manner. According to Weischenberg, social orientation differentiates the university training program significantly from other offers. It is mainly about "thinking about journalistic actions." Functional awareness, the first component of "social orientation," is designed to help journalists use their influence responsibly while assuming their role as critics and controllers of politics and society. Not all assignments in Weischenberg's competence model are easily comprehensible; one or the other element could be supplemented (Nowak 2007, p. 82). The rapidly increasing mechanization of the journalistic working environment – not only of the means of work but also of the sources of information – therefore demands a high level of technical skills. Klaus Meier (2011, p. 223; see also Hanitzsch 1999, p. 119) adds another area to the four areas of competence proposed by Weischenberg: technical competence and composition competence. On one hand, knowledge of commonly used tools such as the Internet or basic computer software is meant; on the other hand, the journalist needs in particular ready-to-use knowledge in dealing with special technologies. In particular, this area of expertise includes cross-media competences. The organizational and conceptual competence strengthens the journalist's ability to innovate when he knows how media are used and with which concepts the target groups are optimally attained through quality journalism (Meier 2011, p. 223). On one hand, the subjects of organizational competence are specialist knowledge of editorial organization and quality management and, on the other hand, specific expertise on the current economic structures and fundamentals of journalism in society.

25.5 Social Framework in Afghanistan

The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is a landlocked country in southern Asia with roughly 29 million inhabitants. The population is made up of more than 30 ethnic groups for whom their tribes and clans are far more important than their shared national identity (CIA 2015). Pashtun (ca. 40–50%), Tadzhik (ca. 20–35%), Hazara (ca. 7–20%), and Uzbek (ca. 8–15%) form the four largest ethnic groups (see Schetter 2009, pp. 123–133). Economically, Afghanistan is one of the poorest nations on earth predominantly practicing agriculture. Afghanistan is classified as a fragile state (one of roughly 46 fragile states worldwide), since Afghanistan still struggles after three decades of civil war with serious internal conflicts and problems (Deane 2013, p. 15; Barker 2008; Page and Siddiqi 2012, p. 4). Widely known is further the term "fragmented state," because those states are characterized by religious, political, ethnic, and other rifts (Putzel and Van der Zwan 2005, p. 41). No unified definition of fragile statehood exists so far, but as a rule, fragile states can be recognized when presenting with a "lack of security, capacity and legitimacy" (ibid.). An important solution for a successful state formation is the "increase in similarities between social groups" seen as the "key to success" (Putzel and Van der Zwan 2005, p. 39). Collier (2010, p. 9) also speaks of a

"shared identity" and argues that the development of this identity is essential to the long-term stability of a state. Similarly, Hippler (2004, pp. 5f) sees "integrative ideology" as a very important component of successful state formation. This could arise from the "integration of a society" from the previously only "loosely connected groups." The basic point here is that "the communication patterns between the social groups are condensing so much that communication does not take place mainly within the groups." This implies a significant amount of internal social communication, which must be promoted by mass and communication media (ibid.). Kaltenborn-Stachau (2008, p. 21) describes the necessity of a "national dialogue process" in a "media public sphere" in which these similarities can emerge as the "heart" of any state formation. Key actors in media development cooperation, such as the USA and bilateral organizations such as the World Bank, recommend the liberalization and privatization of media in transition countries, including fragile states (Putzel and Van der Zwan 2005, p. 59). "Unregulated media revolution" is causing "fragmentation of the media sector" (Deane 2013, p. 7) as many minorities have their own community and local group-based media. The inevitable consequence of this expansion is the progressive fragmentation of target groups and a consequent strengthening of the "ethnicization of politics." The trend makes it increasingly difficult to mobilize larger groups of people for a task or a common goal, which is central to state-building (see more Deane 2013).

25.6 Media System and Journalist Education

The media system in Afghanistan has been through an extraordinary dynamic development since 2001, initiated by the political liberation and propelled by the commitment of international stakeholders, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). Afghanistan has a dual media system as to state and economically privately organized press, broadcasting, and online providers. Within the scope of this system, around 800 periodicals and more than 75 televisions, as well as 175 radio broadcasting providers, were registered at the end of 2015 next to state media institutions (Altai 2015, p. 118). In sum, it can be observed that the Afghan media system currently experiences the difficult transition from dependency on international subsidy to self-sufficient financial viability and future; yet in a fragile state, this is an enormous challenge (Hamidi 2016). The so-called media boom caused a rapid expansion and differentiation of the job market in the journalistic field. As a result of the media boom, the number of journalists increased significantly. It is assumed that between 8000 and 10,000 people in the country are somehow engaged in journalistic work. Through the expansion and differentiation, many unqualified workers got into the Afghan media industry. Journalism as a profession suffers from loss of credibility in the population and thus loses partially its function (Hamidi 2016). Therefore vast improvements, reform, and ethical schooling for journalists were demanded for a considerable time. Overall, two mutually dependent phenomena can be observed

in the Afghan media development: on the one hand, social and economic change in the direction of democracy and, on the other hand, a strong media market liberalization, which has fragmented ethnic groups public. It has been criticized that international organizations were spending "hundreds of millions of dollars" on the media in Afghanistan (Barker 2008, p. 6), but only a few have considered policies that provide a supportive role for the state-building process (Deane 2013; Page and Siddiqi 2012). The "media boom" initiated an enormous expansion and differentiation of the journalistic professional field. In the last 10 years and more, journalism as a profession has gained popularity dramatically in Afghanistan – especially among the young generation. Notwithstanding the expansion of media offers, the number of "professional" media formats remains relatively small since, although mass media structures have profited from international media funding, lasting projects aimed at the professionalization of media personnel have done so to a lesser extent.

This circumstance has resulted from the fact that in effect a qualitative and long-term oriented good academic journalism education is still missing (see Hamidi 2013, 2016). Just a few fundamental problems of Afghan journalistic education shall be mentioned here. First, university training programs mainly aim to transmit professionally relevant special competences (theoretical knowledge regarding the law and the organization of the media, the journalistic work process, etc.). In contrast, the established and systematic reflection as to the societal and cultural, political, and economic significance and the ethical tenets and challenges of increasingly economical journalism are hardly considered. Second, subject-specific training at state universities can be criticized in so far as their curricula contain no systematic praxis elements but are organized to desist practical work in an editorial office. Third, training programs in journalism schools mainly concentrate on the transmission of individual practical skills in order to "produce" journalists rapidly. Fourth, communication studies research exploring the changing societal demands and needs of journalism in Afghanistan and offering its findings to academic journalism training is equally nonexistent as a subject-specific discussion concerning quality assurance of journalism. Finally, it can be deduced from the research findings as to journalistic education in Afghanistan that there is a need for a model that combines theoretical and praxis simulating training elements by taking into consideration the specific cultural, societal, communicative, and especially confessional scopes and medial structures in Afghanistan while transmitting and reflecting its training aim apart from the mentioned professional competences, especially a mediation competence. Especially these areas have so far been severely neglected in the subject-specific Afghan research. Last but not least, the mediation function according to unanimous views, considering the fragile state structures and the fractured relations between the ethnic groups, has to be the central function of journalism in Afghanistan. It is the task of the media in fragile states like Afghanistan to shape a national identity and deliver compromises between the different fractions and opinions (Deane 2013).

25.7 Mediation as a (New) Journalistic Competence

In international comparison, attitudes to intermediary competences in journalist education of respondents in Afghanistan are quite similar to those of the competency models by Nowak (2007), Weischenberg (1998), Hanitzsch (1999), and Meier (2011). The similarity among the interviewees is particularly evident in the fact that professional competence, special competence, presentation and cross-media competence, organizational competence, and social orientation are described as most important for journalistic education. The journalistic competences suggested by Weischenberg (1998), Hanitzsch (1999), Nowak (2007), and Meier (2011), which should be taught in training, are also largely shared by the participants in the study. However, statements made by respondents in this study in Afghanistan suggest a correction of the above developed model of journalistic skills to be necessary. Respondents agreed that in addition to these areas of competence, another area of journalistic training should be added and taught. This competence can be summarized in a memorable way under "mediation competence." This competence field, which emphasizes a journalist's dedication to the public good in fragile state like Afghanistan (national development and harmony), falls under the umbrella of "mediation." Mediational journalism techniques include to be a creator of a "forum," to aim for "consensus," and to act as a "teacher." This involves reporting on stories that foster hope, healing, and resilience, as the interviewed strongly believe that this style of reporting can contribute to the country's positive future. Overall, the respondents' statements on this area of competence can be included in eight clusters or dimensions. So far, mediation competence is not offered in academic journalism education in Afghanistan.

25.7.1 Journalist Should Mediate Between State and the People

According to the interviewees, mediation between the state and citizens is seen as one of the most important tasks of journalists. They believe that Afghanistan has a communicative problem between the government and the people. The population does not know what the government is actually doing. As a result, the population is resigned and disappointed with the state's activities. Through mediation, journalists should increase their confidence in state structures so that these structures can consolidate themselves. The journalists should therefore learn how to communicate and explain government programs of the population and how they can act and function as a bridge between the state and the population. But it also means that journalism students learn how to monitor and control government activities "critically" and "transparently" so that the results can then be revealed to citizens. In summary, respondents are expected to learn that not only do students impart knowledge between the state and the population but that state programs also critically monitor and control activities. To train and professionalize students is seen as an important task of the universities.

25.7.2 Urban and Countryside

The interviewees also consider that journalists not only produce information for the urban population but also always have an eye on the rural population, because in Afghanistan over 70% of the population live in rural areas. It is emphasized by respondents that journalist students should learn to take the two strata of the population equally serious. They should also learn to act as mediators between the two populations. However, a journalism student should also learn to connect other layers of society, such as children, women, adults, or the elderly (see also Quebral 2012, p. 14).

25.7.3 State and Opponents

A journalism student should learn how he later could mediate as a journalist between the state and opponents of the state (Taliban). In this context, she should learn to be "fair" and "objective." He should learn to treat the population living outside of state influence as equal.

25.7.4 Social Consensus Between Ethnic Groups

Respondents argue that journalism students should be qualified to work for national consensus. This is explained by the fact that Afghanistan has been in a civil war for 40 years and that the country is a multiethnic society and ultimately a fragmented society. The cause of the civil war, according to the interviewees, is that the different ethnic groups in Afghanistan have problems with each other and these problems are not communicated. That's why journalism should teach students to see the media as a social "forum" in which the various social groups can share and communicate their concerns and problems. Through this communication, long-term peace could be secured. But if this communication does not take place, this conflict can still continue. That's why journalists are very important here to take on this role. Respondents emphasized that journalists should be trained on how to implement this role.

25.7.5 Conflict Resolution

Respondents point out that there are long-standing ethnic conflicts in Afghanistan and journalists have the task of finding solutions to these conflicts by providing information about the problems. This could reduce the conflicts in society. In this context, it is central that journalism students learn not only to present the problems but also to look for their constructive solutions. The task of the journalist is not only to offer the solutions themselves, but to seek these solutions in society and show

them to society. Especially Afghanistan needs such journalism graduates. These aspects are central and should be taught in journalism studies.

25.7.6 Constructive Journalism as an Agent for Change

Respondents agree that most media in Afghanistan engage in "war journalism" and are constantly focused on negative news. As a result, the population is now tired of this "negative reporting." The negative mediatization of society makes the population "depressed." This leads to a great loss of confidence in social developments. Therefore, the respondents expect that journalist training does not only focus on reporting on negative developments but also to engage with positive developments and successful projects in society and to communicate them to society. The role of journalists in Afghanistan should also be that, according to interviewees, to provide guidance and future prospects for society by reporting on positive developments. For this the journalist students should be trained and conditioned. This view has many interfaces with the concept of so-called constructive journalism. Gyldensted (2014, p. 42) described constructive journalism as a more comprehensive form of journalism that accurately portrays the world by covering not only stories about conflict and destruction, but stories about collaboration and progress as well. The concept has been defined and introduced to the academic literature as an emerging form of journalism that involves applying positive psychology and other behavioral science techniques to news processes and production in an effort to create more productive and engaging stories, while remaining committed to journalism's core functions (Gyldensted 2014).

25.7.7 Education and Enlightenment

The respondents argue that most of the population in Afghanistan has no education. There the media and journalists should take on an educational intermediary role. They could take on the role of a teacher. For example, in the rural areas of the population, the media could communicate that it is important to send the girls to school. Journalists need to educate people about their problems and solutions. Journalism must not only have the task of communicating information, but should also educate and enlighten. For that the journalism students should be qualified.

25.8 Conclusion

The need for mediation skills is seen as urgent by respondents in Afghanistan along with the other areas (professional, special, presentation and cross-media, organizational, as well as social orientation) of competence. They argue that, first, Afghanistan suffers from protracted war; second, that different ethnic groups have been fighting each other for several years; and third, that there is no social

understanding among the groups. In this respect, respondents believe that "every journalist" in Afghanistan should have the job of mediating between different social groups and thus possibly foster peace in the long term. Respondents are of the opinion that Afghanistan is undergoing a process of transformation resulting in economic, social, and political problems. For this reason, it is important for respondents that journalists should assume the leadership or orientation role in the transformation process. It is also important that they promote national and cultural identity. They should sensitize people for it.

All respondents agreed that this area of expertise should be systematically integrated into the curriculum of academic journalism education, so that journalists can acquire this qualification or qualify it for later use in professional life. In this respect it is important to integrate the concept of "mediation competence" systematically into journalist training (competence model), since the journalistic responsibility in fragile contexts can only benefit from it, when social cohesion is seen as the most important solution. If these connections are solidifying in basic and advanced training, they could serve a crucial contribution to constructive nation-building. This area of competence represents an additional concept in the competence model of academic journalism education, which offers a basic orientation: How should we report on national development, how should conflicts be reported, and how should interculturally be sensitive in a multicultural and multiethnic society? The aim of the study program with this competence model could be to train journalists who are qualified to work in currently reporting media. The focus should be on a wide range of qualifications. The training should be multimedia, that is, it should cover newspapers, agencies, radio, television, and online journalism. The study of journalism could convey a mixture of knowledge and ability:

- Communication science basic knowledge, so that the students can deal with the media and the journalism, with the functioning and the legal and political conditions of the media system as well as media-ethical questions.
- Basics in journalistic mediation and production for print and electronic media.
- The ability to understand complex issues and make them journalistically accessible to an audience.
- Scientific skills and techniques to enable them to be applied to a research topic by combining, analyzing, and interpreting the methodological-analytical tools, as well as mastering the skills of documentation and presentation.
- Communicative and social skills to work successfully in the editorial offices and mass media editorial offices.
- Knowledge of the social context in order to report competently and critically on current events from different event fields from different perspectives.
- Reflection and ethical competence to work journalistically on the backgrounds and contexts of events and to develop a critical attitude to their own actions in the journalistic profession.
- Mediation literacy skills to enable journalists to live up to their journalistic responsibilities in a development process, thus making an important contribution to building a constructive nation-building.

For reasons of space, many questions could not be addressed in this article. First of all, of course, the mediation system used is seen as a multilevel process involving expertise on different components: *approaches to development and communications*, c*ommunication and conflict*, as well as *intercultural communication* (intercultural dialogue). It cannot be explained here for reasons of space, but this field introduces the students to the issues of development and the specific role played by the media in development support communication, communication and conflict, and intercultural communication. Secondly, it was not possible to differentiate in this article who could study in such a degree program and where the graduates could later work as journalists. Basically, this competency model is best suited for academic education, as it may have the resources to do so. Here, of course, there is the question of whether the economic imperatives in the media even allow the journalists to be able to implement such skills, which are supposed to promote "public good," in everyday professional life. However, it can be assumed that journalist graduates in the fragile states should be sensitized and generally equipped for these six spheres of competence in principle and in general. Whether or not they can implement this competence in everyday professional life would then be a question for another study.

25.9 Future Discussions

The subjects of theoretical and practical training correspond to the competences found in international literature, which a journalist has or should acquire during a professional study. The international standard is (1) professional competence, (2) specific competence, (3) cross-media competence, (4) organizational competence, and (5) social orientation. A new and important finding from the project's specific perspective on Islamic multiethnic developing countries and fragile state such as Afghanistan is the recognition that the political, social, and especially cultural and economic framework conditions demand from journalists a high degree of and mediation competence. Referring to these models, the own model for journalist training is divided into six competences, because the competence (6) "mediation competence" was added as a result from the expert interviews. It must be assumed that the societal circumstances in the fragile society (such as Afghanistan) demand a high measure of mediation skills in journalism. The mediation competence plays only a minor role in Western journalism education (e.g., USA, Germany), while it is central to the academic training of journalists in Afghanistan, as stated by the interviewees, and therefore receives an equal position with respect to the areas of competence. The competence area mediation may still be a marginal topic in classical journalistic education, but the main points of contact are inherent among the respondents: They interpret it as a vital goal. They have fewer problems with the concept of mediation than their counterparts in Western industrialized countries, because "they themselves are affected by these crises." This "ultimate goal," which can be called "a constructive contribution to national development," is consistently seen and expected to be an important responsibility and main function of mass media in fragile states. That means that media and journalism

have to create more than anything else "nation-building," "national consciousness" and "unity," and the "encouragement of co-operation and peaceful co-existence between diverse and sometimes hostile communities." This meaning implies the culturally sensitive ideology of journalism in Islam too (see Pintak 2014). The goals of this field in journalism education should instill in students a passion for journalism that helps to transform communities, a critical sense of being a mediator of community development, and develop a sense of moral obligation and professional duty to represent the interests of the masses.

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Glocal Development for Sustainable Social Change

26

Fay Patel

Contents

26.1 Overview and Discussion of Development Communication 504
26.1.1 Development Communication, Modernity, and Corporate Globalization 504
26.1.2 Technologization and Consumption 504
26.1.3 International Development Communication, Injustice of Modernity, and "Bonded Development" 505
26.2 Glocal Development 506
26.3 The 2030 Sustainable Development Goals Universal Agenda 507
26.4 Adopting and Implementing the 2030 SDGs Universal Agenda 509
26.5 Glocalization of Learning, Glocal Engagement Framework, and Higher Education Social Responsibility (HESR) Strategy 509
26.6 Propositions for Sustainable Social Change 512
26.7 Conclusion 515
References 516

Abstract

Several contested concepts are introduced and critically reviewed to explore the role of glocal (local and global) communities as partners in promoting sustainable social change. In order for Glocal Development (GD) and Glocalization of Learning to contribute to sustainable social change as outlined in the 2030 sustainable development goals (SDGs), it is necessary for international higher education to mobilize as a social responsibility community engagement agent. To this end, it is proposed that a Higher Education Social Responsibility (HESR) Strategy be implemented within and across glocal higher education institutions to generate HESR funds that will enable adoption of one or several of the 2030 SDGs (relevant to their strengths and to their stakeholder community needs).

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Glocal Development and the Glocal Engagement Framework encourage the building of glocal communities through the respectful co-construction of knowledge from indigenous, local, and global community knowledge perspectives. The GEF provides international higher education opportunity to adopt the 2030 Sustainability Development Goals (SDGs) in an effort to focus on Glocal Development.

The author asserts that international higher education can play a significant role in the delivery of the 2030 Sustainability Development Goals (SDGs) if it adopts the Glocal Engagement Framework to promote the glocalization of learning. In subscribing to the critical paradigm, the author challenges the "old development communication paradigm," which dichotomized glocal community needs and aspirations in the early decades of the last century.

Keywords

Glocal development · Glocalization of learning · Higher education social responsibility · Sustainable development

List of Abbreviations

GD	Glocal Development
GED	Glocal Engagement Dimensions
GEF	Glocal Engagement Framework
GL	Glocalization of Learning
PGE	Principles of Glocal Engagement
SDGs	Sustainability Development Goals

In September 2015, when the United Nations General Assembly adopted the 2030 Sustainability Development Goals (SDGs) to enhance the quality of life of future generations, there was also an acknowledgement that the nations of the world failed in their mission to meet the 2015 Millennium Development Goals. In adopting the 17 SDGs, it was noted that the SDGs "seek to build on the Millennium Development Goals and complete what they did not achieve" (General Assembly Resolution 2015, p. 1). Although the Preamble to the Resolution has traces of the previous rhetoric such as eradicating poverty and strengthening universal peace, more importantly the 2015 Resolutions emphasized that the SDGs were not only "to realize the human rights of all" including gender equality of women but also the SGDs "are integrated and indivisible and balance the three dimensions of sustainable development: the economic, social, and environmental" as a "new universal agenda." It is within this universal agenda context that international higher education has a critical role in leading Glocal Development and driving sustainable social change. The author reiterates her assertion that "higher education is a catalyst for social change" (Patel 2017a, p. 1) and that "international higher education institutions have an obligation to embrace and communicate a social

change agenda to transform their policy, practice and structures to remain current" (Patel 2017a, p. 2). The United Nations General Assembly has identified that social change agenda, so international higher education and universities in particular, have a responsibility to commit and deliver on the 2030 SDGs "new universal agenda." With the 2030 SDGs Resolution already 3 years old, it is time to take stock of policies, practices, and structures in international higher education that have been implemented to demonstrate their commitment to the universal agenda. It is also necessary to identify how and what international higher education institutions can contribute to the 2030 SDGs moving forward.

Alternate concepts are introduced, defined, and examined in context, as they emerge, through a critical paradigm lens in order to raise pertinent questions about the socioeconomic and political inequities that emerge around the role of social change agency role of higher education institutions internationally.

Glocal Development (GD), which focuses on the enhancement of quality of life of both local and global (glocal) communities as a partnership from their combined perspectives as one humanity, is introduced as an alternative to Development Communication and International Development. Glocalization of Learning, which advocates for the implementation of the Glocal Engagement Framework (GEF), is posited as a glocal community engagement guideline. The GEF promotes equity, diversity, and inclusivity to bridge the divide between glocal communities with a future-oriented international higher education framework for implementation. There are two components in the GEF which include Glocal Engagement Dimensions (GED) to develop and demonstrate desirable attributes for effective social change agency at an individual and team level and the Principles of Glocal Engagement (PGE) that articulate the considerations in and conditions of successful glocal engagement.

The author invites the readership to question inequities in society and demand that international higher education reinstates a values-based education agenda with human-centered priorities that align with the 2030 SDGs. It is through organized collaborative and partner efforts at glocal community engagement and through commitment to higher education social responsibility agendas that the 2030 SDGs will be met on target. As we move toward 2030, the corporate economic agenda should become replaced with a sustainability development agenda at greater speed. International higher education has, unfortunately, become subsumed by the economic or corporate agenda. Cavanagh and Mander (2004, p. 33) note that "Modern globalization is not an expression of evolution. It was designed by human beings with a specific goal: to give primacy to economic-that is, corporate- values above all other values and to aggressively install and codify these values globally."

In the next section, the old paradigm of development communication that rationalized the export of machinery and technology as modernity standards from the West to other nations is discussed. It is presented as an overview on past and present trends in international communication development that continues to impact the political economy of glocal communities.

26.1 Overview and Discussion of Development Communication

26.1.1 Development Communication, Modernity, and Corporate Globalization

The "old development communication paradigm" dichotomized local and global (glocal) community needs and aspirations about their quality of life. Similarities between the historical origins of the old development communication paradigm of the 1950s and 1960s (Schramm 1964; Lerner 1958) and the current trends are noted: (a) in the export of new communication technologies (e.g., learning management systems, smartphones, multiple options for online learning, chats, collaboration), over the last decade from the West to developing communities in other regions, and (b) in replicating the underlying "economic globalization" or the corporate globalization agenda (Cavanagh and Mander 2004, pp. 34, 38); and (c) which is carefully "design[ed] for corporate rule" (Cavanagh and Mander 2004, pp. 32–54). The ebb and flow of current economic trends globally are monitored by the "three major global institutions (World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization) (p. 55) that create and express the rules of economic globalization" referred to as the "unholy trinity" and which facilitate the ideal of modernity and modernization in international development as a desirable outcome for developing communities.

At the present time, the push toward technological advancement of disadvantaged communities in the "Third World" to adopt the new communication technologies as a modernity standard (McMichael 2004;Thussu 2000; Stevenson 1988) repeats history as McMichael (2004, p. 23) asserts, "*development/modernity* became the standard by which other societies were judged," following President Truman's proclamation in 1949. In the present day, the breadth and depth of one's consumption and possession of technology gadgets have become measures by which *development/modernity* is also judged. "Technology has become the tool of a cult of success implying the dwelling on growth and progress in line with the modernization ideology" (Servaes 2014, p. xiv). Servaes (2014, p. xiv) further maintains that "the technological deterministic approach played a significant role in the so-called modernization perspectives (Servaes 1999). It saw technology as value -free and a politically neutral asset that can be used in every society and historical context as a driving force of social change."

26.1.2 Technologization and Consumption

Those unfamiliar with the origins of the field of mass communication and communication studies may not be aware of the hegemonic presence of the West and Western ideal in the assumptions made in the manufacturing and management of the old world order in which development communication dichotomized the needs of the so-called First World and Third World communities when it came to the export of industrial and agricultural machinery and experiments from the Western nations to

other "Third World" nations. The current technological revolution in newly emerging communication media in general, in their various generations, and, in particular, the mass export of education communication commodities in international higher education continues to resemble the export market economy of the 1950s and 1960s. Technology consumption is not a new phenomenon as it was a focus of concern decades ago (Lancaster 1966) and continues to be of interest at the present time when the sophistication of technology and consumption of technology have grown considerably (Raven 2013). However, what is of concern is that five decades later, technologization and the consumption of technology are also being regarded as standards of modernity, and judgements of modernity continue to be measured according to the quantity, brand name, and most recent technology device one has acquired. Raven maintains that technology consumption in 1999 was at "6 h of average daily intake," whereas in 2009 it had increased to "10 h and 45 min." In an age where the higher education providers, educators, and their education seeking publics continue to consume technology at an alarming rate (Lancaster 1966; Raven 2013; Servaes 2014) in their daily dose (or overdose?) of technology, it becomes necessary to contest these similar behaviors that resemble the old development paradigm under guise of innovation. In interrogating the observed behaviors, and through critical self-reflection and ongoing research, international higher education stakeholders are expected to action change as they reconstruct their destinies as a sustainable community at harmony with their *people*, *planet*, and *environment*. "Sustainable development is impossible without a change in the way of thinking that mankind can steward nature by using technology" (Servaes 2014, p. xvii).

26.1.3 International Development Communication, Injustice of Modernity, and "Bonded Development"

It is evident through a historical glance over the literature in international communication and development of the last century that hegemonic economic agenda of the West is a well-orchestrated corporate globalization strategy that has successfully ensured that the "Third World," "the remaining half of humanity. . .regarded as impoverished in standard comparative economic terms" (McMichael 2004, p. 22) remain in a state of "bonded development" (Patel et al. 2012, p. 12) which "refers to a form of existence where developing communities (the poor and the starving populations of the world) remain in bondage to their masters in one form or another." The 2030 SDGs are an opportunity to redress "the injustices of modernity" which "requires the revitalization of a social consciousness that invokes socially just frameworks to uplift the quality of life for developing communities within and across developed [First/Second World] and developing world [Third World] contexts" (Patel et al. 2012, p. 13). The 2030 SDGs have set the agenda for pursuing a values-driven humanistic agenda built on partnership, collaboration, and community engagement.

In the section that follows, the author introduces and elaborates on the notion of Glocal Development (GD) as a future-oriented, sustainable development paradigm

of development as an alternative to the old development communication paradigm. Next, the 2030 SDGs are examined regarding their strengths and challenges. The examination extends to a discussion about the proposed adoption of the Glocalization of Learning perspective in international higher education which is embedded within a holistic Glocal Engagement Framework (GEF), as an alternative to the internationalization of higher education model (Patel 2017b, UWN, September 2017). The author maintains that in a Glocal Development context and within the Glocal Engagement Framework, international higher education can adopt all of the 2030 SDGs, thereby endorsing these 17 goals as the priority agenda through commitment to a Higher Education Social Responsibility (HESR) Strategy that attracts a social responsibility fund, from among internal and external stakeholders, for social development projects that action change. Finally, propositions are submitted for embedding the 2030 SDGs within a proactive international higher education agenda through the development of policy, practice, and structures that celebrate the diversity, equity, and inclusivity attributes of both the GD and GEF.

In challenging the old development communication paradigm of the 1950s and 1960s as a dominant world order that aspired mainly to uphold Western ideals and which continues to maintain the balance of the current political economy in favor of the West, the author introduces the term Glocal Development as an inclusive, equitable, and diversity embracing paradigm.

26.2 Glocal Development

Glocal Development (GD) refers to the simultaneous development of both local and global communities as a partnership in human endeavor rather than as an economic venture where one partner is subordinate to the other. In this way, GD builds glocal communities based on equity, inclusivity, and diversity principles and subscribes to the "third culture" (Lee) building perspective in which "cultural wealth" (Patel) is the "transactional currency." As an alternative to the old development communication paradigm of the last century which continues to divide local and global community resources and threatens the sustainability of their collective futures, GD connects the local and global community development needs as a social change imperative. In GD, there is an imperative for the empowerment of local and global communities who take responsibility for their collective sustainable futures through collaboration, partnerships, and co-construction of knowledge, policy, practice, and structures that will benefit them as a single humanity. Various labels (international development, development communication, international development communication, modernity) have been used to describe the hegemonic influence of Western agendas of the "First World" on the "Third World" (Chomsky 2003; Thussu 2000). For example, Thussu (2000, p. 19) contends that in the 1950s, the world became divided between the First World countries that upheld capitalism led by the United States with the Second World that was made up by communist countries led by Russia. The label Third World emerged referring to those countries that were outside the capitalist and communist divide; other scholars (Chomsky 2003; McMichael 2004) have proffered similar explanations. The author introduced the term "developing

communities" as an alternative reference to Third World and developed communities as an alternative to First/Second World (Patel et al. 2012). Within the context of this chapter, the terms are used interchangeably as they appear in international literature. The author also notes that in the last two decades (1998–2018), due to the mass migration of developing communities in search of better quality of life, job security, and human-centered sustainable futures while escaping the atrocities of war and conflict and tyrannical rulers in the different regions of the world, there is a blurry line between developing and developed communities. Many migrants from Third World nations live amidst of First/Second World and are hungry, homeless, and poor. At the same time, among the First/Second World populations, the local indigenous communities also are hungry, homeless, and poor.

Glocal Development is an equalizer of sorts as it attempts to remove the divisional references among the communities from the three worlds and to encourage partnership and collaboration among the developed communities and the developing communities (as noted in Patel 2012, which were referred in the early decades of the twentieth century as the First, Second, and Third World, respectively).

Within the Glocal Development paradigm, there is a linkage between the local, indigenous communities and the global, international communities based on their partnership as a single humanity that aims at building sustainable futures to benefit all people.

It is the partnership, collaborative, and integrated vision of Glocal Development that responds unconditionally to the 2030 SDGs "goals and targets" to "stimulate action over the next 15 years in areas of critical importance for humanity and the planet" (United Nations Resolution, p. 1). Within the Glocal Development paradigm, as with Lee's third culture theoretical approach, one community is not subjugated by the other, and community engagement and dialogue occur in an open, mutually respectful space in which the well-being and prosperity of both the local and global communities are intrinsically interwoven so that, as noted in the 2030 SDGs Resolution, their combined efforts will ensure that among them, they will honor the Resolution (pp. 1–2) so that people, planet, prosperity, peace, and partnership will remain the beacons to move forward as a glocal community.

26.3 The 2030 Sustainable Development Goals Universal Agenda

In upholding the 2030 SDGs as fundamental higher education goals that will benefit glocal communities as one humanity, Glocal Development and the Glocalization of Learning Framework will redirect international higher education to its ultimate responsibility as a catalyst for sustainable social change, imbibing human values as critical elements for the future generations.

The 2030 SDGs are listed below (from General Assembly Resolution, 25 September 2015 http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/) to demonstrate the depth and breadth of the 17 SDGs, followed by a discussion of how the international higher education community can work within the integrated and interlinked community model envisaged by the United Nations General Assembly.

1 NO POVERTY
2 ZERO HUNGER
3 GOOD HEALTH AND WELL-BEING
4 QUALITY EDUCATION
5 GENDER EQUALITY
6 CLEAN WATER AND SANITATION
7 AFFORDABLE AND CLEAN ENERGY
8 DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH
9 INDUSTRY, INNOVATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE
10 REDUCED INEQUALITIES
11 SUSTAINABLE CITIES AND COMMUNITIES
12 RESPONSIBLE CONSUMPTION AND PRODUCTION
13 CLIMATE ACTION
14 LIFE BELOW WATER
15 LIFE ON LAND
16 PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS
17 PARTNERSHIPS FOR THE GOALS

26.4 Adopting and Implementing the 2030 SDGs Universal Agenda

The author explores and highlights the challenges for international higher education of pursuing and implementing the SDGs within a Glocal Development paradigm and the Glocal Engagement Framework through the HESR strategy. The 2030 SDGs (all 17 goals) advocate human values necessary for sustainable living as an integrated community through community engagement to combat *poverty*, *hunger*, *good health and well-being*, *quality education*, *gender equality*, *clean water and sanitation*, *affordable and clean energy*, *decent work and economic growth*, *industry*, *innovation and infrastructure*, *reduced inequalities*, *sustainable cities and communities*, *responsible consumption and production*, *climate action*, *life below water*, *life on land*, *peace*, *justice and strong institutions*, and *partnerships for the goals*.

The international higher education (IHE) community has vast human resources and a combination of skills and competencies to respond fully to all 17 SDGs through a mutually respectful agenda setting process for community engagement and partnership within and across regions. The community needs to have the will to change (Patel 2011, p. 57) and to adopt the Glocal Engagement Framework with necessary adaptation to local contexts and needs, as relevant, and to be steadfast in implementing the agenda with firm timelines to coincide with the 2030 SDG deadline. The author contends that the 2030 SDGs provide opportunities for creative thought and context-based innovative solutions (Patel 2014) and acknowledges that in some instances it may be acceptable to identify and "follow" best practices. The agenda requires monitoring of progress toward the desired transformation and an ongoing continuous improvement process to evaluate desired progress with the remit to halt abuse of resources and exploitation of glocal communities in the name of the 2030 SGD transformation goals and to redirect misdirected goals.

26.5 Glocalization of Learning, Glocal Engagement Framework, and Higher Education Social Responsibility (HESR) Strategy

The author asserts that the adoption of the glocalization of learning perspective requires a mainstream embedded approach for it to be successful in upholding the international higher education institution's commitment to the 2030 SDGs. This means that the institution is expected to adopt the Glocal Engagement Framework and the Higher Education Social Responsibility (HESR) Strategy as a policy and practice with established structures for swift and effective implementation of the 2030 Sustainability Development Goals (SDGs).

The Glocal Engagement Framework has been articulated in greater detail in a previous paper on the deconstruction of internationalization (Patel 2017b). The Framework is briefly explained, and the Figures (Figs. 1, 2, and 3) are reproduced with the permission of the journal editor. The Glocalization Engagement Framework is illustrated in Fig. 1 as a holistic approach in international higher education

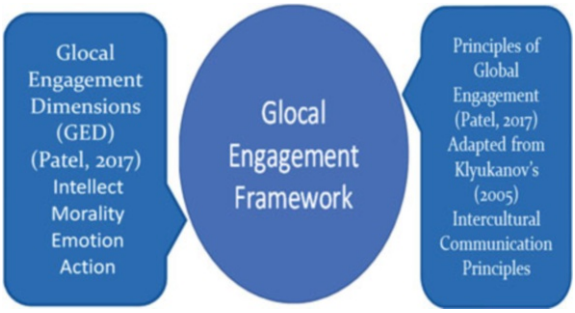

Fig. 1 The Glocal Engagement Framework (GEF). (Permission has been granted by the International Journal of Global Studies Editor Ray Scupin for use in the chapter)

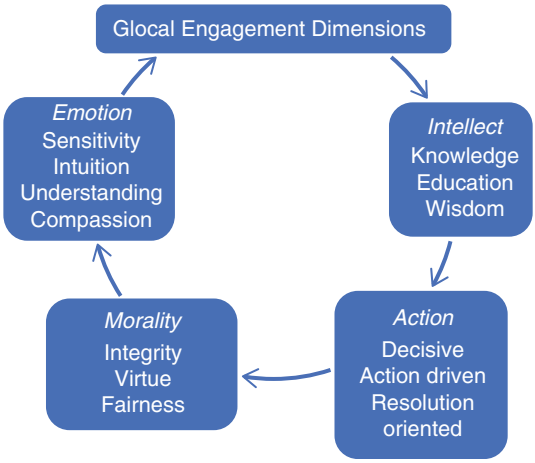

Fig. 2 The Global Engagement Dimensions (GED). (Permission has been granted by the International Journal of Global Studies Editor Ray Scupin for use in the chapter)

consisting of two critical components (Glocal Engagement Dimensions and Principles of Glocal Engagement). Both components are required for the effective design and delivery of glocalization of learning to be promoted as an equitable, diverse, and inclusive framework of learning in international higher education.

The first component is the Glocal Engagement Dimensions illustrated in Fig. 2 which are a combination of *intellect*, *emotion*, *morality*, *and action* which are critical in the development of compassionate human beings. The hope is that they will engage from a value-driven perspective with local and global communities and respond appropriately to the needs of glocal communities affected by natural and/or human disasters and strife.

The second component is the Principles of Glocal Engagement which are an adaptation of Klyukanov's ten principles of intercultural communication. For an appropriate full response to the 2030 SDGs, glocal community stakeholders would have to be familiar with and informed about the Principles of Glocal Engagement together with the Glocal Engagement Dimensions because all four dimensions (*intellect*, *emotion*, *morality*, *and action*) are required in efforts to drive social change through mutually acceptable and respectful community engagement.

Number	Intercultural communication principles Klyukanov (2005)	Principles of glocal engagement Patel (2017)
1	Punctuation principle	Draw mutually acceptable boundary lines
2	Uncertainty principle	Reduce uncertainty through negotiation and sharing of relevant information
3	Performativity principle	Cultivate new shared meaning
4	Positionality principle	Position or ground oneself in a context
5	Commensurability principle	Find common ground among stakeholders
6	Continuum principle	Consider multiple glocal perspectives
7	Pendulum principle	Consider ongoing interaction in negotiating shared meaning
8	Transaction principle	Transaction component of global community building related to exchange of cultural wealth and indigenous knowledge
9	Synergy principle	Cooperative nature and integration of global community building
10	Sustainability principle	Long-term mutually respectful relationship

Fig. 3 The Principles of Glocal Engagement (PGE) illustrates the adaptation of Klyukanov's intercultural principles

In adopting the Glocalization Engagement Framework as a holistic mainstream policy, practice, and structure, international higher education will prepare its stakeholders (leadership, learners, professionals, administrators, communities, and industry partners) to imbibe a human spirit that transcends all physical and virtual barriers to achieve the 2030 SDGs.

In addition to the GE Framework, the international higher education community is encouraged to adopt the Higher Education Social Responsibility Strategy (HESR) which requires that the institution and all its faculties, schools, and colleges, along with other independent departments and units, contribute a portion of their budgets toward a social responsibility fund that will support research, teaching, and learning within an integrated and interconnected institution-community engagement approach. The Higher Education Social Responsibility Strategy budget is not the same as the Corporate Social Responsibility budget distributed by large and small corporations as a social responsibility contribution to less advantaged communities. HESR budgets are integral to the overall mission and vision of the higher education institution in delivering a transformative higher education agenda that is aligned with the 2030 SGDs. HESR budgets are developed within the institution and distributed equitably across stakeholder groups to deliver on their chosen 2030 SDGs through research, teaching and learning programs, projects, and agendas that impact sustainable social change within local and global (glocal) communities. The Higher Education Social Responsibility Strategy will lead and oversee the gathering of the social responsibility funds and the implementation of social development projects that will benefit the local, regional, national, and international communities to improve their quality of life.

26.6 Propositions for Sustainable Social Change

The author subscribes to "context-based innovative solutions" and encourages the seeking of "creative solutions" instead of indiscriminate adoption of "best practices" (Patel 2012, p. 474) and expects guidelines to be adapted to suit the needs of diverse communities so that meaningful, sustainable development is part of actioned social change. In this way, glocal communities will respond meaningfully to the 2030 SDGs and find a myriad context-based innovative solution through community engagement as a partnership in Glocal Development.

So how would international higher education institutions organize themselves around the HESR and the GEF to champion the 2030 SDGs? There are multiple options, opportunities, and permutations that can be explored to creatively design organizational models for glocal community engagement. Glocal communities can adopt the GEF and HESR Strategy as perceived through the author's lens, or they may want to modify existing policies or develop new policies, practices, and structures that are context-based innovative solutions.

Glocal Development and Glocalization of Learning perspectives within which the Glocal Engagement Framework is embedded along with the Higher Education Social Responsibility Strategy are expansive concepts that provide "open spaces for glo[c]al engagement" (Patel et al. 2014). Stakeholder communities are encouraged to explore creative and innovative responses that will in effect be integrated and interlinked among local and global community groups as partnerships to achieve each of the 17 SDGs in ways that have yet to be imagined.

However, the author also submits propositions or critical thought throughout the chapter. As noted in the preceding section, the guidelines must be critically assessed and modified for relevance to the glocal context in which action for change is necessary. In this way, the 2030 SDGs are transformed into the desirable, appropriate innovative solutions among the glocal communities that are affected by any one or more of the 17 SDGs. It is through the glocal efforts of all stakeholders that the 2030 SDGs will become transformed into sustainable living conditions for all.

Within national boundaries, implementation of the 2030 SDGs will require meticulous organization and leadership of 2030 SDG Working Groups (translated into regional indigenous forms of agency for change and transformation) so that the Working Groups work in harmony with indigenous groups to design the level, degree, and area of transformation required in their region. In other words, the GEF and the HESR Strategy ensure that the fundamental mobilization of community, resources, collaborators, and partners is in tandem with the 17 SDGs. The stakeholder groups will decide in a transparent, accountable, and responsible manner and in accordance with principles of equity, diversity, and inclusivity, which SDG/SDGs they will adopt and how they will achieve the 2030 SDG goals, one goal at a time. They will pledge their commitment to the universal agenda so that by 2030, each stakeholder group will achieve some goals through local partnerships building a sustainable community by co-constructing their collective futures together. At the same time, the local partnerships will explore extended mutually

respectful partnerships with their global communities to achieve other goals. The 2030 SDG agenda can be set in motion in various ways. However, all variations of agenda setting require strict monitoring measures to assist internal and external quality assurance teams to ensure that (a) the quality of life of all communities meets the highest standard to ensure sustainable growth in their economic prosperity; (b) harmony exists among diverse communities; (c) equity of access and opportunity is paramount in the transformation of the community; and (d) inclusivity is respected of all nationalities, ethnicities, and communities as one human race.

The author highlights creative and innovative context-based solutions that have resulted in the development of policy and practice to support the 2030 SDGs in one country (Malaysia) and in one region of the world (Asia-Pacific Region). The following examples of collaborative partnerships are cited from the Openlearning Conference Keynote Presentation by the first woman vice-chancellor of a Malaysian University (Professor Asma Ismail, November 2017).

The efforts of higher education institutions in Malaysia to adopt the 2030 SDG agenda as a progressive sustainable development agenda may be categorized as Glocal Development in a region of the world where local and global communities are forming partnerships to develop sustainable quality of education to enhance quality of life. Notable exemplars of policy, practice, and structure that resemble variations of the author's proposed Glocal Development, Glocalization of Learning, and Higher Education Social Responsibility Strategy guidelines are presented below through the exemplars from Malaysian Higher Education and the Asia-Pacific Region to support the author's contention throughout the chapter that international higher education institutions have the privilege, authority, and capacity to lead sustainable social change. Malaysia has demonstrated through the Education Blueprints, the CEO Faculty Program, and the various community engagement programs including ACUPEN that learning can be glocalized by beginning with local indigenous knowledge perspectives and becoming harmoniously combined with global community perspectives in areas such as disaster relief and industry engagement to ensure glocal (local and global) impact. The Malaysian model can be modified to other local and global (glocal) community contexts, as relevant to their needs. The Higher Education Social Responsibility Strategy can also be creatively designed utilizing the Malaysian and Asia-Pacific Region projects and programs as a model. These can be further expanded to include mainstream integration within an international education transformation and the 2030 SDGs agenda. In adapting, modifying, and expanding the Malaysian and Asia-Pacific Region initiatives and adopting the 2030 SDGs, Glocal Development for sustainable social change will significantly impact lives among local and global communities.

- Malaysia: Asia-Pacific Region
  At a recent conference (OpenLearning Conference, November 2017), keynote speaker Professor Asma Ismail (Vice Chancellor, USM) presented an overview of the progress made with the Malaysia Education Blueprint 2013–2025 for preschool to post-secondary schools and the 2015–2025 Malaysia Education

Blueprint for universities as a framework for implementing community engagement, collaboration, and a values-based education. The focus was on preparing our society for engagement in a "collaborative economy" in which the collaborative network is key. More importantly, it was stressed that "a collaborative economy is based on trust and trustworthiness without which there is no sharing of information and best practice." Collaborative networking is about building and maintaining trust, so this is an example of the significant impact of a values-based education that is an imperative in the present and future sustainable development goals. The "digital divide" was noted as another area of social inequity, exclusion of those who have no access to technology. Other collaborative community engagement networks (ACUPEN and the CEO and Faculty partnership) were also highlighted as Malaysia's and the Asia-Pacific Region's remarkable capacity to respond creatively and innovatively to the 2030 SDGs through community engagement among national, regional, and international stakeholders.

- ACUPEN: Asia-Pacific Community Engagement Network
  Professor Asma Ismail also highlighted that ACUPEN (Asia-Pacific University Community Engagement Network) was another community engagement initiative among 19 countries and 92 institutions in the region since 2011. From an International Education and a Glocal Development perspective, ACUPEN is an example of a partnership of local communities in the Asia-Pacific Region with global communities in Australia and Germany, for example, that focus on common goals for sustainable social change. The objectives include the promotion of community engagement among staff and students, capacity building, dissemination of information, and collaborative project development.
- CEO and Faculty Program
  In this innovative university-industry partnership (that impact 90,000 staff and students), CEO's tutor selected lecturers for 1500 h over 200 sessions. The CEO Faculty Program is an innovative partnership between industry and faculty in higher education institutions to promote industry participation and integration and exchange of knowledge and expertise among industry experts, university research communities, and students.

The Malaysian and Asia-Pacific collaborative partnership initiatives provide adequate evidence that when glocal communities and institutions of international higher education, in particular, have a will to action change, they make a wide impact on communities near and far. The collective efforts of Malaysia and the relevant stakeholders in the Asia-Pacific Region have collectively begun the rewarding and challenging task of addressing the 2030 SDGs:

1. (Poverty [from an International Education perspective, the region reviews technology access issues within the region, the ACUPEN, and internationally to address issues of access to technology to narrow the divide]).
2. (Good health and well-being [e.g., promoted through a values-based education, student community engagement, and volunteerism in disaster relief programs]).

3. (Quality education [through quality assurance processes to raise standards of education design and delivery to meet international education standards also noted in the 2013–2025 and 2015–2025 Malaysian Education Blueprints].
4. Gender equality [visible efforts are noted to meet international gender equity status, e.g., Professor Asma is the first vice-chancellor of a university, and she was the first woman in a senior leadership position in the Ministry of Education].
5. Decent work and economic growth [in line with international education endeavors, various industry partnerships are forged, and the CEO Faculty Program is an example of enhancing prospects for decent work and economic growth].
6. Innovation and infrastructure [e.g., the CEO Faculty Program is an innovative program to encourage partnerships, capacity building, and industry engagement among staff and students].
7. Reduced inequalities [e.g., the education blueprints are evidence of commitment to education transformation with the intent to bring Malaysian education into the international education arena through knowledge, research, and community engagement programs].
8. Peace, justice, and strong institution [demonstrated through ACUPEN partnerships with countries in the Asia-Pacific Region such as Laos, Bangladesh, and Nepal and multilevel collaborative initiatives, locally, regionally, and internationally with Australia and Germany].

The Malaysian programs and projects to enhance Malaysian higher education, industry partnerships, and community engagement attest Malaysian commitment to the 2030 SDGs to bring Malaysia on par with the international education endeavors, and the Asia-Pacific Region network (ACUPEN) cited above demonstrates both Malaysia's and the Asia-Pacific Region's commitment to enhance higher education to international standards. The blueprints and various community engagement initiatives within Malaysia and the Asia-Pacific Region are evidence of organized efforts to begin a journey of trust, respect, and compassion. As articulated by the Minister of Higher Education 2017 Dato Seri Idris Jusoh, "higher education requires humanizing and that technology should be centered on humanity and public interest" (cited in the Openlearning Conference Keynote Presentation, Professor Asma Ismail, November 2017).

26.7 Conclusion

The chapter explored challenges in achieving the 2030 SDGs and recommended that the SDGs be embedded in the Higher Education Social Responsibility Strategy in international higher education within a Glocal Development context. In upholding the 2030 SDGs as fundamental international higher education goals to benefit glocal communities as one humanity, the Glocal Engagement Framework and the Higher Education Social Responsibility Strategy will redirect "international higher education as a catalyst for sustainable social change."

Both Glocal Development and the Glocal Engagement Framework face challenges because change of heart, soul, and spirit is an imperative for success. This is a challenge in the face of adverse reactions from those who wish to maintain their dominance of the corporate globalization agenda. The ultimate goal of GD and GEF is to eradicate the socioeconomic and political inequities facing local and global communities, including those who are local, indigenous communities, and migrant communities crossing through their different worlds (First, Second, and Third Worlds as defined in the communication development literature in the 1950s). Further, GD and GEF, as emerging discourses that aim for equity, also challenge the status quo in international higher education in an era that is fraught with an imbalance of socioeconomic and political power, inadequate visionary leadership, and a lack of commitment to human values. Compassionate human communication is necessary for building glocal communities committed to Glocal Development for sustainable social change.

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Communication Policy for Women's Empowerment: Media Strategies and Insights

27

Kiran Prasad

Contents

27.1 Introduction 520
27.2 Feminist Movement 522
27.3 Silencing Women 523
27.4 Muting Women's Capability 524
27.5 Gender and Development Paradigms 525
References 529

Abstract

Despite rapid economic growth in the post-reform period and all the flagship programs of the government, India ranks very low on narrowing the gender gap in education, health, and economic participation. India is among the few countries of the world where female labor force participation is shrinking with less than 15% in any form of paid work. In this context, the role of the National Mission for Empowerment of Women (NMEW) is crucial for interministerial convergence of gender mainstreaming of programs, policies, and institutional processes of participating ministries which have largely operated independently and in a standalone manner. Sustainable development in India can be a reality only when there is gender equality and justice-based development that accords top priority to the welfare of women.

Keywords

Gender inequality in India · Violence against women · Media strategies · Communication policy · Women's empowerment

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27.1 Introduction

> There is no chance for the welfare of the world unless the condition of women is improved. It is not possible for a bird to fly on one wing. - *Swami Vivekananda*

The status of women is one of the most pressing contemporary development concerns at the international as well as the national levels. Historically though women enjoyed a respected position in the ancient cultures of India, Persia, and Greece, over time the situation has been drastically altered, and women were isolated from major developments that may have led to their modernization and autonomy especially in many developing countries. In India, women constitute a population of 586.5 million with 405.2 million (48.6%) in the rural areas and 181.2 million in the urban areas (RGI 2011). It is among the countries with the largest female population which makes it imperative to focus on communication policies that address their advancement and empowerment to foreground sustainable development.

India recorded a high economic growth of 9% per annum during 2005–2006 to 2008–2009. In 2016, India climbed 16 places from 55th place to the 39th rank on the Global Competitiveness Index prepared by the World Economic Forum with the economy characterized by improved business sophistication and goods market efficiency (WEF 2016). This remarkable economic achievement has yet to be translated into human development for half of India's population. While India slipped to 131 among 188 countries ranked in terms of human development, it ranks at 132 out of 146 countries in the Gender Inequality Index, which reflects the dismal status of women (UNDP 2017).

The 2016 Human Development Report (UNDP 2017) red flags the stark reality that the largest gender disparity in development was in South Asia where the female HDI value was 20% lower than for males; India accounts for the largest gender disparity in the region. In rural India, where teenage marriages are common, women face insecurity regarding a regular income, food, shelter, and access to health care. It is an understatement to say that violence against women is multidimensional; it is structural, brutal, and a part of everyday life (Ravi and Sajjanhar 2014). Indian women marry at a median age of just 17 years, and 16% of women aged 15–19 have already started bearing children, according to the 2005–2006 National Family Health Survey (IIPS 2007). With 212 per 100,000 live births, India ranks among the countries with the highest maternal mortality rates (MMR) accounting for one-third of maternal deaths in 2015 worldwide (RGI 2009). It was estimated that every year, 78,000 women die during pregnancy and childbirth even though 75% of these deaths can be prevented by health care (Krishnan 2010). India is ranked 170 out of 185 countries in the prevalence of anemia among women (48% women are anemic) and has the highest rate of malnourished children in the world at 44% and stands at 114/132 in stunted growth of children with 38.7% incidence (UNFPA 2016).

A collaborative study by the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) and the Young Lives India (NCPCR and YLI 2017) revealed that India stood at 11th rank in the countries worldwide with the highest incidence of child marriages accounting for 47% of all children with 39,000 minor girls being married

every day in India. The UNICEF further points out that India accounts for one-third of the global total of over 700 million women married as children leading to high levels of depression among them. The National Crime Records Bureau estimates that over 20,000 young mothers, mainly housewives, commit suicide every year, making them the largest demographic group in India to commit suicide followed by farmers (Bakshi 2016). The triggers for these deaths range from an unplanned pregnancy to an abusive or alcoholic husband, pressures to have a male child, and hormonal changes among others. The Programme for Improving Mental Health Care (PRIME) project in Madhya Pradesh is an intervention program for neonatal depression-related problems, where all expecting mothers are screened (Bakshi 2016). There is hardly any recognition of the pressure and depression of motherhood; many young women are automatically expected to care for their child and their personal health in India.

Gender discrimination and violence against women have had a profound effect on the sex ratio in India. The sex ratio has been dropping steadily for the past 50 years. In 2011 the sex ratio of females stood at 940 females per 1000 males, the lowest ratio after independence (RGI 2011). The Pink Economic Survey (2018) which is the first national data of its kind gives estimates based on the sex ratio of the last child (SRLC) which is heavily male skewed to show that 21 million girls were unwanted by parents in India. These human development indices show that India has failed to convert its economic growth to transform the lives of women and children who are among the most vulnerable population.

In the light of persistent inequality of women, the gender equality survey of the World Economic Forum (WEF 2014) places India at 114 out of 142 countries in the Global Gender Gap Index. While India ranks 126 on educational attainment, it is ranked 134 on economic participation and opportunity and the lowest at 142 on the health and survival of women. Contrary to the popular notion that men are the main breadwinners of the family, according to the 2011 Census, about 27 million households, constituting 11% of total households in the country, are headed by women, often among the poorest. Though many of these women lack formal education and employment skills, their courage to face adversities and steer their families out of poverty goes unrecognized by policy makers and development planners in the country.

There is an avowed strategy of women's empowerment that focuses on women's education and employment. But what is shocking is that studies indicate a link between women's employment and domestic violence. The National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) data report that there is much higher prevalence of violence against women who were employed at any time in the past 12 months (40%) than women who were not employed (29%) (IIPS 2007). Studies give evidence that women who have more education than their husbands, who earn more, or who are the sole earners in their families have a higher likelihood of experiencing intimate partner violence than women who are not employed or who are less educated than their spouse (Sabarwal et al. 2013). This reality in India contradicts the widely held global perception that better economic status of women lowers their risk to marital violence.

It is astonishing that women are achievers when their very survival is under threat on a daily basis. The enormous physical and psychological pressure of competing in an "equal world" with men who do not experience even a fraction of the constraints is a lived experience for many capable women in leadership positions. The feminist genius lies in the striving for creativity and capability by women who are projected as emblems of modernization and emancipation on one hand but muted by the patriarchal oppression that reinforces male domination that overrides these "progressive" images (Prasad 2009).

The feminist movement grew out of a sense of outrage at such treatment of women, for ending several forms of harassment of women, violence, sexual exploitation, job discrimination, exclusion from public life, and unequal educational opportunities. Society is reluctant to concede that women's rights are an inalienable dimension of human rights. The deliberate eclipsing of women from public affairs led to the struggle for equality, social participation, and legitimate share of autonomy and status enjoyed by their male counterparts. President Barack Obama points out during the US 2016 presidential election campaign that the United States is uncomfortable with powerful women, and that is why the United States has yet to elect a woman President (The Hindu 2016) which further gives insights into the world's deep-seated bias against women. There is a need for restructuring development paradigms to include the perspectives of women.

27.2 Feminist Movement

The women's movement has had to contend with several situations and idealized stereotypes dictated by cultural and traditional norms that existed during its early days and continues to persist. Virginia Woolf's writings presented the obstacles that prevented women from attaining self-reliance and a distinct identity. Woolf explains that it was impossible for women to develop creativity without minimum independence and personal space (Woolf 1929). She argued that if young men as inheritors of the family fortunes were encouraged to fend for themselves and carve a niche in the world, women fell behind as servants and possessions, with strict socialization patterns ingrained in them. They had no space or time to call their own and could not write down their thoughts and experiences even if they had a chance at the minimal education accorded to them. Women continue to struggle to seek the freedom to express their choices, however simple, in their daily life and continue to grapple with the question of creating space for themselves within their lives:

> Feminism, however, is not only about achieving social justice, it is also about creating a space which allows women to become something other than how they have been traditionally defined by men. Women, against the odds, are attempting to balance autonomy and dependence; self-fulfilment and a desire and obligation to care for others. In the present climate, as hurdle after hurdle remains in their way, they are encouraged to blame themselves – instead of examining how and why the hurdles were constructed in the first place. (Roberts 2004)

The feminist development strategy often lies in crossing these hurdles at a cost seldom known to the outside world and in many cases unknown to even their own families.

Friedan (1963) adopted a sociological approach and met housewives isolated in their urban apartments and homes striving to live up to the stereotyped and traditional roles and attempting to transform their houses into shining models portrayed by soap and floor wax commercials. Women in the developing countries of Asia and Africa find themselves in a "dichotomizing trap" (Williamson 2006) in which researchers and policy analysts envision women as either "traditional" or "modern" meaning liberated, educated, and independent. These images of women have reinforced simplistic ideas about the nature of society, the interpretation of the status of women, and prescriptions for their future (Williamson 2006: 186). The mass media also actively promote the image of a modern "new woman" as revealed by studies of women in advertising on satellite television in India (Prasad 2005), in China (Birch et al. 2001) and in Thailand (Biggins 2006). Though the mass media under the influence of Western culture represent women as modern, traditional perceptions and expectations of women's roles in society or family remain deep-rooted, which have continued to influence the way society treats women in several developing countries including India.

Greer (1971) alerted women to the reality that in spite of having legal, educational, and political rights, it would fail to raise their status unless women consciously overcome their childhood conditioning and acculturation as these were the forces that kept them quiescent and denied them justice in societies. Feminist scholarship has evolved over time with a focus on sex differences (the traditional approach) to a focus on improving society and making women more like men (the reformist or liberal approach), to the current focus of giving voice to women (the radical feminist approach) (Dervin 1987).

27.3 Silencing Women

Women's capability as generators of knowledge in all formal education has been vastly eclipsed, what is taught is men's knowledge; the silencing of active theorizing women takes place in almost all education systems (Kramarae 1989). In a digital age, "if tech is widely seen as a male bastion, it is because women's stories have been deliberately erased" (Sampath 2015). The fact that the world's first programmer and inventor of scientific computing is Ada Lovelace, the Spanning Tree Protocol for network computing was invented by Radia Perlman, and the key designer of Transmission Control Protocol/Internet Protocol was Judith Estrin tells "the untold stories" about women (Shevinsky 2015).

The Chief Operating Officer of Facebook Sheryl Sandberg (2013) believes that women themselves are largely responsible for not accepting leadership roles as they are socially conditioned to be less ambitious, settle for less, and prioritize their homes and families at the cost of their career. Sandberg (2013) calls women to "lean in" to their careers without being guilty about the need to be liked and sacrifice on

behalf of the family. Here lies the catch for many creative, capable women geniuses of India. According to the Gender Diversity Benchmark Survey for 2011 and 2014, Indian companies lose 11% of their female workforce every year as women are haunted by "daughterly guilt" and maternal guilt that leads them to prioritize caring for parents, children, and extended family by leaving their careers (Kumar 2016). Such women are also under pressure to support their husbands to fulfil their family aspirations for a better lifestyle by working from home or getting creative by plunging into entrepreneurship which has its own set of challenges.

The creativity of women to develop lay in circumventing the barriers erected in their social environment to continue performing their duties and lead their families and communities daily by silencing their voices and muting their capabilities putting them under enormous strain. Empowerment of women can be achieved only by enabling women to voice their experiences and for society to understand them as human beings and respond to them with sensitivity. With nations (including India) boasting themselves as nuclear powers, "space-age countries," and "information societies," it is unthinkable that any country would burn women alive (for dowry) except in India. But the large-scale brutal violence against girls and women from acid attacks to gang rapes does not seem to touch the hearts of representatives of the people (nearly half of their electorate being women) who remain oblivious to the plight of women. It is estimated that around 30% of the sex workers in India are below 18 years and many women have been pushed into sex work (Saggurti et al. 2011). It is even more shocking that of late several panchayats (local administrative bodies especially in North India) have begun to award punishments to women such as approving their sale to criminals, gang rape, excommunication from the village (along with their families), and social boycott by the community. Such local bodies are not instruments of political empowerment, as presently they seem to be emerging as instruments of oppression against women.

Spender (1985) documents the silencing or threatening of women by the application of deviancy labels. Women who are particularly knowledgeable and witty or those who question or rebel against patriarchy are called aberrations, unnatural, unattractive, unisexual, unnaturally sexed, and man-haters. All forms of violence used to silence women – implicit or explicit – restrict women's capability in all spheres and diminish human development.

27.4 Muting Women's Capability

Women are under great social control and scrutiny which has restricted what they can say and where and to whom. They are forced to express their subordination through "feminine" words, voice, and syntax. In this context, Ardener (1975) conceives of women as a "muted" and men as a "dominant" group in relation to language, meaning, and communication. In patriarchal cultures, men determine the general system of meanings for society and validate these meanings through the support received from other men. These meanings, regarded as correct by men, have evolved out of male experiences. The concepts and vocabulary arising out of it

are quite different for women to contend with and express themselves in (Prasad 2000). There are several words in almost every language to describe women who are in disrepute for whatever reason. For instance, to be a "prostitute" is to be stigmatized for life, but the men who are the "clients" do not suffer in the least from social mores or sanctions that continue to bestow status on them. They enjoy immunity from stigma and abuse which is strengthened by the fact that there are no words to describe such immoral men. There can be "other women" in extramarital relations but no "other men."

The information and communication media concentrate on fashion, glamor, weight reduction, cookery, and how to sharpen "feminine instincts" to keep men and their in-laws happy rather than on career opportunities, health awareness, entrepreneurship, legal aid, counselling services, childcare services, and financial management that build women's capacity and leadership. Despite the fact that there is no dearth of women leadership in India, it is rarely recalled that the right to information campaign led by Aruna Roy, the struggle for natural resources led by Medha Patkar, the sustainable agriculture movement led by Vandana Shiva, and a host of local agitations led by women like C. K. Janu and Mayilamma have played a stellar role in grounding sustainable development in India (Prasad 2013).

Women in India labor under the brunt of oppressive traditions and exploitation, suffer from lack of self-worth or identity, and are routinely subjected to violence even at home. It is absurd that in a country where even women's dress is dictated by tradition, women must take responsibility for family planning, AIDS, and a host of other maladies affecting society. Patriarchal structures dictate the degrees to which women must be robed or disrobed; women do not even have complete liberty to decide on their dress. The burkini versus bikini debate has ramifications in India where violence against women is attributed to their dress! Women and society in general are in great need of self-introspection and self-conscientization to overcome the downslide in human values and women's rights as an inalienable part of human rights (Prasad 2004).

27.5 Gender and Development Paradigms

There has been a coexistence of feminist development approaches worldwide and in India – women in development (WID), women and development (WAD), and gender and development (GAD). WID approach was adopted internationally to achieve women's integration in all aspects of the development process. It is based on liberal feminism which generally treats women as a homogeneous group and assumes that gender roles will change as women gain an equal role to men in the development of education, employment, and health services. The WID approach does not question the existing social structures or explore the nature and sources of women's oppression. It fails to consider the implications of race, class, and gender on women's oppression.

WAD is primarily a neo-Marxist, feminist approach with a strong emphasis on the importance of social class and the exploitation of the "Third World." Affirmative

action by the state and proactive approach by the civil society through NGOs and women's groups are advocated by these models for empowerment of women against the forces of patriarchal class society. The major criticism of the WAD approach is that it fails to undertake a full-scale analysis of the relationship between patriarchy and women's subordination. Although work which women do inside and outside homes is central to development, WAD preoccupies itself with the productive aspect at the expense of the reproductive side of women's work and lives.

The GAD approach recognizes that improvements in women's status require analysis of the relations between men and women, as well as the concurrence and cooperation of men. There is recognition that the participation and commitment of men are required to fundamentally alter the social and economic position of women. A gender-focused approach seeks to redress gender inequity from a shift with an exclusive focus on women to an approach that must involve men in the family and the broader sociocultural environment through facilitating strategic, broad-based, and multifaceted solutions to gender inequality. The focus of GAD is also to strengthen women's legal rights.

WID tends to focus on practical needs, whereas GAD focuses on both practical needs and strategic interests. In addition to focusing on everyday problems, GAD is concerned with addressing the root inequalities (of both gender and class) that create many of the practical problems women experience in their daily lives. Practical needs refer to what women perceive as immediate necessities such as water, shelter, and food. Strategic gender interests are long-term, usually not material, and are often related to structural changes in society regarding women's status and equity. They include legislation for equal rights, reproductive choice, and increased participation in decision-making. The strategic interests of women's development and empowerment tend to be long-term which include consciousness-raising, increasing self-confidence, providing education, strengthening women's organizations, and fostering political mobilization. There remains a whole range of women's problems from female feticide, female infanticide, child marriage, sexual abuse, sex trade and trafficking, rising son preference and devaluing daughters, marital rape, unfair burden of population policy and AIDS campaign on women, problems of single women, branding rural women as witches in several parts of the country, to the legal rights of women regarding property, divorce, and succession, which have yet to see concerted action by policy makers and planners. There is a strange silence on heinous crimes of fathers raping daughters especially in Kerala, where women's health, education, and basic socioeconomic indicators match those of the advanced countries in the world (Institute of Applied Manpower Research 2011). Women's activism for gender equality is quite weak even where women enjoy situational advantage. Highly educated and financially independent women are seen succumbing to dowry demands, son-preference, domestic violence, and sexual harassment at the workplace.

Studies on violence against women (VAW) reveal that nearly 1 out of 4 men of 10,000 men in Asia agreed that they had committed rape and sexual entitlement or a belief that men were entitled to sex regardless of consent was the major reason that men gave for committing a rape (Cheng 2013). Crimes against women attract

suspicion of women's character (case of love gone sour) and sexual assault and rape in the news media framed in relation to women's freedoms. Basic rights and safety remain out of reach for a vast majority of women in India. The discourse on women's resistance is focused on "get your own safety pin" or teaching self-defense rather than educating boys and men to be humane. Women are under constant surveillance in private and public life. There is the tremendous power of collective punishing mechanism by shaming women and warning against behavior perceived as undesirable by sections of society (khaps, caste councils). There are multiple agencies from family members to criminals regulating or negating women's degrees of freedom. Rarely understood is the trauma of women who become "objects of social ostracism" (due to acid attack, rape, or other violence).

In 2014, the Indian Ordnance Factory, Kanpur, launched a light revolver *Nirbheek* (meaning fearless) for women. This raises the question: if women's safety is all about owning a gun, what about the rapist who lurks at home (Sharma 2014)? There is an even strange justification that if a woman does not reciprocate a man's "love," he can kill or maim her. Instead of strengthening the criminal justice system, improving law and order and policing skills, arranging safety measures like streetlights and transport facilities for women, and creating enabling work environments, the government advocates the use of pepper sprays (widely available in grocery shops), and business is focused on developing apps and various other products that can trigger alarms to emergency contacts if a woman is attacked.

The development of women is not to be perceived as by women, of women, and for women; men as fathers, husbands, brothers, sons, and friends must unite to strengthen the lives of girls and women and for achieving the vision of India as a developed country. Education and the mass media must play a critical role in widening the discourse on gender equality and challenging the social and political order that systematically devalues women.

The Government of India launched the National Policy for Empowerment of Women in 2001 (Department of Women and Child Development 2001) with the following specific objectives:

- Creating an environment through positive economic and social policies for full development of women to enable them to realize their full potential.
- The de jure and de facto enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedom by women on equal basis with men in all spheres – political, economic, social, cultural, and civil.
- Equal access to participation and decision-making of women in social, political, and economic life of the nation.
- Equal access to women to health care, quality education at all levels, career and vocational guidance, employment, remuneration, occupational health and safety, social security and public office, etc.
- Strengthening legal systems aimed at elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.
- Changing societal attitudes and community practices by active participation and involvement of both men and women.

- Mainstreaming a gender perspective in the development process.
- Elimination of discrimination and all forms of violence against women and the girl child.
- Building and strengthening partnerships with civil society, particularly women's organizations.

Most of these objectives have largely remained on paper with little action. Nearly after a decade, the National Mission for Empowerment of Women (NMEW) was announced on March 8, 2010, and operationalized during 2011–2012. It works with all the states and union territory governments and has 14 ministries and departments of Government of India as it partners with the Ministry of Women and Child Development as the Nodal Ministry. The mission aims to bring in convergence and facilitate the processes of ensuring economic and social empowerment of women with emphasis on health and education, reduction in violence against women, generating awareness about various schemes and programs meant for women, and empowerment of vulnerable women and women in difficult circumstances (www.nmew.gov.in).

The NMEW has undertaken initiatives to check the declining sex ratio in 12 districts of 7 states to address the sex selective elimination of girls. It is collaborating with various community organizations to further the flagship program of the government *Beti Bachao Beti Padhao* scheme (save the girl child, educate the girl child) and address issues of domestic violence, partnering with Lawyers Collective Women's Rights Initiative (LCWRI) and attempting to bring diverse stakeholders in raising the collective community consciousness on women's issues. The mission must engage in strategic communication for interministerial convergence of gender mainstreaming of programs, policies, institutional arrangements, and processes of participating ministries which have largely hitherto operated independently and in a stand-alone manner. The NMEW is in the process working on a fresh National Empowerment Policy for Women. It is too early to predict the substantial gains in women's empowerment through the NMEW.

There are several social communication campaigns involving men like the *Beti Padhao Beti Bachao* (educate and save the girl child), *Bell Bajao* (Ring the Bell for domestic violence), *What Kind Of Man Are You?* (AIDS awareness campaign), and the *One Billion Rising* campaign to highlight the worldwide violence against women and several community initiatives that attempt to resolve the problems faced by women. The *#MeToo* campaign has also resonated in India with women publicly narrating their experiences on media of violence, exploitation, and humiliation in a gender-unjust society. Positive role modeling through audiovisual communication must be used to break the initial resistance and enable the family and community to participate in empowering women toward health care and improving their status. Family life education and sex education must receive top priority in general education and the mass media. Program modules on parenting must be popularized in schools and colleges to promote greater understanding among the youth about their roles and social responsibility as future parents and create a more responsible dialogue between partners to promote concepts of masculinity that include committed fatherhood. An intensive behavior change communication must be initiated by

multi-sectoral agencies to address the masculine norms and behavior that heighten the risk for both men and women and prevent mutually beneficial relationships and inclusive human development. All health information campaigns must stress the importance of inter-spouse communication to improve the lives of girls and women and encourage equitable sharing of household and caregiving responsibilities throughout the life cycle. The compassion of the Buddha and Jesus shows that men are capable of sublime virtues with proper education, guidance, and engagement in personal and social life. The future generation of boys must learn that gender equality will make the world kinder, less violent, and less demanding for men as well (Mander 2014). The message of gender equality given by Nancy Smith (1973) in her powerful poem must become the essence of human sensitization:

> *For every woman who is tired of acting weak when she knows she is strong, there is a man who is tired of appearing strong when he feels vulnerable.*
>
> *For every woman who is tired of being called "an emotional female", there is a man who is denied the right to weep and to be gentle.*
>
> *For every woman who is tired of being a sex object, there is a man who must worry about his potency.*
>
> *For every woman who is called unfeminine when she competes, there is a man for whom competition is the only way to prove his masculinity.*
>
> *For every woman who takes a step toward her own liberation, there is a man who finds the way to freedom has been made a little easier.*

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Part V

Strategic and Methodological Concepts

Three Types of Communication Research Methods: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Participatory

28

Jan Servaes

Contents

28.1 Introduction 534
28.2 The Context of Research 535
28.3 Quantitative Approaches to Research 536
28.3.1 Objectivity and Subjectivity 537
28.3.2 The "End of Ideology" and "Value-Free" Science 537
28.3.3 Power-Based Research 538
28.3.4 Methodology-Driven Research 539
28.4 Qualitative Approaches to Research 540
28.4.1 Subjectivity and Phenomenology 540
28.4.2 Naturalistic Observation and the Participant Observer 541
28.4.3 Critical Research 542
28.4.4 Validity and Evaluation in Qualitative Research 543
28.4.5 The Role and Place of the Reader, Viewer, and Receiver 543
28.5 Participatory Research 544
28.5.1 Principles of Participatory Communication Research 545
28.5.2 Differences Between Participatory Research and Action Research 546
28.5.3 "Insiders" and "Outsiders" 547
28.5.4 A Definition of Participatory Research (PR) 547
28.5.5 The Process of Participatory Research 548
28.5.6 Evaluation and Validity in Participatory Research 549
28.5.7 The Integration of Different Methodologies 549
28.5.8 A Word of Caution 550
28.6 By Way of Conclusion 550
References 551

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Abstract

This chapter presents a brief overview of the three types of communication research methods being applied in development communication settings: quantitative, qualitative, and participatory. This chapter attempts to outline the relative characteristics and merits of these approaches to research and to emphasize some of the philosophical issues which underpin them. It discusses the strengths and weaknesses of each and highlights the benefits of a more normative approach focused on the "poor" in society.

Keywords

Research methodologies · Quantitative · Qualitative · Participatory · Triangulation · Empowerment

28.1 Introduction

All research begins with some set of assumptions which themselves are untested but *believed*. Positivistic research, which comprises the mass of modern communication and development research, proceeds from the presupposition that all knowledge is based on an observable reality and social phenomena can be studied on the basis of methodologies and techniques adopted from the natural sciences. In other words, "reality" exists apart from our interpretation of it, and we can objectively perceive, understand, predict, and control it. Social scientists, enamored by the notion of a predictable universe, therefore concluded that, by applying the methods of positivistic science to study human affairs, it would be possible to predict and ultimately to control human social behavior (McKee et al. 2000). Furthermore, its methodological premises and epistemological assumptions are based almost exclusively on the Western experience and world view, a view which holds the world as a phenomenon to be controlled, manipulated, and exploited (Bhattacherjee 2012).

Quantitative and qualitative researchers today increasingly recognize the weakness of a purely objectivist position. While they recognize that complete objectivity is no longer possible, they nevertheless wish not to replace value freedom with anything of substance. Therefore, many participatory researchers feel that objectivism still resides in the practices of many social scientists.

This chapter attempts to outline the relative characteristics and merits of quantitative, qualitative, and participatory approaches to research and to emphasize some of the philosophical issues which underpin them (Servaes et al. 1996; Jacobson and Servaes 1999; see also ▶ Chap. 14, "The Relevance of Habermasian Theory for Development and Participatory Communication" by Thomas Jacobson). However, Bryman's (1984; Bryman and Burgess 1994) argument should not be forgotten, i.e., that it is *not* possible to establish a clear symmetry between epistemological positions and associated techniques of social research, and, consequently, they often

become confused with each other: "It may be that at the technical level the quantitative/qualitative distinction is a rather artificial one . . . At the epistemological level, the distinction is less obviously artificial since the underlying tenets relate to fundamentally different views about the nature of the social sciences, which have resisted reconciliation for a very long time" (Bryman 1984: 88). Or, as stated by Saneh Chamarik (1993: 4): "In social science, approach and methodology are not just a matter of technique and expertise, but essentially represent an attitude of mind, that is to say, a kind of moral proposition."

Therefore, the distinction between the mechanistic diffusion versus organic participatory models (Servaes 1999) is important. Contrary to the scientist who aims for an understanding of the world as it exists "out there," the participatory model takes as the fundamental focus the immediate world of the participants and their analysis of, and subsequent action in, that world. Both models should be regarded as opposites on a continuum.

Moreover, highly rigid methodology serves to limit rather than expand humanistic understanding to the detriment of both the researcher and the "researched." The detachment, the reluctance to "contaminate" one's research design in the dynamic, holistic, and human social context, while claiming to be working for the ultimate benefit of those studied, should be challenged, if not on a methodological, then certainly on a moral basis. Given this aloofness, many so-called quantitative, qualitative, and/or participatory researchers become largely parasitical in character and contribute little to those they research. Jumping from country to country, or community to community, many Western and local researchers alike conduct their "safari" and "airport research," collect the data, and return to the university to write it up, hopefully for publication in a prestigious journal. The subjects of the study do not learn of the results and obtain no benefit, except via a long, distorting cycle of traditional research and top-down social action.

However, the assertion is not that the entirety of empirical research or academic inquiry is of no value. *The intent is not to reject science but to properly define its place within human knowledge.*

28.2 The Context of Research

The social group with the greatest interest in the perpetuation of highly complex research practices, which mandate "correct" methodology above all, are the representatives of the scientific community themselves: university teachers and researchers or, in one word, the homo academicus (Servaes 2012). As with bureaucracies, academic institutions strive for results that paint their activities in a concise, easily visible fashion. The reasons for this include peer status as well as personal and organizational sustenance. The rule of "publish or perish" is known to all and those who would go against the flow or approach their task in an unorthodox fashion are jeopardizing their personal careers. It is not the individual's place to question the prevalent paradigms or accepted methodologies. Consequently, most scholars continue to follow the intellectual fashions of the day. In the whole their

specialist knowledge prompts little divergence from the prevalent opinion of their social group or class. As a result, institutions of higher education have often stayed aloof to the needs of the majority of the population they are supposed to serve.

New forms of access to and structural changes in the higher education system should be a subject of serious consideration. *The search for truth succumbs to the search for funding, which is subservient to ideology.* Therefore, while academia is supposed to be a "marketplace of ideas" and a forum for free discussion, it has often become part of the market. With time, the parameters under which researchers operate can constitute, for them, a social reality. They see its limits as the limits of the world, not as a more or less arbitrary boundary between what they know and what they do not. Such trends are demeaning to the researcher herself/himself as well.

Due to the widespread use and application of Western models, constructs, and methodologies, intellectuals in the so-called Global South are sadly dependent for their status and acceptance on their links with the West. Mimicking foreign methodologies, as well as striving for more exacting standards, and tighter control, social science research is pulled farther and farther from the dynamic social context which it ostensibly strives to understand.

Unfortunately, this observation is not limited to the academic world only. As a result of bureaucracy and managerialism, more than in the past, many governmental development agencies *outsource* their intellectual capacity to consultants, sometimes NGOs but more often for-profit foundations. These agencies often prefer consultants because consultants are always available on short-term notice, while academics often cannot be easily freed up, or have become "too costly." A range of self-proclaimed experts and consultants fill the gap and provide the background papers and policy recommendations as commissioned by the system. The values of equality and democracy which development agencies claim to promote are often absent within the agency itself. It is clear that power relations are problematic inside of development agencies just as much as inside of academic and scientific institutions (Louw; Van Hemelrijck 2013).

28.3 Quantitative Approaches to Research

Logic and common sense tells us that such a thing as *objectivity* exists. It also tells us the bumblebee can fly. But by the laws of physics, the bumblebee is unable to fly. "Common sense" is just that *common sense*.

Social research and developmental research is claimed to be objective, neutral, and thus scientific. In reality, however, it often becomes an instrument in the hands of the powerful elite to rationalize their control of the people. Therefore, as James Halloran (1981: 40), the late President of the International Association for Media and Education Research (IAMCR) claimed, "it is ideology that we are now talking about, and in mass communication research, as elsewhere, there are an increasing number of ideologists who present their work as social science . . . it all depends on what one means by ideology, and what one means by social science."

28.3.1 Objectivity and Subjectivity

The underlying problem of the importunate posture of "objectivity" is that in assuming that the meanings for the conditions of subject's lives are independent of those subjects – researchers in the human and social studies are assuming they themselves are independent of how they see those subjects or of the phenomena they are examining.

Present discussion rejects this assumption. The idol has feet of clay. Similar to the notion of relative logic, the assertion is "objectivity" is nothing more than subjectivity which a given aggregate of individuals agree upon. It refers to what a number of subjects or judges experience, in short, to phenomena within the public domain. Therefore, as Brenda Dervin (1982: 293), the first female President of the International Communication Association (ICA), observed, "No human being is capable of making absolute observations, and since it is humans that produce that thing we call information, all information is itself constrained." And Jim Anderson and Meyer (1988: 239) adds that "the ultimate source of our knowledge is not 'out there' pressing upon us, but it is in our own consciousness."

Hence, "objectivity" is nothing more than *intersubjectivity.* For example, to ensure coder reliability, the researcher culls out those coders whose subjective coding is incongruent with the mean. The rejected coders' analysis is not intersubjective; it is not "objective." Research defines the categorical constructs, then defines and refines the instruments to measure those constructs. With time (as well as painstaking research and adequate funding), "intelligence" becomes what the tests measure. Science becomes the operationalization of concepts through the development of reliable measures, which, in turn, serve to measure and substantiate the concepts. Reliability and internal validity are perfected. However, whether this cyclical process is related with the social reality outside the lab, with external validity, remains largely unconsidered.

28.3.2 The "End of Ideology" and "Value-Free" Science

Roughly corresponding with the rise of communication models and the doctrine of modernization emerged a growing sentiment of the impending "end of ideology" in the social sciences. Superstition and ideology were to yield to reason, positivism, and science. Friberg and Hettne (1985: 209) relate the belief that "controlled experiments and deductive reasoning guarantees an infinite growth of valid knowledge about the mechanisms of nature and this knowledge will lay the foundation of the technological society marked by material abundance."

This new mode of inquiry was claimed to be detached, neutral, and value-free. It was "the noble and final battle of 'knowledge' against 'ignorance'" (Thayer 1983: 89). The belief was that "with just a little more data, with just a few more refined techniques of inquiry, we will indeed 'arrive'" (p. 89). *Not all agree.* Some take a political stand and argue that "neutral" science has led to the dehumanizing and catastrophic utilization of knowledge, nuclear missiles, biological poisons, and

psychological brainwashing. Others claim from a more methodological point of view that no responsible social scientist would hold that the results of social science research are comprehensive, free of value premises, or valid for all seasons.

Similar to the majority of efforts towards communication and participation in the development context, research most often derives from, and serves to perpetuate, dominant structures. Tying the notions of intersubjectivity, ideology, and the established order together, Addo (1985: 17) writes that "claims to scientific neutrality and objectivity come easily to the establishment [which] holds fast to a deep-seated common world view . . . a theoretical structure of what the world is like and ought to be like; and what it is about and ought to be about."

28.3.3 Power-Based Research

The "dominant methodological concern is how to approach the interpretation of the modern world-system in order to make it safe for . . . the perpetuation of . . . this world-system" (Addo 1985: 20). This methodology reveals its pro-status-quo bias in that it never considers the alternative of the creation of a new system but rather presents "functional" adjustments to the old. It facilitates the functioning of the existing system, without ever questioning its validity, however dangerous that system may be for the future of society and man's and woman's integrity. In this way the research, although often referred to as abstracted empiricism, is certainly not abstracted from the society in which it operates. In sum, science, particularly at the level of social research, is laden with ideology. It serves, and is largely intended to serve, vested power structures. As such, claims of the "end of ideology" or "value-free science" do not hold true either in their premises or in their applications.

Communication is no exception. Robert White (1982: 29) argues that "much of the research tradition in the field of communication – concepts, methodology, and research designs – has been in the service of authoritarian communication." And Halloran (1981: 22) adds that communication research "has developed . . . essentially as a response to the requirements of a modern, industrial, urban society for empirical, quantitative, policy-related, information about its operations. . . . Research was carried out with a view to . . . achieving stated aims and objectives, often of a commercial nature." The goal of inquiry has often been to investigate how commercial or political persuasion could be effectively used. Hence, such research is an "objective" form of intelligence gathering for social control by business firms and governments. The predominant vein of social research, resting on epistemological suppositions, strives to understand reality, with the objectives of prediction and control. However, while claiming detachment and neutrality, research functions to objectify the very "reality" it assumes to be objective. This is done in a manner congruent with, and towards the benefit of, the existent status quo, usually those who pay the bills. In other words, it serves more to create and perpetuate a reality than to understand one.

28.3.4 Methodology-Driven Research

In the journals and conferences, debate is more often about the method of investigation than the content. Halloran (1981: 23) argues that "'Scientific' is defined solely or mainly in terms of method, and ... little or no attention is given to ... the nature of the relevant, substantive issues and their relationship to wider sociological concerns." This overemphasis on methodology and techniques, as well as adulation of formulae and scientific-sounding terms, exemplify the common tendency to displace value from the ends to the means. A sociologist or psychologist obsessed with frameworks, jargon, and techniques resembles a carpenter who becomes so worried about keeping his or her tools clean that he or she has no time to cut the wood. Reality as experienced in the lives of people has been sacrificed to methodological rigor. Too often an emphasis upon exact measurement *precludes* the asking of *significant* questions, and the result is fragmented bits of knowledge on "researchable" topics.

As the methodology becomes increasingly complex, the questions posed become ever-more trivial. The parameters of inquiry yield to increasingly sophisticated methods. It is sometimes said that modern scientists are learning so much about so little that they'll eventually know everything about nothing. Therefore, many years ago already, Kuhn (1962: 35) attested that "perhaps the most striking feature of the normal research problems ... is how little they aim to produce major novelties, conceptual or phenomenal."

With the tendency towards reductionism, the social sciences tend to *compartmentalize* the subject matter into separate parts, with only rare attempts at approaching the subject as a whole. This forces nature: "into the preformed and relatively inflexible box that the paradigm supplies. No part of the aim of normal science is to call forth new sorts of phenomena, indeed those that will not fit the box are often not seen at all" (Kuhn 1962: 24).

Categories, taxonomies, terms, and their relations are largely what make a given paradigm. Yet, even though this "terminology is a reflection of reality, by its very nature it is a selection of reality and therefore also functions as a deflection of reality" (Burke 1968: 44). The categorization is often derived from the literature rather than from "concepts that are necessarily real, meaningful, and appropriate from the native point of view" (Harris 2001: 32). This renders invisible the knowledge of the people involved in the real-life activity at which research is aimed.

Prevalent theories, paradigms, methodologies, and taxonomies become tantamount to human understanding; they become the goal and the reality. Adherence to the widely accepted methods produces mostly one-dimensional communication research unable to cope with complex and dynamic social realities. Analysts research isolated variables, thereby removing them from the cultural context which gives them their meaning. But communication cannot be dissected and displaced to increase the convenience of observation without disrupting the process of meaning creation at the same time.

28.4 Qualitative Approaches to Research

Qualitative research almost mirrors the quantitative one, and, in this sense, discussion has already addressed the qualitative approaches. However, several points require elaboration (see also Berg and Lune 2014; Denzin and Lincoln 2005).

28.4.1 Subjectivity and Phenomenology

Qualitative research accepts subjectivity as *given.* It does not view social science as "objective" in the ordinary and simple understanding of that term but as an active intervention in social life with claims and purposes of its own. As the world is constructed intersubjectively through processes of interpretation, the premise is that "reality does not write itself on the human consciousness, but rather, that human consciousness approaches reality with certain embedded interpretations" (Anderson and Meyer 1988: 238), and those interpretations, in turn, constitute reality. We are thus introduced to a *new principle of relativity* which holds that all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same picture of the universe (Bruhn Jensen 2013).

As such, given the idiosyncratic nature of individuals and cultures, social reality has predominantly the character of irregularity, instead of the ordered, regular, and predictable reality assumed in empirical approaches. These implications have profound impact on the manner that we look at communication and the way we strive to understand, and research, social contexts. Further confounding this subjective, idiosyncratic irregularity is the fact of its dynamism. Christians and Carey (1981: 346) assert, "To study this creative process is our first obligation, and our methodology must not reduce and dehumanize it in the very act of studying it." The emphasis should be on discovery rather than applying routinized procedures. Following the humanistic premise that people are not objects, there is no warrant for believing that the social sciences should imitate the natural sciences in form or method. The subjects of research are just that, subjects. We are not objects and cannot be objectified without losing the very humanity that is the focus of inquiry. Needed are intellectual endeavors that reach out to, rather than insulate us from popular experience. We must therefore have the courage to underwrite contextual thinking and contextual research. "Truth" lies not in objective proof, but in the experience of existence or non-existence in the minds of men and women and their mutual affirmation. Therefore, "truth" is relative.

This brings us back to the topic of intersubjectivity. At the risk of being "irrational" and "unscientific," it is argued qualitative and phenomenological approaches, in their broadest sense, advocate a human approach towards understanding the human context. It is based on the human character of the subject matter. As a specifically human approach, it uses lived experience as acts on which to base its findings. Fuglesang (1984: 4) and Ewen (1983: 223) summarize: "If communication is difficult in today's world, it is perhaps because it is difficult to be human. Communication experts do not make it easier when they try to develop

science out of something which is essentially an art. The impulse of our analysis ought to respect these voices in their own terms, not continually seek to distort them into faceless data. Such respect may mean our work will be *less* scientifically antiseptic, *less* arrogantly conclusive, *less* neatly tied up, *less* instrumental. Yet, being liberated from such constraints, our work will likely become *more* lyrical *more* speculative, *more* visionary, *more* intelligent and human" (see also Lie 2003).

28.4.2 Naturalistic Observation and the Participant Observer

To attempt an understanding of a human being or a social context, to the degree possible, we must lay aside all scientific knowledge of the average man and woman and discard all theories in order to adopt a completely new and unprejudiced attitude. The researcher must set aside pre-derelictions, what she/he "already knows," because if inquiry begins with a preconceived set of interpretive templates, viewpoints will be lost. Through the myopic glasses of rigid theories and constructs, other aspects that may be even more important are typically not noted because they are not looked for. This implies a re-evaluation of conceptions such as "developer," "source," "expert," "neutrality," and "objectivity." In other words, the researcher immerses herself/himself in the context not to verify hypotheses, but as sources for *understanding meaning*. In a very real sense, the most important tool of inquiry becomes the researcher's attitude. Large egos are detrimental when the investigator considers himself or herself far above the group to be investigated and refuses implicitly or explicitly the real encounter with the subject of investigation. Anderson and Meyer (1988: 320) concurs in writing: "The 'us/them' character of ethnographic work and our own socialization as researchers – keepers of the truth – can lead to a sense of superiority about our social action as compared to those we study. Observational distancing can turn people into subjects – objects of study." Therefore, Kennedy (2008), based on extensive research among Alaskan natives, describes the different roles he experienced as a change agent: from social broker to social advocate to social mobilizer.

Quite the opposite of neutrality and detachment, the participant observer involves himself/herself in the natural setting in order to, to the extent possible, obtain an inside view of the social context. This involves "gaining access," but the researcher must also maintain somewhat of an aloof position to observe. The goal is to see the other objectively and, at the same time, to experience his or her difficulties subjectively. For the "outsider," participation is: "a staged effort and observation is a product of routine. At the other extreme, the insider has the 'of-course-it's-true' knowledge of the member. For the insider, participation is effortless, observation difficult" (Anderson and Meyer 1988: 296).

First among the fundamental concepts of qualitative research is the axiom that the study of human life is interpretive, Anderson argues, it is the search for subjective understanding, rather than manipulative, the quest for prediction and control. Qualitative research has replaced prediction with emphatic understanding as its research aim so that social science can be freed from its exploitative uses and enlisted

instead in the cause of freedom and justice. Contrary to quantitative inquiry which accepts its premises and focuses on methodological rigor, qualitative study stresses the critical analysis of those suppositions to understand human understanding, thereby restoring the critical and liberating function to intellectual investigation.

In anthropology one usually distinguishes between an "emic" and an "etic" approach: "Emic operations have as their hallmark the elevation of the native informant to the status of the ultimate judge of the adequacy of the observer's descriptions and analyses. The test of the adequacy of emic analyses is their ability to generate statements the native accepts as real, meaningful, or appropriate. In carrying out research in the emic mode, the observer attempts to acquire a knowledge of the categories and rules one must know in order to think and act as a native. . . Etic operations have as their hallmark the elevation of observers to the status of ultimate judges and concepts used in descriptions and analyses. The test of adequacy of etic accounts is simply their ability to generate scientifically productive theories about the causes of socio-cultural differences and similarities. Rather than employ concepts that are necessarily real, meaningful, and appropriate from the native point of view, the observer is free to use alien categories and rules derived from the date language of science. Frequently, etic operations involve the measurement and juxtaposition of activities and events that native informants may find inappropriate or meaningless" (Harris 1980: 32).

In this context I would like to plead for an "emic" position. However, as Clifford Geertz (1973: 15) warns, this is an extremely difficult approach to accomplish: "We begin with our interpretations of what our informants are up to, or think they are up to, and then systematize …" Geertz therefore prefers the notions of "experience-near" and "experience-far" above the "emic" and "etic" concepts. The former are internal to a language or culture and are derived from the latter which are posed as universal or scientific.

28.4.3 Critical Research

Qualitative research has often been characterized as critical research. The reverse that critical research is often qualitative in nature is also true, especially when that research addresses the dominant societal structures and in particular when the inquiry is directed towards what can be called the academic research complex. Critical research looks at the historical, societal, and dynamic context of its questions, and consequently is not amenable to rigid methodology. Hence, there exist few similarities in approaches deemed critical research. Therefore, Halloran (1981: 26), among others, argues that "the unity of the critical approach lies in its opposition to conventional work rather than in any shared, more positive approach." Lacking in "accepted" methods, critical research is often written off as unscientific or as ideological prattle. However, just as qualitative research accepts its subjectivity, critical analysis admits its ideological premises. It can also be argued the reason critical research is deemed invalid is not because of its disparate methodology but rather because of its more populist stance. It seeks to examine social issues of

importance to the generality of the people and not to – say – politicians and media managers. It is attacked "because it challenges the status quo and the vested interests and rejects the conventional wisdom of the service research that supports this establishment" (Halloran 1981: 33). In sum, Halloran (1981: 34) asserts: "It is now suggested that research ... should be shifted away from such questions as 'the right to communicate' to 'more concrete problems.' But what are these 'concrete problems?' They are the same as, or similar to, the safe, 'value-free' micro questions of the old-time positivists who served the system so well, whether or not they intended or understood this. All this represents a definite and not very well disguised attempt to put the clock back to the days when the function of research was to serve the system as it was – to make it more efficient rather than to question it or suggest alternatives."

28.4.4 Validity and Evaluation in Qualitative Research

Given this lack of methodological rigor, on what grounds should one accept the qualitative or critical argument? What makes the research worth recognition? Was the research "successful"? To address these questions, reference is made to the assertions above as to the premises of "value-free science" and "objectivity." If we do not accept these – if we see the emperor is indeed naked – then we must accept, and valuate, the conclusions of all inquiry in a different light. Unlike quantitative inquiry, qualitative research does not, as a rule, seek broad generalizability. For the qualitative researcher, there is no possibility of a grand theory of social action, as theory is contextually bound. Nor does it strive for reliability in its tools of analysis. Indeed, its basis of an interpretive, and consequently idiosyncratic, social reality precludes the strict application of such tools.

Whereas the primary concerns of quantitative research are reliability and construct validity, qualitative research seeks external validity, not through "objectivity" but rather through subjectivity. Anderson and Meyer (1988: 239) writes "The closer the analytic effort is to the lifeworld, the more direct its observation; the more it uses the concepts and language of this lifeworld, the greater the validity." Therefore, to the degree it reflects the circumstances, inquiry is valid and reliable even though not based on randomization, repeated and controlled observation, measurement, and statistical inference. In other words, it "is more 'objective' precisely because it can bring in more of the subjective intentionality" (White 1984: 40).

28.4.5 The Role and Place of the Reader, Viewer, and Receiver

The primary problem of validity in qualitative inquiry, then, is "of matching the researcher's conclusions and the actor's intention" (Rockhill 1982: 12) and putting those conclusions in form which makes sense to the reader, to go "from understanding to explanation, and from explanation to understanding" (p. 13). In light of cultural variance, indeed, the disparity of realities, this is no simple task.

Ultimately, for both quantitative and qualitative analysis, *validity ultimately rests on the acceptance or rejection of the argument by the reader him/herself.* Whether the statistical analysis was proper, the data clean, the surveyors well trained, etc., innumerable attacks can be brought against any study if the reader does not care to accept the propriety of the argument. On the other hand, if the reader (or policy maker) finds the conclusions amenable, or the author trustworthy, she/he will rarely give the methods a second glance. It comes down to the skill, the honesty, and the ethics of the researcher (Plaisance 2011).

Therefore, in the final analysis, Anderson and Meyer (1988: 355) writes the value of, and criticism toward, the qualitative study must "be appropriate to its character as a personal encounter, documented by a careful record, which results in an interpretation of the social action which rises inductively to a coherent explanation of the scene. To criticize this effort for its lack of objectivity, random sampling, statistical measure of validity, deductive logic, and the like is inane. Such criticism simply established the ignorance of the critic . . . As with all research, the success of a qualitative study is dependent on reaching the knowledgeable, skeptical reader with a compelling argument. The skeptical reader will give none of these criteria away, demand an honest effort, and consider the weaknesses as well as the insights in reaching a judgement of value. That judgement of value is the bottom line of research."

28.5 Participatory Research

If we subscribe to the notion that social research should have beneficial impact on society, it is imperative that we pay more attention to research philosophies that can profitably handle, and indeed stimulate, social change (Chambers 2007; Dervin and Huesca 1999; Jacobson 1993; Huesca 2003; Lennie and Tacchi 2013). Therefore, participatory research, in my opinion, borrows the concept of the interpretive, intersubjective, and human nature of social reality from qualitative research, and the inherency of an ideological stance from critical research combines them and goes one step further. Rather than erecting elaborate methodological facades to mask the ideological slant and purpose of inquiry, the question becomes, "Why shouldn't research have a direct, articulated social purpose?" Instead of relying on participant observation or complex techniques to gain the subjective, "insider's" perspective, it is asked "Why shouldn't the 'researched' do their own research?" Why is it "The poor have always been researched, described and interpreted by the rich and educated, never by themselves?"

In regard to the topic at hand, why is it such a great deal of research has been conducted about participation in a non-participatory fashion? As in the case of participatory communication, the major obstacles to participatory research are anti-participatory, often inflexible structures and ideologies. We cannot be reductionistic about holism, static about dynamism, value-free about systematic oppression, nor detached about participation. Participatory research may not be good social science in positivist terms, but it may be better than positivist social science for many development purposes.

28.5.1 Principles of Participatory Communication Research

That the mass of social research is largely guided by the social context in which it operates, and largely does not function to serve those studied, has been argued at length. Participatory research was conceived in reaction to this elitist research bias. It is ideological by intent; it is the research of involvement. It is not only research with the people – it is people's research. As such it largely rejects both the development policies of states and the "objectivity" and "universal validity claims" of many methodologies in the social sciences. Even if we momentarily assume contemporary research practices are free of ideology and do not constitute a means of oppression, the fact remains they are of little utility to the poor.

"We have moved beyond the whole notion of some of us leading the struggles of others. This shift . . . in the control over knowledge, production of knowledge, and the tools of production of knowledge is equally legitimate in our continued struggles towards local control and overcoming dependency. It is here that PR [participatory research] can be an important contribution . . . PR is quite the opposite of what social science research has been meant to be. It is partisan, ideologically biased and explicitly non-neutral" (Tandon 1985: 21; see also Tandon 2002). It is the realization that most of the present professional approach to research is in fact a reproduction of our unjust society in which a few decision-makers control the rest of the population that has led many to move away from the classical methods and experiment with alternative approaches. In urging participatory research, we are not speaking of the involvement of groups or classes already aligned with power. These groups already have at their disposal all the mechanisms necessary to shape and inform our explanation of the world.

Therefore, a basic tenet of participatory research is that whoever does the research, the *results must be shared*. They must be available to the people among whom research is conducted and upon whose lives it is based. Data is not kept under lock and key or behind computer access codes, results are not cloaked in obfuscating jargon and statistical symbols (see ▶ Chap. 67, "Fifty Years of Practice and Innovation Participatory Video (PV)" by Tony Roberts and Soledad Muñiz).

Further, and perhaps most importantly, *the inquiry must be of benefit to the community*, and not just a means to an end set by the researcher. This benefit is contrasted to the circuitous theory-research design-data-analysis-policy-government service route which neutralizes, standardizes, dehumanizes, and ultimately functions as a means of social control: "People's voices undergo a metamorphosis into useful data, an instrument of power in the hands of another. Rather than assembling collectively for themselves, political constituencies are assembled by pollsters, collecting fragmentary data into 'public opinion'" (Ewen 1983: 222) (see also ▶ Chap. 65, "Participatory Communication in Practice: The Nexus to Conflict and Power" by Chin Saik Yoon).

Again, participatory research challenges the notion that only professional researchers can generate knowledge for meaningful social reform. Like authentic participation, it believes in the knowledge and ability of ordinary people to reflect on their oppressive situation and change it. To the contrary, in many cases at the local

community level, participants have proved to be more capable than "experts" because they best know their situation and have a perspective on problems and needs that no outsider can fully share. This perspective is quite divergent from the abstract concepts, hypothetical scenarios, and macro-level strategies which occupy the minds and consume the budgets of development "experts" and planners (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Midgley 1986; Robson 1995).

28.5.2 Differences Between Participatory Research and Action Research

Because of this nature of involvement, participatory research is often known under the rubric of social action or action research (Argyris et al. 1985; Chambers 2008; Fals Borda 1988; Fals and Rahman 1991; Huizer 1989; Whyte 1989, 1991). In numerous respects they are similar, and participatory research is not really new. It is a novel concept only to the extent it questions the domains of the research as well as the economic and political elites (Tacchi et al. 2003).

However, there are fundamental differences between action and participatory research. Chantana and Wun Gaeo (1985: 37) write that action research "can be non-participatory and related to top down development . . . whereas participatory research must involve the people throughout the process. Action research can be intended to preserve and strengthen the status quo, whereas participatory research . . . is intended to contribute to the enhancement of social power for the hitherto excluded people."

Conversely, participatory research assumes a bias towards the "subjects" involved in the research process rather than the professional. Participatory research is related to the processes of conscientization and empowerment. It was probably Paulo Freire himself who introduced the first version of this approach in his philosophy of conscientization. Rather than agendas being defined by an academic elite and programs enacted by a bureaucratic elite for the benefit of an economic or political elite, participatory research involves people gaining an understanding of their situation, confidence, and an ability to change that situation (see ► Chap. 15, "The Importance of Paulo Freire to Communication for Development and Social Change" by Ana Fernández-Aballí Altamirano). White (1984: 28) writes this is quite divergent from "the functionalist approach which starts with the scientist's own model of social and psychological behavior and gathers data for the purpose of prediction and control of audience behavior. The emphasis is on the awareness of the subjective meaning and organization of reality for purposes of self-determination."

Participatory research is egalitarian. Thematic investigation thus becomes a common striving towards awareness of reality and towards self-awareness. It is an educational process in which the roles of the educator and the educated are constantly reversed and the common search unites all those engaged in the endeavor. It immerses the exogenous "researcher" in the setting on an equal basis.

Considering the necessary trust and attitudes as well as cultural differences, the task is not easy and makes unfamiliar demands on researchers/educators.

28.5.3 "Insiders" and "Outsiders"

Interaction fosters a pedagogical environment for all participants. The researcher, as a newcomer, contributes in that she/he requires the membership to give an account of how things are done, which fosters an atmosphere where participants may better know themselves, question themselves, and consciously reflect on the reality of their lives and their sociocultural milieu. Through such interaction, a fresh understanding, new knowledge, and self-confidence may be gained. Further, awareness, confidence, and cohesiveness are enhanced not only for group members but also among and between those members and "outsiders" who may participate, thereby increasing their understanding of the context and obstacles under which the people strive. Education goes both ways. This learning process can instill confidence and ultimately empowerment. The intent of participatory research is not latent awareness. Relevant knowledge increases self-respect and confidence and leads to exploration of alternatives towards the attainment of goals, and to *action*. Through this process, the givenness of the group is revealed on which one can build up a superior, higher vision.

28.5.4 A Definition of Participatory Research (PR)

The recent popularity of participatory research, the act of labelling it as such, may have implied that it is something special that requires a particular expertise, a particular strategy, or a specific methodology. Similar to participation, there has been great effort towards definitions and models of participatory research to lend an air of "respectability." Also similar to participation, perhaps this is no more than an attempt to claim title or credit for an approach which, by its very nature, belongs to the people involved. As one is dealing with people within changing social relations and cultural patterns, one cannot afford to be dogmatic about methods but should keep oneself open to people. This openness comes out of a trust in people and a realization that the oppressed are capable of understanding their situation, searching for alternatives, and taking their own decisions: "Participatory research is an alternative social research approach in the context of development. It is alternative, because although business, government and the academic also undertake research with development in the end view, little thought and effort go as to how the research project can be used for the benefit of those researched. The central element of Participatory Research is participation... It is an active process whereby the expected beneficiaries of research are the main actors in the entire research process, with the researcher playing a facilitator's role" (Phildhrra 1986: 1).

Because there is no reality "out there" separate from human perception and, as put forth in the multiplicity paradigm, there is no universal path to development, it is maintained each community or grouping must proceed from its own plan in consideration of its own situation. In other words, to the extent the methodology is rigidly structured by the requisites of academia, participatory research is denied.

By its nature, this type of research does not incorporate the rigid controls of the physical scientist or the traditional models of social science researchers. Chantana and Wun Gaeo (1985: 39) state: "There is no magic formula for the methodology of such PR projects ... However, there are common features taking place in the process:

1. It consists of continuous dialogue and discussion among research participants in all stages; [and]
2. Knowledge must be derived from concrete situations of the people and through collaborative reflection ... return to the people, continuously and dialectically."

Therefore we would like to delineate participatory research as an educational process involving three interrelated parts:

1. Collective definition and investigation of a problem by a group of people struggling to deal with it. This involves the social investigation which determines the concrete condition existing within the community under study, by those embedded in the social context;
2. Group analysis of the underlying causes of their problems, which is similar to the conscientization and pedagogical processes addressed above, and;
3. Group action to attempt to solve the problem.

28.5.5 The Process of Participatory Research

Therefore, the process of participatory research is cyclical, continuous, local, and accessible. *Study-reflection-action* is the integrating process in this type of research. Kronenburg (1986: 255) gives the following characteristics of participatory research: "[It] rests on the assumption that human beings have an innate ability to create knowledge. It rejects the notion that knowledge production is a monopoly of 'professionals'; [It] is seen as an educational process for the participants ... as well as the researcher; It involves the identification of community needs, augmented awareness about obstacles to need fulfillment, an analysis of the causes of the problems and the formulation and implementation of relevant solutions; The researcher is consciously committed to the cause of the community involved in the research. This challenges the traditional principle of scientific neutrality and rejects the position of the scientist as a social engineer. Dialogue provides for a framework which guards against manipulative scientific interference and serves as a means of control by the community."

28.5.6 Evaluation and Validity in Participatory Research

Given a continuous cycle of study-reflection-action, participatory research inherently involves formative evaluation. Indeed, the terms participatory research and participatory evaluation are often used synonymously. Actors are exercising themselves in participatory evaluation by the whole group of the situation of underdevelopment and oppression.

Congruent with the objectives of participatory research, the purpose of evaluation is to benefit the participants themselves. It does not function to test the efficiency of an exogenous program, formulate diffusion tactics or marketing strategies for expansion to a broader level, gather hard data for publication, justify the implementing body, or collect dust on a ministry shelf. In brief, it is an ongoing process as opposed to an end product of a report for funding structures.

Whether participatory research "succeeds" or "fails" is secondary to the interaction and communication processes of participating groups. The success of the research is seen no more in publications in "reputed" journals but in what happens during the process of research. Bogaert et al. (1981: 181) add that "participatory evaluation generates a lot of qualitative data which is rich in experiences of the participants. It may be ... quantitative data is sacrificed in the process. However, what is lost in statistics is more than made up by the enhanced richness of data."

Drawing on innovative and creative research and evaluation approaches, alternative perspectives on development, and significant, rigorous research, Lennie and Tacchi (2013) present a framework for critically thinking about and understanding development, social change, and the evaluation of communication for development.

The book presents a framework for the evaluation of communication for development projects and includes practical ideas and processes for implementing the framework and strategies for overcoming the many challenges associated with evaluating communication for development. The authors highlight the need to take a long-term view of the value of this approach, which can be cost effective when its many benefits are considered.

28.5.7 The Integration of Different Methodologies

The implication is not that quantitative or qualitative methods or exogenous collaboration in participatory evaluation are forbidden. Writing of research participants, D'Abreo (1981: 108) states: "While they, as agents of their own programme, can understand it better and be more involved in it, the outside evaluator may bring greater objectivity and insights from other programmes that might be of great use to them. However, the main agents of evaluation, even when conducted with the help of an outside agency or individual, are they themselves."

Turning to the question of validity, Tandon (1981: 22) suggests, on a methodological level, "getting into a debate about reliability and validity of PR is irrelevant because it is quite the opposite shift in understanding what this research is." Its focus

is on authenticity as opposed to validity. However, referring to generalizability and validity addressed in relation to qualitative research, it can be argued that validity in its less esoteric sense is participatory research's hallmark. "If ordinary people define the problem of research themselves, they will ensure its relevance" (Tandon 1981: 24), and their involvement "will provide the 'demand-pull' necessary to ensure accuracy of focus" (Farrington 1988: 271).

Finally, the basis of participatory research, *indigenous knowledge* is inherently valid (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). This is not to say conditions are not changing or that this knowledge cannot benefit from adaptation. The argument is that, in most cases, this knowledge is the most valid place from which to begin.

28.5.8 A Word of Caution

Participatory research can all to easily be utilized as yet another tool of manipulation by vested interests (Cooke and Kothari 2001). Charges are correctly made that it is often a means of political indoctrination by the right and the left alike. Often organizers have been attacked for manipulating people's minds and managing their actions towards their own ends.

While the approach strives towards empowerment, challenges existing structures, and is consequently ideological, rigidly prescribed ideologies must be avoided. In addition, knowledge and perspective gained may well empower exploitative economic and authoritarian interests instead of local groups. Far from helping the process of liberation, if the researcher is not careful, he or she may only enable the traditional policy makers and vested interests to present their goods in a more attractive package without changing their substance.

Even the best intentioned researcher/activist can inadvertently enhance dependency rather than empowerment. If she/he enters communities with ready-made tools for analyzing reality, and solving problems, the result will likely be that as far as those tools are successful, dependency will simply be moved from one tyrant to another.

In other words, overzealous researchers can easily attempt to compensate for an initial apathy by assuming the role of an advocate rather than a facilitator. "What looks like progress is all too often a return to the dependent client relationship" (Kennedy 1984: 86). This approach is no better than more traditional researchers with hypotheses and constructs to validate, or the diffusionist with an innovation for every ill.

28.6 By Way of Conclusion

1. Most contemporary research is based on positivistic assumptions that we can objectively know the social world "out there." It is argued that objectivity is nothing more than intersubjectivity, principles, and parameters which people

agree to agree upon. The danger occurs when one group assumes its constructs and methods are universally valid.
2. Qualitative and quantitative research are largely polar in orientation. The qualitative approach accepts, indeed advocates, subjectivity as a valid avenue of understanding. The emphasis is on how people perceive, understand, and construct reality rather than how they mechanistically react to manipulative stimuli.
3. As such, qualitative research is a human approach to the understanding of a human world. The researcher strives to see the naturalistic environment of those she/he is studying from their perspective. This forbids rigid, preformulated constructs and hypotheses.
4. What makes the qualitative study of value is not its construct validity or reliability but its external validity. This validity arises from its foundations in human perception rather than rigorous methodology. In the final analysis, the relevance of any research rests on the reader's quite subjective acceptance or rejection of the argument advanced.
5. Combining aspects of qualitative and critical research, participatory research asks why the researched shouldn't do their own research? A further question is why is the mass of research on participation done in a non-participatory manner?
6. Like all research, participatory research is ideological. It is biased in the sense it holds research should be guided by, available to, and of direct benefit to the "researched," rather than privileged information for a manipulative elite. It further believes research is not, nor should it be, the domain of a powerful few with the "proper" tools.
7. Participatory research is similar, but not equal, to social action research. It is research of involvement, not of detachment. It includes all parties in a process of mutual and increasing awareness and confidence. It is research of conscientization and of empowerment.
8. As has been argued for participation, and as in qualitative approaches, there can be no strict methodology for participatory research. However, it must actively and authentically involve participants throughout the process, and the general flow is from study to reflection to action.
9. Evaluation is inherent in participatory research. However, it is formative rather than summative evaluation. Its purpose is not for journals, ego-boosting, or to solicit further funding but rather to monitor and reflect on the process as it unfolds. Further, people's involvement in the research assures validity of the inquiry, their validity.

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Visual Communication and Social Change

29

Loes Witteveen and Rico Lie

Contents

29.1 Introduction 556
29.2 History 557
29.2.1 Visual Communication as Addressed in Early Textbooks 557
29.2.2 Starting to Respect the Audience 559
29.3 Exploring the Visual 563
29.3.1 Visual Literacy 563
29.3.2 Recognizing the Complexity of Visual Images 564
29.3.3 Valuing the Potential of Visual Images 567
29.4 Contemporary Visual Communication 568
29.4.1 Acknowledging Diverse Professionalisms 570
29.4.2 Centralizing the Importance of Design Thinking 572
29.4.3 Recognizing Social Imaginaries as Options for Visual Communication in Social Dialogues 574
29.5 Conclusion 576
29.6 Cross-References 577
References 577

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Abstract

This chapter explores visual communication in the context of communication for social change with a major focus on the field of information and knowledge exchange in agriculture and rural development, formerly termed agricultural and rural extension. The specifics of visual communication, the appropriateness and effectiveness of visual communication in rural development, and social change processes are addressed proceeding from early understandings of visual communication to contemporary views. Reviewing work experiences, the authors searched for an analysis of the praxis and the very realities of visual communication and social change. The chapter concludes by arguing that, in contemporary visual communication, acknowledging diverse professionalisms, centralizing the importance of design thinking, and recognizing social imaginaries as options for visual communication in social dialogues are of crucial importance.

Keywords

Visual communication · Visual literacy · Design thinking · Portrayal · Social imaginaries · Social change

29.1 Introduction

This chapter explores visual communication in the context of communication for social change with a major focus on the field of information and knowledge exchange in agriculture and rural development, formerly termed agricultural and rural extension. The objective is to address the specifics of visual communication and determine the appropriateness and effectiveness of visual communication in social change processes. To accomplish this, the chapter proceeds from early understandings of visual communication to contemporary views and by doing so provides an insight into continuities and changes in views and praxis of visual communication. The chapter starts by describing the limited and specific attention given to visual communication in early textbooks in the field of agricultural extension. In these textbooks, the voice of the audience was hardly considered by the so-called experts, but gradually the audience seemed to become more respected. At the same time, more attention is paid to visual literacy. Over time, the complexity of the visual image becomes recognized, and the potential of the role of visuals in processes of social change is seen. The chapter concludes by arguing that, in contemporary visual communication, acknowledging diverse professionalisms, centralizing the importance of design thinking, and recognizing social imaginaries as options for visual communication in social dialogues are of crucial importance. The contribution draws on the authors' academic and professional experiences in the field of visual communication for social change. Reviewing work experiences, the authors searched for an analysis of the praxis and the very realities of visual communication and social change.

29.2 History

29.2.1 Visual Communication as Addressed in Early Textbooks

In an attempt to trace back the development of visual communication and visual literacy in a context of communication for social change, the work of Dutch scholar Anne van den Ban, who focused on agricultural extension, is revisited. One of his first publications was co-authored with Everett Rogers, who is renowned for his work on adoption and diffusion theories. In that article, the term extension was used to describe extension as a process to educate farmers (Rogers and Van Den Ban 1963). Anne van den Ban became famous for the English version of his textbook *Agricultural Extension*, which he wrote with H. Stuart Hawkins. In that textbook, extension is referred to as a process that "involves the conscious use of communication of information to help people form sound opinions and make good decisions" (Van Den Ban and Hawkins 1988, p. 9). Another frequently used textbook in agricultural extension education was *Agricultural Extension in Developing Countries* by M.E. Adams, referring to agricultural extension as "assistance to farmers to help them to identify and analyze their production problems and to become aware of the opportunities for improvement" (1982, p. 9). Both textbooks aimed to contribute to a stronger recognition of extension as an important academic and professional domain, positioning it as an interdisciplinary field between agricultural sciences on the one hand and the field of communication and learning on the other hand.

As the focus here is on visual communication, we find in Adams' book a short section on mass media in the chapter on extension methods. Despite mentioning "special skills" needed for program production, the author quickly seems to move away from conceptual thinking into recommendations like "wherever possible the programmes should have a rural setting. Tricky and artistic effects should be avoided" (p. 39). In the chapter on extension methods, Van den Ban presents sections on mass media, group methods, individual extension, and the use of folk media. The last section, on modern information technology, concludes with the statement that "unfortunately, information technologies seldom are developed in association with the people who are expected to use them" (1988, p. 173). This critique could have remained unnoticed if the chapter had not concluded with a table in which specific functions and characteristics are ascribed to different extension methods. The table is followed by a self-critique that "the nature of the audience and of the message receive only limited treatment in the table" (p. 174). Despite the limited recognition of audiences in the construction of meaning, attention on media is growing and starts to move away from media as mere channels with determined qualities. The aforementioned textbooks depict a time where new media production technologies and increased production of photography and film are on the rise. The term "audio-visual aids" is coming up with the articulation of strong qualities of "AV media" for information transfer, while at the same time, qualities of "making a subject more lively and understandable" (Adams, p. 19) and "develop[ing] or strengthen[ing] the motivation to change as an emotional process" (Van den Ban 1988, p. 161) are mentioned. The latter is somehow read between the lines and not addressed in advanced detail.

Meanwhile, in the adjacent field of development studies, attention was paid to visual literacy from a cross-cultural communication perspective. In 1982, Andreas Fuglesang published his book *About Understanding* to shed a cross-cultural light on the understanding of visual media. *About Understanding* was recognized as a work that articulated common and probably erroneous interpretations of images in development communication. Some of the pictures in his book became iconic; see for example, the repeated figure of the runner who seemed to have 1.5 legs and others in Van Brink and Visser (1983) and Fuglesang (p. 158). See Fig. 1 for an example of such a picture.

Unfortunately, Fuglesang's work was commonly understood as a call for attention on cross-cultural differences in a context of low literacy and otherwise framed to support a lack of insight by third world audiences. His focus on increased understanding and appropriate design of development communication media was less recognized.

Most authors who critically reviewed common extension materials produced in fields like health, agriculture, and sanitation during the 1980s and the 1990s argued that the lack of understanding of visuals or images could be overcome by training, similar to text alphabetization. The upcoming term to describe the limited understanding or "reading" of graphic media outings in extension became *visual literacy*. Although appreciated for its trainable properties, the term also carried a notion of further legitimizing the conventional sender – message – receiver model

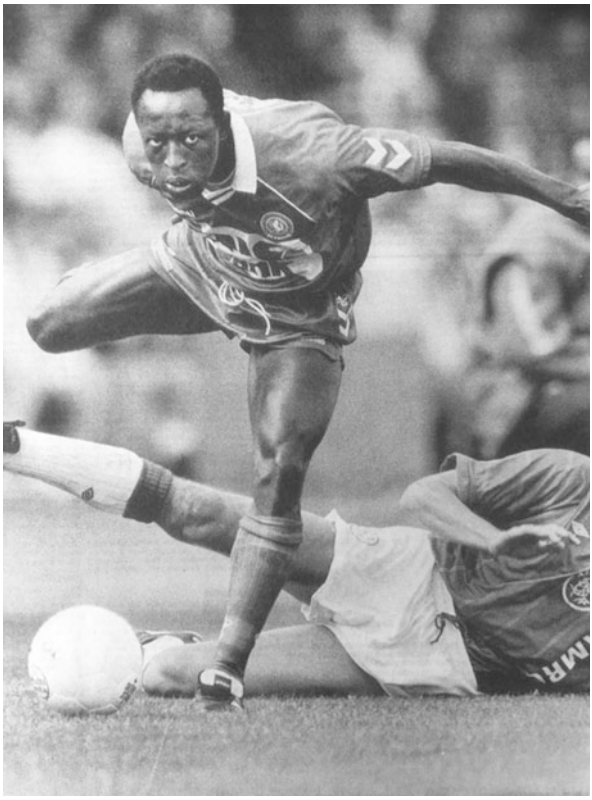

Fig. 1 Example of a picture of a football player with seemingly 1.5 legs (newspaper cutting n.d.)

and therefore talking about receivers as beneficiaries and target groups with a likely positioning as aid-receivers, or referring to absent qualities by using terms like non-westerner, illiterate, and uneducated.

29.2.2 Starting to Respect the Audience

In the 1990s, the recognition grew that meaningful media consumption in rural development is also about design and production. FAO increasingly worked on capacity building in media production, referring to the general term of audio-visual media. See for example, the FAO publication *Powerful Images. Planning, Production and Use Guide* (1990). This publication about "slide programmes and filmstrips to inform, motivate and train in developing countries" focuses on production techniques describing why and how "local production by developing countries" can be achieved (p. 2). The booklet reflects conventional views on visual literacy of "rural people" including the man who seems to be missing half a leg (p. 27) while at the same time a consistent focus on testing is recognizable with some well-elaborated statements like "test the material not the audience" (p. 39). Human resources are not yet functionally described, but a short section on production organization presents terms like creative team, field-testing, and postproduction (pp. 48–49).

The Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries (CESO) became a renowned institute for studies highlighting cultural, anthropological, and sociological dimensions of communication. CESO author Kees Epskamp articulated the "visual and social conventions, which are widely applied in visual communication" (1995, p. 26). His colleague Ad Boeren (1994, p. 104), referring to "pictorially inexperienced people," is one of the early authors writing about testing and providing examples such as the versions of a drawing of a woman burning a pile of grass, which was not recognized as such by the audience during testing (see Fig. 2).

Testing is further articulated by Epskamp when he states: "The question remains whether the target group should be made visually literate in the language of the designers, or whether the designer should first check whether his future audience recognizes and understands the visual material he has produced. If one intends to accept the target group as they are, one should choose option two: preliminary research and testing" (1995, p. 27). Epskamp widens the debate on visual literacy to media literacy and to a critical media consumption perspective, as he states that training "will create 'media-literate' consumers, by which we mean those consumers who are able to identify the persuasive devices used by media designers" (p. 115). Boeren widens debates on the potential of media, elaborating on the influence of "a number of critical factors" including "apart from the educational characteristics" factors such as the dissemination infrastructure, production facilities, and financial resources (p. 166).

The abovementioned issues are discernible in the field of media for development, as has been reported by the Taller de Comunicaciones Campesinas (TCC) in Juigalpa, Nicaragua, (1989) where it was found that the limited relevance and impact of extension or information material hampered the realisation of the main objectives of their commissioning national clients, such as the Ministry of Agriculture, and international organizations such as UNICEF. Blaming farmers and rural

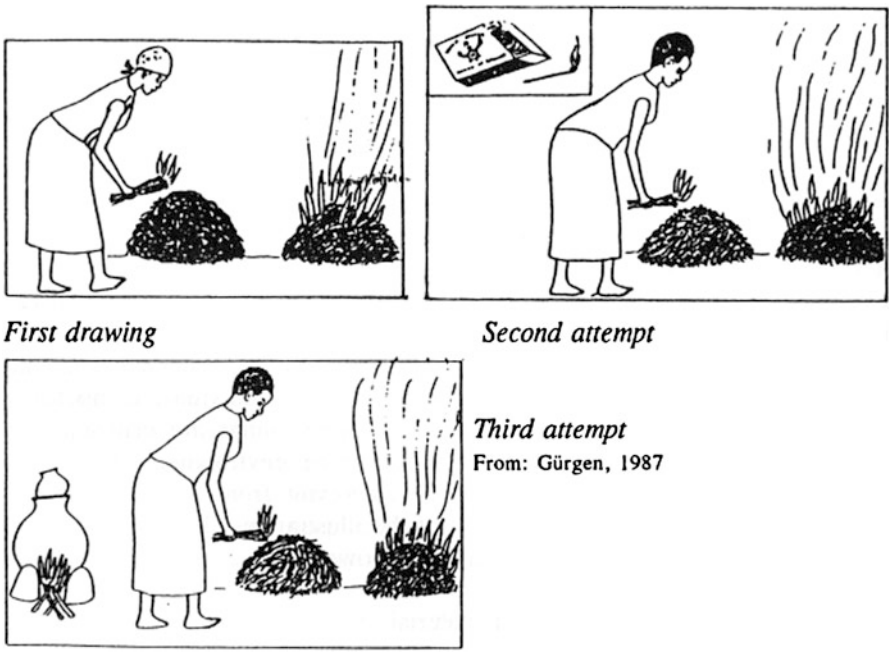

Fig. 2 Tested drawings Boeren. (Taken from Gürgen 1987)

communities was not a common interpretation of the TCC staff, as the team of journalists, graphic artists, and media producers had not been trained in the field of agricultural extension or other technical fields. Their backgrounds were media, journalism, sociology, and the arts, and most professional expertise was situated outside the field of extension. In response to disappointing communicative interventions, TCC merged into a new enterprise unifying regional capacities and resources in the Empresa de Comunicaciones (ECOM). ECOM had the ambition to bring together professionals in the field of media, journalism, and the arts with staff members of the extension and public relations departments of diverse ministries and NGOs. This collective approach was considered as a response to urgent and popular demands for extension and information media in wartime in Nicaragua, to align diverse campaigns with the rural communities, and to build capacities for mediated communication in the fifth region (administrative area) of which Juigalpa was the regional capital (ECOM 1990a).

ECOM had difficulty dealing with clients that requested media production and campaign development while most often only indicating the "message" and the budget or resources available. It was soon realized that demarcated positions and mechanisms in the system of rural, health, and sanitation extension and advice were embedded in a system where "experts" sent messages to receivers, but media design and production did not fit as a significant process in the system and was considered a kind of support service that would be carried out at the request of a commissioner or client.

A media design and production system was established with account managers, so common in commercial media. This system, in which production requests were no longer received directly by the ECOM staff from production departments such as radio or print but by the newly established account managers, did not align with existing expectations and working routines of the relevant institutions to "just get the message across." A touch of annoyance crept into the relation between ECOM and commissioning institutes. ECOM's envisaged media design and production of communication processes stood in contrast to the expectations of institutions commonly used to defining messages and ordering media outings. ECOM therefore struggled to recognize the nested roles of extension media as a function to support individual decision making about the adoption of products and service innovations without questioning intended audiences' interest in these innovations. For ECOM working for diverse clients, another issue reported as a hindrance was the limited interest in the alignment of proposed communicative interventions by different organizations focusing on the same rural audiences. ECOM evaluation reports do not dig in full detail into these frictions, but evidence can be found in proposals "to document accumulated experiences and the practice of popular communication in which ECOM participates with other institutions and projects" and "to boost the professionalism of communication professionals" (ECOM 1990b, p. 6). The most concrete strategy to achieve ECOM's formulated media for development objectives was to focus on developing protocols for "appropriate" media design and development while working on productions, thereby allowing prototypes to be tested as a way of conducting applied research. In this context, ECOM conceptualized rural people as "audiences" and accepted accountability for the impact of media developed rather than focusing on rural communities' assumed incapacities. It was realized that, despite major efforts by the national government in its *Cruzada Nacional de Alfabetización* (National Literacy Crusade), which claimed to have reduced the literacy rate from 50% to 12% in five months (UNESCO 2007), a major focus should be on radio and visual media and continuous support for literacy initiatives.

Reference is made to audience participation in a film production developed in Juigalpa in cooperation with ECOM staff for the water sanitation film *Fuente de Amor* (Source of Love). As described in the article by Goris et al. (2015), the film *Fuente de Amor* provides a relevant case study to investigate audience participation in a film production for social change. The film was a concluding activity in a 5-year drinking water project commissioned by the The Hague–Juigalpa twinning committee. The film aimed to address issues of water shortage, which remained unresolved after a technical project for the improvement of the drinking water supply system had been implemented. The initial request had been to produce a documentary with a gender focus, promoting water sanitation for women as main caretakers of children and household tasks like cooking, cleaning, and water storage. As this was considering as blaming the victims, the filmmakers, who included (former) ECOM staff, came up with a counterproposal to request the affected inhabitants to participate in the film and articulate their perceptions on the water shortages. This did not resonate with the commissioner, and the proposal was rejected on the basis that the audience had no capabilities, formulated as "They cannot make a film, they never made a film."

In brief, the script development stage started with the organization of a script contest in Juigalpa, which resulted in writings and drawings indicating that the problem was not (only) about shortages. It was also about distribution and about water problems related to the functioning of the water authority, and it was also about women and about the river (see Fig. 3 for a page of a visual script submitted to the contest). Based on all the contributions and undoubtedly inspired by the submitted drawings, a script was prepared, and in 1993, the film was recorded in Juigalpa in 4 weeks, impelled by the dynamics of community art and a professional core film crew. The main actors, all amateurs, were selected on the basis of screen tests. A city poet wrote a song that was sung by the church choir and recorded in the ECOM radio studio. Over 120 people are included in the credits, and the film was screened in the neighborhoods and accompanied by public debates. Twenty years later, the filmmakers were informed that the film was still being screened.

The *Fuente de Amor* experience is illustrative of continuing debates on audience participation in communicative processes for social change. The film production process represents a rich example of diverse participatory potentials in a complex visual production, positioned as an edutainment communicative intervention. The commissioners took a long time to perceive as realistic the filmmakers' proposal to incorporate the local communities' knowledge and expertise. The two pages with six drawings, each by Julio Madrigal, are acknowledged as a turning point in that lengthy process.

A necessary remark needs to be added here by quoting Buckingham that "the use of such apparently open approaches could be seen to require a greater degree of reflexivity about the relationships of power [. . .] however 'creative' it might outwardly appear to be." (Buckingham 2009).

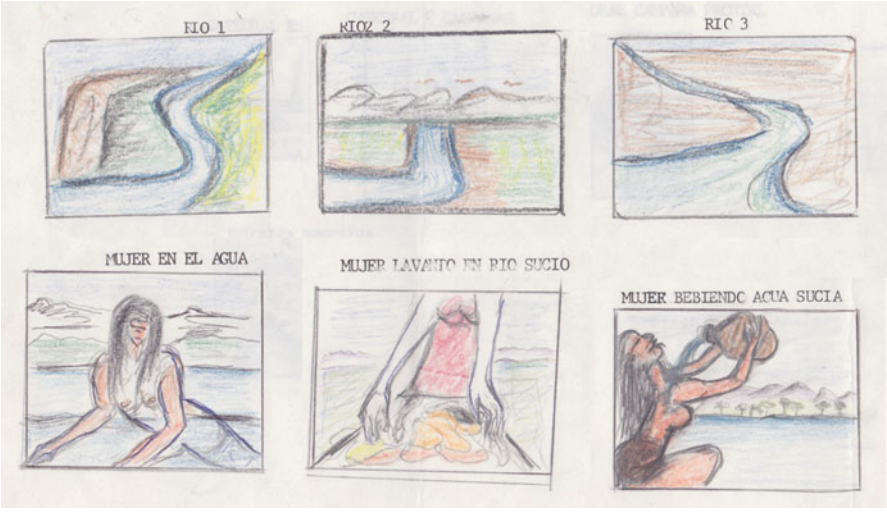

Fig. 3 Drawings submitted to the script contest. (Courtesy of Julio Madrigal)

29.3 Exploring the Visual

29.3.1 Visual Literacy

Contemporary views on visual communication resemble those of the 1980s and 1990s, as again technological developments – this time, the rapid increase in digital (mobile) technologies for visual communication – are accompanied with studies on the increasing qualities and options of visual communication (see for example Dondis 1973). Felten (2008, p. 60) elaborates on new qualities or functions as he states that "the 'pictorial turn' means that no longer primarily to entertain and illustrate. Rather they are becoming central to communication and meaning-making." Messaris (2012, p. 106) describes how the increased access to visual tools and the change from analogue to digital photography also implicated new perspectives on visual communication in relation to manipulation of images. The author thereby adds a new aspect to visual literacy arguing that "the awareness of the likelihood of digital manipulation does not necessarily translate into an ability to detect its use in particular instances" (p. 111).

The expression "one picture is worth ten thousand words" is repeatedly quoted and more often contested for its origin than substantiated. A major change is that the search for quantitative "evidence" is replaced by qualitative studies focusing on questions of culturally defined meaning and media production in a societal context. Studying the inherent meaning of particular images is therefore replaced by critical studies, using terms such as portrayal, representation, and visuality to create access to more constructivist views on the creation, circulation, and audiences of images. See, for example, Gillian Rose (2016, p. 18), who states that research on visual culture is concerned "not only with how images look, but also with how they are looked at."

The interest in the visual as another textuality or language is currently articulated by concerns over new types of literacies such as the understanding of emojis (see, for example, Rodrigues et al. 2017). It will be no surprise that authors in the field of visual literacy (Felten 2008; Rose 2016; Serafini 2017) advocate for visual literacy in education curricula referring to arguments of visual culture hegemony and related twenty-first century skills. These suggestions are both applauded as received with resistance as visual literacy may compete with textual literacy in education leading to concerns that conventional writing and reading could possibly become extinct competencies. Such concerns may be viewed as conservative and traditionalist reactions to socio-technological innovations but may also be viewed as critical or as an expression of what has recently been framed as responsible innovation. Decreasing text literacy could be a concern from the perspective of viewing literacy as a transition from oral modes to reading and writing as skills that impact human consciousness, as "not only does it allow for the representation of words by signs, but it gives a linear shape to thought, providing a critical framework within which to think analytically" (UNESCO 2006).

Basic concerns over literacy remain relevant, as it is still considered an important fact that "103 million youth worldwide lack basic literacy skills, and more than 60% of them are women" (UNDP 2018). This fact feeds into the fourth Sustainable Development Goal on Quality Education formulated as "By 2030, ensure that all youth and a substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy

and numeracy" (UNDP). This SDG rightly focuses on text and numeric literacy, as it is nowadays more common "to understand literacy as a contextual and societal transformation" (UNESCO 2006, p. 159).

Authors conceiving literacy in such a way refer to literacies and textualities as text based, visual, audio (radio), and increasingly electronic, but fundamentally communicative. Such broader understandings of literacy also provide an entry point to consider the visual as a discourse in its own right. Rose, after Foucault, defines discourse as "a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it" (2016, p. 187), and, quoting Lynda Nead, she refers to discourse as "a particular form of language with its own rules and conventions and the institutions within which the discourse is produced and circulated" (2000, p. 187). Felten argues for the inclusion of visual literacy in the curricula beyond an understanding of the visual as a "linguistic model of communication" and considers that "visual images and representations play a crucial role in many facets of contemporary society" and the author refers to "developing one's identities, shaping worldviews" (2008, p. 16).

The above views create space to look again at visual literacy in close connection with the design and production of visual media to see whether it represents dominant institutional knowledges. We first return in time again to ECOM to demonstrate the complexity of visual images.

29.3.2 Recognizing the Complexity of Visual Images

In 1990, ECOM undertook a study on visual literacy using 14 pictures previously used in a study on the visual ability of Kenyan primary school leavers and 10 graphics recently designed by ECOM. The 14 Kenyan pictures were simple line drawings, which had been used to test the school leavers' understanding of perspective, overlap, dimensions, shadow, signs, and symbols. These pictures were selected for their resemblance to the regional context and the probability of appearing in ECOM graphic work. They were included with the same multiple-choice questions as in the original study, translated into Spanish. The 10 ECOM graphics were selected from recent works that had been distributed in large quantities and were considered of high relevance for rural farming communities. These graphics contained dense information and were accompanied by open questions. Answers were recorded by research assistants who were trained in writing down the answers as provided by respondents without any interference.

For the Kenyan drawings, similar quantitative results were obtained as those for the rural respondents in the Kenyan study; this confirmed and refined established protocols for graphic design. These expected results were blown away by outcomes perceived as alarming: the ECOM drawings portraying rural life and life cycles produced unexpected results, countervailing their original intended meaning.

The line drawing of children in front of a home (see Fig. 4) was included in the test, asking "How do these children live?" The answers did not align with the expectation that the drawing would elicit remarks about their unhygienic living conditions as reflected by the mud and the filth. The "correct" answers were

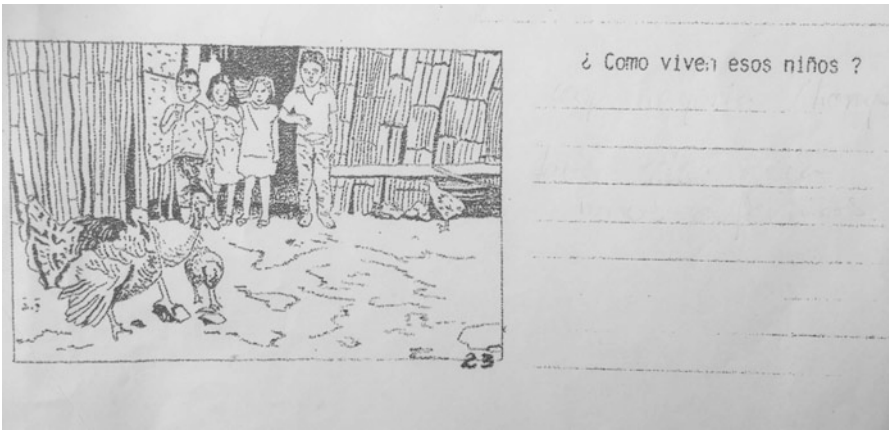

Fig. 4 Question on hygiene from the ECOM visual literacy study. (Courtesy of ECOM)

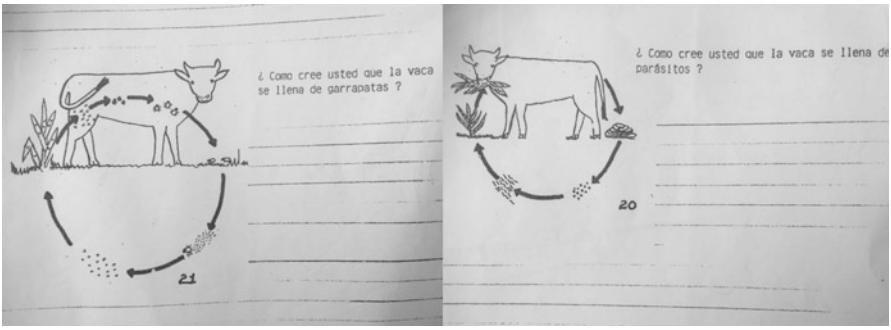

Fig. 5 Life cycle question from the ECOM visual literacy study. (Courtesy of ECOM)

countered by a similar number of respondents mentioning the wealth of the family, referring to the two turkeys visible in the drawing.

Two ECOM graphics representing the life cycle of ticks and parasites in relation to livestock both scored 91% for incomprehensibility (see Fig. 5). Further investigation clarified the assertion that the drawings ignored the complexity of a life cycle composed of elements that occurred in different time frames but which had been printed over a realistic line drawing of a cow.

A major conclusion was quickly drawn: many pictures used in agricultural extension are not inappropriate because of farmers' lack of visual literacy but rather because of designers' and developers' lack of capacity in combination with insufficient pretesting. The problem of media designers' professional incapacities evolved into a more transformative insight when further consideration was given to the life cycle drawings (Guerra and Witteveen 1991), as the model embodies a characteristic example of modeling in the life sciences. In agricultural extension, farmers or fisherman often receive instructions about recurrent infestations of pests

and diseases conveyed through life cycles models. In the ECOM case, discussing this finding with a so-called subject matter specialist became an issue, as these professionals could not recall how they had been taught such models to understand for example a tick infestation. This is not the occasion to further elaborate on more graphic details such as diverse relative sizes and the visibility of the different stages. The basic complexity of a life cycle as a metaphor, portraying a circular evolution, transforming insects into themselves at the closure of the circle rather than portraying the generational evolution over time, provides evidence of how knowledges have been influenced by dominant models and dominant discourses.

When rural communication workers are being trained, it is worth debating the life cycle model with them to exemplify the paradigmatic dilemma of conceptualizing (visual) literacy as an individual quality of audiences rather than seeing the mismatch between that and recognition of the diverse knowledges in the rural communication system. The label "life cycle lies" is still strong enough for participants (students and adult learners) to result in impactful learning outcomes, as exemplified by learners continuously contributing examples of problems with life cycle drawings that they come across in their work. See Fig. 6 showing submitted pictures.

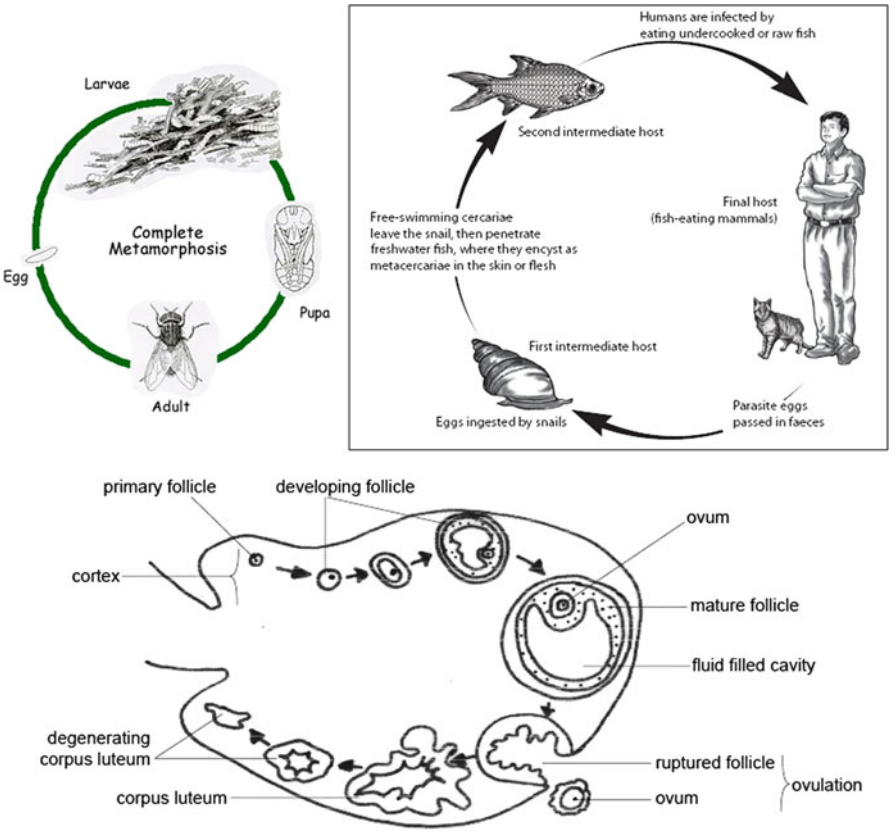

Fig. 6 Life cycle pictures shared by students in a "life cycle lies" discussion

29.3.3 Valuing the Potential of Visual Images

In the following section, the focus on the potential of images and the visual moves deliberately away from less educated audiences whose visual illiteracy could be dismissed as arising from their low formal education. The following examples are positioned in higher education as evidence of the potential of the visual to be seen as transferable, thereby aiming to provide evidence of the impact of images in general. A second reason for looking at images in higher education is to follow-up the conclusion that images become unrecognized parts of dominant discourses, as shown by the life cycle example.

An example of using images in higher education is the increasing use of visual research methods (VRMs) in contemporary research (Rose 2014). VRMs – such as photography or video – are applied as the visual data obtained can disclose aspects of (inter) action, document certain practices (through repeated observation), and further support multidisciplinary analysis. The selection of VRMs is not only grounded in advanced knowledge of the specific qualities of visual data but also results from higher access resulting from technological facilities, both hardware (e.g., mobile phones) and software (e.g., for editing and data management). A VRM course in our university starts from the notion that academia has only recently come to appreciate the full potential of visual data and requires capacity building and due reflection. It is also considered that, in the social sciences, a more critical wait-and-see approach prevails, articulated in debates on ethical implications. It is, however, recognized, as with all methods in all domains, that the assumed richness of visual data also confronts researchers with challenges in the process of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting the visual data.

A more particular case of using visuals in higher education that provides evidence of the strong qualities of images is inspired by the artwork of Ursus Wehrli (2011). This artist provides a series of (often two) photographs, which show an object or a situation as a meaningful whole and as an ordered collection of its constituting elements. To confront students with visual discourse deconstruction, Wehrli's work has been imitated to visualize what dominant models prevail in research and analysis. Pairs of photographs of a bouquet of flowers and lentil soup are presented (see Fig. 7). The soup pictures show the ingredients (see Fig. 7.1) followed by the prepared soup (see Fig. 7.2). The bouquet photograph (see Fig 7.3) is placed beside a photograph showing a neat and tidy ordering of the leaves and petals (See Fig. 7.4). Despite the direct link between the ingredients and the soup, or the bouquet and the petals, each pair of photographs refers to different moments in time. The soup cannot be converted back into its ingredients, and putting the petals and leaves together again cannot restore the bouquet. The soup and bouquet visual analysis are used a visual metaphors to discuss with students underlying assumptions when doing (social science) research by unravelling complex systems into concepts, during technical research design. Unraveling is the action verb used to describe defining concepts in dimensions, aspects, and subaspects (Verschuren and Doorewaard 2010, p. 117). The resulting conceptual framework is often needed for doing research, but it may come with a consequence of ignoring the effects of such modeling process. Once research data are presented in tables, pie diagrams, and convincing analyses,

Fig. 7 Visual modeling of research inspired by Wehrli. (Courtesy of Annemarie Westendorp and Loes Witteveen)

they might no longer resemble or represent the societal situation that they attempted to understand. Using the soup and the bouquet visual analysis offers a surprising entry point for students to critically review the assumptions underlying their research. The strength of using pictures here in a context of inducting a critical view on academic research discourses provides an easy link to the current interest in visual research methods.

29.4 Contemporary Visual Communication

The previous section aimed to elaborate on the strength of visual communication, stills, and moving images. It also looked at the praxis of media design and media production, trying to move visual literacy away from questions about audiences' capabilities to a perspective on the accountability of media designers, developers, and commissioners. It drew on experiences of praxis in times of Nicaragua's postrevolution decade when educational ideas from Latin-American scholars like

Freire and Illich were explicit adhered to with deliberate text literacy campaigns and other communicative interventions for rural communities. Visual communication was recalled from those early times, evolving around visual literacy in times of international cooperation as a major platform for questioning the relevance and impact of using visual media in rural development, to now create a bridge to contemporary times.

In the following, we move to contemporary times where conventional linear and top-down information flows lose relevance with the increase in complexity and the changing media landscape. Drivers like participation, inspiration, and social learning replace the "message" as the steering element in a process of transformation. The role of communication professionals and innovation intermediaries is therefore changing; accountability and reflexivity become interwoven in new practices as the focus on the visual becomes embedded in contemporary visual culture. Rose describes this from the VRM perspective, stating: "using VRM performs a contemporary visual culture, rather than finding it represented in the images it generates, in the social it performs or in the research participants it involves" (2014, p. 39).

Before pressing the fast-forward button, we refer to contemporary views on analyzing images by using Rose's (2016, p. 24) framework, which distinguishes four sites: the site of the image itself, the site of audiencing, the site of production, and the site of circulation, which the author added in the fourth edition of her book on visual methodologies. These four sites are visualized in a kind of circular matrix with technological, compositional, and social modalities as crosscutting perspectives on every site.

Rose indicates that compositional interpretation refers to compositional elements of the images (discrete and combined aspects of content, colour, spatial organization, montage in the case of moving images, sound, and light) and complicates this by referring to the "good eye" or "visual connoisseurship" (2016, p. 57). As such terms originate from the field of the arts, the focus might seem to be drifting away from exploring visual communication for social science. Yet, why be afraid of art–science hybridization? The site of the image itself forces us to define what constitutes a good look, whereby balancing between aspects of training and talents cannot be ignored. The good look will be supported by (culturally defined) knowledge of colors, graphic techniques, genres, and so on, and this knowledge can be learned and taught. However, following the previous section, which outlined the attribution of meaning to an image considering it as a social construct, implicates making choices. Similar to the example of defining concepts in technical research design, there is no escape from using the compositional elements to interpret images. However, a major difference between interpreting an artwork as an autonomous object and visual communication for social change is that the latter has to align with the circularity embedded in Rose's framework. The analyst is forced to deconstruct the image, taking production, circulation, and the audience into account, and this is not always a happy marriage.

Pereira da Silva sheds light on such dilemmas by elaborating on the frictions resulting from the main purposes of aid campaigns: giving visibility to a cause, giving visibility to a humanitarian agency, and raising funds (2013, p. 41). His article brings the issue of portrayal, and therefore the potential impact or strength of

pictures, to a different level, stating that "the act of portrayal itself can be seen as a way of capturing agency," which he further elaborates by stating: "The action that a humanitarian organization performs to portray an individual, a human being in a certain manner serves to create a generic collective image of an '*other,*' a set in which '*their situation*' as a whole becomes a kind of *label* that postulates *a priori* all the needs and aspirations of those under the labeling process. It is important to notice that this process can be intentional or unintentional" (p. 43).

Modeling such a situation for the case of aid campaigns in a post-hurricane situation articulates an almost linear linkage of roles between an aid organization as commissioner, an advertising agency as the portrayer, an audience of potential donors to the aid organization, and somewhere the "portrayed" who in the linear linkage line of thinking would soon convert to aid recipients. Again, as in the days of development aid, the aid recipients are left out of the equation, which should include aspects of inclusion, agency, and participation. Such pessimistic statements do not lose relevance when one considers countervailing actions of portrayal such as those of the photographer Sebastiao Salgado, who aims to show the resilient side of people, always portraying them doing some kind of action rather than framing them as passive victims of drought, war, and other emergencies of others.

It follows that transformative views on design, development, and production are needed to be able to address visual communication for social change. Such quest resonates with the imperatives formulated by Servaes and Lie (2014) to recognize complexity and establish rights-based social dialogues, quoting Slim and Thompson (1993, p. 4) and Witteveen and Lie (2012) "that all people have a right to be heard, especially when the main debates take place in documents which they do not write or in meetings which they do not attend" (p. 19). The focus on "all people" aligns with contemporary interests in informal, everyday communicative interactions among stakeholders. Leeuwis and Aarts (2011) describe this, stating: "meaningful innovation is dependent on changes in discourses, representations and storylines that are mobilized by interacting social actors" (p. 27). Therefore, the remainder of this section reviews three core aspects of designing, developing, and producing visual communication interventions for social change. These three aspects are: acknowledging diverse professionalisms, centralizing the importance of design thinking, and recognizing social imaginaries as options for visual communication in social dialogues.

29.4.1 Acknowledging Diverse Professionalisms

To wrap up on the interwoven histories of media design and production at ECOM as an example of traditional views on visual literacy, it is appropriate to state that ECOM continued working on visual media, viewing impact as a shared accountability of commissioners, designers, and developers. ECOM's move to incorporate account managers was a first response towards a framework for operationalizing insights. This organizational configuration was later refined by appointing both an expert team and a communication team for each major media production.

Payan Leiva (1994) reports an interesting example of this configuration, describing the ECOM production process for a cattle health guide (*Guía sanitaria ganado bovino*) as a continuous negotiation between the expert team with vets and zoo technicians, the communication team, and livestock farmers. Figure 8 represents a strong discussion among both production teams over recommendations for dealing with the cadaver of a cow that died of anthrax. The technicians recommended digging a deep hole, which farmers indicated could never happen as the soil was too rocky. The communication team insisted on a more feasible recommendation, as the main goal was to prevent farmers from bringing the highly contagious cadaver to the market. Widening these practices to text treatment in a context of low literacy, it is worth mentioning that the communication team used the Flesch-Douma equation to control readability for newly literate farmers, with the unexpected advantage that this quantitative tool increased the technicians' respect for the communication team, as it was seen as proof of communication professionalism. Again, the silent interpretation by the communication team was the realisation of both teams' very different knowledges and ideas of praxis. The example demonstrates how various professionalisms need to come together to accomplish change.

Another example is provided by Goris et al. (2015), whose article explores the participatory filmmaking production process by explicitly addressing diverse professionalisms needed to deliver a successful production process and product. In examining the collaborative production process, the authors focus on dilemmas encountered in relation to integrating participatory qualities and artistic qualities

Fig. 8 Fragment for the Guía sanitaria ganado bovino. (Courtesy of ECOM)

and related professionalisms. In doing so, at least three different disciplinary fields and professions are distinguished: filmmakers, facilitators, and researchers. The articulation and understanding of these roles enhance the overall appreciation and outcomes of the production process not only for the community members involved but also for the diverse collaborating professionals.

Haag and Berking (2015) in their publication address gaps in knowledge design as resulting from limited synergy between two key domains of research and practice: learning sciences and human-computer interaction. The authors distinguish between professional educators, instructors, instructional designers and stress the use of learning theories, conceptual frameworks, and user experience design aspects to come to production considerations and design requirements for "mobile learning."

29.4.2 Centralizing the Importance of Design Thinking

A recent transformative view in the design, development, and production of visual communication for social change comes from design thinking, which combines with the upcoming influence of user experience (UX) and user interface (UI) design positioned in the work of digital applications. Design thinking is described by the Interaction Design Foundation as "a design methodology that provides a solution-based approach to solving problems. It's extremely useful in tackling complex problems that are ill-defined or unknown, by understanding the human needs involved, by re-framing the problem in human-centric ways, by creating many ideas in brainstorming sessions, and by adopting a hands-on approach in prototyping and testing" (2018, p. 1).

UX refers to how a client's or commissioner's original request is developed into a workable structure, which is tested with prototypes to assess the navigation through the app and other aspects in relation to technological development of the structure. UI is most often used in the design of a digital application focusing on relevance and appreciation as perceived by the user. Framing a UX or a UI designer as an ICT expert versus an artistic designer is a conservative and not a relevant distinction in this context. Rather than defining an exclusive professionalism, it can be stated that UX and UI design are complementary processes with distinct foci contributing equally to better digital development. Focusing on UX and UI or on them together as design thinking means that the user – and thus audience participation – is a serious driver from the very start in the development of a communicative intervention for social change.

An example of design thinking in rural communication is provided by Witteveen et al. (2017, p. 1677), who explain the design process of the Digital Farmer Field School in Sierra Leone and the Digital Herder Service Centre in Mongolia (see Fig. 9). In this example, it is clearly illustrated that a communicative intervention, based on explicitly formulated design principles, is better able to achieve complex outcomes – in this case, developing digital interfaces that make extensive use of visual communication.

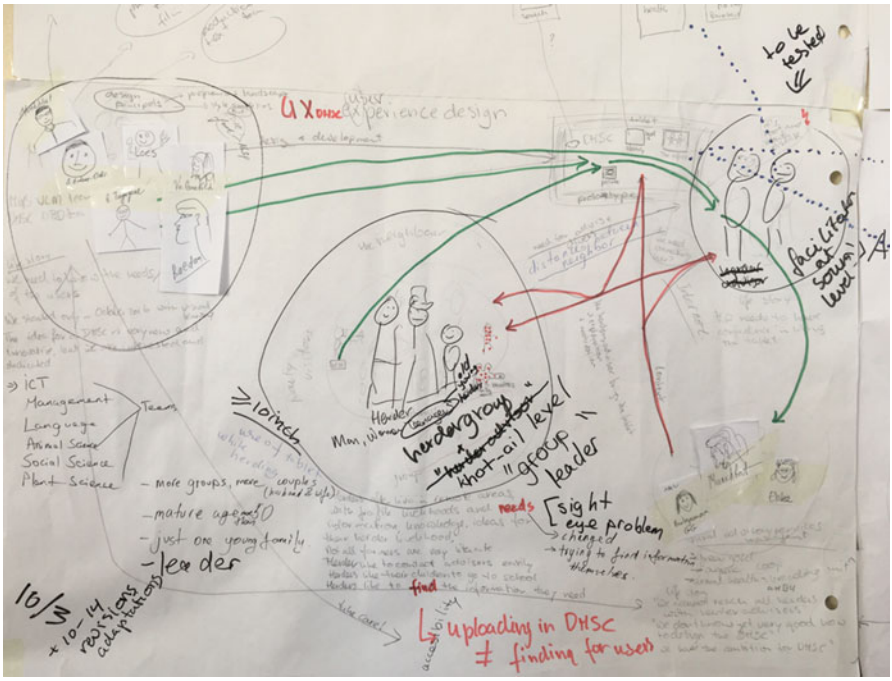

Fig. 9 Prototype design for a digital herder service center, Munkhbat et al. 2017. (Courtesy of MULS DHSC team)

Design thinking is in fact a way of thinking. It is a way of thinking that values the interaction of diverse professionalisms, but it is also a methodology. It is a participatory methodology in which different disciplinary perspectives embedded in different professions are brought together to interact. It is then the interaction itself that co-creates an environment in which a production design and development process can be shaped. Ivarsson and Nicewonger (2016) elaborate on such a process developing a theory of entropic architecture "building with processes you cannot control" and stated that such a process worked "by setting up a linguistic register," by producing and evaluating prototypes for their material and aspirational properties (2016, p. 76).

Design thinking is a systemic way of thinking. It considers the whole but respects the individual elements. These individual elements are often very diverse, but they are always considered in respect of the whole; all make their own contribution towards the construction of the whole. Design thinking is an interactive process that always centralizes the end-user and respects and actively engages the end-user as an equal partner in the production process of any communicative intervention. In light of the previous section on acknowledging diverse professionalisms, applying design thinking in the field of visual communication for social change encompasses therefore the collaboration of technological experts with visual artists, like painters, photographers, and filmmakers. The dimension anticipation in the framework of responsible innovation (Stilgoe et al. 2013, p. 1573) mentions approaches such as scenario design and

vision assessment to impact on existing imaginaries and "participation rather than prediction." With this forward-looking view, in the next section, we will look into social imaginaries in the field of social change.

29.4.3 Recognizing Social Imaginaries as Options for Visual Communication in Social Dialogues

As described in the first section, Van den Ban (1996) made a short reference to a quality of visual media to "develop or strengthen the motivation to change as an emotional process." Not to establish short-cut continuities but searching for contemporary views in the field of development for social change, we address social imaginaries as options for visual communication.

Social imaginaries refer to a collection of images, ideas and principles, fantasies, motivations, institutions, rules, which are shared by a group of people, which give meaning and presence in their surroundings and position all members in relation to one another. Social imaginaries refer to the way people imagine their social surroundings expressed in images and stories of popular and artistic expressions. Carpentier (2017) describes social imaginaries as "fantasies that enable an overcoming of the lack generated by the contingency of the social and the structural impossibility of attaining reality" (p. 21). He further refers to Lacan (1999, p. 197) who is said to have conceptualized fantasy as creating protection from the impossibilities of reality, which is eventually counterbalanced by providing subjects with discourse to enable producing, accepting, and dealing with reality (Carpentier, p. 21). Winders et al. describe the use of imaginaries (by scholars) as referring to assumptions "built into and shaping the language and terms used" to discuss certain issues and "their interpretation of the empirical realities that implicitly or explicitly, formed the scaffolding of their arguments."

Social imaginaries may become oppressive grids, defined by arrays of political and commercial influencers. However, we take here an optimistic view by steering towards rethinking dynamic design and communicative qualities of imaginaries for sustainable futures. In this context, the River Flows project provides a case study as it focused on creating social imaginaries, in this case of a new nature conservation area at the northern riverbank of the IJssel river in Gelderland Province, the Netherlands. The project was undertaken with a group of international students from an MSc course, Management of Development, in June 2017. In their home countries, they have functions related to agricultural knowledge and governance systems. In the setting of a Media Design for Social Change course, these adult students engaged in workshops on graphic design, painting, theatre, poetry, and creative processes to support community resilience, participation, and social ecological learning. The experiences were put into practice in a community art project with *Natuurmonumenten*, a Dutch nature foundation, and the students embarked on producing a poetry route to express a sense of place in relation to the new nature conservation area, Koppenwaard, along the IJssel river (see Fig. 10). They were

Fig. 10 Student writing a poem on location. (Courtesy of Loes Witteveen)

challenged to create their interpretation of the landscape, their appreciation of the natural resources and surroundings in poems and paintings, which were later compiled into a poetry route. Mohamed Jalloh from Sierra Leone stated: "*Prior to this, I had never written a poem and I was wondering how possibly can I be able to do this. After hard thinking and observing things around me (river, forest, etc.), I started composing my poems and ideas kept flowing.*"

The ambition of this project was to contribute to positive dissonance in conversations in the public participation process. Using the artworks of outsiders (international students) and yet insiders for their creative production on location meant inducing a positive element of dissonance or disruption to render new openings to the public debate on nature conservation, which became characterized by the same divergent voices heard in similar situations. Challenging people to reflect on a sustainability agenda inspired by the poetry route was meant to change the debate from a merely political debate on vested interests to clashes between present and future wishes and needs. The poetry route was meant to strongly induce social imaginaries, tempting the creation of shared affections and images over ambitions for the newly established conservation area (see Fig. 11).

The ambition to provide the students with an individual and group experience of creating a visual expression of social imaginaries has been successfully achieved. The further trajectory of the poetry route River Flows is more ambiguous. It may happen that audiences look at the cognitive information, but a visual social dialogue is new and therefore requires new processes or conditions for success. The experiences in this project however underline the relevance of including the "site of circulation" in the framework "sites and modalities for interpreting visual materials" by Rose (2016) as the production, the image and the audience do not provide sufficient perspectives on understanding a complex "social imaginary" process such a River Flows. To prevent the poetry project from interpretations of a narrow instrumental use of social imaginary, we take the freedom for a short quotation of Castoriadis that "the power to deliberately shape social thought is always limited" (Gilliard, p. 336).

Fig. 11 Fragment of a combined poem and painting, part of the resulting poetry route. (Courtesy of Linda Agbotah)

Glimpses of relevance and impact have been observed, pointing in the direction of visual media having a strong potential for creating social imaginaries or affective or emotional inspiration and thereby contributing to opening up debates in processes of social change whereby cognitive arguments tend to have closing or self-affirming qualities. It is, however, recognized that insufficient knowledge and expertise are available to realize this potential. Art–science interfaces are intertwined with issues of social status and resource allocation, understanding of the role and facilitation of positive dissonance in social change debates are limited, and the grammar of visual textualities and discourses in societal debates still leaves much to discover. Yet, a social imaginary as a concept contributing to sustainable futures and social change is a strong driver to dig into these challenges.

29.5 Conclusion

As shown by Fuglesang's work, some sparks on specific aspects of visual communication and media design were present in the 1980s and 1990s. Notwithstanding these insights, the field of international development for a long time continued to focus on the "semiotic point of view, analysing and decoding the 'language' of the messages transmitted," and the quest for "systematic study [. . .] on the evaluation of instructional media" (Epskamp 1978, p. 1) took place in different fields. It was in the next millennium and inspired by the field of the arts that arguments were built to conceive "language" and "text" beyond the understanding of visual literacy as opposed to a merely word-based or written language to recognize visual communication and visual languages.

Even though a final statement on the quality of visual communication will not be formulated, the chapter searches to go beyond the visual turn and to build on a visual future and concludes by arguing that, in contemporary visual communication, acknowledging diverse professionalisms, centralizing diverse professionalism and transdisciplinarity the importance of design thinking, and recognizing social imaginaries as options for visual communication in societal dialogues are of crucial importance.

29.6 Cross-References

► ICTs for Learning in the field of Rural Communication

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Multidimensional Model for Change: Understanding Multiple Realities to Plan and Promote Social and Behavior Change

30

Paolo Mefalopulos

Contents

30.1 Introduction 580
30.2 The Key Role of C4D in Achieving Change 582
30.3 The Multidimensional Model for Change (MMC) 584
30.3.1 Multidimensional Model for Change: Windows of Perceptions 591
30.4 Conclusions 592
References 594

Abstract

This chapter introduces an innovative multidimensional model to manage change. It starts from a broader overview and assessment of the situation, engaging various groups of stakeholders. It then gradually zooms in critical issues mapping out perceived and real gaps and weaknesses while also identifying strengths and perceived benefits. This provides the inputs to design an effective strategic plan, which includes a C4D strategy to promote the intended social and behavior change. The Multidimensional Model for Change, or MMC, allows to devise relatively simple strategies to promote social and behavior change based on complex analysis that assess the situation in a comprehensive, multi-dimensional, and cross-sectorial way, thus eliminating, or at least greatly reducing, mistakes of the past.

Keywords

Multidimensional · Change · Communication for development · Interdisciplinary · Cross-sectorial · Participatory

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30.1 Introduction

An in-depth review of the literature and project documentation of organizations operating in the field of development made in 2003 suggested that too many times failures of development initiatives are mostly due to lack of proper planning based on genuine communication among the various stakeholders (Mefalopulos 2003). Since then there have been some progress, even if rather moderate. The challenges posed by the findings of that study are still valid and can be summarized in the following questions: Why sound technical solutions are not enough to achieve the intended change? Why individuals resist changing behaviors even when they have the knowledge that the new behavior will benefit them? These questions provide the benchmark along which this chapter originates and develops, introducing a model for change that considers different dimensions needed to be addressed before a person can be expected to adopt a new behavior.

Communication for Development or C4D has a long tradition in the theory and practices of international development, originally applied "to modernize" the so-called underdeveloped or developing countries. It has been used under various denominations, but the main concept, as it originated soon after World War II, remained substantially consistent through time, i.e., use communication to promote betterment of life conditions. The way this should be achieved has gradually evolved from the one-way communication model of reference into a more horizontal, two-way and participatory model, as currently envisioned by most scholars and practitioners in this area. At first C4D, at the time better known as Development Support Communication, was closely associated with the belief that mass media were all powerful and could be used to assist in the modernization of developing countries. As its conception and applications evolved, there have been several attempts to institutionalize C4D in international organizations, including within the United Nations. In the 1960 Erskine Childers was instrumental in having it introduced in UNDP, and then toward the end of that decade, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, or FAO, created its Development Support Communication Branch.

In the 1980s it was UNESCO that put communication at the top of the international agenda, with the New World Information and Communication Order. Subsequently UNICEF established its own Social and Behavior Communication Change (SBCC), currently renamed Communication for Development or C4D section. Even the World Bank at the beginning of the new millennium established a Development Communication Division, which became very active not only within the World Bank programs and operations but also in international fora, taking the lead in organizing the First World Congress on Communication for Development in 2006. It should be mentioned that since 1988 the UN had established the Inter-Agency Roundtables on Communication for Development, a mechanism that, chaired by UNESCO, was convening every 2 years, hosted by a different UN agency on a rotational basis.

The initial objectives of the C4D Roundtables were to exchange ideas and experiences and promote collaboration among United Nations agencies. At the beginning the attendance was mostly limited to agencies that had C4D units and in

some cases also saw some NGOs' participation. With time attendance by UN agencies increased and the scope of Roundtables also broadened, including advocacy efforts to institutionalized and strengthened C4D planning and implementation as a key component of most development programs and projects. The case for the need of dedicated funding to C4D was also strongly made using compelling evidence.

UNESCO had the task to compile the Secretary General Biannual Report on C4D that since 1996 was presented to the General Assembly, the UN Roundtables. This was the most important opportunity, if not the only one, to have issues and challenges that could be addressed by C4D presented to a global audience. It was with great surprise that in 2017, the C4D community learned, post-factum, of the UNESCO decision to ask for the suppression of this valuable mechanism. The lack of transparency and consultation leading to this decision was not only controversial but also raised questions of its legitimacy as UNESCO mandate was basically to chair the Inter-Agency Round Tables on Communication for Development and prepare the report for the Secretary General. Hence, many stakeholders saw the decision to suppress it without previous consultation with other UN agencies (some of which would have probably been ready to take up this role) as UNESCO stepping out of the institutional mandate and boundaries.

It is sadly ironic, and shortsighted, that the C4D Round tables were suppressed just when the importance of social and behavior change was being increasingly recognized as a crucial component of development initiatives. The key role of C4D in the successful handling of polio (which in 2008 was certified to be fully eradicated from India) as well as in other health emergencies such as avian flu and Ebola confirmed the value of rigorous social and behavior communication strategies in achieving the intended change. Even the World Bank in its World Development Report of 2015, titled Mind, Society, and Behavior (World Bank 2016), acknowledged that human behavior is not always rationally driven and focused on the importance of understanding the drivers for social and behavior change.

The evolution and growth of C4D went through some ups and down. Unfortunately, despite an increasing acknowledgment by many key actors of the importance of addressing social and behavior determinants to achieve the intended change, within the UN family, C4D is currently thriving only at UNICEF. The model of reference which was increasingly used in UNICEF, starting by the team of the India Country Office and then adopted more systematically at a global level, was an adaptation of the socio-ecological model (SEM), which forms the basis of the Multidimensional Model for Change presented in this chapter.

The Multidimensional Model for Change – MMC – is derived from Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework for human development (Bronfenbrenner 1979). The main differences consist in the framing and the number of the dimensions to be considered, which now are four, each composed by three basic components, devised to assess strengths, weaknesses, and gaps needed to be addressed in the planning of the communication strategy aimed at achieving the intended change. The aim is to steer C4D interventions away from the exclusive focus on individual behavior, which characterized many initiatives of the past, and adopt a broader

and intersectorial view of the whole situation, a view that includes a holistic assessment of the factors needed to achieve change, and then consider how, and which ones, communication can address.

30.2 The Key Role of C4D in Achieving Change

The main causes for the many failures of development initiatives have been addressed in the presentation, *Why Sound Technical Solutions Are Not Enough: The Role of Communication in Development Initiatives* (Mefalopulos 2010), delivered for the 11th Raushni Deshpande Memorial Oration at the Lady Irwin College in New Delhi, India. If knowledge of solutions that would improve life conditions is not enough to make people change behaviors, what would then be the best way to achieve it? The vast literature evaluating development projects and programs indicate that there are a number of factors that affect the adoption of innovations and new behaviors. Many of such factors have been often neglected to a significant degree.

Too many development initiatives were doomed before they even started being implemented, due to their vertical, techno-driven sectorial planning design, a design that was usually devised by a few experts, often knowing little of the local context and culture, and even more often based on the (flawed) belief that if people knew that the new behavior was beneficial they would embrace it; thus the emphasis was on the production of messages to be disseminated in the media. The role and limited effectiveness of communication were often influenced by such design and the flaws related to it. To be truly effective and loyal to its core values, C4D had to be critical of modernization-driven approaches, which adopted linear and top-down approaches, where communication was mainly used to disseminate information. That is when two-way communication approaches started to increasingly gain ground.

Many publications such as of Jan Servaes (2003), Nobuya Inagaki (2007), and Emile McAnany (2012) help to understand some of the main challenges C4D faced in making the case to prove its value, not only in promoting the needed change but also in assessing the overall situation, as a prerequisite to identify the gaps and drivers for change. The challenge was to rethink theoretical and practical approaches to understand better how change occurs. A broader perspective on how individuals think and act was needed, abandoning the assumption that behaviors are rationally driven and reflecting on what would be the determinants of change shaping human behaviors.

Hence, C4D had not only to adopt a more horizontal and participatory-driven approach, but it had also to broaden its functions, adding assessment and planning to the communicating one. Most important C4D officers in major international organizations had to become advocate for a cross-sectorial approach that should replace the traditional, limited sectorial planning and implementation. The cross-sectorial approach enhances significantly the effectiveness of development initiatives and allows to apply C4D methods and tools at their best. A simple example can further clarify this assertion.

When facing the Ebola crises, the first approach was driven strictly by technical (i.e., medical) considerations. However, that proved to be highly ineffective as the virus was spreading fast due to cultural norms and habits (such as those associated to the burial of the death) that people would not accept changing just based on technically appropriate information, coming from external experts. The situation started to change when C4D specialists went in the affected areas to work with communities in order to reduce the risks of contracting the virus and addressed with them possible alternatives to reduce the risks of contamination.

Participatory Rural Communication Appraisal, or PRCA, is a methodology that was developed and applied along similar lines. It was devised in the 1990s by an FAO team working in Southern Africa, and it combines participatory techniques with communication research, and planning methods were devised. PRCA laid the foundations of an innovative approach, which started to be gradually adopted in projects across the world. It was defined as "a first step in the design of cost-effective and appropriate communication programmes, and materials for development projects ... a flexible, multidisciplinary and participatory way to conduct communication research" (Anyaebgunam et al. 2004). PRCA was one of the first systematic attempts to bridge and apply participatory approaches with dialogical communication processes and tools, drawing from scholars and practitioners such as Orlando Fals Borda, Luis Ramiro Beltran, Robert Chambers, Paulo Freire, Bella Mody, and many more.

Moreover, PRCA was innovative because it was promoting a broader interdisciplinary approach to sectorial project design. For most areas of work in international development, such as health, nutrition, sanitation, education, etc., working vertically within its own sector has been the norm for a long time. However, cross-sectorial work is an imperative for C4D, because its functions and objectives are intrinsically embedded in those of health, nutrition, education, etc. There is not an ultimate communication goal per se, but there are communication objectives aiming at supporting behavior change to achieve education, health, and other sector goals. That is why C4D can provide the broader assessment, exploring and linking different areas and sectors, which absence is often considered to be the weak element of planning. A single, specific behavior change to occur often requires that several other factors across various areas/sectors be in place.

For instance, let us take the case of a project set up to introduce a new crop, more economically valuable. To increase the income and the living conditions of farmers in a district where farmers are living at subsistence level, the Rural Ministry decided to promote the adoption of the new income-generating crop. The innovation in their cropping system seemed a sound idea, and once an investigation confirmed that the new crop could be grown well in places where staple food is currently grown, the project begins its activities and extensionists are sent to disseminate the message and information about the new crop. To the experts' surprise, several farmers resisted the innovation. In those cases where the new crop has been adopted, problems aroused, such as lack of marketing skills to price and sell the product and lack of transport to access markets; decrease in staple food, which is being substituted by the income-generating crop, led to higher malnutrition of children (Anyaebgunam et al. 2004).

Examples such as this have been quite common in past development initiatives and are due mostly to the lack of two-way communication among project managers and experts on one side and the ultimate stakeholders (in the past labeled beneficiaries) on the other. Another common flow is the limited technical focus on the issue itself, in this case the adoption and growth of a new crop, which neglects other needed elements of the equation, such the knowledge of markets, availability of transport, change in dietary habits, etc. All, or most, of these issues could have been addressed if a genuine two-way communication would have occurred during the assessment and the planning phases of the project (Anyaebgunam et al. 2004).

Before discussing the MMC or Multidimensional Model for Change, it is worthwhile highlighting how C4D scholars and practitioners are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of social pressure in the adoption of rejection of a given behavior. Human behavior is not always guided by "rational" considerations, or maybe rationality does not have a universal applicable standard. What is rational in India might not be rational in Germany, and what is rational for a 20-year-old might not be rational for a 60-year-old.

Social norms, interdisciplinary overview, infrastructure strengths, and institutional capacities are some of the elements that should be considered when planning for behavior change. Hence, a more comprehensive but agile approach is needed to make sure that all key components of a certain situation are taken into consideration and assessed before designing effective strategies leading to social and/or behavior change. This is at the core of the model presented next.

30.3 The Multidimensional Model for Change (MMC)

Knowing the rationale behind the development of the Multidimensional Model for Change or MMC helps to understand why and how to use it. A literature review of international experiences plus lessons learned and documented failures about trying to eradicate open defecation in India were instrumental in helping to refine this model. Its main rationale is to ensure that all dimensions and related components that can promote and facilitate change would be considered when developing a C4D strategy. Open defecation usually falls under the domain of the Water and Sanitation sector but affects a number of other sectors such as health, nutrition, and education. Hence adopting a strict sectorial approach would not bear the intended results, while the intersectorial and integrated focus of the MMC can be of much greater value.

MMC combines the insights of participatory communication research and planning with the comprehensive overview and assessment allowed by the contextual framework of the socio-ecological model. This helps to break out from the rigid unilinear approaches of the past. Clearly to successfully eliminate open defecation, the key behavior to be adopted virtually by every individual has to do with the systematic use of latrines. It is of little wonder then to see that the many communication campaigns aimed at promoting the use of latrines both in urban and in rural settings had a very limited effect overall.

This is mostly due to the fact that such communication campaigns have been often devised and implemented with an information-bias approach, that is, focusing on the message to be given to people regardless of other factors of relevance to audiences/stakeholders. To be effective in promoting the behavior of latrines, communication campaigns should be weighed against factors that are likely, if not certain, to affect the adoption of the new behavior. Among these are latrine-friendly policies requiring toilets in public places; number of and access of latrines available; number and qualifications of line workers at community level promoting the building, maintenance, and proper use of latrines; and, last but not least, the presence of social norms, cultural beliefs, and customs that support the use of latrines, as peer pressure could be a crucial factor in accepting or rejecting the adoption of a new behavior.

Many of these "side factors" have been underestimated, if not completely missing, when designing and implementing campaigns aimed at promoting the adoption of the new behavior (something required in virtually any type of innovation or change initiatives), thus explaining to a large degree the reasons for the many failures in the adoption of the latrines by individuals. The MMC has been devised to avoid this kind of shortfalls and promote a comprehensive and cross-sectorial assessment that would then allow to plan and adopt communication approaches, methods, and tools in needed components of each dimension. Hence, the Multidimensional Model for Change is an approach that, starting from an identified situation that needs to be improved, helps to make a comprehensive assessment of the context related to the situation in question. Next, it allows the planning of the overall intervention as well as to devise the parallel communication strategy aimed at ensuring that the intended behaviors will be adopted.

The MMC comprises four dimensions, three of which define the enabling socioeconomic environment conducive to change, and the fourth entails the components to be addressed at the individual level for promoting the adoption of the required new behavior. The first dimension is the political one. It has been labeled this way because its components are mostly shaped in the political arena as they are: budget (financial and human resources at disposal), infrastructure (availability and quality), and public policies (laws facilitating or impeding change). The second is the organizational dimension intended to assess the strengths and weaknesses of organized groups and institutions that are linked to the intended change. These organizations or institutions may belong to the state, public, civic society, or private sector. The third dimension is the sociocultural one. Its components are norms, media, and networks of reference. In other words, they are components that can greatly influence decisions taken by individuals, either through media or peer pressure.

In order to ensure that the enabling environment is in place, or to identify what is needed to achieve it, the assessment of the components in these three dimensions needs to precede the last one. If all prerequisites are satisfactorily met, behavior change is much more likely to occur. Hence, the fourth dimension of the MMC is the individual one. Here is where the actual behavior change is expected to occur; hence the components are those directly linked to the individual. The first is about the influential sources in the life of the individual, could be a farmer, a priest, the mother-

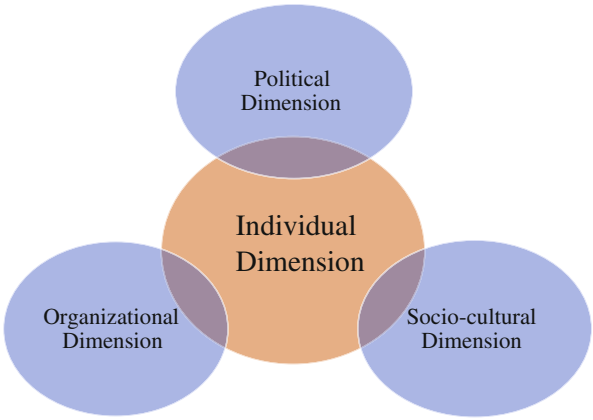

Fig. 1 MMC dimensions. (Source: Author)

in-law, etc., and the next is about her/his inner circle, including family members and close friends. The last component is a composite one that includes the basic components needed to embrace the new behavior, i.e., AKAP. In much of the communication literature, Awareness, Knowledge, Attitude, and Practice constitute the ladder to achieve and sustain new behaviors, even if recent studies indicate that social norm pressure often has a stronger impact on the adoption of new behaviors. Figure 1 presents the basic MMC dimensions in graphic form.

Before illustrating each dimension in detail, we should mention that the MMC comprises three basic steps or phases. The first phase entails carrying out an assessment of what are the components needed to have the ideal situation (e.g. a polio- free contry), following the four dimensions highlighted in Table 1. It can be achieved reviewing the available literature and complementing it with interviews and/or brainstorming with experts and other key stakeholders. The aim is to identify, as exhaustively as possible, all the elements needed to have the intended situation, that is why is named "ideal mapping." Then, the second phase can begin, which follows the same steps described in Table 1 but now addressing and investigating the situation as it in reality. That is, rather than defining what are the ideal elements needed, it focuses on the hard evidence available to give an accurate picture of the current situation, that is why is named "factual mapping."

Comparing and contrasting the findings of the ideal mapping and the factual mapping provides the basis for planning. This is the third phase of the MMC, where the strategy to achieve the intended change is developed. It is intended to give a clear understanding of what is missing and should be addressed in order to achieve the intended change. The MMC allows to draw a broad strategy covering various sectors of intervention, but it also provides the framework for developing a C4D strategy, which is in sync with the broader one, addressing the social and/or behavior change in question.

1. The political dimension entails components that, to a great extent, are in control or influenced by the state and are needed to facilitate the intended change, namely, policies, infrastructure, and resources available (both financial and human

Table 1 Ideal v. reality mapping window

Dimensions	Components	Key questions
Political	***Infrastructure***	What infrastructure would be needed to be able to support the adoption of the innovation/new behavior?
	Public policies/laws	Which policies or laws should be in place to promote the adoption of the innovation/new behavior?
	Budget/resources	What is the needed budget and what number and type of human resources are needed to promote effectively the adoption of the innovation/new behavior?
Organizational	***State/public institutions*** *(mandate and capacity)*	Which type of state institutions would be required to promote the adoption of the innovation/new behavior? And with what mandate and technical capacity?
	Civil society *(NGOs, academia, foundations)*	Which CSOs (NGOs, academia, foundations) would be required to promote the adoption of the innovation/new behavior? And with what technical capacity?
	Private sector	How could the private sector support the adoption of the innovation/new behavior? And which firms could be involved?
Sociocultural	***Norms***	Which sociocultural norms, beliefs, and habits would facilitate the adoption of the innovation/new behavior?
	Media	What kind of themes and messages should the media present, discuss, and disseminate?
	Networks of reference	What kind of themes and messages should be introduced, discussed, and disseminated?
Individual	***Influential sources***	What themes and messages should influential sources focus on?
	Interpersonal inner circle	What themes and messages should inner circle individuals focus on?
	Individual AKAP	What knowledge, which attitudes, and which behaviors are required to achieve the intended change?

Source: Author

resources). Thus, as stated above, the first step is to sit at a table brainstorming about which of these components would be needed to achieve our objective. Next the factual (that is evidence-based) assessment process can begin in order to compare and contrast how far away are we from such ideal situation and what can be done to address the challenges identified.

To make this clearer, let us refer to the open defecation example. Once it has been decided that the end goal is to eliminate open defecation, the MMC approach assesses the various components of each dimension, starting with the political one. To facilitate the adoption of latrines, there should be laws and

policies that strengthen the requirements of building and maintaining toilets in all public places and that give rewards or fiscal incentives to individual building latrines in their homes. Infrastructure wise the state needs to ensure that there are enough quality toilets or latrines available in public spaces as well as in institutions of relevance, such as schools, hospitals, public offices, etc. Finally, the budget needs to be assessed against current availability of toilets and latrines in private and public places and what would be needed. Considerations about the cost of having the needed human resources in place should be addressed as well.

Too many times communication campaigns trying to have people abandon the practice of open defecation have been designed and implemented even though many people did not have access to latrines. Everybody can easily see how this is a sure recipe for disaster. Technical experts have not always taken what seems obvious into account. Nowadays, it is still possible to see nicely crafted media campaigns, appealing to the eye but totally useless for reducing the problem of open defecation.

2. The organizational dimension refers to organizations, institutions, or groups' alliances, either national or international, which are capable and willing to support the required behavior change. The components of this dimension have been labeled as (1) state/public institutions, such as line ministries, departments, or specialized state agencies; (2) civil society organizations, including non-governmental organizations, academia, and no-profit foundations; and (3) private sector, which basically can include firms and entrepreneurs which are interested in getting actively engaged in activities to promote the achievement of the set objective.

   Hence, in the case of organizations, capacity is not the only factor to be assessed but also the mandate, and the adherence of practice to that mandate, because as Quarry and Ramirez (2009) stated "organizations are half the methodology." Continuing with the open defecation example, the factual assessment would first have to focus on the demographics about the open defecation problem. Where does it happen the most (e.g., urban vs. rural areas)? Is it evenly spread by age, gender, and socioeconomic status? This data will help understand better the specifics of the problem and identify what kind of institutional presence would be needed in the field.

   Starting with the first component, the following questions should be posed to understand what would be needed to put in place an effective behavior change strategy. Which public/state institutions have the mandate to operate in this area? And do they have the financial and human resources to support the needed behavior change? If gaps are identified, they need to be addressed before launching a communication campaign to promote the adoption of latrines. A similar process should be followed for the other components. The one of civil society would require an appraisal of NGOs working in relevant areas as well as of academic centers able and willing to support the strategy to eliminate open defecation.
3. The sociocultural dimension is the one that has been most neglected in the past and is probably the one most effective in promoting or blocking the adoption of

new behaviors. The components of this dimension are (1) social norms, which are the behaviors that people are expected (by other people) to apply in specific social situations, which clearly vary from culture to culture. It is becoming increasingly evident how social norms, through peer pressure, can be the main factor in making individuals accepting or rejecting new behaviors; (2) media, refers to all channels of communication that address messages and themes either in a monologic or dialogic manner. They can be mass media, social media, or even traditional media such as popular theater or flip charts. These are channels that have the main function of mostly passing or exchanging information, even if in some cases they can stimulate dialogue and discussion, e.g., social media; and (3) networks of reference, which refers to networks of people, which can affect individual's decisions, such as a farmers' unions, a national association of pediatricians, or in the case of open defecation an academician network of universities having water and sanitation programs and courses. These three components have one thing in common. They are all effective instruments capable of influencing and shaping the individual's decisions in embracing change and adopting new behaviors.

Recently, the influence of social norms in shaping behaviors has gradually become more and more important. Evidence shows how most individuals are prone to adapt or adopt certain behaviors if they feel others in their community of reference are expecting them to do so and if they are expected to reciprocate. The work of Bicchieri (2017) on the role of expectations in social norms provides interesting insights in this area. The importance of peer pressure in making individuals change their behavior has been documented in many cases, but I find of particular interest the instance described by Rosenberg (2011).

In her book, among the many examples, one stood out as providing a great insight on how to influence behavior change. The author investigates why traditional anti-smoking campaigns that worked with adults (even if after a long time) did not work for teens. It became clear that a key reason was the fact that teens are by nature rebellious and not particularly keen to listen to advice by grown-ups. Things change when the approach was switched to appeal to their rebelliousness, having as the main target not health issues but the big tobacco companies and the way they manipulated marketing message to lure teens to smoke. This approach was made even more effective by the fact that groups of teens themselves were the ones spearheading debates and actions related to this issue in schools and other places where teens would usually convene.

To make clearer the functions of the components in this dimension, let us revert to the open defecation example. The initial step would be to investigate and assess available norms and beliefs related to this practice. If it turns out to be (as it is the case in some places) that open defecation is not only tolerated but also socially acceptable, it becomes clear that before promoting change of individual behaviors, there is the need to address and change perceptions and expectations of the community. In this respect, mapping the media landscape is a useful exercise as it can help to raise awareness about issues and promote change, even if change is usually more effectively achieved through interpersonal communication. Social

media can also be quite effective in promoting change given their potential for dialogic communication, as illustrated in the *Development Communication Sourcebook* (Mefalopulos 2008).

Media campaigns can provide valuable contributions toward the goal of eliminating open defecation, but only if research and message design are done in a dialogic and participatory manner. Finally, the third component has a similar function as media, but on a more interpersonal level. Networks of reference are powerful channel through which individuals receive and exchange information while also forming and/or reinforcing their worldviews and opinions; thus they can be effectively used to engage individuals at community level. For instance, in parts of India, C4D strategies have relied successfully on religious leaders in having people accepting to vaccinate their children. The use of religious networks has been of great help in reassuring people who were hesitant or suspicious.

4. The individual dimension is where change is expected to take place, activated by the perceived benefits expected, the pressure of close family and friends, and the inner process of knowing what does it take to adopt the change and have the motivations to act upon it. The three dimensions presented above constitute the whole of the enabling environment, which can greatly facilitate or impede the adoption of the new behavior. This last dimension instead is directly related to the actual decision of embracing the intended change. Hence, the three components of this dimension are meant to be directly capable of achieving the adoption of the new behavior.

   The first component is (1) perceived benefits, meant to verify if all stakeholders know about the benefits of the new behavior and if the perceptions of the benefits are consistent among different groups. That is why the Windows of Perception tool is applied again in this step. It ensures that the benefits' perceptions of the experts are shared by other stakeholders, for instance, rural farmers. Too many times projects and programs have failed due to gaps in the understanding and miscommunication among the various parties (Anyaebgunam et al. 2004), resulting in distinct groups of stakeholders having radically different perceptions on the objectives and expected benefits of the development initiative. The other component is (2) the inner circle, which is composed by persons, either family or friends, who are very close to the individual and, thus, have a profound influence in affecting the decision whether to adopt the new behavior. Key persons of the inner circle can be addressed and engaged in cases where other media are not so effective or with individuals who resist to engage in communication with external sources.

   Finally, the last component is AKAP, or Awareness, Knowledge, Attitude, and Practice, that is the process leading an individual to adopt a specific innovation or a behavior. Even if its linear approach has been critiqued, the AKAP ladder still provides a good basic reference on individual factors providing useful predictors that change is likely to occur. Awareness is the first step intended to acquire consciousness that change is needed. Knowledge goes a step further bringing detailed information and inputs about the issue, its pro and contra. Most of the channels and tools in the third dimension are used with all relevant stakeholders to ensure awareness and knowledge are properly addressed.

Attitude is a tougher factor to assess and address. It refers to a stance, viewpoint, or state of mind toward a certain issue or situation. When having to shift people's attitudes, usually from a negative stance to a more positive one, evidence suggests that dialogic, interpersonal communication is more effective than media or monologic communication. Practice is the last part of this change ladder. It is about acting upon the decision to adopt the intended change. It should be kept in mind that this ladder of change is only one way, as behavior can also be adopted due to social pressure or other factors, not always easily explainable rationally.

In the open defecation example, the C4D strategy should start to focus on the behavior change element only at this point, while the components of previous dimensions were preparing the ground. In the first dimension, C4D can be used to advocate for ensuring adequate infrastructure, enabling policies and enough resources needed to facilitate the intended change. In the second dimension, C4D can still advocate to have relevant institutions and organizations supporting the actions needed to promote the change. Moreover, C4D experts should also strengthen capacities of these organizations/institutions to effectively use communication and participatory approaches to promote and engage people in the reasons and the need for the change. Finally, they should assist in devising C4D strategies conducive to the adoption of the new behaviors.

In the sociocultural dimension, the last of the "enabling" dimensions, the emphasis is on social norms. Social pressure, recognition, and inclination to conform to the expectations of the rest of the community are elements that have been often underestimated in behavior change. The basic structure of the MMC approach is reflected in the next table, which when used and compared among different groups of stakeholders compose a tool named "windows of perceptions" originally developed as part of the PRCA toolkit (Anyaebgunam et al. 2004). The initial table, named ideal situation mapping, is based on evidence and is expected to be used to map the situation defining the "best case scenario" that is as it should be, i.e., the ideal situation. This can be assessed through rigorous review of available literature eventually complemented by brainstorming sessions with key stakeholders. The other table (which is the same in its format) is filled with inputs from the situation in the field and by consultations with all relevant stakeholders. It is called "reality mapping" and by comparing it and contrasting it with the first table is expected to define the gaps and disjunctures between the situation as is intended to be from the way it is currently. These gaps will form the basis of the strategy leading to the intended change. It should be noted that in the case of the second table, it is not only factual reality that should be assessed but also stakeholders' perceptions of the situation, as perceptions are often the major impediments to achieve change.

30.3.1 Multidimensional Model for Change: Windows of Perceptions

See Table 1.

30.4 Conclusions

To summarize, let us briefly review the entire process, leading from the situation assessment to the planning of a C4D strategy, keeping in mind that such C4D strategy is part of the broader strategy. Such broader strategy to achieve the intended change can still be devised through the MMC. Thus, the first step is to fill as much as possible the ideal mapping window as per Table 1, which would then be compared and contrasted with the reality of the situation on the ground uncovered in the factual mapping. Hence, the actual review of the evidence-based assessment of the various components of each dimension begins, investigating the issues and questions presented in Table 1. After having reviewed and assessed to what degree adequate public policies, infrastructure, and resources are in place, we can move to the organizational dimension. Mandate and capacities of state and public institutions, as well as of NGOs and other no-profit organizations, should be reviewed and assessed. Private sector opportunities and alliance should also be considered.

In the sociocultural dimension, beliefs and norms of relevance should be thoroughly investigated and assessed to see if they are neutral, if they facilitate, or if they impede the intended change. Media and networks of reference need to undergo the same kind of scrutiny, to assess which can be of value and how they can be used effectively. Finally, in the individual dimension, the perceived benefits as understood by the various groups of stakeholders are assessed and compared. The next component to be investigated is the inner circle, to find out if some persons can be of use in promoting change, e.g., the mother-in-law. The last component is one directly addressing the behavior change at an individual level. Do individuals have the required knowledge about intended the change? And what is their attitude about it? Are they prone to adopt the new behavior? And if not, how can they be engaged in a dialogue about why is the intended change expected to improve life conditions?

The Multidimensional Model for Change has been already applied in practice, and it has shown that by identifying broader dimensions of analysis, it helps to have a more comprehensive and intersectorial approach. It also avoid neglecting major gaps and by comparing the ideal versus the actual it provides helpful insights needed to develop effective strategies, where communication for social and behavior change can be instrumental to achieve the intended results. The following is the summary of its pro and cons, starting with the former. First and foremost, the MMC comprehensive overview of the situation allows considering and assessing all major elements of a given situation, minimizing the risks faced by many past initiatives that failed due to their unilateral sectorial focus. It provides a sort of checklist with all key factors that should be considered when devising a strategy aimed to achieve social and/or behavior change. It also highlights gaps and weaknesses where the strategy needs to focus. The fact that some of these factors are not strictly related to the eventual C4D strategy is another strength, as new behaviors cannot be adopted without a conducive environment. For example, it does not make sense to have a highly appealing media campaign promoting the use of latrines, if there are not enough latrines to respond to the eventual growth to the demand for the use of latrines.

The fact that the MMC allows a broader oversight entailing different areas and sectors is another strength when developing a C4D strategies, since C4D is

cross-sectorial and can be used not only across sectors but also for distinct functions, as illustrated clearly in the *Development Communication Sourcebook* (Mefalopulos 2008). The overall C4D strategy can, for instance, be used for advocacy purposes in advocating for certain policies, or to have more resources allocated, it could be used for capacity strengthening of certain institutions or for building alliances between public and private stakeholders, for instance. Naturally, it would be also expected to include media campaigns, participatory approaches, social mobilization, and other approaches with the aim to achieve the intended social and behavior change. The comparison and contrast of the ideal situation vs. the factual one provides valuable inputs in identifying gaps and critical points, thus making it easier where to focus the strategy and how to fit it in a proper timeframe.

Lastly, the MMC allows focusing the strategy on the specific behavior change framing it within the overall multidimensional context, and in this respect other factors become of relevance. The one about social norms is probably the most critical. There is increasing evidence on how social pressure and especially peer pressure are major determinants when deciding if adopting a new behavior, as illustrated effectively by Rosenberg (2011). Social norms have been not fully understood and applied in C4D strategies of the past, but they are now acquiring the relevance they deserve.

On the cons, it should be mentioned the challenges deriving from having to carry out a broader assessment at various levels. Prioritizing these challenges in terms of importance is not always easy, but devising a solid theory of change for the intended change should help in ranking priorities. Time needed to carry out a MMC assessment is another factor that can apparently be a disadvantage. However, the time spent in the initial assessment is recuperated with interest in term not only of time saving but also of planning effectiveness when developing the strategy.

A multidimensional approach, with a strong interdisciplinary connotation, is always challenging. Most of us have been brought up thinking in a linear way, and most academic careers aim at an in-depth specialization on a specific discipline or topic, gradually narrowing the path from broader knowledge to specific areas of specialization. It is only natural that we find challenging to adopt a broader multidimensional and intersectorial approach, having to assess and prioritize among several factors. However, as stated above, devising a sound theory of change helps to guide the design of a multidimensional strategy that can successfully achieve the intended change.

The apparent complexity of the MMC does not necessarily signify that strategies to achieve change must be complicated; on the contrary they could be rather simple and straightforward, once challenges and gaps are properly identified and agreed upon. However, it should be noted that simple solutions often require complex analysis. To ensure that such analysis is done in an effective and empowering manner, MMC should be carried out following the basic C4D principles, having at its core the use of dialogic (i.e., two-way) communication (Mefalopulos 2008), which ensures stakeholder participation throughout all the phases of the change initiative. Applied in this way, MMC has proven to minimize errors in planning the strategy due to misperceptions among stakeholders; errors of neglecting factors not directly linked to the behavior, but still necessary to have the behavior adopted; and

errors due to a narrow focus that impedes broader approaches and alliances instrumental to the success of the strategy. In other words, MMC has proven to be an effective tool to develop and design even complex interventions aimed at social and behavior change.

MMC provides an overview of key dimensions constituting the environment of a given situation. Such multidimensional overview allows an interdisciplinary and exhaustive assessment, which provides insights and inputs for a better planning and related strategy, and not just for the C4D strategy. C4D methods and tools are part of the investigation and assessment process of the MMC, using dialogue to engage stakeholders and empower them in the decision-making process. It also ensures that the C4D strategy is closely aligned to the overall strategy, thus greatly enhancing its chances of success. In conclusion, the Multidimensional Model for Change is another powerful approach within the Communication for Development family. It is an approach that can greatly enhance at the same time the overall multidimensional strategy and the C4D strategy to achieve specific social and behavior change, while at the same time engaging and empowering stakeholders. Finally, the MMC provides another vision about the understating of a situation and planning for change: a vision that leaves behind older unilinear strategy design in favor of a multidimensional, cross-sectorial, and interdisciplinary design, taking into full account different realities and their perceptions by the various stakeholders' groups.

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Broadcasting New Behavioral Norms: Theories Underlying the Entertainment-Education Method

31

Kriss Barker

Contents

31.1 Introduction 596
31.2 How Does Entertainment-Education Work as a Mechanism for Social Change? 596
31.3 Shannon and Weaver (1949): Communication Model 599
31.4 "Rovigatti" (1981): A Circular Adaptation of Shannon and Weaver and Additional Circuit for a Social Content Serial Drama 601
31.5 Lazarsfeld (1968): Two-Step Flow of Communication 603
31.6 Bentley (1967): Dramatic Theory 604
31.7 Jung (1970): Theory of the Collective Unconscious 605
31.8 Bandura (1977): Social Learning Theory 606
31.9 Sabido (2002): Theory of the Tone 608
31.10 MacLean (1973): Theory of the Triune Brain and Sabido's Theory of the Tone (2002) 609
31.11 Horton and Wohl (1956): Parasocial Interaction 610
31.12 Sood (2002): Audience Involvement 611
31.13 Conclusions and Implications for Future Work 611
References 612

Abstract

The effectiveness of entertainment-education (EE) has been demonstrated time and again in numerous settings to address myriad issues. However, it is still not clear exactly what contributions each of the different theories within the entertainment-education approach make to the achievement of such significant results. The current chapter reviews the theories underlying a specific approach to entertainment-education, referred to as the PMC methodology. The PMC methodology is based on the Sabido methodology, pioneered by Miguel Sabido of Mexico.

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Entertainment-education · Social and behavioral change communication · Behavior change · Theories

31.1 Introduction

> Anyone who tries to make a distinction between education and entertainment doesn't know the first thing about either. (Marshall McLuhan)

Entertainment-education (EE) is the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about an issue, create favorable attitudes, shift social norms, and change the overt behavior of individuals and communities (Singhal and Rogers 2003, p. 289). The EE strategy in development communication bridges the gratuitous dichotomy that mass media programs must be either entertaining or educational but cannot possibly be both (Singhal and Rogers 1999; Televisa's Institute for Communication Research 1981).

Results show that entertainment-education using mass media channels is able to produce population-wide changes in social norms and individual behavior (Bertrand and Anhang 2006; Figueroa et al. 2001; Khalid and Ahmed 2014; Myers 2002; Nariman 1993; Piotrow et al. 1997; Rogers et al. 1999; Ryerson 2010; Shen and Han 2014; Singhal and Rogers 1999; Singhal et al. 2004; Vaughan et al. 2000a, b; Westoff and Bankole 1997). However, as Singhal and Rogers (2002) suggest: "Theoretical investigations of EE need to move past scholarly research on what effect EE programs have, to better understand how and why EE has these effects" (Singhal and Rogers 2002, p. 120). Papa et al. (2000) echo this observation: "...most studies of EE programs, with a few exceptions (Brown and Cody 1991; Lozano and Singhal 1993; Svenkerud et al. 1995; Storey et al. 1999; and perhaps some others) have not provided an adequate theoretical explanation of how audience members' change as a result of exposure to EE programs" (Papa et al. 2000, p. 33).

31.2 How Does Entertainment-Education Work as a Mechanism for Social Change?

This chapter will examine the theories underlying a specific form of EE, applied by Population Media Center (PMC). PMC's methodology is based on the Sabido methodology of behavior change communication via mass media, pioneered by Miguel Sabido of Mexico. To date, PMC has used our specific form of EE to design over 50 dramas in 54 countries worldwide, reaching over 500 million people over a 20-year history.

In order to understand how EE produces such significant behavior change results, we must explore how the different theories underlying EE programming contribute

to attitudinal and behavior change. And, more broadly, how does EE work as a mechanism for social change?

We can best understand this question through the use of the following graphics, which show potential trajectories for results when the various theories are differentially applied. If the constellation is all of the theories, what happens when we apply only some of the theories, or apply all of the theories, but to a greater or lesser degree? (Fig. 1)

In the first graphic, all theories are equal. Thus, each incremental addition in application of any of the theories will result in an equal incremental addition in behavior change. The fewer the theories utilized, the poorer the results. In the same vein, the more theories that are applied will generate a proportional increase in impact. In this construct, when all of the principles are ideally applied, this is the purest form of the EE methodology. Of course, this utopian ideal could never be achieved in the real world (Fig. 2).

In the second figure, some theories have more effect than others. We could say that some theories are thus more "important" to achieving attitudinal or behavior change impact than are others. Without these key theories, the EE program will

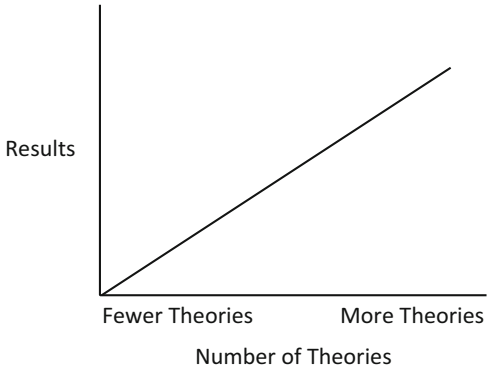


Fig. 1 All theories are equal

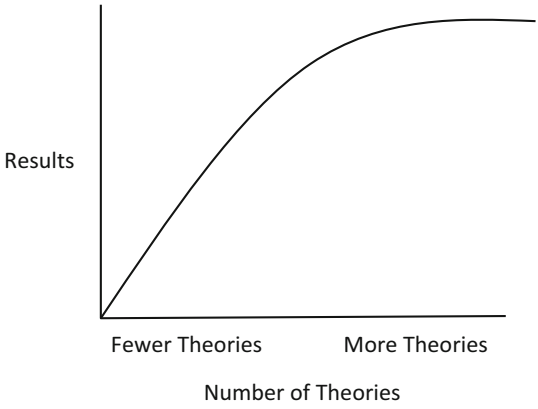
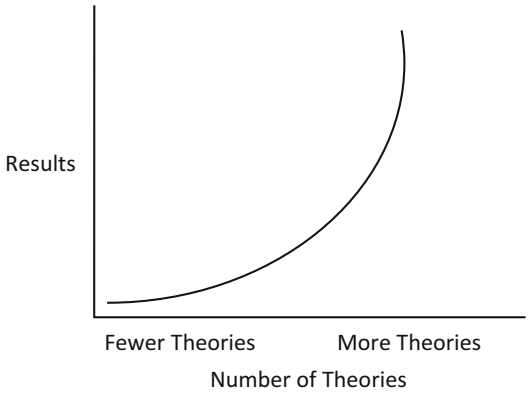


Fig. 2 Some theories have more impact than others

Fig. 3 "All or nothing"



almost certainly fail. However, additional (although proportionally lesser) impact can be achieved through the addition of other, "less important" theories. That is, you can get some effect with the most basic theories, but the best effect is achieved through application of all of the theories.

For example, Bandura's social learning theory (Bandura 1977) of vicarious role modeling has often been identified as the key theory underlying the EE methodology. But, does that mean that an EE program can achieve equal impact by only applying the principles of vicarious role modeling while ignoring Bentley's dramatic theory (Bentley 1967)?

The third and final graphic contends that application of the theories is an "all or nothing" equation. Thus, in order to achieve any behavior change effect, most or all of the different theories must be rigorously employed in a format that is conducive to their synergistic application (Fig. 3).

The value of this knowledge lies in its potential to create a working model for "best practices" in the application of EE for creating behavior change at the individual and societal levels. Armed with a more complete understanding of the different roles that each of the foundational theories contributes to the effectiveness of EE, we can better design EE programs for the greatest prosocial impact.

As stated above, the current chapter reviews the theories underlying a specific approach to EE, referred to as the PMC methodology. The PMC methodology is based on the Sabido methodology, pioneered by Miguel Sabido of Mexico. Sabido was looking for a theoretical basis for the educational and behavioral effects he created by his *telenovelas.* As Vice President for Research at Televisa, he was in a unique position to explore the impact of application of different communication theories to entertainment-education television.

The Sabido methodology draws from the following theories of communication and behavior change (Nariman 1993):

- Shannon and Weaver's communication model (Shannon and Weaver 1949)
- Rovigatti's circular adaptation of Shannon and Weaver's communication model and additional circuit for a social content serial drama (Rovigatti 1981)

- Lazarsfeld's two-step flow of communication (Lazarsfeld et al. 1968)
- Bentley's dramatic theory (Bentley 1967)
- Jung's theory of archetypes and stereotypes and the collective unconscious (Jung 1970)
- The social learning theory of Albert Bandura (1977)
- Bandura's social cognitive theory (Bandura 1986)
- MacLean's concept of the triune brain (Note: MacLean's concept of the triune brain has been the subject of much recent debate. However, it is included in this list as it was an important concept in Sabido's original methodology.) (MacLean 1973), supplemented by Sabido's own Theory of the tone (Sabido 2002)

The PMC methodology adds to this list Horton and Wohl's concept of parasocial interaction (Horton and Wohl 1956) and the related concept of audience involvement (Sood 2002).

31.3 Shannon and Weaver (1949): Communication Model

Shannon and Weaver's communication model (1949) has five basic factors, arranged in a linear format. The basic model sets up a communicator, a message, a medium (channel), a receiver, and a response. These theories, which stem from Aristotle, were initially made explicit in the mathematical model proposed by Shannon and Weaver and later adopted by different authors.

The components in this model are (Shannon and Weaver 1949):

- The information source selects a desired message out of a set of possible messages.
- The transmitter changes the message into a signal that is sent over the communication channel to the receiver.
- The receiver is a sort of inverse transmitter, changing the transmitted signal back into a message and interpreting this message.
- This message is then sent to the destination. The destination may be another receiver (i.e., the message is passed on to someone else), or the message may rest with the initial receiver, and the transmission is achieved.

This model dates back to the Second World War. In the Second World War, communication was of critical importance – battles were won or lost depending on how effectively information was communicated and understood by armed forces on the ground. Shannon and Weaver were engineers, not communication scholars (Barker and Njogu 2010). They were working on communication systems to use on battle lines – thus, they used technical/engineering terms such as "source," "transmitter," "receiver," and "destination" (Shannon and Weaver 1949).

One of the key contributions of Shannon and Weaver's model was the concept of "noise" (Sabido, 10 May 2010, personal communication). Shannon and Weaver posit that, in the process of transmitting a message, certain information that was not

intended by the information source is unavoidably added to the signal (or message). This "noise" can be internal (i.e., coming from the receiver's own knowledge, attitudes, or beliefs) or external (i.e., coming from other sources). Such internal or external "noise" can either strengthen the intended effect of a message (if the information confirms the message) or weaken the intended effect (if the information in the "noise" contradicts the original message) (Sabido, 10 May 2010, personal communication).

"Noise" can also be structural – thus, we also have to know if our target audience has access to the channel and medium that we have chosen to use. For example, if we are going to transmit our message via print media, then we need to know that our audience can read. If we are going to use mass media channels like radio or television, we need to know if our audience has radio sets or television sets and whether they listen or watch at the time when our program is being broadcast (Barker and Njogu 2010).

The idea of "noise" suggests that even if there is nothing wrong with the information, it may be that the information does not result in the intended effect because there is something in-between. This can be the lack of our audience's ability to capture the transmission (such as lack of a receiver such as a radio or television or the inability to read a printed/textual message) or lack of the ability to understand the message even if the information is physically received (e.g., if the program is in a language that our audience does not understand) (Barker and Njogu 2010).

Noise can also be cultural. For example, if a person believes that God or Allah or destiny has predetermined the number of children she will have, she is not going to be receptive to messages about family planning. In her view, she doesn't determine the number of children she is going to have – this has already been determined since long before she was born. Or, if a woman is not in control of the decision to use contraceptives (or doesn't perceive that she is in control) because this decision rests with her spouse or extended family, then transmitting information to her about family planning methods will not be effective – she simply does not feel that she controls that decision (Barker and Njogu 2010).

For Sabido, the biggest shortfall in the Shannon and Weaver model is the lack of feedback – there is no way for the transmitter to know if the message has been received and whether the information has been understood. In interpersonal (face-to-face) communication, there is feedback all of the time (nodding of the head, questioning facial expressions) (Sabido, 10 May 2010, personal communication).

In mass media programs (such as radio and television), we use audience feedback (focus groups, randomized telephone surveys, viewers'/listeners' groups, and/or calls and letters from audience members) to get feedback about the program – to see if our messages are being understood by the audience as we intended. To reflect this critical element of feedback, Sabido took Shannon and Weaver's linear model and formed it into a circle (Barker and Njogu 2010).

31.4 "Rovigatti" (1981): A Circular Adaptation of Shannon and Weaver and Additional Circuit for a Social Content Serial Drama

Sabido (inspired by the Italian "Rovigatti") (When Miguel Sabido was asked to present his methodology at an international conference on communication in Strasburg, France, in 1981, he was hesitant to use his own name for several of the key components of the nascent approach – so he invented an Italian scholar, Rovigatti, to whom he attributed these ideas, in case they would be shunned by the international academic community.) took the five basic factors in Shannon and Weaver's (1949) communication model (the communicator, message, medium, receiver, and noise) and arranged these factors in a circular model in which factors could interact directly with each another. He then applied this circuit to a commercial serial drama.

In the case of a commercial serial drama on television, the communicator is the manufacturer of a product, the message is "buy this product," the medium is the serial drama, the receiver is the consumer, and the response is the purchase of the product and television ratings (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research 1981) (see Fig. 4).

In the design of a social content serial drama, Sabido left the communication circuit of a commercial serial drama intact; however, he added a second communicator, a second message, a second receiver, and a second response (Fig. 5). These additions to the communication circuit did not impede the function of the first communicator, which is still the product manufacturer, as shown in the figure below (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research 1981).

Fig. 4 Circular adaptation of Shannon and Weaver's model of communication. (Source: Nariman 1993)

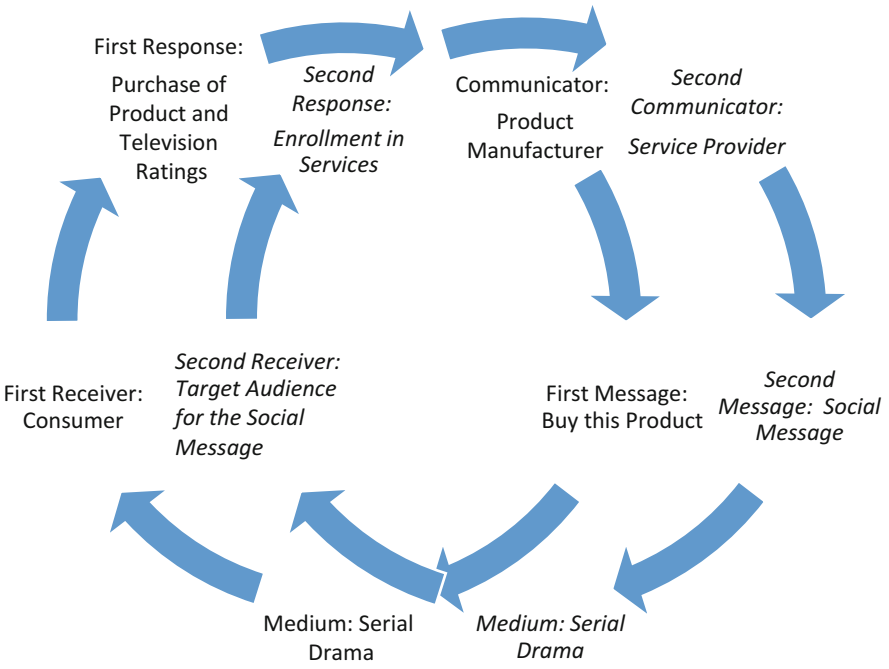


Fig. 5 Additional circuit for a social content serial drama. (Source: Nariman 1993)

The serial drama continues to be the medium, and in the same way, the audience continues to be its customary receiver. The response, on the other hand, is no longer the sale of the product but also the change and/or reinforcement of opinions and attitudes and actual behavior related to the promoted value, in each individual person and, if possible, in the society (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research 1981).

Social problems can be detected where mass media can contribute to a solution by changing or reinforcing the knowledge, attitudes, or behavior of certain audiences. These solutions can be translated into television language so that, through handling specific theories of commercial television formats, prosocial content may be transmitted while keeping the audience's interest and the entertainment value of the program (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research 1981).

The two circles together are the "70/30" model to which Sabido refers to as a model for a social content serial drama. The 70% should be the commercial serial drama (the entertainment component), and the other 30% should be the educational component (the social component) (Sabido, 10 May 2010, personal communication).

With these modifications, the general process of social use of serial dramas on mass media was established. However, this model did not explain how values flow through society.

31.5 Lazarsfeld (1968): Two-Step Flow of Communication

The communication circuit for social content serial dramas established their general communication process, but Sabido still needed to explain how this process actually has an impact upon the society as a whole.

To describe how the social content serial drama works on changing behaviors within a society, Sabido turned to the two-step flow theory of communication described by the sociologist Paul F. Lazarsfeld, which states that values or messages communicated through mass media have the most impact upon a minority of receivers. These people will then communicate the value or message to others, hence a two-step flow. Therefore, although the direct effect of most mass media messages on behavior change is often modest, the indirect effects of the media in encouraging peer communication can be substantial (Lazarsfeld et al. 1968). This process of communication flow has been substantiated by more recent communication theories, most notably Rogers' diffusion of innovations (Rogers 1995).

Sabido distinguishes two types of audience and two types of effects (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research 1981):

1. First, there is the entire audience in which the value is reinforced. Examples of values to be reinforced in the general audience might be: "it is good that adults keep on studying," or "it is good to practice safer sex."
2. Then, there are those members of the audience who have to learn how to use a given service to help them solve a certain problem. For example, adult literacy classes will not be needed by university graduates; the family planning infrastructure will not be used by people who are not sexually active – but the value is reinforced even among these audience members, who in turn might advise others to access the services that are relevant to their needs.

Lazarsfeld's "two-step flow" theory explains the audience effects that Sabido intrinsically recognized. Michael J. Papa and colleagues summarized this effect: "...mass media alone seldom effect individual change, but they can stimulate conversations among listeners, which create opportunities for social learning as people, individually and collectively, consider new patterns of thought and behaviour" (Papa et al. 2000, p. 33).

Thus, conversations about the educational content of a media program can create a socially constructed learning environment in which people evaluate previously held ideas, consider options, and identify steps to initiate social change (Papa et al. 2000).

Rogers' diffusion of innovations further explains this phenomenon: Ideas and information conveyed through the mass media, instead of having a direct impact on the individuals within the audience, often have an impact first upon an "especially receptive" segment of the audience (Rogers 1995). This receptive segment – who Rogers termed "early adopters" – spread ideas and information through interpersonal channels to other individuals who were less interested and less receptive (Rogers 1995).

These secondary discussions are very important in explaining how Sabido-style serial dramas affect behavior change within a community. Based on his experience as a writer, producer, and director of *telenovelas* since 1963, Sabido states that "every *telenovela* is a discussion – both on and off the screen – about what is 'good' and what is 'bad.' Audience members often conduct discussions regarding important social issues with their peers that are similar to those of the characters' 'on the air.' This happens because the characters provide a model on how to discuss issues that are sensitive, or even taboo, and discussions between characters indicate a certain social acceptance of these issues" (Sabido, 10 May 2010, personal communication).

31.6 Bentley (1967): Dramatic Theory

Sabido's theoretical work was inspired by Aristotle's *Poetics* (Aristotle 1960) and by Bentley's (1967) theory of five theater genres: tragedy, comedy, tragicomedy, farce, and melodrama (Sabido 2004).

Among these genres, melodrama presents reality in a slightly exaggerated sense in which the moral universes of good and evil are in discord. Melodrama is an emotive genre that confronts (moral) behaviors in discord, emphasizing the anecdote and producing identification between the audience and certain characters (Bentley 1967).

Sabido, originally a dramatic theoretician himself, employed Bentley's structure of the melodrama genre as a basis from which to design characters and plots (Sabido, 10 May 2010, personal communication). "Good" characters in Sabido-style serial dramas accept the proposed social behavior, and "evil" characters reject it. Plots are then constructed around the relationships between good and evil characters as they move closer to or farther away from the proposed social behavior. Their actions encourage the audience to either champion or reject these characters accordingly (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research 1981).

Serial dramas can be defined as a "dramatized account, which confronts the universes of good and evil, through the characters and situation making up an anecdote" (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research 1981, p. 19). The anecdote is divided into several episodes, following the sequence of a story. In the anecdote, the "good" guys are rewarded and the "bad" guys are punished. In the end, the message is conveyed that "goodness" succeeds and "badness" perishes (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research 1981, p. 19).

Thus, melodrama is a moral reflection on what is good and bad for the individual and for society. One melodramatic experience will not change behavior, but it verified existence of certain values. Constant repetition of melodramatic experiences can lead to the reaffirmation of a specific value and/or to the modification of behavior within the social contract. For this reason, a serial drama, that is an iterative melodrama, is an appropriate vehicle to reaffirm the positive values of the social contract within the audience (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research 1981).

The tension between the good and evil characters evoked by the melodrama places the audience between the forces of good and evil. But, in a twist of the typical audience role in melodrama, where audience members simply watch or listen to the battle between good and evil, Sabido inserted the audience into the heart of the action – by representing audience members through a third group, one that is uncertain about the social behavior in question. These "uncertain" characters are intended to be those with whom the target audience most closely identifies. It is also these "transitional" characters who will guide the audience members through their own evolution toward adoption of desired behavior changes.

Although the three groups of characters in Sabido-style serial dramas are exaggerated as is the case in melodrama, they are modeled on real people within the target audience and the perceptions these people might have regarding the social value and behavior being presented. It is critical that the transitional characters, who are the role models for the audience with regard to the attitudinal or behavioral changes in question, be as similar to the target audience as possible, to allow for identification and parasocial interaction with these characters (Barker and Njogu 2010).

31.7 Jung (1970): Theory of the Collective Unconscious

The positive and negative characters in Sabido-style dramas are the poles representing the positive and negative values to be addressed in the drama. Jung's representations of archetypes and stereotypes, as described in his theory of the collective unconscious, are extremely useful in developing these positive and negative characters.

Jung's theory states that there are certain scripts or stories with familiar patterns and characters that people play out throughout history. These universal scripts or stories appear in myths, legends, and folktales around the world. Jung posited that these universal scripts or stories are the "archetypes of a collective unconscious" and share common characters such as "the wise old man," "the mother," and "the warrior." Jung further suggests that these archetypes are expressions of a primordial, collective unconscious shared by diverse cultures (Jung 1970).

Probably the most commonly known universal script is the "Cinderella" story. This story describes the rags-to-riches evolution of the archetypical "good" and "pure" Cinderella, abused at the hands of an "evil" stepmother and stepsisters. Aided by her fairy godmother, Cinderella finds her prince and ultimately lives "happily ever after." This is the basic storyline employed by the popular Peruvian *telenovela*, *Simplemente Maria*, which greatly influenced Sabido's work in Mexico (Singhal et al. 1994).

Serial drama characters that imitate a myth represent archetypes, while characters that imitate life represent stereotypes (Sabido 2004). Sabido used the archetypes described in Jung's theory as a basis for developing characters that embody universal psychological and physiological characteristics to address themes within the serial drama. Through these characters, the viewer finds an archetypical essence of himself or herself that interacts with the social message. Sabido portrayed these archetypes as

positive or negative stereotypes, representing the societal norms of the target audience (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research 1981).

Sabido-style serial dramas rely on extensive formative research to identify the culture- or country-specific versions of these archetypes and to identify local archetypes that represent the prosocial values (or the antithesis of these values) that will be addressed in the serial drama. If the formative research upon which the serial drama is based is done properly, the scriptwriters will be able to develop archetypical characters with whom audience members will be able to identify. The formative research is used to develop a grid of positive and negative social values that these positive and negative characters will embody (Barker and Sabido 2005).

31.8 Bandura (1977): Social Learning Theory

In searching for a theoretical foundation on which to base his first prosocial serial drama, Sabido discovered the research of Stanford University psychologist Alfred Bandura. Bandura's social learning theory (Bandura 1977) reigns as one of the most influential theories in the development of the Sabido methodology (Sabido, 10 May 2010, personal communication). (Bandura's work on the effects of violence in mass media was key to the development of parental content advisories in television and film.) Sabido experimented with the application of social learning theory in developing his social content serial dramas while Vice President of Research at Television in the 1970s and 1980s. As Bandura stated, "My theories have been proven in a laboratory of 80 million people called Mexico" (Poindexter 2009, p. 120).

The major tenets of Sabido's methodology were finally beginning to coalesce. Shannon and Weaver's communication model (Shannon and Weaver 1949) (and Sabido's subsequent restructuring of the model) (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research 1981) outlines how the parts of communication systems are related. Sabido's additional circuit for a social content serial drama shows how serial drama can be used to achieve prosocial impacts (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research 1981). Lazarsfeld's two-step flow theory (Lazarsfeld 1968) describes how information flows through an audience. Bentley's dramatic theory (Bentley 1967) points out how to use melodrama in order to achieve specific effects upon the audience. Jung's theory of the collective unconscious (Jung 1970) directs development of the positive and negative characters. Lastly, Bandura's social learning theory (Bandura 1977) addresses the issue of how the viewers learn from TV serial dramas the models of behavior (values) portrayed in them.

Bandura's social learning theory has tended to dominate most theoretical writing and research about EE. A natural fit exists between Bandura's theory and EE interventions, which often seek to influence audience behavior change by providing positive and negative role models to the audience (Singhal 2004). Sabido often states that social learning theory is the cornerstone theory of his approach (Sabido, 10 May 2010, personal communication).

Sabido determined that three types of characters are fundamental to successful modeling by audience members (Barker and Sabido 2005). The first two types of

characters are positive and negative role models, and they will not change during the course of the serial drama but are repeatedly rewarded or punished for their behaviors. As mentioned above, the consequences of these positive or negative behaviors must be directly linked to the behavior in question: for example, a truck driver character that is practicing at-risk sexual behavior should suffer from a sexually transmitted infection or even contract HIV, but should not be the victim of a traffic accident (Barker and Sabido 2005).

The third type of character, the "transitional character," is neither positive nor negative but somewhere in the middle. These transitional characters play the pivotal role in a Sabido-style serial drama and are designed to represent members of the target audience. The transitional characters' evolution toward the desired behavior is what the audience members will use to model their own behavior change (Barker and Sabido 2005).

It should be noted that the positive and negative characters are not intended to be direct role models for the audience – the positive and negative characters are role models for the transitional character. Although audience members are certainly influenced by observing the positive or negative consequences of the behaviors of the positive or negative characters, in a Sabido-style drama, these positive and negative behaviors are generally exaggerated examples of extreme behaviors and are thus more stereotypical than would be found in reality. In a Sabido-style drama, the positive and negative characters are role models for the transitional character within the drama itself – and the transitional character represents the role model for the audience. As such, during the course of the drama, the transitional character will exhibit positive or negative behaviors (following the influence of the positive or negative characters) and will be rewarded or punished accordingly (Barker and Njogu 2010).

For example, in Sabido's first social content serial drama, *Ven Conmigo* ("Come with Me") which addressed adult literacy, transitional characters were specifically chosen from specific subgroups (e.g., the elderly, young adults, homemakers) who represented the key target audiences for the national literacy campaign in Mexico. One of the main transitional characters was a grandfather who struggled to read the many letters he received from his favorite granddaughter. In a cathartic episode, he graduates from literacy training and is finally able to read his granddaughter's letters, albeit with teary eyes. In the year preceding the broadcast of *Ven Conmigo*, the national literacy campaign had registered 99,000 students. Following the broadcast of this episode (and the epilogue which provided information about registration in the literacy campaign), 250,000 people registered for literacy training. By the end of the serial drama, 840,000 people had registered for the literacy program – an increase of almost 750% from the preceding year (Ryerson 2010).

To motivate changes in behavior among the target audience, it is imperative that audience members not only identify with these transitional characters but empathize with these characters as they first experience the suffering that compels them to change negative behaviors and then struggle during the process of change. Thus, the grandfather in *Ven Conmigo* struggles against naysayers who disparage his efforts to learn to read by reasoning that the elderly cannot possibly learn to read and that his

efforts to become literate are futile. The grandfather eventually surmounts this wall of cynicism and proves that, in fact, "old dogs can learn new tricks" (Barker and Sabido 2005).

As was demonstrated by this example, the evolution of the transitional characters must be gradual, or the audience will reject the change process as being unrealistic. If the characters' evolution is not gradual and fraught with obstacles, the audience will expect that their own progress toward positive change will be unrealistically rapid and facile (Ryerson 2010).

31.9 Sabido (2002): Theory of the Tone

The Sabido methodology is based on conveying a holistic message that is perceived by audience members on several levels of awareness. Sabido, who began his career as a theater director and dramatic theoretician, realized that acting means changing energy within the body to portray convincingly a symbol depicted by an actor/actress (Sabido 2004). Actors change their energies from one place to another in their bodies – that is, they change the locus of their energies. The producer/director uses various nonverbal theories of communication, including facial expressions, body language, lighting, music, sound effects, and tone of voice, to evoke different responses from the audience (Sabido 2004).

Sabido's theory of the tone describes how the various tones that are perceived by humans can be used in drama. In this theory, the producer/director serves almost the same function as an orchestra conductor, who can evoke different tones from each instrument in order to create various harmonies or tones within the body of the music and thereby inspire different moods among the audience. Although the theory is quite complex, it can be summarized by saying that for Sabido, the "tone" is the human communication form to which the receiver gives a tone according to his/her own genetic and acquired repertoire, thus making the "tone" the foundation of human communication. The theory has one main hypothesis: it is possible to change the tone of communication by hierarchically ordering its flow theories in a specific manner. According to Sabido, every human communication has a tone, similar to the one generated by actors on the stage (Sabido 2002).

As EE practitioners, we try to channel this energy: sometimes, we want to talk to people's brains, sometimes we want to talk to their hearts, and sometimes we want to elicit a very visceral reaction. Even with the same information, we might want to channel energy in different areas, to communicate in different ways to the audience (Barker and Njogu 2010).

For example, let us suppose you are watching television, and there is an advertisement for Coca-Cola. All of a sudden you are really thirsty. You weren't thirsty a few minutes ago, but all of a sudden you want something to drink. You don't even realize it, but that advertisement was talking to you in a very visceral way. A good advertisement will follow up with cognitive information about where you can buy a Coke. So, the advertisers have created a desire (thirst) – and they subsequently provide you with a means (intellectual information) that allows you to act on this

desire. In a Sabido program, this cognitive information is provided through epilogues, which provide information about where to obtain services (Barker and Njogu 2010).

31.10 MacLean (1973): Theory of the Triune Brain and Sabido's Theory of the Tone (2002)

MacLean, in his theory of the triune brain (MacLean 1973), describes these zones physiologically and in terms of their function in the evolution of the human species:

1. The first zone is the reptilian zone of the brain and is common to all animal life – its purpose is self-preservation. It has four functions: feeding, fighting, fleeing, and fornicating.
2. The second zone of the brain is the paleo-mammalian brain. This zone is common to all mammals and is the source of most of memory. It is also the seat of emotions. As such, it is the primary residence of human values.
3. The third zone of the brain is the neo-mammalian brain (neocortex). MacLean posits that this zone is exclusive to the human race and is the center of human cognition.

When energy goes to the reptilian brain, we are blind victims of our drivers, our instincts. Through the area of innate behavior, we can reinforce archetypes and form stereotypes that can be acceptable and beneficial to the social body (Sabido 2002).

When energy goes to the emotional circuits of the mammalian brain, we are moved to identify with a figure (like a *telenovela* character) that we believe is similar to us, and we react emotionally. The emotional area, where emotional processes are located, is linked with communication strategies as well. Those who receive a primarily emotional message in content are more persuaded by it than those who receive a primarily logical message (Sabido 2002).

When energy goes to our third brain (neocortex), we process reality in an intellectual, calculating way (Sabido 2002).

The theory of the triune brain suggests that individuals process messages cognitively (thinking), affectively (emotional), and animalistically (physical) via three separate brain centers (the neocortex, visceral, and reptilian, respectively). MacLean suggested that the type of processing evoked by a message has a great deal to do with the outcome, such that messages processed via the reptilian portion of our brain trigger basic instinctual urges like hunger, need for sex, or aggressiveness. Messages processed viscerally produce intellectual and thoughtful responses (MacLean 1973).

Sabido adopted MacLean's theory and suggested that conventional health education programs failed because they focused on the cognitive process brain centers only (information dissemination). Therefore, Sabido developed serial dramas that prompted intellectual, emotional, and physical responses (Sabido 2002).

To the list of theories underlying the Sabido methodology of EE, PMC's method adds two additional theories: Horton and Wohl's (1956) notion of parasocial interaction and Sood's (2002) concept of audience involvement.

31.11 Horton and Wohl (1956): Parasocial Interaction

One of the key concepts in the PMC methodology is identification. It is important to form a relationship with the characters – this is possible in serial drama because the characters are created to be similar to audience members. This was one thing that Sabido learned from *Simplemente Maria*: "Viewers thought that Maria was real – they felt as if they had a relationship with her" (Sabido, 10 May 2010, personal communication).

This "relationship" with fictional characters in film, television, and radio is termed parasocial interaction. An example is when someone is watching a horror movie, and upon seeing that the heroine is about to be terrorized by a monster or villain behind her, the viewer yells out, "Watch out behind you!" The character in the movie obviously cannot hear this sage advice, but as a concerned viewer (and concerned "friend" of the person in the movie), you feel compelled to warn them anyway (Barker and Njogu 2010). Parasocial interaction is also evident in sporting matches – when spectators "advise" the players or coaches (or referees) about what to do to ensure successful play (Barker and Njogu 2010).

Horton and Wohl defined parasocial interaction as a quasi-interpersonal relationship between an audience member and a media personality (Horton and Wohl 1956). The audience member forms a relationship with a character that is analogous to real interpersonal relationships. Some audience members even talk to their favorite characters (i.e., to their TV or radio set) as if the characters were real people (Papa et al. 2000).

Katz et al. (1992) argued that parasocial interaction can prompt referential involvement on the part of audience members. Referential involvement is the degree to which an individual relates a media message to his or her personal experiences. Before audience members consider behavior change as a result of exposure to a media character, they must be able to relate the experiences of the character to their own lives. If such a connection cannot be made, behavior change is less likely (Katz et al. 1992).

Horton and Wohl summarize the important role of parasocial interaction in coping with social interactions on a daily basis: "The function of the mass media is the exemplification of the patterns of conduct one needs to understand and cope with in others as well as of those patterns which one must apply to one's self. Thus the spectator is instructed in the behaviors of the opposite sex, of people of higher and lower status, of people in particular occupations and professions. In a quantitative sense, by reason of the sheer volume of such instruction, this may be the most important aspect of the parasocial experience, if only because an individual's personal experiences are relatively few, while those of the others in his social worlds are very numerous. In this culture, it is evident that to be prepared to meet all the exigencies of a changing social situation, no matter how limited it may be, could – and often does – require a great stream of plays and stories, advice columns, and social how-to-do-it books. What, after all, is serial drama but an interminable exploration of the contingencies to be met with in 'home life'?" (Horton and Wohl 1956, p. 226).

Papa and colleagues (2000) contend that parasocial interaction with characters in EE programs may initiate a process of behavior change for certain audience members by influencing their thinking. Parasocial relationships can prompt role modeling as audience members carefully consider the behavioral choices made by media performers (Papa et al. 2000).

Parasocial interaction can also lead audience members to talk to one another about the media message to which they have been exposed (Rubin and Perse 1987). These conversations can create a social learning environment in which media consumers test new ideas that can spark behavior change. More specifically, a social learning environment exists when a group of people talk about a new behavior, persuade one another of the value of the new behavior, or articulate plans to execute it (Papa et al. 2000; Sood and Rogers 2000).

31.12 Sood (2002): Audience Involvement

Audience involvement is the degree to which audience members engage in reflection upon, and parasocial interaction with, certain media programs, thus resulting in overt behavior change. Sood (2002) characterizes audience involvement as being comprised of two dimensions: (1) affective-referential involvement and (2) cognitive-critical involvement. Sood thus describes audience involvement as a multidimensional phenomenon that serves as a mediator motivating behavior change, through increasing self-efficacy and collective efficacy and in promoting interpersonal communication among individuals in the audience. Sood states that audience involvement is a "key factor in the effectiveness of EE interventions" (Sood 2002, p. 154).

31.13 Conclusions and Implications for Future Work

This chapter seeks to explore what contribution each of the different theories that underlie the PMC EE method (i.e., the different theories described above) makes to the overall result.

Bandura's social learning theory (Bandura 1977) has often been touted as the foundational theory for all EE. Certainly, numerous findings confirm this premise. However, my work in developing over 50 social content serial dramas using the PMC method over almost 20 years shows that while effective use of social learning theory is necessary, it is not sufficient to achievement of behavior change. Another critical element is audience identification with the characters, specifically the transitional character (as described by Sood 2002 and Horton and Wohl 1956).

In writing this chapter, and reflecting on the question of the relative contribution of different theories to the success of EE in achieving behavior change, the concepts of "necessary" and "sufficient" often arose. In the introduction to this chapter, I propose three possible scenarios:

1. All of the theories have equal effect.
2. Some of the theories have more effect than others.
3. "All or nothing" – that is, all of the various theories must be used in order to achieve any effect.

So, what is the verdict? Overall, my findings show that, although some theories clearly have more impact than others, the best impact is achieved when the creative team brings an understanding of a multitude of behavioral theories and communication strategies to the design "table."

Thus, it appears that the response to the question "What contribution does each of the different theories make to the overall result?" is best represented by Fig. 2 from the introduction to this chapter.

In this depiction, some theories have more effect than others – without these key theories (such as Bandura's social learning theory), the EE program will most certainly fail. The inclusion of additional theories enhances the likelihood of success – with incrementally lesser impact for each added element.

The flaw within this diagram is that it assumes that there is a well-defined constellation of "all" of the theories that can possibly be applied in designing an EE program. Scholars and practitioners do not agree on a definitive list of the various theories that contribute to the success of EE programs, although various lists have been put forward. It seems that the number of theories is longer than earlier scholars may have assumed and will most certainly continue to grow as we learn more about how EE produces its effects.

So, the figure above is a misrepresentation of what is most likely: while the figure levels off and eventually terminates when application of the "entire" constellation of possible theories has been achieved, this would never be possible. In fact, the more theories that can be applied, the better the result (with diminishing – but additional – positive effects). To be completely accurate, the figure would show the number of theories going to infinity. While this concept may seem daunting to communication scholars and practitioners looking for a "magic bullet" to ensure the success of communication campaigns, I contend that this is actually a happy result. As we continue to learn more about what works, our communication programs will achieve even better effects.

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Protest as Communication for Development and Social Change

32

Toks Dele Oyedemi

Contents

32.1 The Prominence of Protest 616
32.2 Protest Culture and Social Change 617
32.3 Limitations and Criticisms of Protest Culture 619
32.4 Theoretical Approaches to Protest as Communication for Social Change 621
32.4.1 Peaceful Assembly 621
32.4.2 Protest as Communication 622
32.4.3 Participation, Power, and Social Change 623
32.4.4 Conceptualizing Social Movement and Collective Action 624
32.4.5 Theoretical Foundations of Social Movement 625
32.5 Protest as Communication for Social Change: A Framework of Guidelines 627
32.5.1 Planning Stage 627
32.5.2 At the Protest 628
32.5.3 Following-Up 629
32.6 Conclusion 629
32.7 Cross-References 630
References 630

Abstract

Protest is an instrument used to agitate for social change globally, however, in spite of the increasing use of protest to address socioeconomic and political grievances, there has been limited critical scholarly study of protest in the communication for development and social change (CDSC) scholarship. Protest is communication. It is a communication strategy for drawing attention to developmental and social issues that affect the well-being of citizens. Communication for development and social change utilizes various communication

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approaches, such as social marketing, public awareness and information campaign, entertainment-education, media advocacy, social mobilization, and many others. In addition to these approaches, protest action is situated as a communication approach for development and social change. In this chapter, protest culture is engaged critically by drawing theoretically from conceptual discourses of participation, participatory development communication, grassroots bottom-up social change, social movement theory, collective action theory, and critical analysis of power. This chapter also provides a framework for the use of protest as communication for development and social change by identifying types and methods of protest, and ends by offering critical guidelines of how protest can be effectively used as communication strategy for development and social change.

Keywords

Protest · Mass mobilization · Protest as communication · Participation · Social movement · Collective action

32.1 The Prominence of Protest

In 411 BCE, Aristophanes drew a strong attention to the power of protest as a communication tool for social change. In the play, *Lysistrata,* Greek women, mobilized to protest against the Peloponnesian War. Through the withholding of physical intimacy from their husbands, they were able to forge peace and end the war. As frivolous as sex strike may seem, this form of protest has been adopted centuries after *Lysistrata* to mobilize for change. When Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti mobilized thousands of women in protest march against colonial taxation of women in colonial Nigeria, her leadership also highlighted the power of women and the use of protest for social change. From Ghandi's Salt *Satyagraha* against British colonial injunction, the 1963 march on Washington for freedom and economic justice, the 1956 women march to Pretoria against apartheid's laws, to the Treatment Action Campaign's marches for access to drugs for HIV-infected South Africans, protest has been a tool used to communicate grievances and forge social change.

Globally, protest has been a tool used in agitating for social change in economic, health, human rights, politics, and in gender-related issues. In spite of the rising use of protest to address social-economic and political grievances, there has been limited critical scholarly study of protest in the communication for development and social change (CDSC) scholarship. *Protest is communication*. It is a communication strategy used in drawing attention to developmental and social issues that affect the well-being of citizens. A study of protests in "World Protests 2006–2013" shows a worldwide increase in protest actions. Grievances leading to protest actions are related to issue of economic justice, such as unemployment and job creation and elimination of inequality, ensuring affordable food, energy, and housing (Burke 2014). Carothers and Youngs (2015) observe four critical characteristics of the current wave of global protest: First, protest is occurring in every region of the world, and it is affecting every major regime category, including authoritarian

countries, semi-authoritarian states as well as democracies. Second, the era of transnational antiglobalization protest has given way to more localized protest triggered by local issues around economic concerns and political decisions. Third, there are long-term enabling causes such as the development in new information and communication technologies that facilitate protest in multiple ways.

There are also global economic trends in many parts of the developing world and post-Communist worlds that have led to a rise in the middle classes clamoring for change beyond material goals. Increasingly protest actions are not only concentrated among the poor but middle- and upper-middle classes have been involved in protest actions galvanized by social issues, unequal economic growth benefits, and stagnation of the middle classes. In addition, there is the growth of civil society organizations, professional associations, informal groups, religious organization, labor unions, village and local cooperatives, women's groups, students group, pro-democracy groups, and so forth who are leading protest against specific grievances. Fourth, Carothers and Youngs (2015) observe that protest are focused and directed at specific agendas. The ideas of "rebels without a cause" is inaccurate in describing protests, they are often anchored in specific aims, agendas and decidedly aimed at producing specific changes.

Many scholars (Rogers 1976; Servaes 1999, 2002; Melkote and Steeves 2015; Wilkins et al. 2014) have provided conceptual and practical characterizations of communication for development and social change. A summation of the many characterizations is that communication for development and social change is about the application of communication research, theory, approaches, and technologies to bring about improvement in human experience towards a sustainable and fulfilling human well-being. It involves the use of communication tools to influence behavioral and attitudinal change as well as to influence policy directions towards a goal of achieving quality human experiences in many areas of the economic, health, education, political, social, and cultural landscapes.

To this effect, actions are required to produce knowledge through research, planning, and to communicate such knowledge to the public and sites of power in order to achieve social change. As a process, communication for development and social change utilizes various communication approaches, such as social marketing, public awareness and information campaign, entertainment-education, media advocacy, information and communication technologies for development, social mobilization, etc. Various communication tools are used in these various approaches, such as broadcast and newsprint media (international, national and community based media), interpersonal communication, public communication, visual media (painting/photography), performances (community drama and theater), and new digital technology platforms (social media tools). Amidst many tools for communication for development and social change, protest action is situated as a communication approach.

32.2 Protest Culture and Social Change

Various types of protest action and mass mobilization (see Table 1) have been effective in drawing public and state attention to grievances from ordinary citizens and civil organizations from national to local community levels. Protest culture is an

Table 1 Types and categories of protest

Categories of protest	Types and examples
Processions and mass gatherings	Marches, silent processions, picket lines, and public events
Nonobedience, Noncooperation, and civil disobedience	Sitdowns/sit-ins, civil disobedience of "unjust" ordinances and laws, shutdowns, blockades, occupations, destruction of objectionable symbols and images, walkout, strike, boycott
Communication and media	Banners, posters, leaflets, public speeches, newspaper writings, opinion pieces, alternative press, recorded music, graphic arts, and clothing
Religious and sacred activities	Vigils, prayers, religious rallies, and spiritual practices
Written protest	Petitions, letters (mass letters to people in power), and memorandum of demands
Performances	Live music performance, public skits, dramatic performances, and dancing
The body	Nudity (e.g., women going topless to draw attention to women issue), inscriptions and slogans on the body, depriving, and hurting the body (e.g., hunger strike)
Technology and online protest	Online petitions, mass email to people in power, social media campaigns, mass mobilization through social networking sites and blogs, blocking access to websites, and texting (for coordination and mass texting as petitions to an individual in power)

attitude and a form of expression that reflects the human traits and desires for reasonable well-being through motivation, agitation, and activities that draw attention of location of societal power to these desires and agitation. As such, protest bears inherent traits that are essential for development and social change:

- They are usually grassroots-oriented by reflecting participation of citizens at local levels who mobilize to make their grievances known.
- Protest and mass mobilization generally tend to be participatory in nature; participants are visibly engaging in protest actions.
- While the collective action of individuals is core element of mass action, individuals can equally single-handedly protest certain issues.
- The optics of mass protest usually draw attention of sites of power – at local, national, and international levels.
- Importantly, protests are emancipatory.
- They reflect human aspiration to maintain or achieve well-being consistent with humane existence.
- They are universal, not peculiar to certain regions or groups.

When *Time Magazine* named "The Protester" as Person of the Year 2011, it reiterated the power of protest and protesters in social change, that the action of individual(s) can incite protest that would lead to major political change, topple dictators, and engender global waves of dissent.

Although protest culture is universal and occurs in all social classes, it tends to occur more among the poor, the oppressed, the deprived, the disadvantaged, those that bear brunt of political and social conditions, and in regions with history and occurrences of political and socioeconomic inequalities, which may result in socioeconomic developmental challenges. These challenges are present in developed, as well as developing countries. Take the protest culture in South Africa as an example. South Africa experiences one of the most frequent rates of protest in the world, in fact some (cf. Runciman 2017) assume the country may be the protest capital of the world. Although there is no dedicated database for protest action in South Africa, there are speculations and debates that there are about 30 protests per day in South Africa (Williams 2009; Bhardwai 2017). Irrespective of the uncertainty of daily protest rate figure, it is uncontested that there is a strong protest culture in South Africa. But protest as tool for social change has always been essential to South Africa's pre and post apartheid eras. The struggle for freedom from the apartheid regime was emboldened by various protest actions and social movements (Solop 1990; Kurtz 2010; Brown and Yaffe 2014).

Many forms of protest actions were adopted by ordinary citizens and activists to fight the apartheid regime, these range from mass demonstration, funeral marches as platform for protest, music – singing and dancing, civil disobedience (such as Sharpville 1960), stay-aways, boycotts, etc. Often these protests were confronted by state violence through the use of the military and the police forces. Internationally, anti-apartheid movements in the UK and the USA were actively using many forms of protest to agitate for the end of apartheid. Take, for instance, the Non-Stop Picket at the South African Embassy in London where the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group maintained a continual presence every day and night at the South African embassy from 1986 until just after the release of Nelson Mandela in 1994 (Brown and Yaffe 2014).

The protest culture has also persisted in postapartheid South Africa. Irrespective of the huge achievements of the postapartheid government in addressing the socioeconomic inequalities and the provision of basic utilities like waters, electricity, and housing, there is still high poverty and unemployment rates, lack of access to municipal and state services, and elective representatives have become self-seeking. All these contribute to a general nature of protest in South Africa, characterized as the *rebellion of the poor* (Alexander 2010). Protest in South Africa is diverse and undertaken by mostly different urban groupings such as labor unions, the unemployed, poor shack dwellers, students, local communities, and ordinary residents with a largely focus on socioeconomic inequalities and justice (Nyar and Wray 2012). Additionally, many social issues around gender abuse and violence, poor state service delivery, access to health services, land and housing, water, electricity, sanitation/waste, and affordable education have been some of the drivers of protest actions.

32.3 Limitations and Criticisms of Protest Culture

While evidence abounds in many countries about how protest actions have drawn attention and awareness to social issues, and how authorities have reacted by addressing protesters' concerns at local and national levels, there are challenges,

limitations, and questions regarding the efficacy of protest. There is the criticism that beyond visible demonstration of discontent, protests do not achieve much change. As Heller (2017) cautions, "protest is fine for digging in your heals. But work for change needs to be pragmatic and up-to-date" (p. 72). Heller provides practical cases to question the effectiveness of protest: first, the 2003 global protest against American prospective war in Iraq didn't stop the invasion of Iraq; about a decade after Occupy Wall Street protest, no US policies have changed as a result of the protest; in spite of the active Black Lives Matter protests, a majority of the law-enforcement officers were not indicted, of those that were, three were found guilty and only one to date has received a prison sentence; and the international Women's March following Donald Trump's election did not stop the inception of the new administration (Heller 2017).

Another criticism is that protests are not long-lasting or consistent tool of social change. They are ephemeral in nature, and as such they do not leave lasting impression, rather they are fleeting and ritualistic. Srnicek and Williams (2016) note that protest rise easily rapidly through mass mobilization of large people and then fade away to be replaced with a sense of apathy and another protest. They argue that protests have become a symbolic theatrical narrative with people and the police playing their respective roles.

Similar criticism also follows online activism, which is considered a low involvement form of protest. *Slacktivism* describes the low-involvement trend of people protesting or supporting a cause online, it is criticized for being a culture that creates a feel good feeling of being an activist through the clicking of a mouse rather than the hard and arduous work of physically getting involved through education, lobbying, negotiation, mobilizing, and planning. Although such online action tends to boost the morale of those actively participating in a protest and it has huge value in promoting a cause, being able to "like," "share," and "tweet" support for a cause is considered a low-cost involvement with an imagined sense of active engagement.

Another challenge to the use of protest for social change is the occurrence of violence. The destruction of public infrastructure and private properties during protest tends to distract from the genuine discontent that motivated the protest. While the use of violence through destruction of certain public infrastructure and objectionable artifact has been used effectively in pursuit of social change, the sight of protesters throwing bricks, shattering windows, setting public buildings such as libraries and schools on fire have created an image of protesters as unruly mob. But violence is not only perpetrated by protesters, security forces' unabashed use of violence in order to manage protest often tends to instigate violence response. Police use of violence create a huge challenge to protest actions and reflect the high handedness nature of the use of state power ranging from close range pepper spraying of students who refused to move during protest action in California, USA, to the sad and disturbing use of live ammunition against striking miners in South Africa killing 34 mineworkers and leaving 78 seriously injured.

State restriction could also be a challenge to the use of protest for change. Through legislative mechanisms, policies and regulatory frameworks states have developed guidelines to manage protest. These guidelines range from the process

requesting permission to protest to requiring adherence to guidelines on what is and not permissible in protests. Take the Regulation of Gatherings Act in South Africa as an example, as a regulatory framework, this Act undeniably locates power to the state to manage protest actions. This generates genuine opposition that the state may use its power not only to avoid violent protest but also to determine the shape of and how people protest. For instance, Chapter 3 section 8 (7) of the Act states: "No person present shall at any gathering or demonstration wear a disguise or mask or any other apparel or item which obscures his facial features and prevents his identification." The state also has the power to impose limitations on the rights of assembly and to protest in cases of public security and use of violence. But state restrictions are equally attempts to balance citizens' rights to protest with national security, public order, health and safety, and the right of nonprotesting citizens.

In the following sections of this chapter, various conceptual framings and theoretical approaches to protest will be engaged; these include the legislative and state constitutional framing of protest, the conceptual assertion of protest as communication, theoretical issues of power and participation and their pragmatic implications for protest in social change activities, and the theoretical conceptualizations of social movement and collective action. The chapter ends by providing a working guideline for effective use of protest as communication for social change.

32.4 Theoretical Approaches to Protest as Communication for Social Change

32.4.1 Peaceful Assembly

Peaceful Assembly is global framework that describes the rights of citizens to protest. Underlining the concept of peaceful assembly is *freedom of assembly,* which provides legislative consent for citizens' right to protest. The right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association is a fundamental human right that is important in highlighting the power of citizens to participate collectively in shaping opinions, ideas, and processes in society. This concept is enshrined in the human rights declaration and constitutional framework of many states. For example, the article 20 (1) of the UN Declaration of Human Rights captures this right, and "the right of the people peaceably to assemble" is included in the First Amendment of the constitution of the United States. In the South African context, Section 17 of the Bill of Rights makes it explicitly clear: "Everyone has the right, peacefully and unarmed, to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket and to present petitions."

This right to assembly offers three essential qualities for democracies. First, it helps create space for collective politics. A collective voice has a higher chance of getting its message across than a singular voice, especially in systems where power is concentrated in few hands. Second, it permits citizen to meet and deliberate, which allows citizens to share ideas and talk to one another. Third, this right is essential for those who feel that their demands are not being given serious consideration by the state or institutional authorities (Woolman 1998). In addition to the constitutional

framework, states may develop regulatory framework for protest. The regulation usually provides conditions and processes for organizing protest and the power of the state, in the most extreme cases, to prohibit a gathering.

Three important theoretical concepts shape the legislative framework of protest actions: assembly, association, and gathering. While gathering and assembly connote similar meaning, there is a difference between freedom of assembly and freedom of association. While freedom of assembly guarantees freedom to protest in public spaces, freedom of association provides the right to join a labor union, clubs, societies, group of people to assembly, or meet with people. As a result, the freedom of association makes the freedom of assembly more effective.

32.4.2 Protest as Communication

Protest is communication. This assertion is based on the empirical analysis that protest is a tool for communicating grievances and contestation. It is a visible way of communicating support or opposition to certain ideology or practice. Protest as communication can be analyzed from two perspectives. One, as already explained, protest is inherently a communication about certain grievance. Two, protest actions utilize various tools and genres of communication and forms of media in communicating discontent and grievance. *Protest is performance.* The performance may be action of a single person or collective action of individuals. As Ratliff and Hall (2014) note, "protesters, as actors, take the world stage as protagonist (or antagonists, given one's point of view) in performative dialectics, collectively struggling to control the framing of issues and opponents to foment social change, retain challenged power structures, and/or achieve social justice" (p. 270). As performance, *protest is an "art"* in two ways. Protest utilizes artistic practices, such as street drama, paintings, graphics, images, and many forms of artistic displays. Also, protest is metaphorically an art form that involves a skillful and strategic performance that uses various sensory techniques to invoke emotions for social change (Ratliff and Hall 2014).

The use of *music for protest* is a strong example of how protest can invoke people's emotion to "get up, stand up, stand up for your rights!". As Ruhlig (2016) notes, "songs are more than intellectual stimulating texts; they help to create *emotions* stimulating atmosphere of community and solidarity that very often draws on the power of utopia and stimulates people to dream" (p. 60). Globally, songs have been used in protest actions. Protest and socio-political songs aided African-Americans in the trajectory of historical fights for freedom (Trigg 2010). Freedom songs are historical in the USA from the abolitionist era to civil rights period. Freedom songs also known as struggle songs in South Africa are a form of oral arts that are nonfictitious but also performative in nature. They are a form of resistance and persuasion; they are used to resist the injustice of the apartheid system, as a method of self-persuasion, and to rouse others to grow indignant against an unjust system that oppressed them (Le Roux-Kemp 2014). Movement, procession, theater, sacred and religious performances, public speeches, and many

symbolic and cultural activities are all elements of performativity and communicative practices that are used in protests.

Forms of communication media are tools of protest. Protesters use various forms of communication media and technologies such as broadcast and print media (community media, pamphlets, banners, posters, etc.). The revolution in digital technologies has provided new and advanced ways of using information and communication technologies for protest in two ways: one, ICT tools, such as mobile phones, the internet, social media and web platforms, are critical for coordinating protest actions. Two, these are actual spaces of protest actions, exemplified by virtual/online protest and social media activism.

32.4.3 Participation, Power, and Social Change

Participation is an essential theoretical concept relevant to analysis of protest. In democracies, participation is core to citizens' involvement in shaping the functioning of the political system. The theory of participatory democracy reveals that the representative institutions at the national level are not sufficient enough for effective democratic system; as such, citizen's participation in all levels is necessary. As Pateman (1970) notes, for a democratic polity to exist and function, it is paramount for a participatory society to exist. A participatory society is where citizens can participate in decision-making process at macro- and microlevels of society and be able to communicate and exercise their opinions and ideas. Pateman notes that if individuals are to exercise maximum control over their lives and their environment then authority structures must be organized in a way that individuals can participate in decision-making. Jensen et al. (2012) distinguish two forms of political participation: one is representative political participation exemplified by voting and political party activities and the other is extra-representative political participation such as active involvement in activism. Bean (1991) had equally asserted that mass political participation may also take the form of political protest.

Protest is participation. It is a form of participation that reflects the actions of individuals in speaking out about or against ideals and processes that have influence in shaping their well-being. It is a form of social involvement in decision-making about principles that shape their lives as citizens. Carpentier (2011) identifies minimalist and maximalist forms of political participation. While minimalist form tends to focus on the role of citizen to participate in electoral processes of representative delegation of power, maximalist participation is not limited to sphere of election of representatives, it is a broader and continuous form of participation. This resonates with Thomas' (1994) macroparticipation (relating to national political spheres of a nation) and microparticipation (relating to local spheres of school, family, workplace, religious formations, and local community). Carpentier (2012) also notes the essence of power in participation, this highlights the distribution of power in society and the power to include or exclude in decision-making. Power is exhibited in the complexities of the dominant political authority

organs and in the counter-power of resistance by ordinary citizens (such as in protest).

The concept of participation and its relevance for social change influences the analytical and practical processes of communication for development and social change. The participatory model of development and social change emphasizes the liberating ideology that people should be active agents in decisions and processes for social change that impact their lives, that development involves the active "self" and strategies that stimulate people for action at the grassroots local level rather than a top-down, national, international dictates of what social change means to local agent. This analysis is dominant in the participatory model of development and social change; it is a counter discourse of a bottom-up approach rather than the top-down modernization paradigm of early development discourses and processes (Servaes 1999; Huesca 2008).

Power is the over-arching concept in the analytical discourse of participation and social change. To understand the concept of power, as Foucault (1982) suggests, is to comprehend power relations in society. For Foucault, to understand power, and power relations in society, it requires taking forms of resistance against different forms of authority, a form of antagonism to different forms of power. So, "in order to understand what power relations are about, perhaps we should investigate the forms of resistance and attempts made to dissociate these relations" (Foucault 1982, p. 780). For instance, to understand an aspect of the feminist protest will be to question (an opposition to) the power of men over women. Protest is often a form of resistance and oppositional strategies that highlights the power of the individual to participate in society. It provides voice to the people. *Protest is voice as power and participation. "*Voice" is multidimensional. Voice is power to project opinion; it is visibility; it is recognition and communication.

32.4.4 Conceptualizing Social Movement and Collective Action

From the introduction of voice as power, social movements can be understood as formations through which collective voice are projected for social change. Snow et al. (2004) offer a conceptual explanation that applies to the current discourse:

> Social movement are one of the principal social forms through which collectivities give voice to their grievances and concerns about rights, welfare, and well-being of themselves and others by engaging in various types of collective action, such as protesting in the street, that dramatize those grievances and concerns and demand that something be done about them.

Protest is thus one of the many tools of collective action that social movements use in demanding change. Snow et al. note further that some conceptual characteristics are identifiable in studying social movement, and these are: collective or joint action, change-oriented goals or claims, extra- or noninstitutional collective action, some degrees of organization, and some degree of temporal continuity. Social movement

as a form of collective action overlaps but also is different from other sorts of collective action such as crowd behavior (in spectator events). While crowd action may be utilized by social movement, this is often a result of prior planning, organization, and negotiation.

Snow et al. (2004) also note that social movements in their collective action tactic overlaps with interest groups but are also different to some degrees. Interest groups are typically defined in relation to the government or state, social movement standing in relation to the government is different. Interest groups are embedded within the political arena and pursued their interest through institutionalized means such as lobbying and soliciting campaign donations. Social movements on the other hand are typically outside of the government or state with minimal recognition among political authorities, and they usually pursue their collective ends through protest, marches, boycotts, sit-in, etc. While social movements may occasionally operate within the political realm, their actions are mostly extra-institutional. The goal of social movement is largely to promote and/or resist change in some areas of human lives. Social movements and their activities are typically based on organization and coordination. Small organizing groups can band together to form a social movement for coordinated activities toward social change. They also operate with a flexible temporal variability, while some social movements may disband after achieving change in a selected area, others continue and move to another similar area for change (see Snow et al. 2004).

Social movement is a social process characterized, through collective action, by three distinct features. They are involved in conflictual collective action – that is, they operate on an oppositional relationship with actors who seek or are in control of political, economic, and cultural power in areas where social movement actors are engaged in to promote or oppose social change. Social movements have dense informal networks of individuals and organized groups in pursuit of common good, as a result no single individual can claim ownership of a social movement. Thirdly, the sense of common purpose and shared commitment to a cause leads to a collective identity (Porta and Diani 2006).

32.4.5 Theoretical Foundations of Social Movement

Various theoretical foundations shape the understanding of social movement: Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) suggests access to resources is core to the formation and outcome of social movements. Social movements need critical resources and should be able to mobilize them in order to be successful. This theoretical approach suggests the presence of variety of human, social, political, financial assets, and organizational resources that must be mobilized in the pursuit of the goal of collective action of social movements (Tilly 1977; Jenkins 1983; Edwards and Giliham 2013). These "resources" may include labor, money, knowledge, time, skills, and social support from other organization, media, and political actors, among others.

Deprivation theory is premised on the idea that social movements are formed when certain people or groups in society are discontented about their feelings of being deprived of certain resources, services, or goods in society (Morrison 1971; Gurney and Tierney 1982). The sense of the experience of being disadvantaged could be based on absolute deprivation (group deprivation in isolation from the group's position in society), or relative deprivation (a group in a disadvantaged position in relation to some other groups in society (Sen and Avci 2016). *Political process theory* or *political opportunity theory* offers that the success of a social movement is dependent on the political atmosphere. In this sense, a politically positive or accommodating atmosphere must be present for a successful social movement. Developed in the study of civil rights movement in the USA, the core assumption of political process theory is that there must be a political and economic opportunities for change in order for a successful social movement (see McAdam 1982, 2013; Caren 2007). As Sen and Avci (2016) note, if a government's position is entrenched and it is also prone to repressive tendencies, the chance are high that social movement might fail, compared to when a government is more tolerant of dissenting behavior, which augurs well for the success of social movement.

The work of Smelser (1962) on value-added theory has been influential in adopting this theory (also known as *social strain theory*) to the understanding of social movement and collective behavior. Social strain theory argues that a problem may arise in the social system that causes some people to be frustrated and subsequently result to some actions, such as protest, to direct that anger. So a rebellion may develop from a group in society as a reaction to limitation they experience which hindered their pursuit of social goals. Women or people marginalized by discrimination may suffer strain due to the limitation that sexism, patriarchy, racism, or social inequalities caused in the pursuit of equal attainment of social and economic goals. Although originally this theory has been used to explain deviant behavior, such as crime, as a way to achieve certain social and economic goals due to strain that developed from people being unable to attain socioeconomic goals as a result of the social-economic structural system in society or the lack of means to attain these goals which cause strain on people. See Merton's (1938) seminal work on this.

Another theoretical approach to social movement is *New Social Movement Theories* (NSMT). The NSMT approach feature social theories that emerge in reaction to the reductionist nature of classical Marxist approach to collective action, which privileges "proletarian revolution" rooted in the economic reductionism of capitalist production and the marginalization of any other form of social protest (Buechler 1995). Rather than the Marxist economic determinism and class reductionism that see collective action as reaction to economic logic of capitalist production, and conflict of social classes based on economic ideology, while placing socio-cultural logics as secondary, NSMT elevates the social and cultural as basis of collective actions. This tends towards a postmodernist approach to social movement analysis. New social movement theorists locate social actions in other areas such as politics, ideology, culture, and identity as basis of much collective action. As such, varying formations of identity, such as ethnicity, gender, and sexuality are the

definers of collective identity and action (Buechler 1995). Issues of human rights and individual rights become prominent in this analysis in contrast to traditional social movement theories that primarily relate to exploitation of one social class by another, usually on economic logic.

32.5 Protest as Communication for Social Change: A Framework of Guidelines

Protest actions that have maximum impact are those that are planned and executed well. Organizing an effective protest, march, demonstration, or rally for a social change agenda required careful attention to planning, execution and follow-ups. The following are some of the issues relevant to a successful planning and execution of a protest action.

32.5.1 Planning Stage

Do you really need a protest? Before deciding to protest, you need to ask if protest is the appropriate medium to communicate a particular grievance. Protest should never be the first action in communicating grievance. Try to communicate grievances, demands, objections, or support through communication and dialogue as a first step. Protest can be organized when other dialogic communicative methods have failed to yield result. However, in certain instances, a protest action can be the first method of action, for example:

- When a law is about to be signed, a government action is about to be implemented or an immediate action is about to take place that leaves no time for other methods of objections.
- If there is a need to make a big impression or visible impact to draw attention of the public or the media to your cause.

Notification and permits: There are different procedures involved in allowing a protest to occur in different countries. Check and make sure you notify the responsible state authority before proceeding on a protest. In many instances, the notification procedure is included in a policy or Act regulating protest. Also, keep police well informed and cooperate with them. Policies regulating protests usually provide information on how to notify, when to notify, the role of the protesters and the police, conducts, prohibition, etc.

Leadership: Protest actions need a group of coordinators that can form a leadership cohort. They will work together in planning, executing, and following-up processes of the protest. The coordinators will also represent the collective in deliberation and negotiation processes with authority who is the target of the protest action.

Goals and tone: Make sure the goal of the protest is clear, succinct, and memorable. It is also important not to combine too many issues into one single protest action. A single broad issue is more powerful when communicating your demands. Consider a theme for your protest. #FeesMustFall as a theme of student protest against high cost of tuition in South Africa is an effective use of a memorable theme and slogan. Whether the protest takes a solemn or upbeat tone depends on the goal of the protest.

Mobilize support: Ensure there is a widespread support for your issue. Seek endorsement of civic organization and NGOs working around issue of your protest. A prominent figure in society may also add some credibility to your protest.

Media and communication strategy: Contact the news media, provide press releases, create a website, a blog, social media platforms, flyers, posters, and placards to communicate your issue and information on the protest actions. Protest needs visibility and publicity, use all available publicity tools to your advantage, it also helps in garnering community support for your protest.

Decide on venue: Choose appropriate and safe venue where your protest can achieve maximum visibility with less disruption. You may lose community support if people perceive your protest to be disruptive of their everyday life. While this is usually unavoidable, the less disruptive the more you gain public support. If it is a march establish a route that provides maximum visibility. Choose appropriate venue for a rally. Students protesting high tuition cost at a shopping mall surely looks odd.

Funding: Protest and rallies cost money. Funding is usually difficult for protest activities, contact individuals and organizations interested in your issues. Solicit support for supply of equipment and volunteers for services that cost money.

Logistics: Pay serious attention to every small detail, such as:

- *Transportation:* How easy to get people to the venue and to disperse.
- *Time and date:* Appropriate weather condition is important. You do not want to get protesters drenched in rain.
- *Competing publicity:* Make sure there are no conflicting public events in day of your protest, unless your protest is a counter protest to such event.
- *Entertainment:* Music, skit, performances, etc. to keep protesters in high morale.
- *Medical:* Provide first aid supplies, designate transportation to the hospital for emergency cases.
- *Equipment:* Public address system. Depending on the form of protest, it may be mounted in a fixed spot or mounted on a moving vehicle.
- *Refreshment:* Depending on funds, make plans for refreshments, such as water.

32.5.2 At the Protest

No violence: Protest actions with violence generate negative publicity, police high-handedness and injuries that could be avoided. Students in South Africa have burned building, destroyed lecture theatres, set laboratory on fire, and destroy libraries while protesting lack of resources on university campuses. Choosing appropriate method

of protest is paramount to a successful protest action without violence. For example, considering that universities function when students attend classes, students embarking on a sit-in or civil disobedience of nonattendance of classes will have more positive impact than destruction of properties. But there are instances where some forms of violence become necessary part of a protest. For example, when protesters destruct objectionable artifact that represent the motive of the protest action.

Speeches and performances: Line up people who would speak at the events and other performances that keep people's attention and boost their morale.

Ensure communication during protest: Provide live updates on social media platforms, and blog updates as events are taking place for maximum publicity. Provide access to the news media during protest event.

Marshals: Identify marshals who are part of the protest and who will monitor that everyone behaves accordingly while avoiding violence and confrontations.

Memorandum of demands and petitions: Have a memorandum of demands that representative of authority or institutions you are protesting against can sign to acknowledge your demands with a promise to address them.

32.5.3 Following-Up

Sustain the energy: After the protest, there is a need to continue the drive for the issue you protest for/against. Keep pressures on the authority or institution that are the target of the protest.

Continue media exposure: Through traditional media and on social media platforms, publicize your success.

Monitor progress: Follow-up with intended audience or target of the protest to monitor reaction and progress and keep the protesters informed of the progress.

32.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, protest action is centered as a global strategy in the pursuit of development and social change. In the scholarship of communication for development and social change, the use of protest does not feature prominently as a communication tool. The attempt here is to assert protest as communication, and more importantly, to locate protest and mass mobilization as relevant components of communication tools for development and social change.

Protest is a very old approach to show discontent, but it has often been limited to the political sphere. Asserting protest as communication helps to situate it as a viable way, not only to show discontent, but a strategy of giving visibility to causes, promoting certain ideals, drawing attention to various social challenges to the human condition, and demanding that sites of power pay attention. The inherent characteristics of protest, as visible manifestation of citizens' constitutional right to assembly, as communication, as empowering form of collective action and

participation, as grassroots bottom-up mechanism for advocating for change, and a form of citizen's power to demand change, make protest a critical tool of communication for development and social change. While acknowledging challenges and limitations of protest actions, there are many instances where protests have yielded results, some immediate and others after long and persistent actions. These results are evidenced in political decisions, economic actions, and improvement to citizens' welfare ranging from changes in political order, access to health services to affordable access to education.

But success of protest action tends to be influenced by political and economic atmosphere. Although they are conditions for protest actions, entrenched state political position in politically repressive regimes and the seemingly embedded nature of neoliberal economic agenda and the naturalized attitude towards exploitative capitalism tend to diminish the success of protest actions. Irrespectively, protest allow members of communities at macro- and microlevels to mobilize for collective action, create visibility for their grievances, demand responses, provoke behavioral change, and request policy formulation in pursuit of a better well-being. All these describe the core essence of communication for development and social change.

32.7 Cross-References

- ▶ Development Communication in South Africa
- ▶ Empowerment as Development: An Outline of an Analytical Concept for the Study of ICTs in the Global South
- ▶ Health Communication: Approaches, Strategies, and Ways to Sustainability on Health or Health for All
- ▶ Importing Innovation? Culture and Politics of Education in Creative Industries, Case Kenya
- ▶ Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Maternal Health in Africa
- ▶ Protest as Communication for Development and Social Change in South Africa

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Political Engagement of Individuals in the Digital Age

33

Paul Clemens Murschetz

Contents

33.1 Introduction 634
33.2 Civic Engagement in the Digital Age 636
33.3 The Sociology of Engagement 637
33.4 Mediatized Engagement 640
33.5 Future Directions 642
33.6 Cross-References 643
References 644

Abstract

The use of digital media is becoming a prominent feature for individuals engaged as citizen in e-participation processes.

However, while research into e-participation at large has attracted much scholarly attention from various disciplines over the years, the fundamental question of why individuals engage in e-participation and how digital media triggers their engagement in processes of political engagement in the public realm is largely unaddressed.

This chapter reviews two conceptual frameworks for explaining individual engagement in politics: Firstly, the sociological theory of political engagement as promulgated by Laurent Thévenot's work which explores why human agency, rather than social structures, determines the engagement of individuals in the political process and, secondly, the "mediatization" concept as discussed in media and communication studies whereby digital media "mediatize" engagement by shaping and framing the processes of interaction of political communication among citizens and between citizens and government.

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Keywords

Agency · Civic engagement · Individual interest · Mediatization · Pragmatic sociology · Social movement · Sociology of engagement

33.1 Introduction

Engaged individuals become citizens by using digital media and ICTs that enable their participation in the political communication and interaction process. These digital media help integrating bottom-up decision-making processes, allowing for better informed decisions by all stakeholders in the political communication process. Technically, they support the further development of e-participation in modern democracies.

However, while research into e-participation has attracted much scholarly attention from various disciplines over the years, the fundamental question of why individuals engage in e-participation and how digital media triggers their engagement in processes of political engagement in the public realm is largely unaddressed.

This chapter supports the idea that individual-level models of civic engagement are a logical starting point for understanding why and how individuals participate in the political process in the digital age. As a corollary, investigating how individuals are doing politics would reconcile limited and contradictory findings in research on the concept of "civic engagement" in the digital era. These result from a variety of deficiencies such as:

- Inconsistent definitions as to the subject and scope of the concept of "civic engagement" (e.g., what factors influence the "engagement" of individuals, particularly in new modes of e-participation; what degree of knowledge is required to be competent and effectively engaged, and is there any evidence that this would lead to wider and more sustainable political engagement; Ekman and Amnå 2012, Freeman and Quirke 2013, Macintosh 2004, Mossberger et al. 2008)
- Different units and levels of analysis in identifying the factors predicting civic engagement (e.g., do they predominantly reside in the interests, motives, and preferences of the individuals themselves, that is, in "human agency" understood as the capability of individuals or groups to make free decisions or act, as against the "structure" defined as a patterned influence or limitation derived from rules and resources available to individuals or group actions; Giddens 1984)
- Disagreement on the role of communication processes between individual citizens; governmental (politicians, political parties, ministers, parliamentarians, etc.) and non-governmental stakeholders (NGOs, political lobbies, local communities, etc.) (Dahlgren 2005; Kreiss 2015); political institutions establishing, legitimizing, routinizing, or regularizing certain e-participation practices (Teorell et al. 2007); and citizens' perceived control over the engagement process and outcome (Zimmerman and Rappaport 1998)

- A lack of appreciation of the role of "mediatization" and its role in transforming individual civic engagement into collective action (Collins et al. 2014; Couldry 2014; Dahlgren 2009), given that the change of media communication has fundamental impacts on sociocultural change as part of our everyday communication practices and our communicative construction of reality (Hepp et al. 2015; Hjarvard 2013; Kramp et al. 2016; Hjarvard 2013)
- A largely incoherent base of theory for examining relations between the parameters mentioned above, particularly with regard to civic engagement and e-participation from the point of view of individual engagement and the links that work between different levels of engagement, that is, the "macro-level" of the political and situational environment, the "meso-level" of organizations facilitating political participation, and the "microlevel" of individual citizens who wish to become more or less actively engaged, and their values, motives, attitudes, preferences, and behaviors, respectively (Quintelier and Hooghe 2012)

Hence, the problems are manifold, but the most pressing seems to be the nature of the concept of "civic engagement" and its relationship to "e-participation" in the digital age which has remained complex, multidisciplinary, and difficult to operationalize.

Following this introduction, Sect. 33.2 will explore some more fundamental issues of civic engagement in the digital age, including the presentation of research claims. Section 33.3 will then provide two conceptual frameworks for explaining individual engagement in the e-participation domain. Firstly, some key ideas of Laurent Thévenot's pragmatic sociology of political engagement are described. In doing so, the epistemological value of this part of Thévenot's œuvre is queried to gain new insights into how his thinking could act as a new framework for explaining the dynamic change that is currently blurring boundaries between the individual, the media, culture, and society at large. While Habermas' concept of a "deliberative democracy" emphasizes that public *will* formation is enabled through intersubjective communications in the public sphere so that public interests are commonly created through deliberation rather than aggregated and voted upon, Thévenot's work is an ambitious conceptual attempt to a pragmatic theory of plural "worlds" and "polities" where individuals' interest in the common good plays a constitutional role in how social life is organized and conflicts are resolved. Seen this way, individuals create public spaces for and by themselves, to help their self-development and sensitivity for involvement in political (and sociocultural) issues of the public sphere and to support their political ambitions, learning, knowledge creation, and sharing as well as improving their own decision-making competencies. Section 33.4 then reviews "mediatization" as a theoretical concept from the point of view of media and communication studies and discusses some selected ideas on the issue of "mediatized engagement." Mediatization seems to be constitutional in ways in which (digital and other) media are embedded in processes of civic engagement and e-participation whereby digital media shape and frame the processes and conversation of political communication among citizens and between citizens and government. Section 33.5 sums up key insights gained from research into mediatized

engagement and further investigates how a political sociology of engagement, as provided by Thévenot's "grammar of the individual in a liberal public," can deliver a solid theoretical base for analyzing mediatized engagement more profoundly. This means that these insights shall open the way to new departures for debates on how individuals' civic engagement may eventually fertilize into social structures of common political interest. Eventually, this happens when private cognitive models of perception and thinking about various issues of political concern are transformed into specific forms of political action, transformation processes which may well be mediated by digital media, ICTs, and other interactive technologies.

33.2 Civic Engagement in the Digital Age

Certainly, the deficiencies mentioned above have mobilized research into several analytical frameworks, which themselves have drawn on different disciplinary roots, such as economics, politics, history, and sociology. This cross-fertilization of ideas has further provided a diversity of intellectual activity and research, with a vigorous program of detailed empirical studies.

However, while research into e-participation has attracted remarkable scholarly attention from these various disciplinary perspectives in recent years, the fundamental question of why individuals engage in e-participation processes as a typical form of civic engagement in political communication and how digital media triggers (or hinders) their engagement in processes of political engagement in the public realm is largely unaddressed.

To answer these questions, the following three research claims are raised: Firstly, it is noteworthy to stress the importance of intensifying research into individuals as political agents with a view to understanding its implications for political argumentation. This is inevitable if we want to understand the emergent digital culture of e-participation in contemporary politics in all its forms, ranging from e-voting to several forms of ICT-supported and ICT-enabled interaction between governments and citizens, including not only direct ones such as consultations, lobbying, and polling but also ones pursued outside of government itself, including campaigning, signing a petition, writing a letter to a public official, blogging about a political issue, donating money to a cause, volunteering for a campaign, joining an activist or interest group, holding a public official position, occupying a building in an act of protest, or committing an illegal or even terrorist act.

Secondly, research needs to draw from disparate academic fields such as media and communication studies and political sociology and thereby systematize, link, and extend familiar definitions, characteristics, types, and dimensions of engagement from extant literature in these fields.

And, thirdly, civic engagement in the digital age is further challenged by the assumption that both the technical effectiveness and moral virtue of conventional forms of civic engagement are called into question by institutional and intellectual transformations that push inexorably toward social fragmentation, political

disintegration, and ethical relativism, leaving us behind with many-layered crises that are rendering citizenship and civic engagement ever more difficult (Putnam 2000). Notably, research needs to focus on these developments that seem to threaten the promise of traditional concepts of e-participation: that using online, social, and mobile media would bring a new "political culture" of engagement to the fore, regardless of social backgrounds, material resources, and cultural practices or "repertoires" or "tool kit" of habits, skills, and styles from which "actors select differing pieces for constructing lines of action" (Swidler 1986, p. 277).

Hence, by putting emphasis on e-participation at the micro/individual rather than the meso/organizational and macro/societal level, individuals can be addressed as key actors and central drivers for political action and campaigning in the digital realm. These individuals and their ambitions, motives, and practices create new civic e-participation spaces, new social "spaces for change" (Cornwall and Coelho 2007), that is, publics that establish next to the state and the market and allow for unconventional forms of participation in that they create new and enrich existing digital public spheres. These new spaces enable dialogue via digital communication platforms with a strong "bottom-up" and "do-it-ourselves" ethos that defy "top-down" control by authorities. Being invented by their own agents, these spaces thus develop independently and parallel to invited e-participation spaces, such as government, NGOs, and political parties (Kersting 2013; Bennett and Segerberg 2013). But while standard e-participation practices of invited participation are considered as "top-down" in nature and come as formal government-to-citizen invitation to enter a controlled public sphere, new spaces are "invented" spaces of participation, such as referendums, round tables, or online forums call for the creation of new "mini publics" in the digital realm which are initiated by groups of individuals (Cruickshank et al. 2014) or, as Thimm (2015) defined them: "a group of online users referring to a shared topic in a publicly visible and publicly accessible online space over a period of time, by means of individual activities such as textual or visual contributions" (p. 173).

33.3 The Sociology of Engagement

The French sociologists Laurent Thévenot and Luc Boltanski are key proponents of the French school of pragmatic sociology and developed the political and moral "grammar of engagement" approach (Blokker and Brighenti 2011; Boltanski and Thévenot 2006; Thévenot 2013, 2015). Boltanski and Thévenot have been associated with the "pragmatic" school of French sociology, which developed from the 1980s onward, and have also featured leading scholars such as Bruno Latour, Michel Callon, and Michèle Lamont. Pragmatic sociology stands in stark contrast to the critical sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, under whose tutelage Boltanski had initially worked in the early 1970s (Blokker and Brighenti 2011, p. 252, Boltanski 2011). Boltanski came to criticize Bourdieu's critical sociology for presenting social agents as uncritical "cultural dopes," as dominated without knowing it, and for assuming

that only sociologists are able to see how people are subjugated by social structures and processes (Boltanski 2011, p. 20). In marked contrast, Boltanski advocates a "pragmatic sociology of critique" which "fully acknowledges actors' critical capacities and the creativity with which they engage in interpretation and action" (Boltanski 2011, p. 43, see Bénatouïl 1999). Thus, the sociologist cannot, and should not, hark back to a priori definitions of power and interest that govern social actions. Instead, the sociologist must reintegrate the capability of critique into the social world and show how actors draw upon different logics in different situations to direct their actions, arguments, and agreements within and through particular disputes. Thévenot, in particular, explored the dimensions of social life "under the public" as a condition to enlarge the scope of public critique to oppressions and to understand the required transformations and obstacles to their exposition in common, to the discord of the political community.

Taking Thévenot's most significant publication *On Justification: Economies of Worth* (2006) as entry point to the present debate (the book was coauthored with Luc Boltanski, a French sociologist and professor at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris), this chapter focuses on those "critical moments" when public issues arise and are disputed by different social actors (p. 359–360). At the heart of their analysis are six specific types or "worlds" of justification that social actors draw upon during disputes. The interplay of these worlds produces diverse matrices of conflict, compromise, or collaboration in different situations. Thévenot also suggests that social order arises from the sharing of so-called pragmatic regimes, that is, modes of mutual exchange between actor and the world with a conception of the common good and universal principles that govern human activity.

Consequently, Thévenot theorizes on three pragmatic regimes governing engagement with the world: (1) "publicly justifiable engagement," (2) "familiar engagement," and (3) "engagement in an individual plan." He later transferred these into three implicit social norms – so-called grammars – defining meaningful behavior in a certain situation and enabling agents to evaluate judgments and claims (based on Boltanski's and Thévenot's work *On Justification* of 2006, originally published in 1991): (1) the "grammar of publicly justifiable engagement," (2) the "grammar of personal affinities to a plurality of common places" or "the grammar of close affinities," and (3) the "grammar of individual choices in a liberal public" (Thévenot 2001, 2007, 2013, 2014, 2015).

Firstly, at the level of publicly justifiable engagement, a public discussion would be a typical example and aims at resolving situational conflicts by referring to general-level issues available in the political debate at large. Then, conflict resolution happens by referring to the common good, that is, general principles of what is shared and beneficial for all or most members of a given community or, alternatively, what is achieved by citizenship, collective action, and active participation in the realm of politics and public service. Secondly, the grammar of personal affinities describes familiar attachment and the emotional connections one makes to either close humans (friends, family, etc.) or what Thévenot calls "common-places" that should be understood in its broadest meaning, as referring as much to physical places

(e.g., parks, monuments, etc.) as to more "intangible" things (songs, legends, literary characters), whereby agents share experiences and emotions that bring them together on these topics in the public realm (Thévenot 2014).

As these two concepts are all complex and raise difficult questions, not all of which, of course, one can reasonably expect to be addressed fully here, special focus shall be on the third grammar: the grammar of individual choices in a liberal public. This specific grammar refers to legitimacy of individual political claims and rests on the recognition of the rights of individuals and their choice in constructing representative groups: even if actors act as individuals, they rhetorically construct a wider group of people and, in so doing, share their opinion and back their claims. The basic premise of this particular view of Thévenot's approach describes a way of engaging politically in what derives from private interests of individuals as such interests which are, consequently, aggrandized into representative collective preferences and hence structures in democratic politics.

In general, however, there seems to be a conflation of the social or collective *choice* process in these democratic decision-making processes with, say, a *public* voting mechanism whose domain is properly restricted to a "public" subset of alternatives. Liberal democratic theory then presupposes that the set of agents' desires is the basic input which is transformed by the rule into a social choice or output. A typical case of the legitimate interests of subjects is the idea of the referendum: without taking any regard as to the reason or justification behind individual votes, each citizen chooses an idea as a right-carrying subject, and the idea with the most votes (or more usually, the one with over 50% of votes) gets chosen. This means that aggregate social behavior results from the behavior of individual actors, each of whom is making their own individual decisions.

Following Thévenot's grammar of individual choices, the common good is seen to rise out of the private interests of relevant actors – not by finding a single good, but through articulation (and contestation) of preferences by these actors. Even though the general model of the grammar of individual interests is the referendum, negotiations and discussions are also part of the repertoire. These discussions are not deliberations on the relative merits of common goods, but rather trading, haggling, and presentation of individual situations and subjectivities. Such a grammar emphasizes and selects as relevant the differences between individual choices, being granted that they are made public under the form of opinions or interests. In my view, if we wish to better understand people who are engaged with political issues – through electoral processes, city planning, or social media rambling – people who are usually not identified as politicians or activists, nor see projects channeled in their favor through established political communities or organizations, then Thévenot's grammars of engagement and, notably, the "grammar of individual choices in a liberal public" open the way to new theoretical departures in understanding how individuals do politics and create public spheres today.

The next section wishes to mobilize some reasoning about selected ideas on the issue of "mediatized engagement" against the background of communication processes among "digital citizens" and between these citizens and their representatives.

33.4 Mediatized Engagement

Now, there is at least one more striking *research desiderate in the present context: to* explore the motivational factors of individuals in "mediated civic engagement" and how this advocates new knowledge and practices that further promote civic engagement, social change, and democratic well-being in the context of e-participation.

Digital media infrastructures create new opportunities for the dissemination of public knowledge. Although the decline in civic participation in established democratic societies has been widely lamented (Putnam 2000), other observers (Dahlgren 2009) have pointed to the growth of new communities online and the growth in quantity and diversity in communication platforms outside of the traditional e-participation platforms, where citizens can exchange information and participate in political debate without any "outside" government influence and control. In fact, "individualization" of civic cultures has emerged in tandem with the growth of mediatized communication processes where individuals use new technologies, with a tendency toward personalization in the public domain (Alvarez and Dahlgren 2016; Bennett and Segerberg 2013). As it looks, social media and networking sites, podcasts, blogs, open-source software, and wikis, have paved the way for an "increasingly individualized civic environment" (Gerodimos 2012, p. 188), with engagement in the public domain being "subjectively experienced more as a personal rather than a collective question" (Dahlgren 2013, p. 52). Here, mediatization research comes as another reminder that political communication and, in its entourage, civic engagement are currently changing.

When seen as a meta-process (Krotz 2011), mediatization, alongside various other "mega-trends" of change in political communication such as digitization of communication technologies, hybridization of communication forms, globalization of communication spaces, or individualization of communication repertoires, comes as another important driver of change to affect individuals in their motivation to engage politically (Vowe and Henn 2016). In theory, mediatization investigates the interrelation between change in media repertoires and usage as drivers for communicative and sociocultural change, understood as a long-term process of change. Naturally, however, (digital) media do not necessarily cause these transformations, but they have become co-constitutive for the articulation of politics, economics, education, religion, etc. (Hepp et al. 2015; Hjarvard 2013; Couldry and Hepp 2016).

Now, these transformations arising from mediatization in its full dimensionality evoke a nexus of research dimensions on the level of the individual citizen. However, if we emphasize that individuals interact with their environments in ways that their interests are voiced through political cultures and commonalities by means of their own individual wills (rather than as a contest of higher principles related to the common good), then models that used to support traditional governmental technologies of e-participation appear not to work any longer. Addressing this void raises the fundamental question of how individuals are doing politics today and how they see new mediated forms of e-participation as a valuable alternative to traditional participation platforms and means of creating political public spheres (Allen et al. 2014).

Essentially, however, understanding of *individuals* engaging in politics and their ways to using digital media technologies within settings of *e-participation* remains elusive. Nonetheless, in view of the observations above, it is about individuals' solicitations and comments about public policies that inspire our understanding of how civic engagement emerges from individual engagement and may eventually fertilize into collective structures of commonality, whereby rather private cognitive models of perception and thinking are transformed into communal and political ways of evaluating (political) arguments. And further, we are well advised to leave behind various traditional perspectives and rhetorics on civic engagement and instead widen its canvas toward a sociological theory of engagement and political action in the digital age as it is promulgated by the works of Laurent Thévenot and his "liberal" notion of "individuals doing politics" (Thévenot 2007, 2014), or what Thévenot himself called "the grammar of the individual in a liberal public," as explained above. And further, if one looks at individuals and their ambitions to engage politically, then research on mediatization advances our thinking about their opportunities for action in new civic e-participation spaces, new social "spaces for change" (Cornwall and Coelho 2007), that is, publics that establish next to the state and the market and allow for unconventional forms of participation in that they create new and enrich existing digital public spheres. Predictors of civic engagement on individual level are reciprocity of participants (Gouldner 1960; Wasko and Faraj 2000), exchange of (symbolic) messages (Rafaeli and Sudweeks 1997), active user control (Rice and Williams 1984), immediacy of feedback (Dennis and Kinney 1998), and trust (van der Meer 2017). Computer-mediated communication (CMC) theory, in particular, stresses the way by which the communicators process social identity and relational cues (i.e., the capability to convey meanings through cues like body language, voice, tones, i.e., basically social information) using different media (Fulk et al. 1990; Walther 1992).

And mediatized engagement is viewed to have more anthropomorphic properties (Quiring 2009). Here, interactivity refers back to the concept of action in the social sciences, whereby action is presupposed to depend on an active human subject intentionally acting upon an object or another subject. Interaction with objects and the creators of these objects modifies their actions and reactions due to the actions by their interaction partner(s). Seen this way, mediated engagement is understood as a subjective mode of perception and cognition and, as interpreted from a communication theory perspective, focuses on how a receiver actively interprets and uses mass and new media messages. In the CMC literature, two more key themes have emerged under this rubric: individual experiential processes of interactivity and perceptions of individual control over both presentation and content. Self-awareness (i.e., the psychological factor that impacts on social interaction as mediated by CMC; Matheson and Zanna 1998), responsiveness (i.e., the degree to which a user perceives a system as reacting quickly and iteratively to user input; Rafaeli and Sudweeks 1997), a sense of presence (discoursed as virtual experience made by humans when they interact with media; Lee 2004), involvement (defined as perceived sensory and cognitive affiliation with media; Franz and Robey 1986), and perceived user control are further constituent psychological activities on this level of

discussion (Zimmerman and Rappaport 1998). Furthermore, human agents are not only calculative and rational, nor are they only bound by structures; they are also guided by nonbinding habits that leave room for new engagements and new ways of actions.

Hence, this study should also start an interdisciplinary dialogue and articulate a set of key transformations brought about by ICTs, the media, and individuals as social and political activists (Bakardjieva et al. 2012). These include the realities of "hyper-connectivity" and "mediatization" as facilitated by ICTs and online, social, and mobile media and how research on these facilitating technologies provides insights into barriers and perceived affordances for e-participation as well as the necessary conditions for increased adoption for citizen-led participation.

33.5 Future Directions

Theorizing on the political sociology of engagement in politics is a legitimate way of presenting a critique against "top-down" policies of e-participation. It goes beyond these traditional approaches by focusing on "bottom-up" aspects of enriching democratic processes, political discourse, and social change. This opens research to alternative approaches in e-participation that recognize the importance of social movements and other "communities of practice" as these represent a vital and new component of doing politics today "from below" (Della Porta et al. 2017). Hence, fundamentally, this chapter started from the notion that individuals demanding that their idiosyncratic preferences and political interests be recognized and addressed are a key focal point for analyses into civic engagement. Such an individualist "grammar of engagement" emphasizes and selects as relevant the differences between the choices of individuals, being granted that they are made public under the form of opinions or interests. Group building takes place by negotiation among individuals opting for interests that must be publicly recognizable. In this study, consequently, the notion of "methodological individualism" has been supported, an epistemic "individual-first" approach of citizens to politics whereby "structure exists, and has determinant force, but a conscious heuristic decision that what individuals choose to do, or perceive themselves as choosing, is interesting as an object of study – not the individual as a 'case study' of a larger whole, but the individual as exceptional or particular" (Burke 1969, online). Hence, in the present context, it is essential to understand how individuals perceive opportunities of political engagement in order to also grasp how they are influenced by new media and e-participation technologies.

Secondly, political agents of this kind create their own strategies for action by utilizing resources of their own choice. This strategizing is not (only) calculative and maximizing one's own interest but also affected by attitudes, emotions, habits, and social relations. Therefore, when political acts are undertaken, individual actors (residents, techno-politicians, Facebook users, etc.) engage with, utilize, cultivate, and inhabit their cultural repertoires, pooling from their own media resources and using these by turning political strategies into arguments, justifications, memes,

protest letters, and other political objects. Moreover, in the present context, we are focusing on a new type of individual, the activist or political campaigner, a human being that is deemed to be free and social at the same time (Dahlgren 2013), whereby "free" is frequently understood as being autonomous, disembodied, rational, well informed, and disconnected: an individual and atomistic self, while that freedom does not occur in a vacuum, but in a space of affordances and constraints (Floridi 2015). In practice, today a political campaigner uses Facebook and other similar tools to create ad hoc campaign groups, utilizes the cultural repertoire of the Internet, and participates in politics when (and only when) he or she sees fit.

And thirdly, the deployment of these strategies and the use of these media tools occur on macro/societal, meso/organizational, micro/individual, and nano/supra-individual levels of social interaction (Bimber 2017; Vowe and Henn 2016). In this context, mediatization comes as a meta-process that blurs the distinction between these levels in many ways, and, as is proposed, it is simultaneously an interactional arena with some of the dynamics from face-to-face encounters, a place for connecting, organizing, and strategizing and a news distribution system or media (Zimmermann 2015).

As for future research, starting from the notion that civic engagement and the challenges arising through e-participation in favor of democratic decision-making of individuals is a contingent, dynamic, and complex social process, some of the paradigms that seem to dominate more traditional research perspectives on e-participation need to be refreshed.

However, while theorizing on civic engagement in the digital age itself is subtle and sophisticated, skepticism as to its value for analyzing changes in e-participation within the digital marketplace prevails. Ultimately, research into *digital* civic engagement needs to confront this challenge because, as it appears, individuals in the resulting digital ecology have to be seen as integral to redefining political participation in ways that may or may not be beneficial to society and democracy at large.

33.6 Cross-References

- ▶ Capacity Building and People's Participation in e-Governance: Challenges and Prospects for Digital India
- ▶ Communication for Development and Social Change: Three Development Paradigms, Two Communication Models, and Many Applications and Approaches
- ▶ Communication for Development and Social Change through Creativity
- ▶ Reducing Air Pollution in West Africa Through Participatory Activities: Issues, Challenges, and Conditions for Citizens' Genuine Engagement
- ▶ The Importance of Paulo Freire to Communication for Development and Social Change
- ▶ The Relevance of Habermasian Theory for Development and Participatory Communication
- ▶ The Theory of Digital Citizenship

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Family and Communities in Guatemala Participate to Achieve Educational Quality

34

Antonio Arreaga

Contents

34.1 Introduction 648
34.2 Planning and Implementing a Communication for Development Strategy to Achieve Quality Education 650
34.3 Identifying the Problems 650
34.4 Objectives and Communication Approaches 651
34.5 A Communication for Development Strategy for Quality Education 653
34.6 Awareness Campaign on Quality Education in the Classroom 656
34.7 Early Reading Socialization Mechanism 657
34.8 Early Reading Socialization Mechanism Fields of Action 657
34.9 Assessments, Perceptions of Change, and Results of the Communication Intervention 660
34.9.1 Results 660
34.9.2 School Directors 662
34.9.3 Teachers 662
34.9.4 Brief Analysis About the Awareness Campaign Monitoring 663
34.10 Conclusion 664
References 665

Abstract

After a 36-year armed conflict, Guatemala finally signed the Peace Accords in December 1996. Because of these agreements, it is the Educational Reform Design (1998) that promotes different axes and areas of transformation, which include, among other topics, the country achieving educational quality with equity. To achieve this, for example, pedagogical aspects, educational policies, financial topics, and community and family involvement in the education of their children were proposed. Drawing on Educational Reform Design, at the

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beginning of the twenty-first century, USAID/Guatemala begins to develop projects to improve bilingual education and the processes of assessment of the education system, as well as to have expected learning goals to achieve a better education. But it is up to USAID/Education Reform in the Classroom Project (2009–2014), implemented by the firm Juarez & Associates, Inc., to take up the challenge of involving in the educational quality, with an emphasis on reading to municipalities, communities, and families, many of them Mayas, in conditions of poverty, with low rates of scholarship. This approach was called "early reading socialization mechanism," which used communication for development to design and implement strategies that reach their objectives at different local levels. In 2009, engaging these local actors, under these social and economic contexts in quality education focused on reading, was a little known and explored in Guatemala.

Keywords

Family involving in educational quality · Communication for development focused on education · Communication for development in Guatemala · Friendly municipalities for reading · Early reading socialization mechanism

34.1 Introduction

In Guatemala, for the first decade of the twenty-first century, statistics showed an increase in educational coverage for primary school. In the year 2000, 8 out of 10 children, between 7 and 12 years old, were enrolled in school. And for 2006, 9 of every 10 children of the indicated age were enrolled (PREAL and CIEN 2008). These data were a milestone for a country that in the twentieth century still had very low enrollment coverage for primary school, compared to others in the Latin American region.

Although the coverage was not total, this evidence of school attendance, suggested to authorities and technical staff from the Ministry of Education, tanks of thought and academics related to education, that the great majority of the educational community, especially fathers and mothers, were already convinced that it was important to send their children to school. What was the next step? Communicate and raise awareness that in addition to attending a school center, it was vital to learn, starting with reading and mathematics.

But this step of raising awareness of understanding that more than sending their children to school, they had to learn well gained more relevance knowing the results of the tests of learning in reading and mathematics of the students. In 2005, evaluations for sixth grade students nationwide indicated that in reading only 43% of students achieved a satisfactory level and an excellent 5%. Therefore, a little more than half (52%) of the students evaluated in the country in this last grade of primary school were at levels of "must improve" or "unsatisfactory." In mathematics, the results were very similar. Only 49% achieved a satisfactory level and 6% reached the excellent level (PREAL and CIEN 2008).

The years of these assessments (2005 and 2006) began to link with more intensity in the education system, obtaining better learning by students and having teachers better prepared for teaching reading and mathematics, with the term of achieving educational quality.

However, the goal of achieving quality in education was already clearly presented in the document "Design of Educational Reform," published in 1998 by a specialized education commission. This document is the result of the Peace Accords signed in December 1996, which put an end to Guatemala's internal armed conflict that lasted for 36 years in the country.

In the "Design of Educational Reform," the educational quality is linked from the beginning of the document with one of the great means to achieve a change in education (Diseño de Reforma Educativa 1998, p. 15). And as the document progresses educational quality is linked with key issues as equity, bilingual education, educational policies, structures and organization of the Ministry of Education, as well as having committees of parents and mothers of family, teachers and students, among other topics (Diseño de Reforma Educativa 1998, p. 89).

It is not surprising that educational quality is linked to an active participation of parents. There are studies that report on the involvement in the education of the parents of the students and the levels that this entails (Stevens and King 2004). These authors reported that after the first level of parental involvement, which is minimal, the second stage or level consists of parents arriving to learn about the program to get involved. And they finish this second level with an important milestone: they can act as teachers of their children at home or outside of the regular educational environment.

By the end of 2009, involving parents in Guatemala in the learning of their children, especially in reading, as well as communicating and having them aware about what is educational quality and its importance was an underdeveloped topic. Especially with rural parents, with low schooling or illiterate; and many of them, of Mayan origins and their mother tongue was related to Mayan roots.

On the other hand, communication approaches for the development of education issues with this audiences or target groups were not common in Guatemala either. There existed in the country previous experiences with approaches of social marketing, communication for development, and change of behavior in the health area, supported by international cooperative sources and/or civil society organizations.

In October of 2009, USAID/Guatemala constituted the Education Reform in the Classroom Project (2009–2014). The project aimed to improve access to basic education (including quality, equity, and efficiency) by focusing on increasing teacher effectiveness, improving classroom learning environments, fostering effective first and second (Mayan language [mother tongue] and Spanish) language acquisition and reading, extending access to underserved populations including girls and indigenous groups, and expanding parents', communities', and stakeholders' participation in student learning.

From the design of this project, it was thought that a communication for development approach was necessary to guarantee the successful involvement of parents and stakeholders in student learning, focused in quality education and reading.

In this sense, the project scope of work included the design and implementation of a communication for development strategy, which will include an awareness campaign on quality education in the classroom. The communication strategy for development and the awareness campaign were key tools at the service of the early reading socialization mechanism, focused on parents, promoting reading in rural municipalities.

To carry out the design task for the communication for development strategy and the awareness campaign on quality education, the USAID project formed a communication team, consisting on international and local consultants, technical communication staff from the Ministry of Education, and permanent communication staff from Education Reform in the Classroom Project.

34.2 Planning and Implementing a Communication for Development Strategy to Achieve Quality Education

The project communication team followed a theoretical and implementation framework proposed by Ph.D. Jan Servaes, who led the leadership as an international consultant specializing in the design of communication for development strategy. Next, a figure that shows this process (Fig. 1).

Using this work route, built under a communication approach for development, where the key actors of the community take part in the proposal of their problems, a diagnostic was designed that would serve as a basis for the strategy.

In this sense, the communication team of USAID/Education Reform in the Classroom held a participatory assessment process, in which, through interviews and focus groups, representatives of the educational community (students, teachers, principals), local municipal authorities, community leaders, businessmen, and media communication provided their views on the situation of education in their geographical area, specifically in three topics of interest for the project: quality of education, interest in reading, and communications media (Alvarado et al. 2010a). These geographic areas were the municipalities where the project was going to have an impact on education issues: Joyabaj, Quiché; San Pedro Pinula, Jalapa; and Jocotán, Chiquimula. The diagnostic process in those municipalities included the urban center and selected rural areas of each.

34.3 Identifying the Problems

After conducting the fieldwork with the participatory diagnostic, the communication team analyzed the findings regarding common problems in the three municipalities.

Table 1 shows these problems, prioritized under the following three aspects:

- The project could solve the problem.
- The project had an impact, but it did not solve the problem.
- It was beyond the scope of the project.

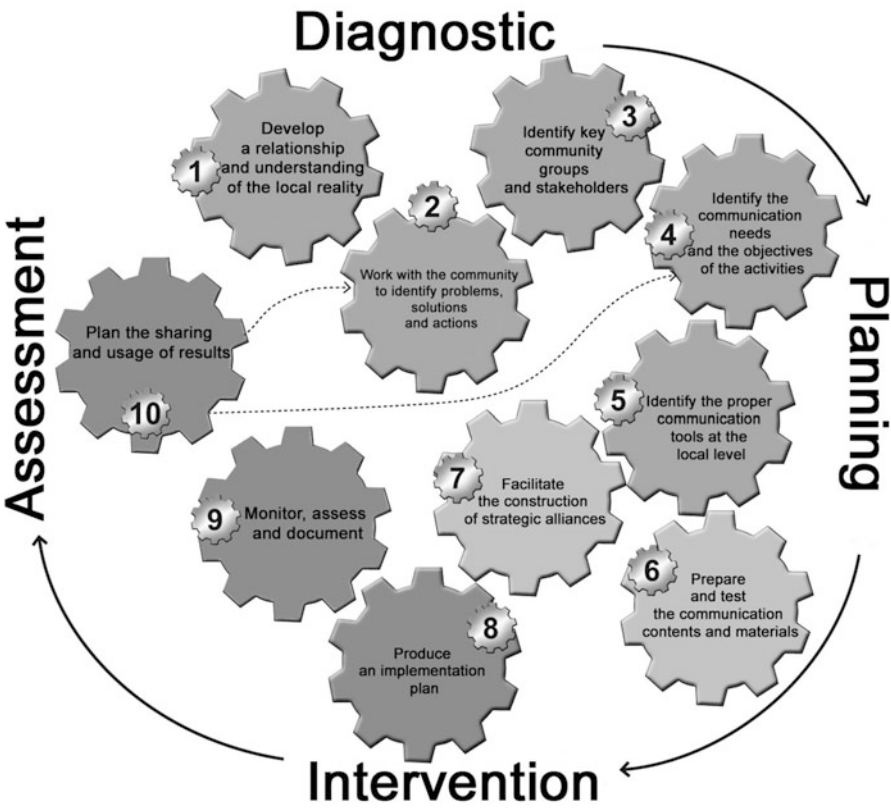

Fig. 1 The proposed phases in the design of the communication strategy. (Servaes 2011)

Likewise, this table identifies the actors/audiences subject to change and those that must be advocated for the problems that the project is supposed to solve (red color); defines the term for generating changes: short (1 year), medium (2 years), and long (4 years); and finally links the problem with the space where it develops, S (School), F (Family), and C (Community).

34.4 Objectives and Communication Approaches

Having the prioritized problems identified in the participatory assessment and splicing the results in the USAID/Guatemala work order required for the USAID/Education Reform in the Classroom, the communication team defined the following main objectives:

- Promote the involvement of parents, communities, and leaders in student learning.
- Promote the creation of a literate environment in the communities and socialize activities that promote reading as a fundamental instrument of learning.

Table 1 Problem prioritization, audiences, and terms table. (Alvarado et al. 2010a)

	Audiences	Term	Priority	Problems
Communication Media at Editorial Level (*)	Family, teachers and students	Short	1 F 1 S	Language barrier for K'iche' and C'horti' Mayan languages
	Teachers and students		1 S	Strong difference between urban and rural (student population)
	Teachers and students		1 S	Lack of teaching materials
	Teachers		1 S	Teacher opposition to quality education campaigns
	Family		1 F	Lack of reading material at home, especially in rural areas
	Community	Medium	1 C	Little participation of the community in education matters
	Family, teachers and students		1 S	Little participation of the parents in the education of their children
	Teachers and MINEDUC authorities		1 S	Lack of technical training
	Teachers and MINEDUC authorities		1 S	Lack of communication between the teachers and MINEDUC authorities (performance of their students in tests)
	MINEDUC Education Council		1 S	Absence of school libraries and where these exist, little use.
	MINEDUC, teachers, students		1 S	Poor understanding of the contents
	Donors, national authorities, local community	Large	1 C	Community leaders and parents think that bilingual education is not practical (Joyabaj, Quiché)
	Family, teachers and students		1 F	Poor reading habits
	Family, teachers and students		1 F	Education aspirations are very basic (learn reading and writing and numbers)
			2 S	Frustration by the teachers
			2 F	Illiteracy of the parents
			2 F	Lack of values (due to ignorance)
			2 F	The education of the children is the sole responsibility of the teachers
			3 C	Lack of support to build an infrastructure for education
			3 C	Change in local authorities every 4 years which results in lack of continuity
			3 C	Education is not a priority for the Municipal authorities
			3 S	Lack of infrastructure (classrooms)
			3 S	Overcrowded classrooms (number of students, multiple grades)
			3 S	Outdated education statistics which result in discordant resource allocations
			3 F	Scarce economic resources

Short Term: 1 year. Medium Term: 2 years. Large Term: 4 años (*) Communication media are crosscutting target audiences to assist in social problems. A plan to impact national and local media is an appropriate way to reach and involve this audience.

We can solve the problem **We can have an impact, not solve** **Out of our reach**

- Raise awareness in different audiences about the meaning of quality education and the importance of putting it into practice in the classroom and beyond.

To reach this three main objectives, the following approaches for communication development were proposed:

- Approaches that attempt to *change attitudes* (through information dissemination, public relations)
- *Behavior change approaches* (focusing on changes in individual behavior, interpersonal behavior, and/or behavior of the community and society)
- *Advocacy approaches* (primarily aimed at politicians and decision-making powers at all levels and in all sectors of society)
- *Communication approaches for structural and sustainable social change* (which can be related to the way of the planning design: top-down, horizontal, or bottom-up)

Change attitudes and raise awareness are linked mainly with mass media communication (community media, national media, and TICs). Behavior change is more connected with interpersonal communication. Advocacy approaches are connected with interpersonal communication and mass media communication. Communication approaches for sustainable structural change is a mix of all of them and call for Communication for Structural and Sustainable Social Change (CSSC). Also in this type of communications are the participatory communications, constituted by interpersonal communication and community media (Servaes 2011).

34.5 A Communication for Development Strategy for Quality Education

With all the pieces on the table, the team designed a matrix strategy that included the following elements:

- **Specific objectives**, according to the problems presented in the diagnoses, where communication for development can support sustainable social changes. The Table 2 shows only the objectives related with those problems that USAID/Education Reform in the Classroom could support to solve (Table 1).
- **Levels coverage**: Local, regional, national, and international.
- **Audiences**: School (students, parents, principals, school board/education council), family (fathers, mothers, students), and community (municipal and education local authorities, among others).
- **Change sought**: Changing attitudes (information, public relations), behavior change (persuasion), commitment to social policy (incidence), and providing individuals and groups knowledge, values, and skills that lead to actions effective for change (empower) (Table 2).

Table 2 Communication strategy for the sustainable development of quality education. (Alvarado et al. 2010a)

Objectives	Levels	Target Audience	Type of "change"	Term	Media
Harmonize the different concepts of quality education	National	All	Information	Short	Mass communication means, community dialogues (local/national), forums, press (editorial content), lobbying
Reduction of the language gap within the education community (Joyabaj and Jocotán)	Local	Family, teachers, students, MDC	Information and Persuasion	Short	Local radio, community meetings, religious actors, alternative means
Facilitate access to reading materials for the education community	Local	Family, teachers, students	Incidence	Short	Interpersonal communication
Change the image of quality education	Local	Teachers	Information and Persuasion	Short	Local radio, community meetings, religious actors and community leaders (auxiliary majors and COCODES)
Facilitate the participation in the education topic	Local	Community	Empowerment	Medium	Local radio, community meetings, religious actors and community leaders (auxiliary majors and COCODES), mobile phones, alternative means
Create spaces to improve the communication between the MINEDUC	Local	Teachers and MINEDUC authorities	Information and Empowerment	Medium	MINEDUC web page, cascading communication, workshops, interpersonal

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

authorities and the teachers in urban and rural schools					contact between supervisors and teachers
Establish mechanisms to promote the use of libraries at urban and rural schools in Joyabaj	Local	Local	Incidence	Medium	Interpersonal communication
Advocacy on parents and local leaders about the importance of bilingual education	National and Local	International cooperation, national authorities, community	Persuasion Incidence	Long	Dialogue and forums, interpersonal contact
Awake interest and build reading habits	Local	Family, teachers, students	Persuasion Empowerment	Long	Local radio, community meetings, religious actors, alternative means (storytelling, libraries, reading contests, spelling bees), TV (spill over of the national campaign,) local cable TV
Achieve better understanding of the benefits of education to have a better quality of life	Local	Family, teachers, students	Persuasion Empowerment	Long	Local radio, community meetings, religious actors, alternative means TV (spill over of the national campaign,) local cable TV
Facilitate the participation of the education community in the education topic	Local	Family, teachers, students	Persuasion Empowerment	Long	Local radio, community meetings, religious actors and community leaders (auxiliary majors and COCODES)

34.6 Awareness Campaign on Quality Education in the Classroom

The communication team design this campaign as a key tactic tool from the communication strategy for development which main objective was to raise awareness on the importance of taking advantage of education as a vehicle for personal, family, and community improvement. It also positioned to the audiences about key conditions to have educational quality in communities. Under the type of change approach in communication, the awareness campaign was the tactic that provided information and persuasion to the defined audiences.

In order of priority, the audience for the campaign were the following: (1) family, (2) community, and (3) school. The main insights of the campaign were as follows: (1) I like to learn. (2) If my children learn, they will have a better future. (3) I have a better attitude toward life when I learn. The discourse included in the pieces and communication tools of the campaign sought to leave this concept in the audience: "Achievement success in my personal, family and community life because I get support to receive education, learn more and be a better person" (Steele 2011).

The main tools of the campaign were:

1. Three different radio spots versions of 60 and 30 s produced in Spanish and Mayan Language K'iche'. The spots addressed different topics about actions to obtain better learning in reading and how to support the educational quality in the family and the community. The spots used dialogues between characters who represented community members (grocer, teacher, municipal councillor), who spoke in colloquial language about the necessary conditions to achieve students better learning in reading and quality of education at municipal levels. The campaign included a media plan with popular local radios (municipal and departmental levels), broadcasting eight radio spots (60 s) per day the first month. The next 3 months, broadcasting 10 radio spots (30 s) per day. The work with the radio included, also only the first broadcasting month, live mentions about the importance of reading and quality education by the announcers (four locutions per day of around 10 s). This media plan with municipal and departmental radios was used in 2011 for municipalities from Quiché, Jalapa, and Chiquimula.
2. Alternative public communication media with mobile publicity. This consisted of a vehicle (car or motorcycle) that carried a banner with images and text of the campaign and broadcasting live the radio spots on speakers. This media actions were used in 2011 (for municipalities of Quiché, Jalapa, and Chiquimula) and 2012 for municipalities from Totonicapán and San Marcos.
3. Large format poster with nine key protocols about the conditions to have quality education at classroom. These nine conditions were developed previously by technical staff from USAID/Education Reform in the Classroom, as well as the design of the poster. But they are included in the campaign because their contents were a conceptual basis for the development of communication tools within the campaign.

34.7 Early Reading Socialization Mechanism

According to the objectives set, designing and implementing this mechanism led to include in its tactics and tools all communication approaches for change included on the communication strategy for the sustainable development: of quality education, information, persuasion, incidence, and empowerment.

The communication objectives proposed for the mechanism were:

1. Raise awareness among parents/families whose daughters and sons are enrolled in first, second, and third graders on the importance of being involved in education.
2. Persuade parents/families on the importance of reading.
3. Empower families to recognize the reading skills their children should acquire according to grade level.

To achieve these objectives, the following communication approaches for change were proposed:

1. **Political incidence** generating commitment for policy support and increased public interest in social issues
2. The **social support** that develops alliances and social support systems that legitimize and encourage development-related activities such as social norms
3. The **empowerment** that gives individuals and groups knowledge, values, and skills that promote effective action for change

Table 3 presents the specific problems that the socialization mechanism would try to solve, including objectives and the communication approaches for change.

As indicated above, this mechanism covered all approaches to change, so it was designed to use Communication for Structural and Sustainable Social Change, which integrates interpersonal communication, participatory communication, and mass media communication.

34.8 Early Reading Socialization Mechanism Fields of Action

The implementation of the early reading socialization mechanism had three major fields of action:

1. **Text provision**. USAID/Education Reform in the Classroom project made alliances with other USAID projects, private businesses, and education NGOs to provide teaching materials and reading texts to schools where the mechanism would be implemented, located in the departments of Quiché, Chiquimula, Jalapa, Totonicapán, and San Marcos.
   The provision of textbooks and school libraries by the Ministry of Education through its "National Reading Program" was very important in this topic.

Table 3 Early reading socialization mechanism problems. (Alvarado et al. 2010b)

Communication Media at Editorial Level (1)	**Audiences**	**Term**	**Problems**	**Objectives**	**Strategies (2)**
	Teachers and students	Short	Lack of teaching materials in the school	Provide teaching materials and reading books	Text provision
	Family		Lack of reading material at home, especially in rural areas		
	Family, teachers and students	Medium	Little participation of the parents in the education of their children	Raise awareness among parents, mothers and community about the importance of getting involved in education Empower families to recognize reading skills	Political incidence (awareness and commitment) Social support and empowerment
	Community		Little participation of the community in education matters		
	MINEDUC. teachers, students		Absence of school libraries and where these exist, little use	Promote the use of libraries	Political incidence (awareness and commitment)
	Family, teachers, students	Large	Poor reading habits	Encourage the habit of reading	Political incidence (awareness and commitment)
	Family, teachers, students		Education aspirations are very basic (learn reading and writing and numbers)	Achieve that the educational community recognizes the benefits of education to have a better quality of life	Political incidence (awareness and commitment) Social support and empowerment

Short Term: I year. **Medium Term**: 2 years. **Large Term**: 4 años (1) Communication media are crosscutting target audiences to assist in social problems. A plan to impact national and local media is an appropriate way to reach and involve this audience. (2) **Author's note**: The original source used the term "strategies." In this document, communication approaches for change have been used. For the topic of "text provision" the term "Action" may fit better.

2. **Awareness and commitment**. Through local mass media (especially radio) and alternative media. The tactic of the awareness campaign on quality education was the main arm to fulfill that action, whose general aspects were described above. On the other hand, forums were held on radio and TV where local educational actors talked about the importance of reading, the quality of education, and the conditions to achieve it in their municipalities/communities. In addition to having the audiences aware about the quality of education, this action allowed these actors to appropriate a discourse on the importance of educational quality and initiate a process of social support and commitment in their communities (Arreaga 2014).

   It is important to mention that the radio spots of the campaign were used as information and awareness tools in the tactics radio and TV forums and "parent schools" tactic (more information next).
3. **Social support and empowerment**. In this field of action, several tactics and communication actions were designed and implemented.
   (a) **Community dialogues**. Were implemented in the urban municipal centers around the topics reading, educational quality, and the conditions to achieve educational quality, also known as learning opportunities. As well as in the radio and TV forums, people from Guatemala City did not attend the dialogues to lead the dialogues. Local leaders on education issues, teachers and event parents were the leading panelist at the community dialogues. This again generated social support and allowed local actors to participate in actions to improve and change education in their communities and municipalities.
   (b) **Reading Fairs.** These had their scope of action schools and involved local educational and municipal authorities, principals, teachers, volunteers, parents, and students. The main objective of the fairs was to involve them in the development of didactic tools for the local learning communities for the best learning of reading and to raise awareness of the importance of the practice of reading in school and in family settings. The implementation of this tactic of promotion to reading (2011–2012) counted the participation of 694 adults from the zones of the intervention. Among them were volunteers, school directors, teachers, and educational and municipal authorities. If we add the participating children, almost 2000 people participated.
   (c) **"Parent schools."** Were designed and executed to provide parents with skills in recognizing their children's reading skills and to facilitate reading-learning activities at home. The main challenge of implementing such a tactic was that most of the fathers and mothers were of low schooling and/or illiterate and those from the Western Highlands, especially mothers, did not speak Spanish, only the Mayan K'iche' language. In this sense, it was necessary to create, through experts in adult education at rural level with experience in the indicated social and cultural contexts, work guides of around 2 h, which would be implemented through face-to-face sessions, the days and time that the parents agreed in each group. The project implemented this empowerment tactic in 20 schools, with an average of

35 participants per session, through volunteer facilitators in its first phase (2011) and, in the second (2012), through facilitators hired by a project grant with a nongovernmental organization with presence in the highlands of Guatemala. In most of the cases, the facilitators were bilingual (Mayan areas), and where it was not possible, they were supported by a local leader. In the first phase (6 sessions), the focus was reading and in the second (8 sessions) on expected student learning. Of the 20 schools where it was implemented, only 2 participated in the two phases.

For the social support and empowerment field of action, it was necessary to contract, under a grant scheme, organizations with rural and community experience that had more permanence in the work areas. It is key to indicate that the USAID project did not have a full-time regional or local team to implement its tactics and actions.

34.9 Assessments, Perceptions of Change, and Results of the Communication Intervention

The awareness campaign of quality education and the reading socialization mechanism in its tactic of "parent schools" contemplated in their design assessment actions regarding perceptions of change and penetration. For the "parent schools," questionnaires were made that explored, at the end of the intervention, the perceptions of change and comments of the fathers and mothers, as well as the teachers of the schools where it was implemented. On the awareness campaign, penetration surveys were designed, included in the post-baseline field studies carried out by USAID/USAID/Education Reform in the Classroom with the educational communities in the geographical areas where the project was implemented. At the end of 2013 and the beginning of 2014, close to the end of the USAID project (March 2014), focus groups with local actors (parents, teachers, school directors, and educational authorities) were designed and implemented to learn about their perceptions of communication actions carried out in 2011 and 2012. Likewise, as part of this final monitoring process, interviews were held with representatives of the organizations that implemented these communication actions locally (Arreaga 2014).

34.9.1 Results

Awareness campaign monitoring (2011). A couple of months after the campaign was broadcast in its first phase in Quiché and Jalapa (September 2011), USAID/Education Reform in the Classroom conducted a penetration survey in the municipalities where it was broadcasted/disseminated. This survey was conducted with fathers and mothers or managers of students who were in their homes in the areas of opportunity. The sample was taken to a total of 788 people, where 61.8% were women and 38.2% were men. To the question: *"Do you listen to radio?*," in Quiché,

62% said yes, and 38% did not. In Jalapa, to the same question, 93.6% said they did listen to the radio, and 6.4% did not.

The people who indicated that they did listen to the radio were asked if they remembered any announcement of education through this medium. In Quiché, 13.4% said that they remembered an announcement about education; and 86.6% commented that they did not remember. On the other hand, in the people of Jalapa, 69.6% answered that they did remember announcements about education, and 30.4% indicated that they did not remember.

The education messages that were indicated more than once, as remembered by the people who were surveyed, are:

- *Send children to school*
- *Education is free*
- *Education is a right*
- *Do not mistreat children*
- *On the health and hygiene of children*
- *There will be no classes for political elections*
- ***Education begins at home and is also the responsibility of parents***
- ***Children must be well educated***
- ***Help children with their homework***
- ***Education gives a better life***
- ***Send children to school so they can learn***
- *Educate is to live*
- ***Reading support from home***
- ***Teacher training***
- *That there is no educational quality*
- *How to educate children*
- *Educate everyone*
- *Send children to school every day*
- ***Education is important for life***
- *Educate without discrimination*
- *Educate with love* (Arreaga 2014)

The remembered subjects of education that have bold (8) are those that were included as contents in the awareness campaign.

Awareness campaign monitoring (2012). Next, the results of the penetration of the campaign by alternative means in 2012 are presented, according to the survey conducted in September 2012, to school directors and teachers of Totonicapán and Quiché (For this department, the campaign was disseminated with these alternative media in 2011).

The survey asked the following two questions to the two target groups:

1. *Have you heard through an automobile, motorcycle with speakers, or speakers an important announcement for the community?*
2. *What do you remember about those ads?*

3. *Have you heard another way or means of communication to talk about education in the municipality?*
4. *What do you remember about those ads?*

34.9.2 School Directors

Of a total of 52 directors questioned with question No. 1, 80.8% answered that they had not heard any message by said means of communication, and 19% said they had heard. Of those who affirmed that they had heard messages in alternate media, they remembered about "promotion of the use of libraries," one of the education issues of the project campaign.

About having heard by other media about education, 42.6% said they had heard. These directors said that they had heard these messages on radio, then through educational dialogues, and finally through other media. The main contents heard by the directors on education through these channels were "educational quality," "libraries," "reading, and teacher training." All these contents were part of the project's campaign.

34.9.3 Teachers

Of a total of 130 teachers questioned with question No. 1, 72.3% answered that they had not heard any message by these means of communication, and 27.7% said they had heard. Of those who affirmed that they had heard messages in alternative media, they remembered about "reading," "writing," libraries," and "intercultural bilingual education," the first three being education issues of the project campaign.

About having heard by other media about education topics, 46.5% said that they had listened. These teachers stated that they had heard these messages on radio (72%), then educative community dialogues (23%), and other means (5%). The main contents heard by teachers about education through these channels were:

- *Educational quality.*
- *That education is quality and effective for children.*
- *That parents are also responsible for the education of children. Adequate time for reading.*
- *Have a habit of reading.*
- *The importance of reading for personal development.*
- *Orientations to parents on education.*
- *Promotion of reading.*
- *Education is important so that a community can improve every day.*

About awareness campaign monitoring in focus group (End of 2013–beginning of 2014). In this period, the USAID project carried out five focus groups (around 9 persons per group) with different representatives of the educational

community of the project's intervention areas. In four of the focus groups, one person per group listened to the campaign by radio or mobile publicity.

34.9.4 Brief Analysis About the Awareness Campaign Monitoring

The first point that draws attention is the use of radio by audiences in the departments where the project intervened: Quiché (62%) versus Jalapa (96%). And in those who do listen radio, the difference is very high between those departments about the top of mind on the education topic: Quiché (13.6%) and Jalapa (69.6%).

Of 21 education topics remembered, 8 topics (38%) were contents of the campaign. Linked to the previous paragraph is very high probability that this impact and penetration occurred more in Jalapa than in Quiché.

The data recorded in the 2012 monitoring show that mobile publicity did not have a high penetration for school directors (19% heard it) and teachers (27.7% heard it). However, what makes it interesting is that for both audiences, school directors and teachers, almost half said they had heard educational messages in other media: radio, dialogues, and others. The point is that for 2012 there was no awareness campaign by radio in Totonicapán or in Quiché. The radial spots were broadcast only by closed circuit in a station in a market of the municipality of Momostenango, Totonicapán, and in the radio forums described before (early reading socialization mechanism, field of action awareness and commitment). They were also disseminated in the community dialogues, where 23% of teachers said they heard about education topics. But there is not enough evidence, according to the sources consulted for this report, to determine with certainty if these groups received the information through the market closed circuit (Momostenango), through the radio forums, or maybe through other radio campaigns not implemented by the USAID project.

"Parents schools" monitoring. For this tactic of the early reading socialization mechanism, field of action social support and empowerment questionnaires were made that explored, at the end of the intervention, the perceptions of change and comments of the parents, as well as the teachers of the schools where it was implemented. Also, exploratory questions were asked about the impact of this tactic, in the focus groups carried out by the project (2013–2014).

We present below the perceptions of parents and teachers regarding changes and impact of the intervention (Arreaga 2014):

Parents perceptions:

1. *"It was to wake up the mind. It is no longer as before when nobody supported us."*
2. *"I have changed my way of thinking about the responsibilities of having a child in school and that he learns* well.*"*
3. *"My son has improved his grades this bimester."*
4. *"It helped us a lot in letting us know what we as parents have to do to help our children learn."*

5. *"I didn't know the library of Joyabaj; now, I take my daughter* [there]*, who likes to go."*
6. *"In addition of reading more, I got closer to my daughter."*
7. *"We have to help our children, even if we don't know how to read and write."*
8. *"We learned how to spend time with our children reading stories."*
9. *"We read signs of shops and stores with our children."*
10. *"Now he does his homework and he doesn't bring any reds* [to fail an exam or class]*."*
11. *"Even though we don't know how to read and write, the program gives us great ideas to accompany our children."*
12. *"My son used to fail classes, but this year he passed them all. The teacher says he is improving."*
13. *"We dare to help the children, mainly in reading."*

Teacher perceptions:

1. *"Students are more interested in attending school."*
2. *"*[A] *significant change in the relationship between teachers and parents."*
3. *"I had a student who had problems to read and write. I believe the school for parents has helped him to read more."*
4. *"75% of the children have improved their school performance."*
5. *"Boys and girls are now less shy."*

Community dialogues and reading fairs monitoring. At the focus groups, the participants said about the reading fairs that it was very motivating for the boys and girls, awakening interest in them by reading. Likewise, the role of community dialogues was recognized as a space for group reflection to search for strategies at the local level that support educational quality. As indicated above, community dialogues were also a good channel for teachers and principals to listen to the spots designed to be broadcast on radio.

34.10 Conclusion

From several angles implementing this communication strategy for development, seeking the involvement of parents to achieve quality education focusing on reading was a model to follow and to take account for different actors who finance, design, and implement education projects. Such is the case of the Ministry of Education, projects of international cooperation agencies, civil society organizations, and even academic and university sectors. Below are concepts that indicate these angles that can serve as a guide to know to this previous experience in education and communication for development in Guatemala and highlight to what was learned from this work in communication.

- According to the perceptions showed previously, implementing an early reading socialization mechanism where parents participated in a tactic like a "parent

schools" demonstrated that it is possible to work in Guatemala with parents with little education or illiterate and many of them speaking Mayan languages.
- This was possible using communication approaches that sought to inform, raise awareness, and empower parents. To achieve these approaches, it was necessary to merge disciplines such as communication and adult education, contextualized to the reality of the participants (language, cultural values, replicability of actions at home according to their educational profile, etc.)
- Implementing communication actions for development with a focus on sustainability implies having the support of local, municipal, or departmental partners. They can be volunteers, hired by a grant, or be part of the permanent staff of a project.
- Facilitating reading fairs, community dialogues, and radio/TV forums where participants are teachers, leaders, and local education authorities can generate sustainability of these communication actions, since members of the educational communities are those who participate in its change. Although the USAID project provided the funding and proposed the action, with a *top-down* approach, local stakeholders, including parents, participated in the development of these communication actions (*bottom-up*).
- The use of mass media, such as radio, is quite heterogeneous in Guatemala as evidenced by the penetration surveys of the awareness campaign in two geographical areas of the country (Jalapa vs. Quiché). This suggests that it is necessary to know in greater detail the use of radio at local levels, by certain audiences.
- According to the surveys and focus group carried out, the advertising mobiles or mobile publicity did not have the penetration and expected impact. Possibly more time was needed for exposure to the hearings, but the USAID project did not have a higher budget to use in these media.

Upon completion of the USAID/Education Reform in the Classroom Project (2014), USAID/Guatemala financed and implemented a new project: USAID Lifelong Learning (2014–2019). This project took this communication model for development, replicating on a larger scale the early reading socialization mechanism, including parents school and reading fairs, and using the conceptual and design basis of the awareness campaign.

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Digital Communication and Tourism for Development

35

Alessandro Inversini and Isabella Rega

Contents

35.1 Introduction: Tourism and Developing Countries 668
35.2 The Conceptualization of eTourism 4 Development 669
35.3 Community-Based Tourism: The Context of Action 672
35.4 Digital Communication Technologies in Community-Based Tourism: Experts' Opinion 673
35.5 Discussion and Conclusions 674
References 676

Abstract

This book chapter aims to discuss critically the role of digital communication technologies in tourism for development. In doing so, the literature at the intersection of tourism, development studies, and digital communication technologies is presented, with a clear proposal to overcome the current reductionist approach within the field. The chapter presents a holistic model of the role of digital communication technologies in tourism for development, which sees them not only as a tool (i.e., to market the destination) but also as a catalyst and a driver for experience creation and co-creation.

Keywords

Tourism · Development studies · eTourism 4 Development

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35.1 Introduction: Tourism and Developing Countries

The nature of the contribution of tourism to developing and emerging economies is to date controversial. Both researchers and practitioners have been discussing this subject, debating a series of issues that can be positioned on a spectrum with two clear ends: on the one side, there is the technical and infrastructural development of the destination; on the other side, there is the social development of the communities involved in the tourism initiatives.

Commentators praise the advent of tourism in developing rural contexts endowed by natural beauties: this, in fact, helps the creation of infrastructures and services that are used primarily by the travelers and ultimately by the residents. Apart from infrastructural and eventual economic gains, other benefits attributed to tourism in developing and rural areas include skills development; exposure to the world beyond their immediate locality; better access to education, healthcare, clean water, and transportation; and increased confidence in and sense of ownership of the enterprise and the neighborhood in which the tourism enterprise is situated (Scheyvens 2007). Historically, the growth of tourism destinations in developing countries has been led by private companies, often in conjunction with governments and local authorities; these created the basis for tourism to flourish in the designated area. Governments around the world have started to encourage initiatives for the requalification of rural and developing areas (e.g., Park and Yoon 2009) with specific funding programs. These programs are frequently aimed at transforming the primary source of income for local communities (which are often based on agriculture and breeding) and thereby fostering the culture of tourism and hospitality.

Most of these programs have proved to be successful, often radically transforming and reshaping the landscape and the value chain of the rural/developing areas. However, one of the main challenges of these approaches (both the private and public funding programs) lies in the sustainability of the interventions: community dwellers need to be part of the transformation process; otherwise, as soon as the public funding runs out and/or the destination is considered fully exploited by the private sector, they would not have any ownership of the tourism initiatives, and the community would collapse. Academic literature has often advocated the inclusion and involvement of local communities as they are seen as a key resource for sustainable tourism development. In fact, tourism can facilitate community development and poverty eradication because it is labor-intensive, inclusive of women and the informal sector, and often based on the natural and cultural heritage of the rural communities (Ashley and Roe 2002). However, in this respect, there is the clear possibility of the exploitation of local natural and human resources by international investors (Deller 2010): there is the risk of nurturing the creation of a local working class of poor for the international riches. This attitude clearly reflects a kind of post-colonialist approach to tourism where rich investors are able to drive the change within the destination without really involving the local communities in the process. It is clear that, if there is no feeling of ownership of the tourism projects and of the destination, communities will inevitably breakdown. However, there is also evidence of communities successfully blending the traditional source of income

(e.g., farming) with hospitality and tourism practices (funded either by the public or private sponsor); these lucky communities flourished to a new life, and community dwellers are actually the protagonists, and ultimately the added value, of the tourism experience (Park and Yoon 2009).

Additionally, UNWTO – United Nations World Tourism Organization – proclaimed 2017 the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development (UNTWO 2017), effectively endorsing the impact of tourism on local socioeconomic development. However, both within the UNTWO documents and in the general academic literature about tourism in developing and emerging economies, there is scant evidence about the role that digital communication technologies could play to facilitate and promote community-based sustainable tourism initiatives, thus underestimating how these technologies changed the global tourism market, which is increasingly relying on the internet for travel search and purchase (Spencer et al. 2012).

35.2 The Conceptualization of eTourism 4 Development

The research community is starting to acknowledge the importance of digital communication technologies in tourism for development (e.g., Gössling 2017); however, there remains a long way to go to understand fully the impact of digital communication technologies in this field and their possible evolution. In fact it is recognized that digital communication technologies have reshaped the competitive landscape of tourism (Buhalis 2003) on the one side and that on the other, they can strongly support community-based socioeconomic development (Unwin 2009). Nonetheless, there are few studies investigating the strategic and tactical role of digital communication technologies in community-based tourism for socioeconomic development (Rega and Inversini 2016).

This lack in the literature is peculiar, given (i) the possible contribution that tourism can bring to community development, (ii) the transformation that global tourism has faced in recent decades, and (iii) the recognition of the role played by digital communication technologies in the socioeconomic development processes. Let us first explore the interplay between tourism and community development. The industry is populated and operated by a galaxy of (micro) small and medium tourism enterprises (SMTEs), constituting its "life blood" (Thomas et al. 2011). These businesses operate in synergy with one another and dominate the value chain of the travel and tourism domain. In fact, to deliver a given experience (i.e., a hospitality experience), a series of competencies, products, and services (e.g., taxi service, breakfast, laundry service, etc.) needs to be provided, in addition to accommodation, by a succession of actors within the value chain. It is easy to understand that a popular and successful hospitality establishment in a community can have a waterfall impact on a series of other formal or informal players who provide services to the main business (i.e., hospitality). This is something that academic literature has already acknowledged and studied: Kirsten and Rogerson (2002), for example, focused their study on the contribution of micro and small tourism enterprises

(MSTEs) to the tourism value chain in emerging and developing economies; it transpires that successful interplay between SMTEs and MSTEs may result in a virtuous effect leading to local socioeconomic development for the local communities and for the overall tourism supply chain (Simpson 2008). However, also within these studies, there is no trace of the role of digital communication technologies, and the issue remains scantly investigated.

Let us now take into consideration how digital communication technologies have impacted the tourism industry. Recent decades have witnessed the disruptive rise of information and communication technologies (ICTs), which are playing a pivotal role in travel and tourism and are reshaping the competitive landscape of the industry. Literature acknowledges the impact of ICTs, especially the internet, in the tourism field within a stream of research called eTourism (Buhalis 2003). One of the most interesting issues in the recent development of communication technologies is related to their increasing availability (Rega and Inversini 2016). The rise of smartphones together with the mobile internet is allowing a wider audience to be online and to create and share contents in an extremely quick way. Mobile computing, alongside the unprecedented digitalization of conversations and word-of-mouth, creates an avenue for interactive discussion between communities of interests that were – until few years ago – separate from one another. Thanks to the advancements of technologies, peripheral tourism businesses – that are not included in the popular distribution channels – can now be visible and bookable by travelers.

Finally, let us consider how academics and practitioners have reflected and explored the crucial role of communication technologies to reach the Millennium Developments Goals. In recent decades, a new interdisciplinary field of research has emerged, called ICT4D (Information and Communication for Development – Unwin 2009). ICT4D brings together computer scientists and social scientists tackling a broad range of developmental domain, such as agriculture, health, education, and political participation. Although there are a lack of studies focusing on tourism, an interesting set of works focuses on entrepreneurship and suggests micro-, small-, and medium-sized enterprises as units of analysis (Heeks 2010) to investigate the connection between technologies and development. An effective use of ICTs by SMTEs and MSTEs in developing contexts can enhance businesses' visibility and competitiveness and, therefore, improve the socioeconomic conditions of local communities.

We named the missing piece of research at the intersection between (i) development studies, (ii) tourism studies, and (iii) ICTs eT4D (eTourism 4 Development) (Fig. 1). In order to describe eT4D better, the following diagram will sum up the abovementioned intersections:

Tourism Studies and Development Studies: Literature presents an ever-growing body of research about the intersection between development studies and tourism studies (Sharpley and Telfer 2014). The academic debate acknowledges that there could be the risk of an imperialistic and post-colonialist approach of international tourism as outlined above. Exploitative tourism has been historically challenged (Krippendorf 2010), and alternative forms of tourism arose with

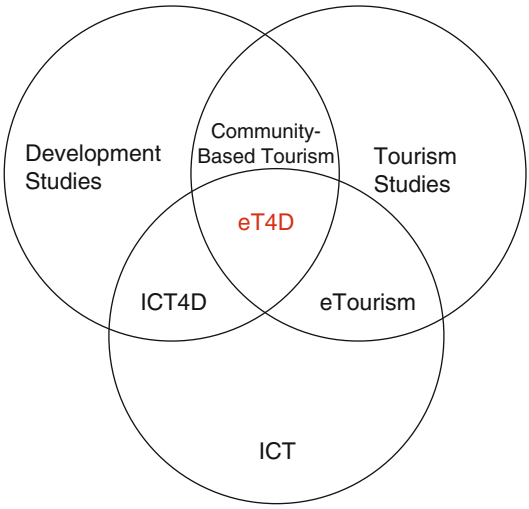

Fig. 1 The conceptualization of eTourism 4 Development

a renewed focus on local sustainability and community development. Alternative tourism is an ideologically different form of tourism that is considered preferable to mass, consumer-driven, and exploitative travel (Wearing 2001), because it takes into consideration the local communities and the local environment.

Tourism studies and ICT: ICTs have revolutionized the structure and organization of the tourism industry; the advent of the internet produced a paradigm shift in the industry thanks to the convergence among informatics, communication, and multimedia; technologies can support both (i) marketing, i.e., bringing to the attention of the travelers a given offer (Inversini et al. 2015), and (ii) the travel and tourism value chain, i.e., enabling the effective management of products and services (Zhang et al. 2009).

Development and ICT: Within the ICT4D field, ICTs are seen to generate benefits related, for example, to the interaction between customers and suppliers (Donner and Escobari 2010) or the enhancement of labor productivity leading to higher salaries; however, tourism has not been regarded as a research domain by academics and practitioners in the field (Rega and Inversini 2016) resulting in a low number of studies dealing with this issue.

Therefore, merging these three perspectives, tourism can contribute in disrupting its imperialistic and post-colonialist tradition in developing countries (Nash 1989; Pastran 2014) by giving access via the global market to alternative forms of tourism; thanks to digital communication technologies, communities and local players have the unprecedented opportunity to manage their experiential products by themselves and to promote and sell their products online without intermediaries. This can foster the growth of community-based tourism initiatives and enhance the economic and social status of local entrepreneurs and collaborators, thus generating better living conditions in disadvantaged communities.

35.3 Community-Based Tourism: The Context of Action

The concept of eTourism 4 Development can be applied to tourism and hospitality initiatives led by local communities (Inversini and Rega, 2016). It is in fact proposed that communities can leverage digital communication technologies to design, deliver, and promote their travel-related products and/or experiences to a wider public (e.g., Inversini et al. 2015). This vision challenges those of Cater (1995) and of Akama (1999) who were describing an oligopolistic scenario in developing and emerging economies dominated by big tour operators and travel agencies with high marketing power. What eTourism for Development proposes is to refocus the location of sustainability within the community, where local dwellers can engage among themselves and with international travelers, thanks to digital communication technologies, and in doing so disrupt the relationship with travel agents and tour operators. In this vision, digital communication technologies are seen as a strategy and tactic to foster both connections between local businesses and between local businesses and travelers.

This approach is facilitating the rise of alternative markets, which include sustainable tourism (Hunter 1997), ecotourism (Cater 1993), ethical tourism (Weeden 2002), and volunteer tourism (Uriely et al. 2003). These alternative forms of tourism are driven by a growing demand for products and services that are more sustainable, pro-poor, and less harmful to local environments and communities (Callanan and Thomas 2005). Community participation is often regarded as one of the most essential tools to drive tourism toward a substantial contribution to the local, regional, and national development of a country. When the community participates fully in tourism activities, there is sustainability, the increased opportunity for local people to benefit from the activity taking place in their vicinity, positive local attitudes, and the conservation of local resources (e.g., Tosun 2006). Murphy (1985) maintained that community-based tourism (CBT) emphasizes the inclusive participation of communities in tourism initiatives to ensure economic returns to the locals and promote the socioeconomic evolution of rural and developing areas (Heeks 2010).

On the same subject, Akama and Kieti (2007) stated that the success of tourism should not merely be measured in terms of the increase in arrivals and revenues but based also on how tourism is integrated with the local and national economies and its contribution to the overall development of the local communities. A bottom-up CBT initiative can induce development for the community, because local spontaneous participation would come with full involvement in production, management and marketing, product development in line with local assets, and reliance on community networks (Zhao and Ritchie 2007). In fact, the key to enhancing the welfare of poor communities is not in expanding the size of the tourism sector but in unlocking opportunities for the poor within the industry (Ashley and Roe 2002). In this way, tourism can be understood as one of many development strategies and could create synergies with other approaches to enhance community development and poverty alleviation (Zhao and Ritchie 2007).

35.4 Digital Communication Technologies in Community-Based Tourism: Experts' Opinion

In order to contribute to the discussion related to tourism in developing and emerging economies with the angle of community-based eTourism4 Development, this chapter presents the outcomes of 11 semi-structured interviews which will help in shedding light on the power of digital communication technologies in designing, supporting, and promoting tourism for development at the local level. This chapter presents experts' perspectives and proposes a framework for the adoption of digital communication technologies that would contribute toward the development of a new and transformative learning experience. In particular, the study wanted to understand experts' perspectives about (i) the importance and role of digital technologies in community-based tourism socioeconomic development and (ii) how digital technologies can serve community-based tourism.

Eleven international academic experts working at the crossroads of digital technology, tourism studies, and development studies were interviewed over the telephone. Experts were chosen on the basis of a systematic literature review for the structured keywords "tourism + digital technologies + local development" carried out in two academic databases, namely, EBSCO and Web of Science. Specifically, five of the interviewees had a background and a position related to tourism (marketing and management); five held a position related to development studies, and one had a position related to tourism and development studies. Respondents were asked about the importance and role of digital communication in community-based tourism socioeconomic development. Interviews were recorded, anonymized, and transcribed to be analyzed through thematic analysis.

Code	Role	Area of research
#1	Professor	Tourism
#2	Emeritus Professor	Developmental studies
#3	Senior Lecturer	Tourism and developmental studies
#4	Professor	Developmental studies
#5	Associate Professor	Developmental studies
#6	Professor	Tourism
#7	Professor	Tourism
#8	Professor	Tourism
#9	Assistant Professor	Tourism
#10	Associate Professor	Developmental studies
#11	Professor	Developmental studies

In the first instance, experts were all supporting the role of tourism for local socioeconomic development together with a series of possible controversial effects, thus confirming literature in the field (Deller 2010).

Engagement with people and developing them personally was one theme stressed by experts: the connection with local communities can hold great importance in motivating

them to partake in the tourism development process. Expert #11 said that: "socio development has to do with people looking into themselves in terms of their capability and so on, the financial uplifting of those people. I do think that tourism can serve as a very good tool to foster socio-economic development in local communities."

However, expert #9 said with reference to African tourism that: "some of the local communities in the vicinity of tourism development have resentment towards it as they don't see the benefits of it for them. They might see it as something that only recent people can engage in and as a community they won't have access to it." The issue of helping communities to understand tourism appears to be a hard balance to reach as some projects do not deliver the intended benefits. Expert #6 touched on this, stating: "The return investment just isn't there; there's a lot of evidence on evaluations on why tourism funded projects succeed or fail. When those have happened, the focus has been on looking at the output of the project, not the impacts developed by them."

It is possible that there needs to be a shift in perceptions that moves past a focus on investment and toward assisting communities on a personal level. This is in line with the work of Kleine and Unwin (2009), where the accent is on the development of people's freedom within communities rather than on infrastructural advancement.

The role of digital communication technologies within community-based tourism socioeconomic development was then discussed by interviewees. With mention of the islands in Greece, expert #5 emphasized that "The ICT applications have the ability to redefine distance between places; this impacts the attractiveness of a region for businesses, residences and education." In this way technology is a driving force for development, in that it creates opportunities for communities to be able to make use of it (Inversini et al. 2015). Some experts (e.g., respondent #6) made mention of projects that have failed because of investments not being put to use effectively, and this lack of technological infrastructure in turn restricts the impact that technology can have on a region; expert #9 agreed with this: "I think unfortunately there cannot be socio-economic development without technology but I think in terms of developing countries the problem lies in wasted resources. We might have an idea that technology can make us more complex and efficient but if this is not available then we are stuck. The solution is to find some funding and the drive to focus on that will be most important."

Ultimately communication technologies and tourism can play a critical role in socioeconomic development, but how they are both delivered and implemented is the most important factor. Experts mentioned specific techniques for this operation. For example, expert #1 mentioned the rise of smart tourism, a concept that "enables the collective competitiveness of tourism destination to manage their co-creation of activities."

35.5 Discussion and Conclusions

When asked about the impact of digital communication technologies for community-based tourism socioeconomic development, two primary perspectives emerged:

(i) Few experts believed that technology is just one of the possible tools to market and manage tourism at community level but that country/state policies and incentives are the (top-down) driving force for local socioeconomic development; expert #8 stated: "Technology is always only a tool; in order to empower someone, you need to understand the technology, so you need to understand the benefits, operate and handle it and also need a lot of time. If they are used to the proper way then that can empower people but on the other hand it can often be time-consuming and often (especially for smaller communities) it's better for people to communicate face-to-face instead of using ICT."

(ii) Most of the experts discussed innovation (and in particular digital technology innovation) as the prerequisite for local socioeconomic development, claiming a bottom-up vision where community digital empowerment can nurture local socioeconomic development; expert #7 maintained: "Technology is a driving force for local growth and co-operation between different stakeholders at local level. It contributes to overcome physical, social and economic barriers." On the same line of thought, respondent #1 explained: "Technology will provide the infrastructure for the development; interconnectivity will enable communities to put forward their story and attract customers. Technology will be the connector between buyer and seller and will provide the infrastructure to facilitate the co-creation of local experiences."

Taking for granted the infrastructural evolution which is happening in some developing contexts, as asserted by experts (#1, #3, #7, #9, #10), it is possible to overcome the reductionist conception of digital communication technologies as a mere tool within this context to explore a more contemporary role of these as a catalyst for creating and co-creating experiences. Digital communication technologies should be leveraged to empower local communities to create a network of formal and informal business able to cooperate toward the creation and co-creation of sustainable travel experiences; this will allow communities to flourish and to leverage their identity toward the creation of authentic tourism products to be marketed to travelers. The marketing perspective (together with the sales one – eCommerce) is also essential to sustainable community-based tourism; digital communication technologies will, in fact, allow interactive communication between community dwellers and potential visitors toward the co-creation of experiences.

In conclusion, thanks to a detailed discussion of the role of tourism in socioeconomic development coupled with a critical debate on the academic literature about the key role of digital communication technologies in this field, this chapter proposed a new lens with which to study and understand the impact of digital communication technologies in socioeconomic development at the community-based tourism level; the chapter contributes to the body of knowledge of eTourism 4 Development, proposing a pragmatic and conceptual contribution about digital communication technologies to tourism for development.

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Part VI

Methods, Techniques, and Tools

A Community-Based Participatory Mixed-Methods Approach to Multicultural Media Research

36

Rukhsana Ahmed and Luisa Veronis

Contents

36.1 Introduction 682
36.2 Conceptual Framework and Methodological Approaches 683
36.3 Description of the Partnership and Its Development Process 684
36.4 Governance Structure of the Partnership 684
36.4.1 Collaborative Participation in the Intellectual Leadership 686
36.5 Participatory Research Design 686
36.5.1 Design of Research Instruments 686
36.5.2 Data Collection 687
36.5.3 Data Analysis 688
36.6 Participatory Knowledge Mobilization 688
36.6.1 Knowledge Production/Creation 689
36.6.2 Dissemination 689
36.7 Key Learnings and Insights 690
36.8 Cross-References 691
References 691

Abstract

This chapter critically reviews and discusses the methodological approach adopted by the Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative (OMMI), a team-based, multidisciplinary, and multi-sectoral partnership project, examining the role of Multicultural Media (MCM) in fostering the settlement, integration, and well-being of four immigrant and ethnocultural communities in Ottawa,

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Canada – Chinese, Spanish-speaking Latin American, Somali, and South Asian. The project was carried out in accordance with key principles of community-based participatory research in the hopes to influence policy and standards and create a community action project for promoting newcomer well-being and inclusion, as these concepts are understood within specific ethnocultural and immigrant communities. To this end, a mixed-methods approach, including surveys, focus groups, media content analysis, and semi-structured interviews, was adopted, and all research instruments were developed in collaboration with multiple local community and municipal stakeholders. While navigating the challenges of participatory research (e.g., time constraints, competing expectations, and reiterative process), significant opportunities emerged to produce grounded and relevant research and policy outcomes that encompass the diverse needs and practices of the communities under study and are embedded within the local multicultural context. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the key insights gained from the OMMI experience that will help to advance more "holistic" approaches to the study of MCM in a variety of contexts for development and social change.

Keywords

Community-based participatory research · Ethnocultural · Knowledge mobilization · Immigrant communities · Mixed methods · Multicultural media · Partnership

36.1 Introduction

The Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative (OMMI) is a team-based, multidisciplinary, and multi-sectoral partnership project, examining the role of Multicultural Media (MCM) in fostering the settlement, integration, and well-being of four immigrant and ethnocultural communities (i.e., Chinese, Spanish-speaking Latin American, Somali, and South Asian) in Ottawa, Canada. OMMI's three main interrelated objectives were (1) to build long-term research capacity and expertise on the intersections between MCM, immigrant integration, and economic prosperity; (2) to forge strong partnerships with the municipal government (the City of Ottawa), targeted communities, and local stakeholders (e.g., settlement agencies, immigrant associations, community groups) through a broad and dynamic network of collaboration; and (3) to cocreate, mobilize, and disseminate knowledge about MCM and their potential to address issues related to Ottawa's economic prosperity and immigrant inclusion and integration. With the aim to co-construct knowledge, the project was carried out in accordance with key principles of community-based participatory research (Israel et al. 1998) in the hopes to influence policy and standards and create a community action project for promoting newcomer well-being and inclusion, as these concepts are understood within specific ethnocultural and immigrant communities (EICs). To this end, the research team adopted a mixed-methods approach (including surveys, focus groups, semi-structured interviews, and media content analysis) and developed all research instruments in collaboration with multiple local community and municipal stakeholders. While navigating the challenges

of participatory research (e.g., time constraints, competing expectations, and reiterative process), significant opportunities emerged to produce grounded and relevant research and policy outcomes that encompass the diverse needs and practices of four different EICs and are embedded within the local multicultural context. This chapter focuses on the conceptual, empirical, and methodological contributions of OMMI's approach. The chapter is divided into six sections, with Sect. 36.2 describing the OMMI partnership development. In Sect. 36.3, the conceptual framework and methodological approaches that OMMI adopted are described, while Sect. 36.4 outlines the project governance structure. Section 36.5 describes the participatory design of the project, and Sect. 36.6 provides a discussion of the key insights gained from the OMMI experience that will help to advance more "holistic" approaches to the study of MCM in a variety of contexts for development and social change.

36.2 Conceptual Framework and Methodological Approaches

Community-based participatory research – oftentimes equated with action research, participatory research, and participatory action research, among other terms (MacDonald 2012) – is "a collaborative approach to research that equitably involves all partners in the research process and recognizes the unique strengths that each brings" (WK Kellogg Foundation 2013, para 1). The OMMI project was carried out in accordance with seven key principles of community-based participatory research (Israel et al. 1998) that advocate for fruitful research partnerships (WK Kellogg Foundation 2013). These principles include (1) recognizing "community as a unit of identity," (2) building "on strengths and resources within the community," (3) facilitating "collaborative partnership in all phases of the research," (4) integrating "knowledge and action for mutual benefit of all partners," (5) promoting "a co-learning and empowering process that attends to social inequalities," (6) involving "a cyclical and iterative process," and (7) disseminating "findings and knowledge gained to all partners" (Israel et al. 1998, pp. 179–180). These principles are in line with the intended outcome of influencing policy and standards (Brown et al. 2002) and creating a community action project with a view to promote newcomer well-being and inclusion as these concepts are understood within specific EICs. The intention was to engage local stakeholders through the collaborative network and the broader community through focus groups and interviews (Anyaegbunam et al. 2010) in order to benefit from their resources and knowledge in such a way as to produce grounded as well as relevant research, practice, and policy outcomes (Graybill et al. 2010; Mays et al. 2013).

Located within a community-based participatory research framework, the OMMI project incorporated a two-pronged approach that combined corresponding quantitative and qualitative methods. The first approach focused on a Uses and Gratifications approach (Blumer and Katz 1974; Elliott 1974) involving surveys in order to examine MCM consumption behavior of members of EICs (why and how members of EICs consume specific MCM to meet their information needs). The second approach focused on a social capital approach (Bourdieu 1986; Putnam 1993a, b) involving focus groups and interviews in order to examine the potential of MCM for building both community bonding and intercommunity bridging social capital.

Together, these two approaches and their respective methods were adopted and adapted to help identify both opportunities and challenges associated with MCM and, more specifically, to determine the role of MCM in facilitating settlement, integration, and well-being of EICs in Ottawa.

It is also important to note that the OMMI project structure reflected the goal to develop social capital by building and bridging links between the different groups: researchers, the producers and consumers of MCM, and community partners, thus helping to create a rich partnership model that can form the basis for future partnerships and networks of collaboration.

36.3 Description of the Partnership and Its Development Process

According to the 2011 census data, 22.6% of Ottawa's population were foreign-born, representing a slightly higher percentage than the national average of 20.6% (Statistics Canada 2013). Through a partnership with key local stakeholders such as service providers, the City of Ottawa launched the Ottawa Immigration Strategy (OIS) (OLIP n.d.) in 2011, a community action plan and strategy to address settlement and integration needs of immigrants at the local level.

The growing ethnocultural diversity of the City of Ottawa has been accompanied by the increasing appeal for MCM. Such demands are linking EICs to diverse media sources, creating an opportunity to foster MCM growth. However, little is known of what challenges and opportunities exist in Ottawa's MCM landscape. Against this backdrop, the OMMI engaged in an important partnership development endeavor to undertake a study of Ottawa's MCM landscape with an in-depth focus on the Chinese, Spanish-speaking Latin American, Somali, and South Asian communities to examine strategies for improving the social inclusion, well-being, and labor market integration of EICs.

The four EICs were selected based on three primary considerations. First, these communities constitute Ottawa's largest visible minority groups and are fast growing. Second, the communities represent a fertile combination of characteristics in terms of population size, group cohesion and diversity (e.g., language, immigrant status, period of settlement, and so on), geographical/national dispersion, and media production/consumption, thus likely leading to rich and nuanced research. Third, the communities were complementary to the research team's expertise and language competencies, thus facilitating fruitful collaborative and participatory engagement.

36.4 Governance Structure of the Partnership

The OMMI partnership utilized its governance structure (see Fig. 1) to engage the different actors involved in the project. Specifically, it was able to link the University of Ottawa and the City of Ottawa to a network of MCM producers; leading MCM scholars and practitioners; representatives of the local Chinese, Spanish-speaking Latin American, Somali, and South Asian communities; and other stakeholders (e.g., settlement organizations, schools, and community centers).

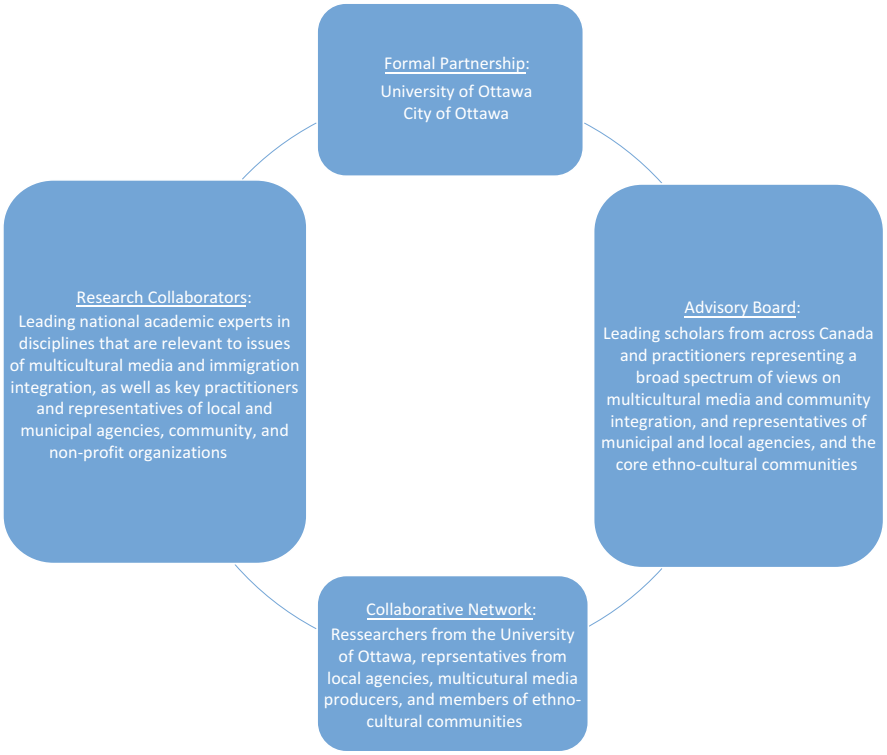

Fig. 1 Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative collaborative structure

The governance structure consisted of four main core pillars that created an opportunity for OMMI to develop meaningful network and partnership building. Moreover, it enabled the integration of collaborative expertise in four ways. First, OMMI assembled a strong team of multi- and interdisciplinary researchers specialized in communication, geography, and political science with a unique focus on issues of MCM, immigrant inclusion and integration, diversity, and community building and integration. The project also brought together a group of experienced collaborators comprising academics and practitioners who had a twofold mandate: a) to ensure a rigorous and inclusive methodology and b) to facilitate the goal of cocreating, mobilizing, and disseminating knowledge and understanding about MCM and its potential for addressing the complex, pressing, and interconnected issues of prosperity and newcomer integration. Second, the City of Ottawa, the main partner, involved four municipal departments – Corporate Communications, Community and Social Services, Organizational Development and Performance, and Human Resources – thus bringing expert knowledge about their existing policies, in-kind support, and a willingness to participate in the research to develop improved communications and newcomer integration policy. Third, the project formed an Advisory Board composed of leading scholars from across Canada and practitioners representing a broad spectrum of views on MCM and community

integration and representatives of municipal and local agencies and the core ethnocultural communities. The Advisory Board met annually, in conjunction with core team meetings and on a consulting basis, to oversee the direction of the project, monitor progress, and offer advice and guidance as needed. Fourth, the research team developed a collaborative network among the university, local agencies, MCM producers, and the EICs under study. The role of this collaborative network was to bring grounded knowledge of as well as contacts in the four communities in order to recruit study participants, secure access to data sites, and aid in communicating research findings.

36.4.1 Collaborative Participation in the Intellectual Leadership

Through their collaboration with the research team, representatives from the City of Ottawa, research collaborators, Advisory Board, and the collaborative network were afforded opportunities to provide input on every aspect of the OMMI project. The research team created a small working group comprised of these representatives in order to ensure more detailed and substantive input on the actual design and direction of the research. For example, in accordance with their needs, policy mandate, and priorities, members of this small working group (1) attended team meetings and workshops; (2) had an opportunity to review and to suggest modifications to the survey questionnaire, focus group materials, and interview guide; and (3) commented on research output drafts as they became available. This process helped to ensure that the research materials reflect the different concerns and needs of the multiple actors involved in the project.

36.5 Participatory Research Design

In participatory action research, various methods of data collection, including qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods, are applied (Pain and Francis 2003; Small and Uttal 2005). This flexibility in data collection is believed to lead to best practices for bringing about social change (McTaggart 1991; Reason 1994; Reason and Bradbury 2001). To meet its objectives, the OMMI project employed a mixed-methods approach in three sequential phases (Creswell 2014) over 3 years (see Fig. 2). At the core of this design was the goal to elicit participatory input from all actors involved in the project (e.g., the research team, the partner, the collaborative network, and the Advisory Board) in order to complement the research findings and offer richer insights (Olson and Jason 2015).

36.5.1 Design of Research Instruments

The OMMI adopted four main data collection techniques to meet its research objectives: (1) survey questionnaires with MCM users (i.e., members of the four participating EICs), (2) focus group discussions with MCM users, (3) content

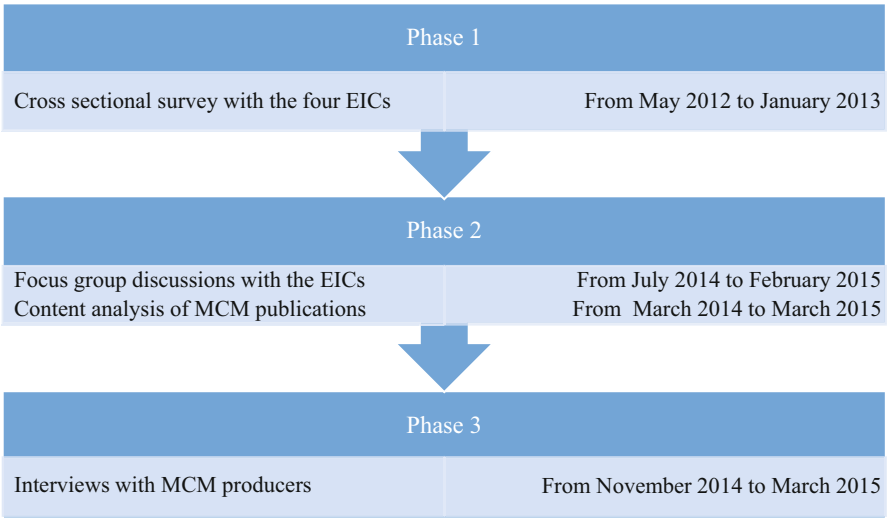

Fig. 2 Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative

analysis of MCM publications (press), and (4) semi-structured personal interviews with MCM producers. During the development stage of the main research instruments – the survey questionnaire, focus group guide, and interview protocol – OMMI followed an iterative process, a major principle of participatory action research (Kim 2016; Lewin 1946). As such, a series of consultation meetings were held with the Advisory Board, partners, and community representatives for each phase to collaboratively develop the instruments. In particular, special care was taken to solicit input from the community representatives of each EIC. While this iterative process was time-consuming and involved numerous discussions among various participating actors, it was essential to ensure that the data collection tools reflected the needs and interests of each group.

36.5.2 Data Collection

In accordance with the community-based participatory research approach, the collaborative effort of the OMMI research team, community representatives, collaborative network, and local community organizations was leveraged in order to recruit survey, focus group, and interview participants and improve response rates. For example, to recruit survey participants, community partners sent out email messages and letters of invitation to potential survey participants on behalf of the OMMI research team; OMMI researchers attended community events and workshops; with the help of representatives from the collaborative network, language training classes, on and off the university campus, were targeted, where students were provided with information on OMMI research and invited to participate in the survey.

36.5.3 Data Analysis

The mixed-methods approach employed by the OMMI project was consistent with a major principle of participatory action research, including flexible research methods, and allowed triangulation of data in consultation with various actors by building on the findings of each stage. Thus survey results were discussed and verified during focus groups; survey and focus groups findings were discussed and verified during interviews with producers; and so on. This process facilitated the amassing of different types of data (quantitative, qualitative) as well as from different types of sources (e.g., media users, media producers, media content). This multiphase, mixed-methods approach led to diverse and complementary perspectives on the use and role of MCM among EICs (i.e., a better picture of the issue from different angles) by engaging researchers, community partners, and collaborators in the analysis.

36.6 Participatory Knowledge Mobilization

The knowledge mobilization plan of the OMMI was based on the goal to engage its partners in continued dialogue, cocreation and dissemination of knowledge, and exchange of ideas concerning MCM and community integration. An additional goal was to build bridges among citizens, community leaders, policy makers, and academics. To this end, the research team organized knowledge mobilization activities according to collaborative learning and participatory research principles reflecting the values, expertise, and experience of the team and the nature of the partnership targeted at three broader audiences – academic, policy, and public. In addition to a summary in Table 1, OMMI's collaborative strategies for participatory knowledge production and dissemination are described below.

Table 1 OMMI collaborative strategies for participatory knowledge production and dissemination

Audience	Academic	Policy	Public
Knowledge production/ creation	Disciplinary and interdisciplinary research partnership approach Student training	Multi-sectoral team meetings and workshops Participation in research design Participation in preliminary analysis	Broader audience knowledge mobilization strategies Community workshops and feedback sessions Community capacity building
Dissemination activities	Conferences Peer-reviewed publication (OA) Project website, online presence, social media	Reports, press releases, policy presentations Project website research data base Participation of partners and collaborators in conferences and professional meetings	Open access website with resources and data bases Interviews in local media Social media

36.6.1 Knowledge Production/Creation

36.6.1.1 Academic

A disciplinary and interdisciplinary research partnership approach was employed within the core research team. Comprising five scholars from three different disciplines, the team composition allowed for nuanced, multi-perspective research capable of making a significant contribution to advancing the growing research on MCM in Canada. Students were involved in all aspects of the research process, which allowed the team members and initiative to benefit from the interest, energy, capacity, and knowledge that students brought to the project.

36.6.1.2 Policy

The OMMI engaged all its contributors in policy production – i) the City of Ottawa as the main partner; ii) the collaborative network composed of local stakeholders, media producers, and the core ethnocultural communities (Chinese, Spanish-speaking Latin American, Somali, and South Asian); and iii) the Advisory Board composed of leading scholars and practitioners representing a broad spectrum of views on MCM and community integration and the representatives of municipal and local agencies and the four core EICs. Their participation played an important role in knowledge mobilization because of their involvement in every step of the project (some even attended our team meetings while at the proposal stage). In accordance with their needs, policy mandate, and priorities, the Advisory Board members (1) attended team meetings and workshops, (2) offered input in research design (e.g., selection of and access to research sites and groups/issues for study), and (3) commented on research output drafts as they became available.

36.6.1.3 Community

The partner, collaborative network, and Advisory Board were actively involved in developing specific knowledge mobilization strategies suitable to community groups for increasing access to and utilization of materials intended for a wider audience. Dissemination workshops were conducted in each of the four core EICs to provide opportunities for community members to offer feedback on the research and the implications of the findings for specific groups. Drawing on the project findings, capacity building activities were created for community members to take part in (e.g., writing and photo contests for students belonging to each of the four EICs).

36.6.2 Dissemination

36.6.2.1 Academic Dissemination

The OMMI research was presented at regional, national, and international professional meetings (both disciplinary specific and interdisciplinary) to showcase the project's findings while also hosting seminars and organizing conference panels in conjunction with the project. Peer-reviewed articles were published in interdisciplinary and disciplinary journals, including online journals to make project findings

available via open access. A project website was created that served as a key forum for the team, partnership, and research-related communications transcending the academic/policy/public divides, including through the use of social media.

36.6.2.2 Policy Dissemination

In collaboration with the partner and collaborative network, (1) the research team developed and implemented dissemination strategies such as writing, publishing research reports and press releases, and delivering presentations at policy roundtables; (2) the main partner, the City of Ottawa, and the collaborative network had access to the project website research database; and (3) representatives from the partner and collaborative network were invited to present project findings at conferences and regional and national professional meetings.

36.6.2.3 Public Dissemination

For public dissemination of research findings, OMMI adopted three strategies: (1) an open access website was created to archive and document the project findings in publicly accessible databases; (2) the research team engaged in interviews with local mainstream and MCM; and (3) social media fora, such as Facebook and Twitter, were created in order to reach a broader audience.

36.7 Key Learnings and Insights

The key learnings and insights gained from the OMMI experience are discussed in light of the challenges that were encountered in applying a community-based participatory research. Overall, the aim is to help advance more "holistic" approaches to the study of MCM in a variety of contexts that can support positive development and social change.

Although the OMMI collaborative effort was successful in closely adhering to and implementing a community-based participatory approach, a few limitations and challenges need to be noted. The main issue was the time and effort invested in the process over a sustained period for all parties involved. Maintaining momentum throughout the project was another significant challenge, even more so due to changes to and turnover among staff and representatives of participating stakeholders. In some cases, there were also changes in the interests and priorities of collaborating actors, which meant that their level of participation, engagement, and involvement fluctuated over time (Gillis and Jackson 2002; MacDonald 2012). The OMMI was able to creatively adapt and find ways to address these challenges, but this required additional efforts, resources, and committed management strategies to ensure progress and completion of the project. Thus, community-based participatory research generally implicates "more than the sum of its parts" both in terms of the process and the outcomes.

Notwithstanding the challenges, the OMMI partnership offered an ideal opportunity for all interested parties, the research team, the City of Ottawa, the collaborative network, and the Advisory Board, to join their efforts in order to pursue

relevant research on the pressing questions of well-being and prosperity of the City of Ottawa and its immigrant population. By collaboratively working together, the OMMI research team and all its partners managed to achieve much more than independently. In particular, the project led to the generation of robust and comparable set of empirical data that will advance understanding of the use, role, and potential of MCM in facilitating and promoting newcomer and immigrant integration, inclusion, and participation in Ottawa and in Canadian society more broadly (Ahmed and Veronis 2017; Veronis and Ahmed 2015). More specifically, the research findings have been made available to various local stakeholders (e.g., City of Ottawa, community groups, settlement organizations, etc.) who can apply them to address the complex and interconnected issues of social and economic health of Ottawa's diverse communities.

36.8 Cross-References

- ▶ Capacity Building and People's Participation in e-Governance: Challenges and Prospects for Digital India
- ▶ Key SBCC Actions in a Rapid-Onset Emergency: Case Study from the 2015 Nepal Earthquakes
- ▶ Youth Voices from the Frontlines: Facilitating Meaningful Youth Voice Participation on Climate, Disasters, and Environment in Indonesia

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Digital Stories as Data

37

Valerie M. Campbell

Contents

37.1 Introduction 694
37.2 Digital Storytelling 694
37.3 Creating Digital Stories 696
37.4 Digital Storytelling and Youth 697
37.5 Ethics of Digital Storytelling in Research 697
37.6 Analysis of Digital Stories 699
37.7 Challenges of Digital Storytelling in Research 700
37.8 Conclusion 701
References 702

Abstract

Technology is an integral part of daily life for many young people; much of their communication is mediated by digital and social media. Youth connect with each other through social networking platforms that allow for short, snappy messages, such as Snapchat with images that disappear after a few seconds. Furthermore, YouTube has been steadily growing in popularity as technology changes have made video-making accessible. Anthropological methods suggest that to fully understand your participants, you have to meet them where they are. But perhaps, in addition to that, we also have to adapt our data collection methods to incorporate their means of communication. This chapter describes how digital storytelling can be used as a method for data collection. This chapter is also used to demonstrate the practical application of this method.

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Digital storytelling · Ethics · Youth studies · Technology

37.1 Introduction

Technology is ubiquitous in modern life and usage continues to grow in Canada and around the world. In the USA and Europe, the majority of teens own cell phones and use them (and other devices) to participate in social networking sites (Ranieri and Bruni 2013). In Canada, young people are increasingly accessing the Internet using cell phones and other portable devices such as laptops, tablets, and iPods, giving them almost constant access to the Internet (Steeves 2014). Youth in Canada live a significant part of their lives in online spaces; much of their communication is mediated by digital and social media. In the fast-paced world of digital technology, social networks gain and lose popularity on a regular basis. While this change is undoubtedly influenced by a variety of factors, the increasing use of video can account for the growth of networks such as YouTube and Snapchat. A recent Social Media Lab report (Gruzd et al. 2018) provided new information on the social media used most frequently by Canadians. Youth aged 18–24 are most engaged with Facebook (88%) and YouTube (88%), followed by Instagram (65%), Snapchat (62%), and Twitter (47%). Indeed, screen media has become the "preferred means of communication" (Davis and Weinshenker 2012) for today's youth. It follows that scholars in the field of youth studies want to engage with young people in the spaces they inhabit (Hallett and Barber 2014) and through methods that reflect their ways of communicating. This chapter uses the author's dissertation experience (the Project) with using participant-created digital stories as part of the study data to illustrate the incorporation digital storytelling into research design. Despite the relatively wide body of literature about digital storytelling, it is not well documented as a research technique (Walsh et al. 2010, p. 193). The focus is often on the process itself, or the value of engaging participants, or the use of digital storytelling in dissemination of research data. This chapter will begin to fill that gap in knowledge.

37.2 Digital Storytelling

The concept of digital storytelling is not new, having been developed in the 1980s by Joe Lambert, cofounder of *The Center for Digital Storytelling* (CDS) in California (now *StoryCenter* https://www.storycenter.org) (Meadows 2003; Robin 2006). Ferrari et al. (2015) describe digital stories as "three- to five-minute videos produced with a mix of voiceover, music, and images to convey first-person narratives" (p. 556). In the StoryCenter context, digital stories are personal expressions about an important person, event, or place in our lives; about what we do; or about a personal journey of love, discovery, or recovery (Lambert 2010). According to Lambert (2010), "we are made of stories" (p. v), and the purpose of the StoryCenter

workshops is to "help storytellers find the story they want or need to tell" (p. 8). Thus, digital storytelling, in this context, is intensely personal.

Prior to the introduction of the StoryCenter, digital storytelling existed as the purview of experts in media production who had ultimate control over the completed video (Hartley and McWilliam 2009; Hopkins and Ryan 2014). StoryCenter provided a space and the technology to create exportable videos which enabled "ordinary" people to participate in the practice (Edmonds et al. 2016; Hartley and McWilliam 2009). Today's technology, in particular Web 2.0, has made it possible for practically anyone with access to a computer, or even a smartphone, to create a video (Edmonds et al. 2015; Hopkins and Ryan 2014; Page and Thomas 2011; Ranieri and Bruni 2013). This has opened more avenues for digital storytelling, which is "practiced around the world in increasingly diverse contexts" (Hartley and McWilliam 2009, p. 4). In the StoryCenter model, the emphasis is not on the technology but on the story and the telling of the story (Hartley and McWilliam 2009). As it becomes used in different places and contexts, the way in which digital storytelling is presented varies. However, Hartley and McWilliam (2009) argued that despite this variation, "the practice can usually be directly linked to the CDS" (p. 8).

What makes digital storytelling different from other methods of telling stories? Qiongli (2009, pp. 230–231) listed several characteristics that distinguish digital storytelling:

- Story-oriented: with a focus on the story not the technology
- Disciplined: with a practical framework developed by StoryCenter
- Authentic: storytellers narrate their own personal stories
- Multimedia: weaving together narratives, images, voices, music, and video
- Simple technology: can be done with a computer, microphone, and easy to use software
- Found materials: utilizes preexisting material such as family photo albums
- Collaborative creativity: StoryCenter training workshop model

Authenticity and found materials are key attributes of digital storytelling. Producers narrate their own stories, "prioritizing personal experience and allowing a 'direct voice'" (Hopkins and Ryan 2014, p. 32). The materials they use are also their own, whether preexisting or found/created for the Project, and reflect their connection to the story. Those who engage in the process create, and tell, their own stories and have full editing power. Meadows (2003) lauded this as one of the most exciting aspects of digital storytelling as "no longer must the public tolerate being 'done' by media – that is, no longer must we tolerate media being done *to* [emphasis in original] us" (p. 192). Digital storytelling provides an opportunity to tell your own story and have your voice heard in *your* way (Hopkins and Ryan 2014).

As a pedagogical tool, digital storytelling can be used by educators to deliver content or to engage students in participatory educational practices (Buturian 2017; Clarke and Adam 2012; Robin 2006, 2008). Lowenthal (2009) listed five benefits of using digital storytelling in the classroom: increase student engagement, give access

to a global audience, amplify students' voice, leverage multiple literacies, and increase student's emotion (pp. 253–254). While the possibilities and promises of digital storytelling in the pedagogical sense are intriguing, this chapter focuses on digital storytelling as means of sharing personal experiences in a specific research context.

37.3 Creating Digital Stories

The creation of a digital story can be seen as a journey (Lambert 2010), often through personal, sometimes emotional, territory. Thus, every story represents a unique experience. However, over time, StoryCenter has developed a seven-step process to guide storytellers in the creation of a digital story. Those steps, as outlined by Lambert (2010), are mentioned in Table 1.

These steps provide a very linear method for the creation of a digital story. In application, the process is much more circular. Each step builds on the one(s) before it, but often the storyteller will revisit a step based on practical considerations as well as insights gained throughout the journey. For example, a storyteller might have an idea of a moment and emotion but, when reviewing images, realize that the emotion generated by the visuals is not what was intended. The choice is then to focus on a different emotional direction or search for new images. Or, once the images and words are put together, there is a discordance – it simply does not work – so, again, new images or new words. And this continues, back and forth between steps, until a story is created. Thus, as in any creative endeavor, the finished product may be

Table 1 7 steps of digital storytelling

Step 1: Owning your insight	Understanding the story behind the story; exploring your motivation for telling this particular story at this particular time
Step 2: Owning your emotions	Be aware of the emotions generated within yourself by the story and be honest in conveying that emotion; consider your intended audience when determining how to demonstrate your emotional honesty
Step 3: Finding the moment	In the process of developing the story, look for a "moment of change" that will best represent the insight you want to share with your audience
Step 4: Seeing your story	Look for the images that come to your mind when thinking about your story. Think about which images best represent the meaning you are trying to convey and then find or create those images for use in the story
Step 5: Hearing your story	Think about the script you want to add to your story. Then think about how you want to perform that script. Focus on natural speaking patterns rather than reading. Consider whether your story will be enhanced by the addition of background sounds such as music
Step 6: Assembling your story	Now is the time to put it all together – to create a storyboard. In this step, you consider your story as a whole, how you want it to look and sound
Step 7: Sharing your story	Consider both the audience you wish to share your story with and the method

Adapted from Lambert (2010, pp. 9–24)

considerably different from what was conceived. For example, in the Project, participants were asked to create a story about the ethics of online life. Barry (a pseudonym), in the process of preparing his story, was reminded of a bicycle trip he had taken after high school. Although not related to online activity, it recalled an important event and became the story he shared.

37.4 Digital Storytelling and Youth

As a means of creative expression, digital stories are opportunities to create visual representations of and give meaning to experiences (Ferrari et al. 2015, p. 556). Davis and Weinshenker (2012) suggested digital storytelling as a method to tap into youth engagement with screen as a "preferred means of communication" (p. 49); taking charge of creating their own messages increases youth agency and empowerment (Clarke and Adam 2012; Davis and Weinshenker 2012; Gubrium et al. 2014; Taub-Pervizpour 2009).

In research with youth, digital storytelling can appear to be a "natural fit" based on young people's engagement with technology. However, we must always beware of making a broad assumption that youths' ubiquitous use of and engagement with digital media translates to skill or interest in all technologies (boyd 2014). The Project incorporated digital storytelling to provide youth participants with the opportunity to engage in a way that resonated with their current practice. Time and resources did not allow the presentation of a three-day digital storytelling workshop. Instead, the concept was discussed in focus groups and ideas brought forward. Youth participants were presented with some information on digital storytelling, including a short presentation on the seven steps outlined above. They were then asked to create a story based on their experiences with ethical issues in digital media. The format and content of the digital story remained the sole responsibility of the participant. There was no training on any specific technology as there are so many different ways to create video, and it was felt that participants would have their own ideas about how to proceed. This proved to be a false assumption demonstrated by Adrienne (a pseudonym) who wanted to tell a story about an experience with a fake Facebook account. However, the video software was unfamiliar to her, and she found it very difficult to understand. She was very confident with the technology she used on a regular basis, but those skills did not translate to this new platform; that became her story.

37.5 Ethics of Digital Storytelling in Research

A key element of ethical conduct of research is the informed consent process. Within this process, participants are generally guaranteed that their privacy will be protected, and they will remain anonymous in any publication of study results. The ethical implications of visual methods have been described as "muddy" (Gubrium et al. 2014, p. 1608), particularly if the intention is to share images in dissemination

Choose **ONE** of the following options:	
I agree, or give consent, to provide a limited license to [Author] to use my digital story (as described above) for academic purposes only (including public presentations), at no charge.	
I agree, or give consent, to provide a limited license to [Author] to use my digital story (as described above) as data for her dissertation only (with no public presentations), at no charge.	
If you wish to be notified any time your story will be presented, please provide contact information: _____	

Fig. 1 Video dissemination options

of results. It is important that the participant understands fully how the images will be used and how anonymity and confidentiality will be limited. Consent should be ongoing, with secondary consent for dissemination (Cox et al. 2014; Gubrium et al. 2014). The Project offered participants several options, formally and informally, regarding dissemination of their digital stories. Formally, they were asked to sign a licensing agreement outlining two options (Fig. 1). This form also allowed the participants to request notification prior to any presentation of their video.

If the content is produced by the participant, consent of nonparticipants who may appear in the images then becomes an issue (Clark 2012; Cox et al. 2014). Indeed "it is often impossible, impractical, or even illogical to maintain the anonymity and confidentiality of individuals in artwork, photographs and film" (Clark 2012, p. 21). Clark further stated that while it may be possible to have the participant make contact with other people who appear in the image(s), it could be time-consuming and difficult to manage. Additionally, "ethical issues may arise when a storyteller publicly identifies people, experiences, or events that others would prefer remain private" (Gubrium et al. 2014, p. 1610). Notwithstanding the ethical challenges mentioned above, participant-created digital stories provide an opportunity to show respect for research participants, a core principle of research ethics (Canadian Institutes of Health Research et al. 2014), by providing them with a forum to present their story, in their words, using methods familiar to them.

Anonymity, another key element of research ethics, is difficult to maintain when using visual methods (Anderson and Muoz Proto 2016). Dissemination of those stories may, and often will, compromise anonymity; however, while that is a key element of research ethics, is it equally important for youth? Cox et al. (2014) argued that anonymity may even be contrary to the intention of participants who create visual data, and Anderson and Muoz Proto (2016) cautioned against paternalism in ethical decision making. The Project storytellers did not attempt to conceal their identity in their videos, and all but one agreed to allow the researcher to use the video in dissemination activities. This suggests that anonymity is not a requirement for youth participation. Indeed, in discussions about research ethics, youth participants were more concerned with transparency; they wanted to know how and why their data would be used.

Despite the participants' willingness to have their videos shared, some of the stories contained images of people other than the storyteller. These stories were received at the end of the Project, after the analysis workshops had been completed. Inclusion of third-party images had not been discussed in the focus groups, and participants had not been asked to ensure images of others were blurred or to garner consent. Consideration was given to have the researcher modify the stories herself and make third-party images blurry, but this created a new ethical dilemma: does the researcher have the right to alter participant-created data? Would the participant be asked to provide consent for this alteration? When presenting direct quotes from participants, researchers will often remove any potentially identifying information – would blurring images in a video be any different? These questions are part of the muddiness (Gubrium et al. 2014) of working with visual data. Kim (2015) discussed "narrative smoothing" as a method used to make a "participant's story coherent, engaging, and interesting to the reader" (p. 192). Although she suggested that this is a method used by many researchers, she also described it as problematic ethically in that it might change the participant's intended meaning and thus not be a faithful account. Kim's concern with this method in narrative inquiry can be considered in the situation above: would blurring the images change the story?

In one example from the Project, a participant submitted a story showcasing the positive side of her social networking sites. This was an important story as much of the discussion in the workshops had been about the negative aspects of social media. However, most of the images in the story included people other than the participant. Although she had given permission to use the digital story in presentations, the only way to do so would be if the researcher modified the video to hide all third-party images. After careful consideration of the ethics of this approach, it was decided to leave the video as submitted and refrain from using it in presentations, although the content would be analyzed as project data.

37.6 Analysis of Digital Stories

Analysis of digital stories is complex. The literature on digital storytelling focuses on process or the experiences of participants. There is little discussion on analysis of the stories themselves. Each digital story received in the Project was transcribed verbatim by the researcher and the transcripts read as text, focusing on the content. Reading the stories on paper provides an opportunity to focus on the story without any distraction. However, the text alone offers a limited understanding without the context of the images, voice, and, perhaps, music. Images can be powerful on their own and may illustrate a particular phenomenon in a way which is difficult to explain, however, without the context of the words, may be interpreted in a way contrary to the storyteller's intent. Thus, when digital stories are used as data, both visual and narrative modes of analysis are necessary.

Narrative analysis requires "looking for underlying patterns of meaning" (Shopes 2011, p. 459) within the text. Kim (2015, p. 188) identified the elements of qualitative analysis as codes (identifying concepts), categories (linking codes),

patterns (repeated units in categories), and themes (representations of similar patterns). In the narrative context, we are applying these elements to a story, attempting to understand the meanings the participant has given to their experiences (Kim 2015, p. 189). Narratives can be interpreted by focusing on meanings "What does this mean? What does this tell me about the nature of the phenomenon of interest?" (Patton 2002, p. 477). It is necessary to read the words carefully, with a focus on how the words are put together (Daiute 2013) and looking for clues such as a play on words or contradictions in the text (Kim 2015). In other words, if "narrating is a sense-making process" (Daiute 2013, p. 15), analysis of narrative is a process of unpacking how that process unfolded.

Visual research provides a new set of cues for analysis. Visual analysis is similar to narrative in that it is a process of sense-making, developing an understanding of the perception and meanings that can be attributed to a photo or video (Prosser 2011). Whether researcher or participant produced, videos or photos allow the analyst to evaluate more than the words used, for example, the setting, tone of voice (in videos), body language, and other nonverbal behaviors that are captured within an image – "it would take a lot of words to convey the information in the photographs" (Harper 2000, p. 721). However, without the context of the story, there is no framework of analysis for interpretation of the images. Visuals in research can corroborate data, thus improving the trustworthiness of the analysis (Prosser 2011).

Many of the challenges of narrative inquiry (e.g., researcher interpretation of meaning) can be ameliorated by the addition of visual content, "the potential of using visuals in narrative inquiry is enormous" (Kim 2015, p. 149). Kim (2015) provides ten ways in which visuals can enhance narrative inquiry, including the ability of images to express what is difficult to put into words (p. 150). Thus, the digital story provides the best of both worlds; the text explains the images and vice versa. However, that does not mean that there is no space for researcher analysis and interpretation. Key questions to ask include: Why this story at this time? Why those images? Does the connection between the words and images seem authentic? Is there a story behind or beneath the story? Every image in a digital story is the result of a decision-making process by the participant, and analysis of the story includes interpretation of that process.

In addition to narrative and images, digital storytellers often incorporate music into their videos. Music can set the tone for the story, even if only softly playing in the background. Music invokes emotion; it can be romantic, dramatic, invigorating, relaxing, and so much more. While the addition of music adds to the complexity of the analysis, it also can be a cue to aid in interpretation.

37.7 Challenges of Digital Storytelling in Research

The common approach to digital storytelling is through a workshop process in which the elements of storytelling and available technology are presented and participants have time/space to develop and create their stories. This process requires time

and resources not always available to a researcher. It is also a big ask of participants. Meadows (2003, p. 190) stated that everyone has a story to tell; however, Gubrium and Holstein (2010, p. 256) noted that storytelling takes work "people seldom just 'burst out' in stories." In order to truly understand what is being asked of participants, a researcher should really go through the process first (Buturian 2017). Only then can one fully appreciate the challenge and rewards of creating a digital story.

While it can be argued that the benefits of producing a digital story are many (Hopkins and Ryan 2014), for example, development or enhancement of digital literacy skills, opportunity to explore your own interests and make meaning out of life experiences, ownership of the final product, and so on, do those benefits outweigh the time and effort? How can participants be persuaded to engage in this process? These are important considerations when electing to add digital storytelling to a research project.

Research generally has a specific focus. When incorporating digital storytelling, participants are then asked to tell a particular story – one that meets the requirements of the Project. This is contrary to the agency and voice digital storytelling is meant to provide. The researcher must be careful to ensure that participants understand the nature of the Project well enough to create relevant stories while avoiding being overly directive and imposing their own voice.

Participants will not always produce a story that is in line with the research questions. Our focus as "professional researchers" may not align with the stories participants value (Manning 2010, p. 166), and we have to be prepared to learn from that. Perhaps we are asking the wrong questions? Or have chosen the wrong participants? In the Project, two participants created stories that were not at all about their online lives or experiences with social media. They had other stories to tell. This does not mean that their stories cannot be used. In fact, it is ethically unacceptable to disrespect the data provided by participants in such a way. Even if the content of the story does not align with the research question, the ways in which the stories were told, and even the fact that they chose to tell stories that were off-topic, are worthy of analysis.

37.8 Conclusion

Digital storytelling as data is not well researched. The bulk of the literature focuses on the process and the benefits to the participants. Digital storytelling can provide a rich body of data in a research project. It privileges participant voice and can elicit deeper engagement with the research topic. However, as a research tool, digital storytelling requires time, technology, and participant engagement. The use of digital storytelling in youth research is a wonderful opportunity to ask young people to participate in a process congruent with their everyday practices and gives them the agency to tell the stories they want to tell. In selecting this method, researchers must think ethically about the benefits to the participant and consider whether those benefits outweigh the level of involvement required. As research data, digital stories

provide a deeper insight than a filmed interview; participants take time to reflect and select the visuals, words, music, and any other elements they incorporate to provide *their* story, in *their* way. And while that story may not always align with the researcher's plan, the process of soliciting and then analyzing digital stories will prove invaluable to a research project.

> Digital Storytelling isn't just a tool; it's a revolution. (Meadows 2003, p. 192)

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Participatory Mapping

38

Logan Cochrane and Jon Corbett

Contents

38.1 Introduction 706
38.2 Participatory Mapping: Context, Impacts, and Limits 706
38.3 Power and Empowerment 708
38.4 Understanding Impact 709
38.5 Conclusion 711
References 711

Abstract

Participatory and community mapping has emerged as a key tool for identifying and communicating development needs and been further recognized as a means to support social change. Drawing upon a broad assessment of the literature, more than two decades of experience with mapping initiatives from three continents, and covering a diverse array of applications and issues, this chapter explores both the application of participatory and community mapping and the range of impacts experienced. In so doing, the chapter explores the potential effectiveness for participatory and community mapping to effect positive change. At the same time, we will critically review the assumptions about social change and empowerment, highlighting challenges and limitations to their meaningful usage. This chapter provides practitioners and academics with an overview of participatory and community mapping uses, processes, and impacts and their role as a tool of communication for development and social change.

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Keywords

Participatory mapping · Participation · Empowerment

38.1 Introduction

The past 25 years have witnessed a rapid increase of participatory mapping initiatives throughout the world (Brown and Kyttä 2014; Cochrane et al. 2014). Robert Chambers wrote that participatory mapping has spread "like a pandemic with many variants and applications" (2006, p. 1). It has become a vibrant area of practice and a well-used research method and is increasingly seen as an area of study in its own right.

Participatory mapping is a mapmaking process that strives to make visible the relationship between a place and local communities through the use of cartography (Aberley 1999; Flavelle 2002). Participatory maps provide a unique visual representation of what a community perceives as their place and identify features of significance within it – both physical and sociocultural (Bird 1995; Tobias 2000). Furthermore, the process of participatory mapping recognizes the intrinsic value of crafting an inclusive environment where all voices have the space to be expressed (Rambaldi et al. 2006).

Participatory mapping employs a range of tools. These include sketch mapping, transect mapping, and participatory three-dimensional modeling. More recently, participatory mapping initiatives have begun to use geographic information technologies including Global Positioning Systems (GPS), aerial photos and remote-sensed images (from satellites), geographic information systems (GIS), and the geospatial web (IFAD 2009; Johnson 2017).

Drawing upon a broad assessment of the literature and informed by more than two decades of experience with mapping initiatives from three continents, this chapter explores both the application of participatory and community mapping and the range of impacts experienced. In so doing, we examine the potential effectiveness of participatory mapping to effect positive change. At the same time, we critically review assumptions made about empowerment and social change, highlighting challenges and limitations to the meaningful usage of these terms in the context of participatory mapping practice. This chapter provides both practitioners and academics with an overview of participatory mapping practice – its uses, processes, and impacts in relation to their role as a tool of communication for development.

38.2 Participatory Mapping: Context, Impacts, and Limits

Participatory mapping is a process in which community members, writ large, contribute their own experiences, relationships, information, and ideas about a place to the creation of a map. The practice is usually conducted in an inclusive, or participatory, way. Many examples of participatory mapping initiatives emphasize the process

of mapmaking as a transformative agent of change, while others focus upon the product and its use. In this chapter, we utilize the terminology of participatory mapping but in doing so recognize that a diversity of nomenclature and practices have emerged that also fall within the sphere of its practice. Other terms used include community mapping, asset mapping, participatory GIS, bottom-up GIS, community information systems, community-integrated GIS, counter-mapping, cultural mapping, indigenous mapping, participatory 3D mapping, and public participation GIS.

Participatory mapping projects often assume an advocacy role and actively seek recognition for community interests through identifying boundaries, traditional land uses, and place-based issues (Alcorn 2000; Chapin et al. 2005; Hazen and Harris 2007). In this form, participatory maps can play an important role in supporting diverse interests, such as those held by farmers, indigenous peoples, the homeless, recreation groups, youth, and seniors (Bryan 2011; Rocheleau 2005). Mapping initiatives can also challenge dominant worldviews, provide counter-narratives, and be used as a tool of resistance (Cooke 2003; Ghose 2001). The processes and outcomes of participatory mapping are viewed as being more inclusive and democratic and thus have commonly been adopted as a means to facilitate individual empowerment and societal change (Corbett 2003; Lydon 2002; Sieber 2006).

Acknowledgment needs to be given to the role of intermediaries in the practice of participatory mapping; often researchers, governments, NGOs, and community groups play a crucial role as interlocutors, trainers, advocates, and facilitators in participatory mapping initiatives (Alcorn 2000; IFAD 2009). Additionally, participatory mapping can be initiated by outsider groups, and the maps produced will contribute to an outsider's agenda, such as contributing to research, assisting in collaborative spatial planning exercises, ameliorating land and resource conflicts, or assessing local development potential. The levels of community involvement and control over the mapping process vary considerably between projects (Cochrane et al. 2014).

As both a multidisciplinary practice and area of research, the aims and specific objectives, as well as how outcomes are articulated, of participatory mapping initiatives vary significantly. This variation ranges from a focus on the process of participation through to the end use to which these maps are put, which in turn is influenced by the actors that will view and make decisions related to the content of these maps.

A broad body of literature has noted that participatory mapping has been an effective mechanism in amplifying the voice of community concerns. It has also been effective for highlighting and engaging in dialogue on a diverse set of community-relevant issues and themes. Initiatives have contributed to advancing land and resource rights (Stocks 2003) and indigenous title and claims (Parker 2006; Peluso 1995), supporting the revival and recovery of indigenous knowledge (Wilson 2004), improving mobility for individuals living with disabilities and mental health issues (Corbett and Cochrane 2017; Townley et al. 2009), and enhancing spatial information during humanitarian crises (Camponovo and Freundschuh 2014; Harvey 2012; Shekhar et al. 2012). Maps produced through participatory mapping initiatives have been utilized as a communication tool, ranging from climate change issues (Piccolella 2013) to zoning decisions (Zhang et al. 2013) and disease exposure (Keith and Brophy 2004). These examples demonstrate the potential of participatory

mapping to contribute to social justice issues and positive societal change. It is often the examples such as those mentioned above that further inspire others to integrate mapmaking into their development activities and processes, with the understanding that they will serve as a pathway to transformational change.

Yet, participatory mapping is not exclusively utilized as a tool to empower individuals and communities. At times, these processes have been used purely to extract information from participants, especially in the realm of academia where participatory mapping is an often-used data acquisition method. Furthermore, they have been adopted as a means to coerce public support, with an understanding that people may be less likely to oppose decisions if they have been involved (even superficially) in the process (Yearley et al. 2003). In other instances, engagement in participatory mapping processes can be cursory or even be used manipulatively (McCall 2004). Mapping processes can also lead to unintended consequences; they can exacerbate conflict, influence land use and ownership, and facilitate the expansion of state control (Anau et al. 2003; Bryan 2011; Corbett 2003; Fox et al. 2003; Pramono et al. 2006; Wright et al. 2009). More fundamentally, there are critiques that these approaches are often not as participatory nor inclusive as claimed (Chapin et al. 2005; Lasker and Weiss 2003).

While online participatory mapping, or geospatial web, technologies have broadened participation in certain contexts, these changes do not equate with equal opportunity and access. Marginalization in many cases is systemically entrenched with continued exclusion. This may manifest itself with the exclusion of individuals of low socioeconomic status, groups living in remote or inner-city areas, indigenous communities, recent migrants, the homeless, people with disabilities or experiencing mental illness, and senior citizens (Beischer et al. 2015; Cochrane et al. 2014). Currently, challenges related to the digital divide reflect caution raised by Harley (1990, pp. 3–4) when commenting on the early development of GIS technologies: "technological progress does not automatically translate into maps that are more relevant in a society."

There are also fundamental challenges with participatory mapping. Based on a review of academic publications, issues of social justice rarely feature in projects related to online mapping and crowdsourcing geographic information (Cochrane et al. 2017). Cochrane et al.'s meta-analysis found that, within the academic literature on participatory mapping since 2005, the practice and analytical findings of participatory mapping have tended toward being overtly technical, despite recognition of the political nature of maps and repeated calls to integrate social, economic, and political components. Limited progress has been made since these issues were first highlighted in the 1990s (Cochrane et al. 2017). Many practitioners, on the other hand, are engaging issues of social justice, but these activities are not well represented in the literature (Brown and Kyttä 2014).

38.3 Power and Empowerment

What gets included and excluded on a map, how it is represented, and why a map is made, are all questions linked to power. As Poole (1994, p. 1) notes, maps have always been "both symbols and instruments of power." Harley (1990, p. 16) argued that mapmaking is "never merely the drawing of maps: it is the making of worlds."

The most influential forms of mapmaking in modern history were means to express and exert control. Control over territory was claimed with a map. Taxes were levied with the support of maps. Ruling elite understood the power of maps, and in some cases, mapmaking that challenged official versions was viewed as an act of treason. In the past, mapmaking was primarily undertaken by ruling elite because the task required cartographic proficiency, as well as being time and resource intensive. Maps expressed a "top-down, authoritarian, centrist paradigm" and were produced by experts (Goodchild 2007, p. 29). The emergence of new technologies – from geographic information systems (GIS) to the geospatial web and geo-social media – has enabled more people to engage in mapmaking (Ghose 2001; Harris and Weiner 1998). As these technologies become more accessible, affordable, and user-friendly, new forms of participatory mapping practice are emerging. As a direct result of this shift, the power expressed by and within maps is constantly being challenged (Crampton and Krygier 2005; Wright et al. 2009).

Participatory mapmaking is often claimed to be an empowering process (Bryan 2011; Cochrane et al. 2014; Elwood 2002; Kesby 2005). Increasingly, the literature on this topic has employed empowerment as a simplistic phrase for expressing success or social change, but the majority of these initiatives do not define or measure empowerment (Corbett et al. 2016). While empowering and marginalizing processes are occurring (Harris and Weiner 1998), we know little about the extent and duration of these changes. Participatory and community mapping initiatives have the potential to be empowering; however, with a lack of measurement, we are currently unable to outline how these processes occur, for whom, and for how long, beyond anecdotal experiences.

38.4 Understanding Impact

From the literature and practical experience, we know that the outcomes of some mapping initiatives are more instrumental in contributing to social change than others. Cochrane et al. (2014) outline best practices categorized by the stage of the mapmaking initiative. They define three core stages in the participatory mapping process – pre-process, in-process, and post-process. For the pre-process, or dialogue and idea development phase, success includes having clear objectives, ensuring maps are socioculturally and politically contextualized, verifying that the capacity for participation exists, having processes to engage with disagreements, communicating realistic expectations, having champions to promote the initiative, and having clear and transparent communication.

While a mapping initiative is in-process, Cochrane et al. (2014) highlight the importance of feedback mechanisms regarding usability and inclusivity, of celebrating small successes, and of ongoing engagement and the value of quality checks on data accuracy. These design- and process-related features are critical to success, but other factors are less visible and are unpredictable.

Cochrane et al. (2014) further note that impacts are most likely to fall in the post-process phase. The common factors that contribute to impact include participation, empowerment, and ownership. The role of participation in the post-process phase

encourages ongoing public awareness raising, which translates into continued use and development of the map (Ganapati 2011). Specifically, with regard to online maps, which may experience enthusiastic participation while in-process, the post-process period may see interaction decline or stop entirely. Some projects have a timeframe or are designed for a specific purpose and period; for those that are ongoing, participation is a critical factor for success. Enabling continued engagement may require creativity, such as using social media and contests, while ensuring that participants see that their interaction is contributing to an objective.

Linked with a feeling of contribution, or of personal benefit, the ability for a project to empower those that engage with it will contribute to its post-process success. Empowerment in this form may be building capacity so that maps and mapmaking can become a feature of the community, whereby maps are revised and reinvented with time (Fox et al. 2008). The complexity both of projects and empowerment, however, makes this task a challenging one.

As Perkins (2008, p. 154) notes "Community empowerment is complex. Projects have different goals...The same project may carry different meanings for different members, who are likely to engage in different ways with the mapping" (Perkins 2008, p. 154).

Ownership of the map and the information that it represents also affect post-process impact. In some cases, the ownership can restrict accessibility and availability of the information and map, which is an outcome that can be purposeful or unintentional. Communities, in some cases, may not have access to information and maps due to ownership by consultants, researchers, or nongovernmental organizations (McCall and Minang 2005). On the other hand, participatory maps that are public, easily accessible, readily available and offer ongoing engagement opportunities can support a larger audience in the post-process period. Regardless of the arrangement and reasons for it, ownership will greatly affect the post-process phase.

Other key factors that contribute to variation in outcomes relate to motivation, organizational capacity, and leadership (Corbett and Cochrane 2017). The less visible factors include issues related to trust in the process, which relates to the person, people, or organization managing the initiative as well as the histories between the various actors. A lack of trust may materialize if the individuals involved have past connections that might be suggestive of bias. Other factors that are beyond strong technical design include the ways in which people interact, the ways in which their contributions are expressed and responded to, and the sociocultural or political incentives that influence actor motivations. Similarly, unpredictable events may alter the impact of a mapmaking process or the impact of a participatory-produced map. An example of this is broad-based re-problematizing of the issue being discussed, spurring widespread engagement and interest, which may translate into political responsiveness. Alternatively, interest may wane due to external forces or the rise of public attention to different issues. As a result, technical design and ideal processes are critical but do not necessarily result in positive cultural, political, economic, legal, or societal changes.

38.5 Conclusion

Participatory mapping has been widely utilized, especially in development contexts, as a means to challenge ideas, priorities, and power. These initiatives have contributed to positive social change in a diverse array of spheres, from land rights to language revitalization. However, even with ideal technical design and processes, participatory mapping does not always result in positive outcomes. Sometimes projects fail, and other times there are notable negative impacts. To date the focus of research has been upon the technical and process aspects of mapping, with little measurement and few evaluations occurring on the medium- and long-term impacts. This chapter has highlighted both the potential and the problems of participatory mapping so that academics and practitioners can be better informed of their uses, processes, and impacts. This overview aims to support more informed decision-making about what options might be most suitable and appropriate when considering a range of different tools of communication for development and social change.

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Evaluations and Impact Assessments in Communication for Development

39

Lauren Kogen

Contents

39.1 Introduction 716
39.2 The Logic Behind Evaluations: Accountability and Learning 716
39.3 What We Need to "Learn" About Development 717
39.4 The History of Accountability and Learning Priorities 717
39.5 Conflation of Accountability and Learning 718
39.6 Searching for "Recipes" for Social Change 719
39.7 Literature Reviews as Panacea? 721
39.8 Redefining "Learning" 723
39.8.1 Potential Learning Priority 1: Developing Theory-Based Guidelines for Social Change 724
39.8.2 Potential Learning Priority 2: Social Change Process Evaluation 726
39.9 Summary 728
References 729

Abstract

Within the development field, project evaluations and impact assessments are essential. Donors are increasingly requiring rigorous evaluations in order to (1) ensure that aid dollars are spent on projects that are having positive impacts and not being wasted on projects that are ineffective and (2) promote "evidence-based policy making" in which evaluations contribute to understanding best practices for development aid. These two goals are frequently referred to by the world's major donors as promoting "accountability" and "learning," respectively. However, current conceptions of learning and accountability are problematic – at

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times even counterproductive. This chapter provides an overview of the role of evaluations in the CDS field and the concepts of accountability and learning and then describes the problems, contradictions, and ethical dilemmas that arise in the field because of them. The chapter ends with suggestions for how the field might fine tune the concepts of learning and accountability in a way that would better serve both donors and aid recipients.

Keywords

Communication for development · Communication for social change · Foreign aid · Monitoring · Evaluation

39.1 Introduction

Despite decades of practice, we in the West do not fully understand how to "do" international development. Many development efforts fail, and it is difficult to predict which will succeed (Glennie and Sumner 2014). Some would even say that after more than half a century's worth of efforts, we have done more harm than good (Easterly 2006; Moyo 2009). This is why we are still asking such fundamental questions as "does aid work?" (Burnside and Dollar 2004).

In recognition of the fact that we do not have all the answers, that many aid projects have failed, and that there is a global skepticism about the effectiveness of aid, policymakers have placed increasing importance on formal project evaluations to help them decide which projects to fund and which to discontinue.

39.2 The Logic Behind Evaluations: Accountability and Learning

Project evaluations assess whether specific development projects have succeeded or failed and to what degree. Ideally, they serve two primary purposes: first, they ensure that aid dollars are spent on projects that are having positive impacts and not being wasted on projects that are ineffective. Second, they promote what is referred to as "evidence-based policy making," in which evaluations contribute to understanding best practices for development aid. These two goals are frequently referred to by the world's major donors as promoting "accountability" and "learning," respectively. Indeed, USAID cites these two goals as the "primary purposes" of evaluation (2016, p. 8).

Accountability typically refers to the question of whether or not a project met the goals it set out to achieve. In order for funders and implementers to be held accountable to taxpayers and beneficiaries, the logic goes, they must be able to show that they are spending money on development programs that are working and not wasting money on those that are not. *Learning* is, in theory, achieved by using data from past projects to improve future projects.

One problem that arises, however, is that these two terms are often used interchangeably by the world's major donors. This stems in part from the fact that, while

"accountability" is relatively well established as a concept, "learning" is not. This chapter focuses on the worrisome implications this has for what we can hope to achieve in terms of using evaluations to improve future interventions.

39.3 What We Need to "Learn" About Development

While Western donors still lack a fundamental understanding of what works in aid, "learning," as conceptualized by major donors, does not aim to answer fundamental questions. Despite an acknowledgment that we still have much to learn when it comes to aid, present practices reinforce the assumption that our strategies are working reasonably well and that evaluations can, perhaps, provide some fine-tuning (Power 1997). This means that using current definitions of accountability and learning as starting points for evaluations carries the potential of pushing us *away* from answering foundational questions about how aid works, and ultimately making it harder, not easier, to improve development projects.

Much recent work has focused on the idea that accountability- and learning-based approaches are in many ways incompatible (Armytage 2011). This chapter argues, first, that accountability and learning have been inappropriately conflated in the documentation of two of the world's major donors – USAID and DFID – stemming from the assumption that accountability, by definition, improves projects. This conflation, in turn, makes it much more difficult for project implementers and evaluators to understand which learning-based questions policymakers need answered in order to improve aid priorities. Second, the chapter offers a revised conceptualization of "learning," focused on theories undergirding social change and social change project implementation that would make evaluations more useful.

While this chapter focuses on Communication for Development and Social Change (CDS), current challenges in evaluation practice apply to all development projects that focus on human-centered social change – the kind of complex, messy scenarios that make interventions and evaluations so complicated, that lend themselves to failure, and for which making assumptions about what works is particularly dangerous.

39.4 The History of Accountability and Learning Priorities

Placing accountability at the forefront of evaluations is the guiding principle behind results-based management (RBM), the preferred management style of many of the world's major donors (Vähämäki et al. 2011). RBM rose in prominence following the Paris and Accra High Level Forums on Aid Effectiveness convened by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 2005 and 2008, to which 138 countries agreed to adhere. Following increasing global skepticism about the effectiveness of aid, this series of forums take as their raison d'être the notion that "aid effectiveness must increase significantly" (OECD 2008) and that effectiveness must be measurable and visible to the public. The Paris and Accra

meetings resulted in a set of principles that together are assumed to make aid more effective. One of these key principles is "managing for results": the need to "manag[e] and implement[] aid in a way that focuses on the desired results. . ." (OECD 2008, p. 7). The Evaluation Policy Document produced by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) follows suit and cites the OECD's principle of managing for results, stating that projects must monitor "whether expected results are occurring" (2016, p. 9). The organizations rightly acknowledge that it is unethical and nonsensical to oversee billions of dollars of aid without knowing whether or not that aid is doing any good. They conclude that measuring levels of success will ensure that only projects that are truly improving lives will be funded and supported. In this way, the organizations become "accountable" to those the projects are aiming to help, because RBM ensures that money is not being wasted, or failing to reach those in need. RBM also promotes accountability to taxpayers, who are ultimately supporting the bulk of these projects.

Likewise, these large donor organizations tout the importance of *learning* from past interventions in order to improve future interventions. Donors expect evaluation questions to be "explicitly link[ed]" to policymaking decisions (USAID 2011, p. 7) and support evaluations that produce "high quality evidence for learning" (DFID 2014, p. 3).

These conceptualizations of accountability and learning seem logical and straightforward at first glance, but they require parsing. There are thousands of development projects currently underway. What is the best way to take all of these projects and "learn" from them? What precisely are we trying to learn? How do we extract lessons that will make development aid work better for beneficiaries? The evaluation documentation published by USAID and the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) (the world's largest foreign aid donors) do not explicitly address this. Instead, two problematic assumptions are evident regarding how learning occurs through evaluations: first, that accountability and learning are essentially equivalent, and second, that periodic literature reviews help extract lessons across a portfolio of evaluations. Unfortunately, this view of learning creates problems, as explained below, and does not produce adequate high-quality findings.

39.5 Conflation of Accountability and Learning

The policy documents produced by USAID and DFID eschew clear definitions of learning. For example, USAID's Evaluation Policy Document defines learning as "systematically generat[ing] knowledge about the magnitude and determinants of project performance" (2011, p. 3). On its face, it is difficult to differentiate this definition from a common understanding of accountability, save for the word "determinants," which implies some attention to *determining why* a project succeeded or failed. DFID's 2014 Evaluation Strategy gives no guidance at all on how it views learning even though, as in the USAID documentation, it emphasizes the importance of it. Both documents incorporate a general sentiment that learning should improve future program planning but provide minimal information regarding

what the organizations hope to learn or what type of data would be most useful for learning. The OECD's Principles document hardly mentions learning, except to say that lessons learned should be shared (2008, p. 6). This lack of a clear definition leaves the term open to interpretation.

One implication of the repetitive reference to the importance of "accountability and learning" without a formal definition of learning is the suggestion that accountability and learning are two sides of the same coin: that by addressing one we are necessarily addressing the other. Indeed, when learning *is* referenced in evaluation documentation, the general impression that arises is that learning simply refers to knowing whether projects worked or not and to what degree. But this is precisely the aim of accountability. Accountability is about understanding whether a project has succeeded or failed; learning here suggests that by seeing which projects have succeeded and failed one can *learn* which projects to promote and which to terminate. The implication thus becomes that learning is solely about assessing project success and that it is therefore a natural outcome of accountability. This is the implication of statements such as USAID's claim that learning "represents a continuous effort to. . . measure the impact on the objectives (results) defined" (2011, p. 3) or DFID's statement that "monitoring results provides us with an incentive to look at the evidence, innovate and learn" (2014, p. 1).

Neither explain what we might learn beyond whether or not to refund or defund the project at hand. But "learning" whether or not an individual project worked does not necessarily help us understand development as a field. The most that can be done with this form of learning is to (a) keep funding the same project or (b) fund an identical project in another location. The dangers of this understanding of learning should be obvious: We cannot improve interventions by copying and pasting. Understanding that intervention A works to improve problem X is much less useful than understanding, for example, what kinds of broad-based strategies work to improve problem X, and why, under what circumstances, etc. *This* understanding of learning would do much more to help practitioners and policymakers improve the world of development interventions.

39.6 Searching for "Recipes" for Social Change

To better understand why USAID's and DFID's approaches are problematic, consider the popular website allrecipes.com. The site features 885 different recipes for chicken parmesan. Someone who is trying to make the dish might determine that all recipes with four or more stars (out of five) should be considered "successful" and that all other chicken parmesan recipes should be discarded. However, this criterion still leaves us with hundreds of "successful" recipes. Furthermore, those who are trying to extract lessons in order to teach others how to make chicken parmesan should be able to do more than offer one of the 300 or so ready-made recipes that happen to appear on the website. They should be able to provide overall lessons about the best ingredients and the best cooking techniques. Likewise, policymakers should not be taking an allrecipes.com approach to aid-making because there are no

fool-proof instructions for what works to create social change. Instead, policymakers should be trying to extract general principles about how to conduct effective aid-making. If asked what makes for an effective HIV prevention strategy, for example, a well-informed policymaker should be able to do more than advise practitioners to copy one of the hundreds of HIV interventions that have already been conducted around the globe.

As anyone who has worked in the field can attest, copying interventions from one setting to another is nearly impossible. Someone who wants to prevent HIV in New Delhi cannot pluck an intervention plan that was used in rural South Africa from a database, insert it into a vastly different context, and expect it to work in the same way. General guidelines, principles, and theories are needed so that interventions can be designed for the various contexts in which they are implemented. In other words, learning *why* particular programs work in particular contexts is what contributes to improving policy, not simply learning *whether* programs worked.

Indeed, Deaton (2009, p. 4) advocates the formation of "potentially generalizable mechanisms" that help explain why a project worked. Likewise, Stern et al. (2012, p. 27) argue that project findings need to "form[] the basis for more general theory" in order to streamline future projects. This is particularly crucial for projects that address human behavior and social change in which we struggle to understand what leads individuals and institutions to change their thoughts and behaviors and in which well-designed interventions often do not go according to plan. Servaes (2016, p. 2) notes that 75% of recent CDS work has been atheoretical – referencing no theory at all – and that of those pieces that do cite theory, outdated theories stemming from the modernization paradigm are the most common.

A project that provides food to schoolchildren, for example, might succeed in increasing school attendance, but without learning how parents make decisions about when to send their children to school and when to keep them at home, funders cannot extract lessons about what would have made the project even more successful, whether the project could be replicated in another setting, or whether the project is sustainable. It may be the case that in certain contexts, the cost of sending children to school (the danger and length of the commute, the loss in wages, etc.) outweighs the benefits of an additional meal. Alternatively, providing food may provide a short-term increase in attendance but fail to address underlying problems about the local government's funding of schools and teachers. These are but two examples of the many complex factors that affect something as seemingly simple as school attendance. High-quality evaluations may incorporate understanding why an intervention worked or failed, but a lack of emphasis on this kind of learning means that many evaluations do not. It is in part for this reason that many evaluation experts describe "accountability-based" and "learning-based" evaluations as at odds with each other (Armytage 2011; Cracknell 2000; Lennie and Tacchi 2014), despite the insistence by organizations like USAID that both concepts are fundamental and can be "mutually reinforcing" (2016, p. 8). Lennie and Tacchi (2015, p. 27) define learning-based approaches as those that "understand social change as emergent, unpredictable, unknowable in advance." In other words, a focus on learning assumes that we are learning about *how social change works*, not about whether *a particular project worked*.

There is another concern with conflating accountability and learning and using accountability (whether or not a project succeeded) to determine policy (which projects should be supported). Let us assume, for a moment, that donors should continue funding all successful projects. Not only does this not tell funders what makes particular projects successful but it means that they are not being very selective in the projects they are funding. This is because almost all human-centered interventions "succeed." If we define "positive impact" or "success" as achieving the goals the project set out to accomplish, it does not take much for a program to succeed, as long as the organization is savvy and does not overestimate its potential impact. RBM emphasizes quantitative "indicators" and "targets" to ensure projects are truly achieving measurable objectives, such as setting an indicator of "number of children that receive meals at school" and a target of "500 children."

But the very results-based system that was implemented to ensure accountability has led to a system in which program designers are forced to reduce goals to simple, straightforward, low-level, moderately-easy-to-achieve results (Armytage 2011, p. 68; Gumucio-Dagron 2009). They do this, first, so that they are able to translate complex project goals into a number-based spreadsheet that requires everything to be broken down into its component parts, and, secondly, so that organizations are seen as performing well when it comes time for final evaluations. Such evaluation mindsets work better for public relations priorities than for furthering global development (Enghel 2016).

Major funders like USAID and DFID should be able to do better than simply improve semi-successful projects. They should be using evaluations to actively decide which types of activities should be prioritized and which have the highest potential to significantly improve lives. But currently, USAID acknowledges that simple improvement to existing projects is their primary objective. Its documentation suggests that *the* purpose of learning is to allow "those who design and implement projects, and who develop programs and strategies. . . to refine designs and introduce improvements into future efforts" (2011, p. 3). However, learning how to refine a single project is inadequate. Evaluations that explain why certain projects succeed or fail, build theory, and provide recommendations for overall policies can help refine funders' understanding of development and social change and help improve policy-making decisions. Understanding *why* a project works or fails and tying these findings to policy recommendations therefore needs to be intimately tied to the priorities of evaluations and to the working definition of learning.

39.7 Literature Reviews as Panacea?

The evaluation documentation of USAID and DFID does reference the idea of understanding why a project succeeded or failed (e.g., USAID 2016, p. 8), but rarely. Instead, the documentation suggests that real learning, the ability to understand what works across contexts, comes from reviews: periodic syntheses of research, reports, evaluations, etc. that allow policymakers, scholars, and practitioners to produce overall lessons accumulated after analyzing many projects. Through such a process, it is suggested, patterns will emerge, and *learning* will ensue.

Many of these agencies commission literature reviews for this very end. USAID commissions "systematic reviews" to "synthesize the available research on a specific question" (2016, p. 20); DFID similarly assumes that its learning will take place through "thematic [and] sectoral synthesis" of findings (2014, p. 13). Extending from the assumption above that a proper RBM approach will necessarily lead to learning, the idea here is that looking across a portfolio of projects that have succeeded and failed will provide additional insights into what kinds of approaches are worthwhile.

This is an overly restrictive version of learning for two reasons. First, if evaluations focus on accountability (whether a project succeeded or failed), rather than an understanding of why the project succeeded or failed, there is no reason to believe that looking at many evaluations will bring to light new lessons that did not appear in the evaluations of individual projects. Of course, it is possible that patterns will jump out. (It is possible that the vast majority of four-star chicken parmesan recipes, for example, use parmesan cheese and San Marzano tomatoes. If this were the case, a perceptive reviewer could conclude that these ingredients should be considered default strategies for making chicken parmesan.)

Alas, lessons about development are rarely so obvious. The "ingredients" that go into projects are vastly more complex, and those ingredients interact with the setting in which projects are implemented. Even if there is meticulous monitoring of project inputs and outputs, this is usually insufficient to explain why a complicated human-centered project, such as encouraging people to use condoms, succeeds or fails. Without the why, the lessons extracted from a review are limited.

This is exacerbated by the fact that reviewers find it very difficult to deal with disparate data collection methods when trying to synthesize large numbers of studies. Qualitative evaluation data (such as that stemming from in-depth interviews with project beneficiaries) is particularly problematic, yet qualitative data is often how we best answer questions of "why." Thus, reviewers often exclude evaluations that rely on qualitative data, designating them as unhelpful. There are a variety of reasons for which reviewers may exclude studies – that the methods are flawed, the location is mismatched to the needs of the reviewer, the questions asked are not pertinent, etc. – but ultimately many studies are eliminated because they are not conducted in a way that helps reviewers synthesize or extract lessons. USAID explicitly states that its systematic reviews are typically only used for randomized controlled trials (USAID n. d.), which by their very design emphasize answering whether a project worked rather than why (Deaton 2009) and tend to de-emphasize qualitative data.

This is not to say that literature reviews are not useful, or that patterns do not emerge. Sometimes literature reviews reveal important patterns. But reviewers are neither clairvoyants nor magicians; they cannot see, nor draw conclusions about, what is not suggested or addressed in individual reports. If evaluations are focused exclusively on whether or not projects work, it is too easy for evaluations to simply become a series of case studies – disconnected project reports that hint at larger lessons about aid but make it difficult for reviewers to connect the dots.

It is often argued that evaluators can make connecting the dots easier for those conducting literature reviews by using common indicators. For example, if all

projects dealing with promoting safe sex were encouraged to measure the "number of people reporting that they practice safe sex," it would be easier to make comparisons across projects. However, this method still does little to explain why particular efforts work in particular contexts. (Instead, a more helpful strategy might be to make discussions of *why* more meaningful and useful – an idea discussed in the next section.)

It is not only literature reviewers that have trouble using evaluations and other studies of development efforts to improve general understanding of development and development policy. A study conducted by Kogen et al. (2012), which surveyed and interviewed policymakers and practitioners working in communication and development, found that overall, policymakers felt that the available literature was impractical. They stated a preference for "research findings [that] are translated into clearly–articulated [*sic*] and replicable recommendations" (2012, p. 3). In survey responses, policymakers scored the "usefulness" of existing evidence relating to the role of media and communication in development at a mere 3.2 out of 5 (close to neutral) and, on average, said they "sometimes" consult it. This does not bode well for a field such as CDS that is trying to achieve greater inroads into policymaking and convince policymakers of its usefulness. (Indeed, many policymakers are not even sure what CDS *is* (Feek and Morry 2009; Lennie and Tacchi 2015).) The inattention to larger policy recommendations is not limited to CDS work. Even when it comes to randomized controlled trials in various fields of development, policymakers often find results to be of little practical use, stating a preference for lessons beyond whether or not an individual intervention worked (Ravallion 2009, p. 2).

39.8 Redefining "Learning"

How, then, can we make learning from evaluations more meaningful and useful? The first step is to recognize that accountability and learning are not the same thing and should not be treated as such. A loose use of the word learning is undergirded by a misplaced dependency on accountability and RBM as cure-alls for what ails development funding. Accountability, on its own, does not improve aid, and yet it is clear in rhetoric as well as practice that accountability is being prioritized above learning and that learning is seen as icing on the cake – a perk resulting from good accounting.

But learning is what improves lives, and for this reason, learning must be prioritized (as others have also argued (e.g., Lennie and Tacchi 2014)). Accountability does not easily contribute to a larger conversation about aid, and it does not directly benefit stakeholders, it only provides legitimacy for funders and practitioners to keep pursuing current development projects (Power 1997). Furthermore, learning cannot simply be seen as an automatic byproduct of accountability, as learning requires "different data, methodologies, and incentives" (Armytage 2011, p. 263).

To be sure, funders should be held accountable to their various stakeholders; they should not be funding projects that are failures. But measuring success should be viewed as a secondary purpose of evaluation – as a means to an end, in which the "end" is learning how to effectively promote development.

Meaningful lessons need to come about at the level of individual projects, not at the stage of cumulative literature reviews. In order to answer questions about what works in aid, looking at project success or failure is much less useful than trying to understand why it worked or fell short. Going further, a focus on the "why" could be broken down into two broad fields in which there is currently a large gap in knowledge. The first regards theories about what promotes social change; the second regards understanding how to actually design and implement effective development interventions.

39.8.1 Potential Learning Priority 1: Developing Theory-Based Guidelines for Social Change

Even if donors and practitioners agree that answering the question of why and how social change occurs is important, it is still not straightforward how we ought to answer these questions. Imagine a fourth-grader who is working on his long division. If he gets an answer wrong, his teacher can encourage him to figure out exactly where he went wrong when solving the problem. But what if the student gets the question right? How could the student begin to answer the question of where he went. . . "right"?

The analogy is not simply rhetorical. For a project addressing HIV prevention, for example, an organization's evaluation of why a project was successful could be that the organization focused on addressing social stigma (because it determined this was a key barrier in preventing HIV) or it could be that it hired a top-notch staff that kept the project running efficiently and smoothly. One of these findings is very useful in terms of thinking about what works in HIV prevention, the other far less so.

And yet, project evaluations very often focus on these latter kinds of *site-specific* "why" lessons on how to improve a particular project, such as shifting staff responsibilities, reallocating funds, focusing more on a particular activity, or adding a new activity. Learning "why" a project had particular outcomes or "how" it could be improved then emphasizes recommendations for project refinement, rather than providing lessons that can actually improve aid policies overall. USAID acknowledges this, stating that the most common ways that evaluations are used are to "refocus ongoing activities, including revisions to delivery mechanism work plans, extending activity timelines or expanding activity geographic areas" (2016, p. 16).

Given how much we still need to learn about development, limiting learning efforts to how to improve individual projects is rather narrow. Instead, learning could focus on generalized theory about why and how social change occurs. We should consider development of these theories a key requirement for improving aid effectiveness. This recommendation aligns with the calls of those who have advocated for increased attention to why projects work, such as Deaton (2009) and Stern et al. (2012).

Therefore, evaluators must take this extra step of providing generalizable takeaways, not leave the broader lessons implicitly embedded in the project details for a perceptive literature reviewer to uncover.

Donors could move evaluators in this direction by prioritizing questions about particular genres of social change. These genres need to be broad enough that they do not presume causal pathways to development, but not so broad that they become meaningless. Questions like "How do we use mobile phones to improve government accountability?" or "What are the best methods for opening up media systems?" or "Which works better for persuasion – information or entertainment?" all make assumptions about what works in development. These sorts of questions have their place – and sometimes funders have reasons for asking specific questions. But these very precise questions should not take up the bulk of development funding because they have already missed the boat. They eliminate other potential pathways for change. They assume that we know how to "do" development and that we are at the stage of refining our technique. We are not.

For example, there is currently much research on, and evaluation of, projects that seek to strengthen citizen voice and government accountability through information communication technologies (ICTs) like mobile phones. This work follows an effort by aid policymakers to pursue ICT-related development projects (such as the "Making All Voices Count" development program currently supported by various international governments). Yet, there is a dearth of evidence that increasing access to ICTs is an effective fix for improving governance and government accountability (Gagliardone et al. 2015; Gillwald 2010). Indeed, Shah (2010, p. 17) argues that the obsession with ICTs echoes the modernization paradigm, in which new technologies are "accompanied by determined hope that Lerner's modernization model will increase growth and productivity and produce cosmopolitan citizens." Excitement about the latest innovations in development may be causing policymakers to jump the gun when it comes to choosing the most practical types of programs rather than asking basic questions about how to improve governance.

Questions emphasized by donors should directly address how to improve lives. If large stakeholders could come to an agreement on a handful of these questions, and funders, evaluators, and designers created projects and evaluations that addressed them, this would work to make these disparate, case study projects more comparable, and the job of synthesizing extant data much more productive.

One example of such a question, or genre, relating to social change could be how to reduce gender-based violence (GBV). If projects addressing GBV provided big picture, theory-based, actionable answers to this question, this could help push forward more effective GBV donor policy. For example, one theory about gender-based violence is that for many women, failure to leave abusive relationships is based in large part on financial insecurity, and that if women had their own source of income, this would help them become less financially dependent on men, and therefore less likely to be victims of abuse. If evaluations could provide evidence for policymakers about whether or not this theory is sound, why, and under what circumstances, these insights could easily be incorporated into granting practice and future project designs across regions.

One might argue that this is already being done – that all evaluations of projects regarding GBV address (explicitly or not) broader lessons about how to reduce GBV. Yet this is not the case as often as one might think, and the degree to which these

lessons are included is inadequate. As described above, the plethora of development evaluations have not led to as large a knowledge base as one would expect in particular development sub-fields. In the case of GBV, for example, the knowledge base "about effective initiatives is [still] relatively limited" (Bott et al. 2005, p. 3).

This is because many evaluations do not provide actionable insights on what improves lives. Some evaluations focus on whether or not an individual project worked (for instance, reporting whether trauma from GBV was reduced by an intervention, without addressing why); some make assumptions about how to reduce GBV without providing sufficient basis for the assumption (for example, assuming that GBV should be reduced through counseling by local health care providers); some only provide recommendations about how to make the specific project better rather than broader takeaway lessons about how to reduce GBV (for example, by adding more local staff). While there are many evaluations and reports that do provide important insights, there are not nearly enough.

39.8.2 Potential Learning Priority 2: Social Change Process Evaluation

Another major assumption of current evaluation policy is that, if we are implementing a project that is based on solid evidence about what promotes positive change, the process of actually designing and implementing the intervention in a particular context is straightforward. The fact that funders do not provide guidelines, or a specific mandate, to evaluate the design and implementation processes suggests that this is the case. However, designing and implementing a development intervention is quite difficult, as anyone who has ever tried to implement a project in unfamiliar territory will attest. Teams need to work with locals, achieve community buy-in, and understand local hurdles to change, among other challenges. Certain project teams have ways of creatively and dynamically engaging with communities; other teams seem to get stuck early on, dealing with communication problems and complex foreign environments they cannot comprehend or negotiate. There are too many projects in which teams paid insufficient attention to local context, did not factor in local institutions or traditions, did not understand ways that the problem was already being addressed, or did not understand what the community truly needed in order to instigate change.

Understanding how to implement projects effectively is crucial, and yet this is not an area that is frequently evaluated or for which project reports and evaluations provide lessons that can inform the development field as a whole. Just because one project distributed menstrual pads to school girls and succeeded in increasing their school attendance does not mean that another organization that attempts the same thing, even in the same community, will be successful.

One major conversation happening right now around project design addresses participatory designs, in which beneficiaries are actively involved in the design, implementation, and even evaluation of projects (see, e.g., Lennie and Tacchi 2013). The idea is certainly not new, but recent conversation stems, in part, from an

increased recognition that top-down designs that do not take into account feedback and advice from target beneficiaries are less ethical and less likely to succeed. That said, while many projects engage with their beneficiaries to some degree, at least for feedback on design (Huesca 2003), it is rare for even so-called participatory projects to provide details about how participation was designed, encouraged, and achieved, or how "participatory" a project actually was (Inagaki 2007). So participatory design is at a stage in which many accept its legitimacy, but it is insufficiently clear how to successfully implement such a design, how many practitioners are using it and to what to degree, or how such interventions should be evaluated (Kogen 2018b; Waisbord 2015).

Therefore, with regard to design and implementation evaluation, one specific question evaluations might start answering would be whether deeply integrating stakeholders into the design and implementation process actually improves project outcomes. This is an assumption of much development work (and particularly CDS work and projects that incorporate participatory elements) and the logic seems sound, but we do not have sufficient evidence that this is really the case. To be sure, the fact that so few practice it suggests that most believe it is *not*. There is an underlying normative implication in discussions of participatory research and evaluation that participatory designs are more ethical (Huesca 2003), but this does not mean they produce better development outcomes. In fact, of the limited literature on participatory designs, a significant portion addresses challenges (e.g., Banerjee et al. 2010; Botes and van Rensburg 2000) and some that have tried to implement them have run into problems on the ground (e.g., Campbell and MacPhail 2002; Lennie and Tacchi 2014, p. 16).

In theory, participatory design holds significant advantages over traditional outsider-led project design, in that it is more likely to match the needs of the community and less likely to suffer from major oversights since the community itself is involved. These assumptions have indeed been borne out in many participatory-based projects (e.g., Cashman et al. 2008). These factors would point to participatory projects having greater impact (because they more directly address the needs of the community and avoid missteps) and being more sustainable (because the community has more ownership and buy-in of the project). On the other hand, participatory design is time-consuming, potentially limited to small interventions with a small number of beneficiaries, and therefore potentially too inefficient to promote significant social change (Hornik 1988). Having convincing evidence that participatory project design actually accomplishes development goals in a way that is practical and replicable could create a sea change in the world of development funding. This is an important area for which we need to be providing policymakers with some fundamental evidence that doing projects in a different way is worthwhile. Frameworks for tracking such processes have already been laid out by the evaluation community (Figueroa et al. 2002), but it is as yet unclear to what degree these schema for social change process evaluation have been utilized in the field.

Together, the two broad evaluation priorities defined above – developing theory-based guidelines for social change and evaluating design and implementation

processes – can help begin to answer some basic questions about what is going "right" in interventions that succeed and what is going wrong in those that do not. Both can be crucial for improving policy. Not every evaluation will address these two topics, not every project will align with this model, but more need to if we are to begin improving aid policy in a meaningful way.

39.9 Summary

The twin pillars of today's development evaluations – accountability and learning – should not be conflated. The terms, as they are constructed by the world's largest donors, assume that donor communities possess a basic competence in development that is simply in need of proof to confirm its benefits, and perhaps some fine tuning. Rather, evaluations need to be reimagined in a way that help us answer more foundational questions about how to "do" development.

Simply knowing whether or not a project was successful (the basic understanding of 'accountability') does not, on its own, do anybody any good, especially if most human-centered social change projects technically "work." When we pledge accountability to taxpayers and beneficiaries, this should mean more than providing accounting mechanisms. Being able to record the "amount" of impact we had on developing regions does not benefit anyone unless it contributes to increasing positive impacts down the line. The only way to increase positive impact is to properly learn from projects. The only way to properly learn from projects is to acknowledge that we do not know much and then to prioritize learning above accounting. The attention to results and impact and the relegation to the back burner of methods for learning and improvement suggests that funders either do not truly believe they need to learn or are at such a loss that they do not even know how to articulate what it is they wish to learn. This is why answering whether a project "worked" is the wrong place to begin an evaluation.

William Easterly (2006) spends the bulk of his book *White Man's Burden* providing convincing arguments that the West does not know what it is doing when it comes to development, that it has had far more failures than successes, and that despite this it evokes a "patronizing confidence" that it knows how to solve development problems (2009, p. 368). A shift in evaluation goals from accountability to learning would signal an acknowledgement that we have much to learn about the basics of aid. This shift would define "learning" as answering foundational questions about aid rather than fine tuning existing programs that themselves may be misguided.

This new form of "learning" could focus on two broad areas: underlying theories about what promotes social change and the process of designing and implementing interventions. Theories that have not been confirmed on the ground should not serve as a backbone for large and ambitious projects, such as using ICTs to promote the economy or government accountability. By skipping the foundational evidence, we risk wasting precious aid dollars on projects that are based on assumptions rather than evidence.

Secondly, evidence on how to effectively design and implement interventions is lacking. Evaluations and reports infrequently analyze the process of conducting

development interventions, suggesting that this is an area that does not require analysis because best practices are sufficiently established. They are not.

Many organizations do indeed incorporate useful learning into their evaluations. Good project reports and evaluations include recommendations that are broad and useful to those trying to understand, generally, what works in development. These do not always come in the form of evaluation reports. For example, BBC Media Action often issues "policy briefings" that distill findings from their interventions in order to make them easy to understand and be used by policymakers.

Specific questions could be asked in each of these broad categories. With regard to underlying theories, for example, we need a deep and critical examination of the question of how to reduce gender-based violence. With regard to design and implementation processes, we need explicit evaluations of participatory design, an approach to project development and implementation that has received increasing attention in the literature, seems to offer potential as being more effective and more ethical than traditional, top-down implementation designs, and yet is mostly ignored (except to a superficial degree) by most funders and designers who want more control over the project. The number of projects that fail to take realities on the ground into sufficient account, thus weakening the effectiveness of the project, suggests that this is a question that merits more attention.

Shifting the focus of evaluations away from impact may be anathema to project staff that want to tout the success of their projects. This is understandable. Organizations depend on positive evaluations to receive continued funding. Without evidence that they are doing good work, they risk losing the ability to continue working. But evaluation reports should still address impact. What must change is the mindset around evaluations – the ideology that evaluations are meant to assess impact, that this is their primary function, and that this is what makes development aid accountable and ethical. This frame, I have argued, is *not* adequately ethical because it limits the usefulness of evaluations and of projects. It shows that money was not entirely wasted but it does not efficiently or sufficiently teach us better ways to spend money. In this way, it benefits donors and implementers far more than the beneficiaries they purport to help. Shifting the focus of evaluations to understanding fundamental questions about how aid works may be a better, more ethical, and more just way to improve policy making and to stay accountable to beneficiaries at the same time.

We could simply be happy with the fact that our interventions are working, and continue to fund those that work and reallocate the funds of those that do not. But we should not be satisfied with projects that simply work. We should be seeking to make the most efficient use of money possible and to improve lives to the largest degree that we can. This is what we should mean when we refer to "accountability."

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Transformative Storywork: Creative Pathways for Social Change

40

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Contents

40.1 Introduction 734
40.1.1 What This Chapter Will Do 736
40.2 Transformative Storywork 737
40.3 Principles of Transformative Storywork 738
40.3.1 Humanizing 739
40.3.2 Accountable 740
40.3.3 Emancipatory 740
40.4 Core Features of Transformative Storywork in Practice 741
40.4.1 Power of the Personal 741
40.4.2 Creative and Multimodal 742
40.4.3 Role of Iteration 743
40.4.4 Political Listening 743
40.4.5 Relational and Reflexive Learning 744
40.5 How the Principles of Transformative Storywork Are Embodied in Practice and How They Work 744
40.5.1 Group Building 745
40.5.2 Positionalities in Storywork 746
40.5.3 Facilitation 747
40.6 Where and How Transformation Happens 748
40.6.1 Personal 749
40.6.2 Collective 750

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40.6.3 Societal 751
40.7 Conclusion 751
References 752

Abstract

There is no one way that oppression is experienced in people's lives, and there are also many pathways to undoing exclusion. Understanding the relationships between the lived experiences of exclusion and the possibilities for change requires careful attention. In response, this chapter sets out the case for transformative storywork as an approach that can contribute to social change. Transformative storywork is a complex and multimodal process, which operates on an emotional, creative level. It uses storytelling as a form of inquiry, including the exploration of the self and of daily experiences in connection with life history and social context. Through personal and collective creative expression, transformative storywork builds opportunities to challenge unequal relations of power in our own lives and the lives of others. Creative storytelling can both humanize and politicize learning processes by building new and collective possibilities for social change. This chapter sets out the principles, elements, and practices of transformative storywork. We argue that creative expression through crafting personal stories, within a group-based process, enables a deeper understanding of our lives and, importantly, ourselves in relation to others. This relational learning enables reflection on our own stories and experiences. Building from these story processes, further deconstruction of the power relations within different life stories builds an understanding of the structural injustices that affect people's shared realities. Our analysis is that this relational understanding of structural inequality, built through multimodal creative methods founded in the personal narrative, can support transformative learning and solidarity in shared struggles for social change. This change was not only witnessed but was also experienced both personally and politically by the authors, and the chapter will outline reflexive learnings within these processes to communicate for social change. The chapter draws on examples of previous and ongoing work, including in South Africa.

Keywords

Creative methods; Storytelling; Intersectionality; Social justice; Emancipatory; Visual; Listening; Transformative storywork

40.1 Introduction

Our strategy should be not only to confront the empire but to mock it. . .with our art. . .our stubbornness, our joy, our brilliance, our sheer relentlessness. Arundhati Roy

The idea of using storytelling for social change is both old and new. Traditions of storytelling in many cultures and contexts go back hundreds of generations and are part of how knowledge is passed on. Storytelling is part of how traditions are nurtured and transmitted. At the same time, there has been much attention in international development aid, in health communication, and in social movements and campaigns on the potential of stories to communicate messages for change (Matthews and Sunderland 2017; Shahrokh and Wheeler 2014a). This chapter aims to articulate a particular approach to using storytelling for social change: transformative storywork. What we set out here is based on the consolidation of many years of practice, through which this approach has evolved. This chapter intends to make the case for why this approach is important in terms of social change and how storytelling can be connected to transformation at multiple levels.

Transformative storywork refers to a group process that allows participants to use elements of narrative structure to organize life events into sequences and assign these experiences meaning through a story. Transformative storywork is not about compressing one's life story or the story of a group into a linear structure, but instead emphasizes the recognition of moments that have created shifts (both positive and negative). The crafting of stories through this process enables participants to identify these key moments and work around them, in terms of understanding what went into them and what came out of them and where their significance lies. Transformative storywork makes important initial assumptions that the process of how people tell their own stories will be different according to the personal circumstances, nature of the issue, and context; and the stories themselves will also be a reflection of these differences. Importantly, transformative storywork is a process of self- and collective inquiry; it supports a set of processes that build deeper and critical understanding of the world we are a part of and the changes we want to see. Storytellers are at the center of the process of knowledge creation. The development of these stories is intimately connected to allowing storytellers to recognize that the questioning of power relations is valid and valuable. This approach promotes a kind of research that is constructed and directed by the people affected by social injustice.

It is important to situate the "transformative" in storywork: in this approach, the starting point is a deep concern with social justice and how to move toward greater equity. The storytelling focuses explicitly on attention to who and what is oppressed or excluded within a particular context and how this can be changed to be more equitable. It is also informed by the assumption that the personal is political and that the everyday experiences of those living with exclusion need to be expressed and heard. By social change, we are not referring to a generic, political commitment. Instead the focus in transformative storywork is on the importance of surfacing and articulating direct personal experiences of marginality and recognizing and building the strength to challenge them.

Our analysis is that transformative storywork builds a more relational understanding of structural inequality, through multimodal creative methods (Reavey

2011; Clover and Stalker 2007). Through deepening the understanding of the connection between personal experiences and structural inequalities, it can lead to change. Changes emerge at personal, collective, and societal levels through this work (see Sect. 40.6). We have experienced these kinds of changes, personally and professionally, through transformative storywork, and also witnessed as they unfold with groups that we have supported. In our experience, creative storytelling can both humanize and politicize a process of learning for those involved. In some cases, transformative storywork can contribute to social change by building new and collective possibilities for transformation. This chapter draws on our self-reflexive learning over time, including challenges with our own positionality within transformative storywork (see Sect. 40.5 on positionality in transformative storywork).

This chapter represents the synthesis of knowledge gained through experience across many contexts and, over time, through largely collective and collaborative projects. We draw on participatory research we conducted over 8 years in the South African context focused on challenging power inequalities, violence, and injustice and the role of creative and story-based approaches in engaging with and communicating those realities. We also draw on other experience of using storytelling in connecting research with marginalized groups to local, national, and global policy formation processes. Finally, this chapter draws on the experience of storytelling workshops with a wide range of groups, movements, and organizations in Latin America, Europe, Asia, and Africa over the past 15 years. Over these various experiences, the practice of transformative storywork evolved, and this chapter represents an attempt to distill and articulate the approach.

40.1.1 What This Chapter Will Do

When researchers and practitioners discuss storytelling approaches, there are diverse ways of interpreting and understanding what they refer to as "storytelling" (cf. Matthews and Sunderland 2017). Storytelling also has different meanings and purposes in different disciplines and from distinct perspectives (psychology, organizational change, corporate, social policy, arts and humanities) (Crossley 2000; Bate 2004; Woodside et al. 2008; Sandercock 2003; Bell 2010; Clover and Stalker 2007). In order to be clear about how this approach is bounded and why it is important for social change, this chapter sets out the parameters of what we mean by transformative storywork.

This chapter defines the approach of "transformative storywork" and positions it in relation to other storytelling methodologies and related processes of communication for social change. It then goes on to articulate a set of principles that inform and guide the approach. These principles have emerged and evolved through an iterative relationship between our own normative assumptions about how to work toward social change and the practice of storytelling. The chapter explores how these principles are embodied in practice and the tensions that emerge. It goes on to describe some of the main elements of using the approach with examples of how

these elements function in practice. Finally the chapter turns to the tensions and ethics of our own positionality as researchers and communicators for social change and the implications of this approach for transformation.

We have deliberately chosen not to include a specific example of a story generated through this process and instead draw learning from multiple and diverse stories and storytelling processes. This is because including a story as an example requires substantial contextualization to make its meaning clear in terms of how it relates to the overall approach. The intention of the chapter is to point to an overall area of work and show how it varies significantly by context, individual, group, theme, researchers, and practitioners involved. We hope that by referencing different examples throughout rather than a few in greater depth, the chapter will allow a more critical examination of the principles behind the approach (To view examples of stories produced through transformative storywork, see "My Nightmare Becomes a Reality" [https://vimeo.com/181166061], "Three Broken Hearts" [https://vimeo.com/185294666], "Police Brutality" [https://vimeo.com/192617528], and "We and Them" [https://vimeo.com/206378072] alongside stories responding to gender-based violence [http://interactions.eldis.org/capetown-digital-stories-on-sgbv], policy engagement processes, [http://vimeo.com/participate2015] and wider practice [http://transformativestory.org/case-studies]).

40.2 Transformative Storywork

We define transformative storywork in a very specific way. This definition has emerged over time, through many different projects and engagements using story-based methods. Transformative storywork is a complex and multilayered process which operates on an emotional, creative level. It uses storytelling as a form of inquiry, including the exploration of the self and of daily experiences in connection with life history and social context. In doing so, transformative storywork is committed to social justice. Through personal and collective creative expression, transformative storywork builds opportunities to challenge unequal relations of power in our own lives and the lives of others.

Transformative storywork uses a group process to surface and articulate stories of personal and/or collective experience. It does this by connecting a group-learning process to elements of story structure and storytelling that enable freedom, strength, and support in self-expression. Transformative storywork relies on iteration (between versions of stories and modes of expressions), and this iteration allows people to process or work through significant moments in their lives, in turn assigning sequences and meaning to experiences. This iterative process of reflection and renewal allows for shifts in understanding of ourselves, of the group, and of the wider society (Trees and Kellas 2009). These shifts happen, in part, through relational learning and the challenging of assumptions (about ourselves and others and our relationship to society). Transformative storywork is undertaken in order to surface and question power relations, but through a creative, multimodal, and

inductive approach, rather than one that is primarily analytical that relies on pre-established categories and classifications.

This work is transformative in the sense that creative expression through crafting personal and/or collective stories, within a group-based process, enables a deeper understanding of our lives and, importantly, ourselves in relation to others. This relational learning enables reflection on our own stories and experiences (Lykes and Scheib 2015). Building from these story processes, further deconstruction of the power relations within different life stories builds an understanding of the structural injustices that affect people's shared realities.

In practical terms, this means that transformative storywork starts with what those involved choose to be their own significant experiences. The "work" is about using the process to deepen an understanding of what these experiences mean and what they mean for others. Storywork, therefore, can lead to stories being produced in different forms and formats. In transformative storywork, we often focus on short-form stories which can be conveyed in different mediums and modes: the group process leads to the production of a story or stories as an artifact of the process. However the process is not driven just by the imperative of creating a particular form of a story or the modality of how to think creatively about a story. It is equally driven by the need to give weight to personal experiences, recognizing their importance and articulating their meaning. From this starting point, storywork is the crafting of those experiences into something legible and powerful in representing and communicating their own meanings.

As researchers, activists, and artists, we have evolved the practice of storywork over time, through many engagements with groups and individuals in different settings and contexts. We draw on existing practice in popular education, art therapy, participatory action research, participatory video, and other story-based methods (such as digital storytelling) (Black et al. 2016; Mills et al. 2015; Shahrokh and Wheeler 2014a, b; Lambert 2013; Milne et al. 2012; Wheeler 2011; Reavey 2011; Wheeler 2009; Boal 2008; Kalmanowitz and Lloyd 2005; Greenwood and Levin 1998; Freire 1996; Heron 1996). While we have been influenced by all of these areas of practice, transformative storywork is bounded in terms of the principles underlying it and the elements of how it is practiced. The next sections explore these principles and elements in greater depth.

40.3 Principles of Transformative Storywork

Transformative storywork is an emergent approach. It has grown from our lived experience of learning with the communities and movements that have opened up their worlds, struggles, and aspirations to make new narratives. These narratives make visible and question power inequalities. In doing so, transformative storywork is not simply an exercise in understanding social experience; rather it has emancipatory qualities and provides space to critique forces of domination that participants negotiate in their daily lives and within the world around them. A set of principles have emerged through developing this approach that inform and guide it. These

principles reflect the ethics and values of the work: in order to provide space for transformation at personal and collective levels, transformative storywork must be humanizing, accountable, and emancipatory.

40.3.1 Humanizing

Systems of oppression that drive exclusions are dehumanizing in that they invisibilize certain people or aspects of people's lives; they are often fed by and reinforce negative labels and stereotypes that reduce people and places to narrow categories. Transformative storywork is humanizing in that it is motivated by how to bring into fuller recognition the people and places that are hidden or made invisible through systemic injustice.

Transformative storywork recognizes that we can grow, in a personal way, through storytelling practice. This approach assumes that, as humans, we are constantly changing and have the potential to change. Systems of exclusion and oppression make personal growth incredibly difficult, but also indicate the potential for strength and resilience (Hernandez-Wolfe et al. 2015). Storytelling practice should therefore enable each person to realize their own creativity, express who they are, and live the freedoms that underpin what it means to be human (Paris and Winn 2014).

A fundamental principle of transformative storywork brings a humanizing approach to how we understand our own identities and experiences. This means that transformative storywork recognizes that people have "mosaic" lives with different aspects coming together in different places and times. This approach considers how structural exclusion is lived, in order to engage with how people experience those exclusions in their everyday experiences as well as in the analysis of the wider structures. Many scholars, practitioners, and activists point to the importance of intersectionality in understanding and addressing the experience of injustice (Hernandez-Wolfe et al. 2015; Crenshaw 1989). Transformative storywork recognizes that intersectionality is present and should be accounted for in the stories that are told (or untold).

The imperative of humanizing, and recognizing intersectionality requires deploying creativity and iteration. Creativity and iteration allow transformative storywork to grow through the textured and mosaic lives and the experiences of exclusion in particular places/people. Creativity is part of a multimodal approach (Reavey 2011; Clover and Stalker 2007). Iteration is moving between different modes (visual, textual, movement, drama, spoken) and different versions of the story. Story (as in narrative form) is therefore fed by creativity and iteration. The central principle, then, is about the importance of creativity in our lives and how this helps us to go beyond limitations and exclusions (Clover and Stalker 2007). This is particularly important when engaging with storywork to transform inequalities.

Our commitment to a humanizing approach challenges the conception of research as an objective process of evidence building or knowledge extraction. Rather, the research process is itself a part of our social world and itself has a role in humanizing

and transforming our realities. The knowledge created through transformative storywork is not just a lens onto people's lives; it is actively engaged in creating social change. Through dialogic consciousness raising (the process of becoming more aware of social and political issues in discussion with others), participants and researchers experience change in understanding and actions. Significantly, this means that equality needs to be supported within our research practices and relationships of dignity and care are integral between all involved (Paris 2011).

40.3.2 Accountable

Accountability is a central principle to transformative storywork. This entails accountability in a number of aspects. The first form of accountability is from the researcher/practitioner toward the participants in the transformative storywork. This means that we, as researchers and practitioners, must be aware of how we construct and guide the process and the responsibility for working toward transformation. Accountability means that both researchers and participants have a commitment to learning, reflexivity, and change in themselves (Madison 2005). This implies the potential for renewal and an awareness of our own transformation and growth in response to learning from the stories of others, both facilitators and participants. Further, accountability requires an ongoing process of recognizing our own privileges and critically examining how we respond to them in relation to the group we are working with and the tensions that emerge with how we handle those situations. This dimension of accountability in terms of the deep responsibility and commitment of the researcher is important for building trust with the group(s) involved.

Another important aspect to accountability as a principle of transformative storywork is that it is grounded in an "ethics of care." Ethics of care imply shared and contextualized ethical commitments to "care" between facilitators and participants (Edwards and Mauthner 2012). This approach is established from feminist principles and decision-making grounded in care, compassion, attentiveness, and a commitment to acting in the best interests of the individuals or groups involved in the process (Ward and Gahagan 2010). This kind of care is important in transformative storywork as it often involves surfacing painful and difficult emotions, as participants explore their own experiences. As such our humanity must be established and reflected in the relationships held within transformative storywork. Evolving an ethics of care is integral to how the storying work unfolds. Experiences of witnessing each other's experiences and recognizing them provide opportunities for reflection and learning on how our care for and respect of others within the process and within our whole lives can unfold.

40.3.3 Emancipatory

Transformative storywork is an epistemological approach that promotes processes of knowledge creation that work in solidarity with marginalized group's own agency.

The approach draws from critical race, decolonizing, feminist, and queer arguments that challenge the privileging of certain groups' social position and in turn ways of seeing and knowing over others. This approach is instantiated through techniques and methods that evolve and change with the group, individual, context, and issues of concern, guided by principles set out here.

Our values and principles affect how we do research and what we value in the results of our research. This means that the objective of transformative storywork as inquiry is emancipatory; it is not simply an exercise in understanding social experience, but rather it works toward transformative social change. Through reflexive, critical, and dialogic learning, transformative storywork aims to effect change at personal, collective, and societal levels. As such, the approach draws on some of the same principles and mechanisms that underpin participatory action research (Fine 2016; Greenwood and Levin 1998; Heron 1996). Importantly however, transformative storywork establishes the power of the storying process in challenging of power inequalities; this happens through the recognition of self and other beyond the categories and labels we are constructed within, enabling representation of who we are and who we as a society can be.

Transformative storywork aims to act as catalyst for social change. This is not to claim that emancipation will be realized through the work but rather that the processes, spaces, and knowledge created through the approach offer a contribution toward wider social and political projects addressing forces of domination such as (neo)-coloniality, (hetero)-patriarchy, and white supremacy. The storywork creates a space for the participants to explore these issues in their own lives. Our efforts as researchers and facilitators within the processes are to support storytellers to expand the possibilities of how they can use their story and the insights they have drawn from the process, to contribute to wider social change.

40.4 Core Features of Transformative Storywork in Practice

So what is needed to do transformative storywork? The practice of transformative storywork involves a continuous learning process. There are no set steps to arrive at a transformative story. Rather transformative storywork involves working with a set of core features that must be made responsive to the realities and rhythms of the group of people being engaged. In order to connect to people's complex and changing realities, the researcher/practitioners adapt these features based on the group's histories, aspirations, and desires. As this is an evolving practice, transformative storywork requires constant critical reflecting on how to adapt the approach. This section examines some of the main features of transformative storywork in practice.

40.4.1 Power of the Personal

Transformative storywork is grounded in the surfacing of significant stories and reflective practice. Initially this involves creating space in the process for exploring

our life stories through the mapping of moments that stand out as having influence in our lives and how we see ourselves. This recognition of the significance of our lives and the moments we have passed through cannot only bring deeper understanding of ourselves but also the personal power to engage with how and why we see these moments the way we do. This brings out opportunities to connect to our own identities as we define them and to question the labels or histories that are constructed by others. From this point of departure, storytellers are supported to identify a moment or set of moments within their larger life history which they want to work through, to process, and to draw insights that can help them connect to the question of who they are and who they want to be.

Connecting to the personal through stories involves an exploration of histories, identities, and perceptions of self. Recognition of personal experiences and valuing of everyday lives can support self-confidence. Enhanced self-confidence through giving recognition to and working through a significant moment in our lives can also strengthen the power to connect to and have empathy for others.

When personal storytelling is embedded within a commitment to social justice, experiences of marginalization and trauma are present in the lives of the people involved. So when people have a space to work through an experience within storytelling, trauma is very likely to emerge, because they may not have previously had the opportunity to explore and understand their own complex histories. As such, a strength-based approach is important for building personal power (Joseph 2015). This strength is often established in the framing of the storywork and how participants are supported to enter into the telling of their story. A statement or question acts as a catalyst for the storywork, and we have learnt that this can help storytellers connect to the past, present, and future. The learning and insights gained from our histories can help build positive pathways forward providing a sense of control and agency within our futures.

40.4.2 Creative and Multimodal

Transformative storywork is grounded in an understanding that lived experiences are multimodal, in that we navigate the world not only through narrative but also through space and through our bodies. As articulated in the use of multimodality in visual psychological practice, storywork provides space for the multiple meaning-making resources that we hold within our lived experience to be part of the way we communicate those experiences to others (Reavey 2011). Multilayered forms of expression (through movement, drawing, sculpting, speaking, singing, etc.) in turn enable a different kind of listening, where listening becomes more than hearing. Listening in transformative storywork is a deeper embodied practice that draws on a richer understanding of what is being communicated (see section below on political listening).

The creative and multimodal approach brings unexpected and often obscured knowledge to the fore. For example, the use of the visual through drawings, photography, icons, symbols, story modeling, and drama supports intuitive

knowledges to surface. Visual and creative techniques enable reflection on and representation of who we are individually and collectively (Reavey 2011; Clover and Stalker 2007). Creative expression can provide avenues into a nuanced and "unspoken" understanding of people's lives, in particular in relation to difficult issues which can be hidden in the "discursive" (Pink 2004). The visual has both literal and connotative (associated and emotional) meanings created by historical, social, and cultural contexts. Connecting with others through the process of creativity and art-making can allow people to open to each other an intuitive engagement with each other's lives (Kalmanowitz and Lloyd 2005). Creative methods further enable participants to drive the learning experience within storywork, as it is their own creative expression and their narration of that creativity that provides opportunities for dialogue and understanding.

40.4.3 Role of Iteration

Iteration forms an important part of transformative storywork. Through iteration, the process helps participants to develop an organized sequence for their stories. Iteration, or the telling and retelling of the story through different modes and versions, allows participants to process significant moments. Iteration also helps participants to assign meaning to particular moments and sequences. Iteration allows the story to unfold and be crafted, rather than to constrain storytelling to a particular mould or version. Iteration allows participants to expand and contract the frame of the story and experiment with different ways of telling it. This kind of iteration helps participants to encounter and establish an organizing sequence that works for their story or stories.

Iteration implies taking time; and time is what is needed for participants to process and express important and often difficult experiences as a story. The process of iterating stories as a group allows participants to build an intimate public. The intimate public refers to the empathy established through the storytelling process with others. The trust created within the intimate public, or group, is also what enables a learning process as the stories are developed. This is the basis for a collective exploration of issues rising through the personal story process.

40.4.4 Political Listening

Listening is an essential part of transformative storywork. Listening is cultivated from the outset of the process and is central to how people are able to have the confidence to express their experiences. We treat listening as an active, rather than a passive undertaking – listening is not just about hearing or taking in what is being communicated, but also about recognizing our own position in relation to what is communicated. It is therefore "difficult, emotionally draining cultural work, requiring openness to others, commitment to others and. . .courage" (Matthews and Sunderland 2017: 8). In political listening, the listener tries to understand the views, perspectives, and experiences of the storyteller and at the same time

recognizes their own position in relation to another person and tries to surface the implications of this (Hernandez-Wolfe et al. 2015). Therefore political listening involves making visible power inequalities in the process of listening to the telling of stories. The storyteller therefore experiences this listening as part of the process of articulating their experiences, creating space for shared learning between storytellers in the group. Political listening implies a reciprocity in the way that stories will be heard and in the extent to which members of the group are willing to be open to recognizing their own uses of power. "Political listening" is engaging ourselves in an effort toward social justice. This quality of listening is essential for building trust through the crafting of stories.

40.4.5 Relational and Reflexive Learning

Who we are is captured and constructed within our social relationships with others. By working with others and in building an understanding of each other, transformative storywork constitutes a relational process in the construction of the story. Transformative storywork, in similarity to the learning process behind other digital and creative storytelling approaches, emphasizes that storytelling holds the power to establish bonds and relationships through learning from and sharing of narratives of life experience (Poletti 2011).

In dialogue with others, our stories become joint constructions that have the power to shift our interpretations of self and other (cf. Trees and Kellas 2009). This means that transformative storywork goes beyond the personal psychosocial and therapeutic aspects of storytelling to the collective construction of knowledge and the understanding of each other (the relational learning process). This touches on our understanding of ourselves and our own role in witnessing and being heard, seeing and being seen.

For both participants and researcher/facilitators, this relational learning process requires reflexivity. Reflexivity involves finding strategies to question our own thought processes, values, assumptions, and prejudices in order to unpack and question our complex identities and roles in relation to others. Becoming aware of the socially constructed nature of our own gender, race, age, and class builds an understanding of ourselves and our identities that is fluid, multiple, and unfixed. This learning enables a connection to that complexity of self or the textured lives of others. In witnessing the stories of others, we are able to see "mosaic" qualities and in turn review our ways of relating in ways which embody a deeper ethics of care, dignity, and respect.

40.5 How the Principles of Transformative Storywork Are Embodied in Practice and How They Work

There is powerful emotional and relational learning within the process of storywork, and this needs to be deliberately supported while leaving enough flexibility for moving forward with telling stories. Our experience is that people from different

backgrounds and with different identities can make their own, often surprising connections with one another and can draw strength from this process. At the same time, our different positionalities can cause tensions and constrain the possibilities of transformation. The following section is therefore an attempt to bring transformative storywork to life through sharing our experiences of doing transformative storywork. We share some examples of the careful negotiation involved in upholding the above principles in different contexts. We see the following considerations as essential in carrying out this kind of storywork such that significant care and respect are assigned to the individuals taking part in the process.

40.5.1 Group Building

Transformative storywork, when used to negotiate difficult social issues, tends to engage with some form of trauma. Exclusion from human and social rights is in and of itself traumatic and is accompanied by more pronounced and memorable instances of injustice. When working with social change, we hold that the process cannot shy away from the traumatic experiences associated with them, which further contribute to the silencing of such experiences of exclusion. Therefore in order to create a sense of safety for learning and healing, trust must be nurtured in order to respond ethically and adequately to people's experiences.

Trust is an essential element for undertaking transformative storywork. Significant emphasis is therefore placed on building trust between group members themselves and with the facilitators. It is foundational for creating a platform for open sharing within the work and furthermore contributes to building a sense of solidarity within a story group.

Through the sharing of intimate experiences in a structured environment, a strong sense of solidarity and cohesion is established within a story group. The process unites a group beyond the individual storywork and builds a sense of group identity. Participants move beyond participation and can enter into constructing group identity with enduring bonds of friendship and purpose to work together on the issues being addressed. This is not an inconsequential outcome, but must be nurtured and sustained for it to be fruitful. Story group members need to have ownership of their stories and the development of the group and therefore direct a collective approach to solving shared problems.

It is essential for the group members to be clear from the outset on the purpose of the storywork as well as the intended use of the stories articulated through the process. We work on the basis that the stories belong to the individual or group who produced them, and it is their choice to decide how they wish to use the story they produced. They can choose to keep their stories private or to share them with other audiences. But the freedom to choose must remain with the author(s) of the story.

Finally, it is important to note that the formation of trust and group building does not happen quickly or irrevocably. Trust and solidarity require time and effort and can also be lost easily. Our story processes require a minimum of 5 full days, preceded with preliminary meetings and followed by collaborative discussions or

by ongoing meetings with group members over a sustained period of time, to work toward a given outcome or intention. Alternately, an established group with its own strong history can take part in transformational storywork (where the process can strengthen bonds and can be used to develop material for a given purpose by the group).

40.5.2 Positionalities in Storywork

The starting point or positionality for those initiating storywork is a significant factor which will influence the approach taken. Transformative storywork can be used for various outcomes, but there are also tensions between these outcomes. It is essential to surface these different starting points and assumptions and analyze them critically from the outset. Without this attention, the tensions and contradictions between the different positionalities can work to undermine the process. This section draws on our experience of tensions and conflicts in our positionalities in engaging in transformative storywork.

Based on an analysis of our experience, it is possible to categorize the positionality and intended outcomes of undertaking storywork from different perspectives. This includes empirical research (storytelling as finding out/generating data to answer questions), advocacy or campaigning (storytelling to generate messages aimed at influencing others), and therapeutic interventions (storytelling as a process of healing). Each of these positions implies a focus on a particular kind of outcome, as set out in Table 1.

Recognizing the tensions between these positionalities, we aspire toward a social justice approach (item 4 in Table 1). This approach works to weave a thread between these different positions, continuously questioning and reflecting on the extent to which the storywork is ensuring justice and is more closely realized in the lives of participants. In doing so, researcher/facilitators must engage deeply with the context of the process and who it involves and connect into different spaces accordingly. The process, rather than reflecting primarily the interests of institutions, researchers, or practitioners, must respond to the reality of the group. This often leads to tensions as organizational/professional agendas diverge from those of the group (Black et al. 2016).

Each person and group has a distinct journey in this process; what is possible and the potential involved varies according to their specific characteristics. For example, in working with groups that already self-identify as activists or are working over a longer period with an activist organization, the shift from personal articulation of stories to the communicating of these stories to wider publics can sometimes happen more quickly (sometimes too quickly!). With groups that have no prior group identity or structure, and people living with extreme marginalization, much more time is needed at the stage of allowing people to express and articulate their own stories and start to form a collective identity. In this case, it is not possible to quickly move toward collective action without risking the group formation process or distorting the story content or form. It is integral therefore that the process has value within its own parameters and in relation to the level of change that is possible

Table 1 Storytelling purposes and outcomes

Positionality	Empirical research	Advocacy / campaigning	Therapeutic	Social justice
Description	Generating evidence/data for specific questions	Conveys particular messages for specific audiences	Focuses on healing for person/group and on individual/ group psychological well-being; not on the development of the story as a communicative artifact itself	Combines elements of 1, 2, and 3, but is not wholly aligned with any; starts with assumptions of the importance of individual storytelling through a collective process in contexts of exclusion/ marginalization AND importance of rigor in creative practice of storycrafting
Intended outcome	Provides information necessary to respond to questions or test hypotheses	Generates stories that can be used to influence behaviors, attitudes, and/or actions	Promotes healing in cases of trauma	Promotes social justice

for a certain story group (see next section). Importantly, within the storywork, there must be a layered approach that can build toward different kinds of change depending on context.

Furthermore, there should not be a hierarchy of outcomes from storytelling: the measure of success depends on the specific people and group involved, but is fundamentally about the sense of control that the storytellers have over their own experiences – any aspect of research that compromises this sense of control cannot be seen to be legitimate. Yet as researchers, often facing an agenda implies a conflict with the storytelling process (e.g., expectations in a PhD/doctoral research, grant-based funding tied to certain outcomes, pressures within the academy for "credible" research, pressure for stories of a certain artistic quality). Part of the role of the engaged and ethical researcher is to recognize these circumstances and realities and work with them, centering the interests of the storytellers within the process.

40.5.3 Facilitation

Skilled and sensitive facilitation plays an important role in fulfilling the principles and ethics of transformative storywork for social change. Effective facilitation of

transformative storywork requires particular skills. It involves compassionate accompaniment of participants in articulating deeply personal stories, active and political listening, attention to group building (as discussed above), critical self-awareness, playful creative interaction to enable deeper and alternate ways of understanding individual stories, and an understanding of how to translate elements of stories through group processes into well-crafted stories.

The process is very demanding of facilitators in that it requires us to create a space of safety, freedom, and commitment for group members while also requiring facilitators to be able to share ownership of the process with group members to allow it to develop as it needs to. The role of the facilitator is to support the journey of the group and each individual and to support them in understanding the possibilities of change within the process.

As facilitators there is often a need to cede space to the group itself while also helping the group resolve conflicts that emerge. There is a constant struggle as a facilitator to understand how much input or direction is needed. Ongoing self-reflection within transformative storywork is essential so that facilitators can critically engage with their positionality as the processes unfold.

There is a fine balance of staying accountable to the group and enabling the ongoing longevity and sustainability of a group which is able to continue its work and purpose independently of external input. One dilemma that we have often faced is about how far our commitment as a researcher/facilitator should go in relation to the people and process involved. Ideally the group should be in a position which is strong enough to pursue the ongoing work of social justice autonomously and where the researcher is able to support movements and groups as necessary and not because they/we are needed for the group to continue.

It is important to note that the absence of skilled facilitation can result in things going wrong and can significantly hinder the depth of the process. Bad facilitation can heighten unequal power dynamics within a group which can reinforce silence by those who are extremely marginalized. Insensitive facilitation can undermine genuine trust within a group and therefore curtail the sharing of participants and limit the depth of storywork that can be achieved in the process. The politicized nature of work toward social justice can lead to the colonization of storywork processes by certain sets of interests. This situation of "capture" can happen where there are unequal power dynamics within the group. It is important to recognize that as a social process itself storywork will constitute the politics of change represented in the wider context it is situated in. Facilitators must therefore actively engage with this context and understand the implications for the group so as to be able to prevent wider social inequalities playing out and reinforcing power asymmetries.

40.6 Where and How Transformation Happens

Questions of where and how change happens are at the core of understanding how we can create a different kind of world. Understanding processes of transformation can provide us with the power to create lasting shifts in the power inequalities that maintain

systems of control and domination. It is pertinent in this work to acknowledge and explore the processes of change that storytellers are a part of and the spaces and moments in which this happens in their lives. With this understanding, transformative storywork can grow and mobilize in order to drive change across the social levels and the spaces that they hold (Shahrokh and Wheeler 2014a). In our analysis of change, we have emphasized personal, collective, and societal levels as holding spaces of transformation. These levels and the spaces within them are integrally linked, and their interconnection or the learning that happens between them is what creates possibilities for lasting social change. Here, we separate these levels of change out in order to articulate their significance; however within transformative storywork, they become deeply connected and are reciprocal in terms of how deeper and lasting change can occur.

40.6.1 Personal

At the personal level, there is an impact in sharing one's story and witnessing the stories of others. The process of a group telling stories together has consequences for how we see ourselves and our identities. Lived experiences of exclusion can lead to internalized feelings of invisibility, and self-expression can create a space for being and becoming that allows us not only to question this exclusion, but with others to challenge this power over our own lives. What comes with this is an understanding that working toward social change and on issues related to social justice often involves traumatic experiences for individuals who have faced marginality. Supporting people to voice their difficult experiences, and to be recognized and witnessed by themselves and others, is a powerful element in the process for personal and societal change. It is important to recognize that in personal storytelling what is shared and explored by the storyteller is only one part of a more complex narrative of life (Rose and Granger 2013).

A space of belonging is formed within the story group, enabling an exploration of our own identities and the giving of value to and purpose to life experiences. The dynamics of storytelling are an important part of how transformation can be understood. The telling and retelling of stories highlights that in some way all stories are partial and leave elements untold. Our experience suggests that shifting silences in personal narratives provide insight into when and how possibilities of transformation arise, both at individual and collective levels. For storytellers in the Delft Lives Matters initiative, the surfacing of experiences that had been made invisible by the normalization of violence in a given context enabled a reclaiming of personal struggle as well as collective strength to unpack such a complex and entrenched issue.

The storying process enables participants to identify emotions as they relate to particular moments in their lives and to unpack them. Creative expression enables a connection to emotions through symbolism that can create a way to understand and articulate what these emotions mean and where they come from. For young people with migration-related life experiences in South Africa, visual creativity enabled a representation of their identities through artwork that aimed to challenge

assumptions that they felt others had constructed around them. At the same time finding the language to share stories and label experiences gives participants the tools to give a name to what has happened in their lives and redefine or take control of what these experiences mean (Trees and Kellas 2009). Storywork is therefore an active process that has the power to build resilience and strength. This resilience is further built vicariously through understanding which emerges through the experiencing and witnessing of others' stories. This personal transformation is also experienced in the lives of facilitators and researchers. Learning from participant's transformations, storywork can enable a deeper awareness of our own intersectional identities, our silencing of these, and the strength that can come with making visible how others have responded to and survived trauma (Hernandez-Wolfe et al. 2015).

40.6.2 Collective

The relational experience of telling and listening to stories creates a sense of freedom that can enable new ways of understanding the world. This understanding stems from a collective consciousness built on relational learning. Participants have shared that transformative storywork has made visible for them that there is no one way that oppression is experienced in people's lives. Rather, a person's life is influenced by many factors, and each of these can influence the way that discrimination or marginalization is felt. In turn transformative storywork can support a deeper understanding of human complexity and how numerous and linked forms of oppression manifest in people's lives.

At the collective level, the process of shared storywork has been shown to contest narrow rigid categories of identity, ways of seeing issues and people, and assumptions about where collective interests and narratives lie. Working with gender justice activists in South Africa has shown that in exploring the intersectionality of identities within groupings that may otherwise be perceived as a 'coherent," there can be a transformation; in this case it was a shift in identifying who and how people are touched by gendered violence. The journey that one storyteller, Vee, took to explore the pain and strength that came with her experience of coming out as a lesbian enabled others to expand their understanding of whose reality counts in terms of representation on the issue of sexual and gender-based violence (watch Vee's story here: http://interactions.eldis.org/capetown-digital-stories-on-sgbv).

By giving space to everyone's story and creating learning relationships that do not privilege certain experiences over others, participants are able to negotiate a "common ground" between themselves. This learning process is partly about finding and describing the common ground. In the example of young refugees in South Africa, this negotiation was critical for their group's understanding and realization of young women's rights to voice and participation both within their joint storywork with young men and more widely in society. These shifts at a group level, as in the case of the gender activists above, can support storytellers to reimagine the world they are in and in turn the possibilities of social justice within it. The storytelling process can promote equality between people and also works to address power hierarchies that can exist within the group.

40.6.3 Societal

Within transformative storywork, the support of the group is needed to build strategies for change and ideas about how to put new and shared insights into action. Transformative storywork aims to provide a platform for personal and collective change to moving from being experienced in a more intimate way within the public of the group toward driving wider social change, using the knowledge created to take action for social justice. Seeing the complexities and injustices of structural inequalities through people's stories is one part of transformation.

Recognizing possibilities of change at the societal level grows from an understanding of agency and action which establishes that people have the potential to play a key role in shaping their own lives and relationships within their families, communities, society, authorities, and institutions. This action has multiple forms, and our experience has seen that the significance of this action has been both in the difference one can make in their own life and being expressed as activism in a more public sense. One young man, who was also a storyteller in the process with Vee outlined above, went through an important shift in terms of his own recognition of the exclusions Vee faced and their consequences. This led to him to invite his gay neighbor to walk with him to church each week, both to give recognition to the value of his life and to show his community that their exclusions are unjust.

Practicing agency in the transformation of these relationships involves stepping outside of the constructs, roles, and identities that exclusionary structures have established and creating a change. Expressions of agency such as this involve risk, and it is important that this risk is recognized, analyzed, and accepted before action is taken (Shahrokh and Wheeler 2014a). Importantly the process of transformative storywork supports the development of counternarratives which respond to those that promote discrimination and difference. These counternarratives happen at both the personal and collective level and act as a springboard for conversations across contexts. Our experience however has shown that the possibilities of social change relates deeply to the extent to which transformative storywork is humanizing. In taking action for societal change, retaining a connection to the personal and enabling empathy in understanding supports a commitment to change that is grounded in a shared humanity. Transformative storywork builds this understanding within those driving action, but also the articulation of their stories, and the personal strength and confidence to take that story into the world, can powerfully engage others and build solidarity for change.

40.7 Conclusion

This chapter has tried to set out the principles, core features, and elements of practice of transformative storywork. We have outlined some of the possibilities and tensions involved in doing this work. In looking across our experiences with transformative storywork, there are several conclusions that can be drawn about what difference transformative storywork makes and how this happens.

First, it is very clear that transformative storywork must be embedded in social change processes, with specific movements, groups, collectives, and individuals.

When it is driven too much by other agendas and priorities at odds with the real concerns of those living with marginalization and injustice, the integrity of the processes unravels and much of the transformative potential is lost. This more transformative approach works best through accompaniment of these groups/movements/collectives over a longer period of time. One-off workshops and compressed story processes are more vulnerable to collapse and distortion in relation to the principles set out here.

This means that transformative storywork, like social change itself, requires long-term personal commitment from the researcher/practitioner. Undertaking transformative storywork is not only about developing expertise in storytelling and encouraging creativity. It requires that, as researchers and practitioners, we cultivate self-reflexivity and political listening and practice participatory and inclusive facilitation. As transformative storywork often occurs in the context of complex and conflicting agendas, researchers and practitioners of transformative storywork need to develop the ability to negotiate complex organizational contexts and make provisions for coping with emotionally laden and often painful processes. Underlying all of this, the most important characteristic of researchers and practitioners undertaking transformative storywork is respect for the potential of everyone to tell their own story and awareness of the significance of the stories and the process of how the stories emerge. Transformative storywork asks a lot of us as researchers and practitioners, but the responsibility we assume when we enter into this work is also where we find its transformative potential – for ourselves and for wider social justice.

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Recollect, Reflect, and Reshape: Discoveries on Oral History Documentary Teaching

41

Yuhong Li

Contents

41.1 Introduction 756
41.1.1 Oral History and Oral History Documentary Filmmaking 756
41.1.2 Research Method and Target 757
41.2 Oral History Documentary Production in College Education 758
41.2.1 Oral History Practice 758
41.2.2 Using Documentary Film to Record Oral History 758
41.2.3 How to Plan and Implement an Oral History Documentary Project 759
41.3 "Our Fathers' Revolution" Oral History Documentary Production 760
41.3.1 Choose Story Theme by Region 760
41.3.2 The Difficulties of Making Oral History Documentaries About the Cultural Revolution in China 761
41.3.3 Accomplish the Target of Liberal Arts Education Through Oral History Documentary Production 762
41.4 Oral History Documentary Series "Family Album" 763
41.4.1 100 Chinese Ordinary Family Stories' Vision Archive 764
41.4.2 Recollect, Reflect, and Reshape 764
41.5 How to Evaluate Oral History Documentary as Historical Data 765
41.6 Conclusion 766
References 766

Abstract

In university education, oral history always hopes to have students involved in a more attractive way, while teaching documentary production one also looks for good stories. Therefore, the combination of oral history and documentary

A case study of oral history documentary series "Our Fathers' Revolution" & "Family Album"

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production in university education seems to be a necessity. This is especially meaningful for the Chinese young generation since they have a great interest and curiosity about China's modern history and stories about their own family and communities. However, often these stories remained a taboo or untold.

In 2011 the Department of Media and Communication at the City University of Hong Kong launched oral history documentary programs and produced 11 episodes of "Our Fathers' Revolution" and around 100 episodes of "Family Album" short films. This 6-year practice on oral history documentary education turned out oral history and documentary films that combine and accomplish the goals of oral history education. The process of documentary production has been an interesting experience for the students themselves and for their family and friends.

Oral history documentary projects help students foster an intergenerational appreciation and an awareness of the intersection between personal lives and larger historical currents. It could help fulfil the educational target of a liberal arts education – to develop students' critical and creative thinking and inspire the active participation in history and civic life in the future. We can regard the whole process of oral history documentary teaching as a way for students to recollect, reflect, and reshape.

However, there are still many problems to be solved during the production of an oral history documentary. Questions such as: Are the interviewees' subjective feelings consistent with the historical reality? How to carry out trade-offs during the postproduction (video editing) in order to complete a wonderful story? How to complete script writing?

The characters for a documentary require relatively dramatic stories, and it kind of contradicts the relatively boring oral history. How to respect the reality of the history and at the same time satisfy the urge for watching a documentary? How to nurture the students' historical perspective and objective attitudes? All these difficulties have been encountered in the class during the production of oral history documentaries.

Keywords

Oral history documentary production · Teaching discovery · Liberal art education · Critical thinking · Recollect · Reflect · Reshape

The great strength of oral history is its ability to record memories in a way that honours the dignity and integrity of ordinary people. – Mary Marshall Clark, OHMA

41.1 Introduction

41.1.1 Oral History and Oral History Documentary Filmmaking

Oral history, by definition, is the collection and study of historical information about individuals, families, important events, or everyday life using audiotapes, videotapes, or transcriptions of planned interviews. Oral history is a research method and a

very important way to observe the history as well. It strives to obtain information from different perspectives, and most of these cannot be found in written sources.

In particularly, oral history is conducted with people who participated in these past events. These people could be very important figures in history, but mostly, they are everyday people who tell the details they have witnessed in their daily life. In this way, oral history extends the traditional elites' history to the folk history.

Oral history has been changing with the development of technology. The way to record oral history is getting more and more diversified after the emergence of digital photography and cinematographic technology. Documentary film, as an effective storytelling method, can make good use of oral history.

The unique modern history of China over the past century, especially those hidden, dark, and drifting stories deep in Chinese people's mind, has been buried by so-called national memories controlled by the governmental culture. However, Chinese society has evolved historically since the economic reform in 1976. The middle class is exploding, and they have more concerns about Chinese social and historical issues and are eager to know the truth behind the scenes.

Oral history in Chinese university education has been looking for an attractive way to make more students participate in documentary production and the telling of good stories. Therefore, it is a necessity to combine oral history and documentary production.

41.1.2 Research Method and Target

History research need comprehensive information. There are different perspectives about one historical event. Comprehensive messages will help to explain and understand the truth behind the scenes.

In China, oral history has been significant for social and historical research. Due to the limitations of the Chinese political environment, there are major problems about the study of China's history, especially studies on modern Chinese history. Chinese education still focuses on patriotism and nationalism and does not provide a broad vision on history studies and historical issues.

Oral history education provides a better way to fill up these gaps. Oral history documentary production further helps students to explore the stories behind the scenes of their family and what they have suffered or experienced.

Many MA students from Mainland China study in Hong Kong. These students have a great interest and enthusiasm to explore the story that their grandparents and parents' generation experienced and to understand the diversity of the Chinese modern history.

The Department of Media and Communication at City University of Hong Kong initiated the oral history documentary project "Family Album" and aimed to help students foster an intergenerational appreciation and awareness of the intersection between personal lives and larger historical currents.

This chapter will be based on the case study of "Family Album" documentary series and explore the whole process of oral history documentary teaching and how to make it as a way for students to recollect, reflect, and reshape.

41.2 Oral History Documentary Production in College Education

41.2.1 Oral History Practice

In the United States, since 1966, the Oral History Association (OHA) has served as the principle membership organization for people committed to the value of oral history. OHA has established a set of goals, guidelines, and evaluation standards for oral history interviews and serves a broad and diverse audience including teachers, students, community historians, and filmmakers.

OHA established the Principles and Best Practices for Oral History to guide on how to practice oral history studies. The Practice introduces the three stages of oral history practice, i.e., pre-interview, interview, and post-interview. It emphasized the important role of oral history to develop students' critical and creative thinking and communication and leadership skills and to stimulate young generation's involvement in public affairs and history studies.

China is an authoritarian country with lots of media control; what is on the record may not reflect a complete picture. The voice of the people could present an alternative to the official history. We learn history through documents in archives, but it is difficult for the official, written history to incorporate everyday people's stories in these documents. Oral history is important because it gives a voice to the witnesses of a certain historical event or period.

However, in China, oral history education is still in its early stage. One of China's well-known journalists, Cui Yongyuan, established an oral history center at the Communication University of China and tried to initiate some oral history projects to help the young generation participating in activities related to oral history.

41.2.2 Using Documentary Film to Record Oral History

Film shooting technologies have become cheaper, handy cams have become widespread, and digital cameras and mobile telephones provide opportunities of making short film production available to large masses. These developments allow the use of short films in education.

Documentary film can be a great way to record oral history. However, many people are concerned about two aspects about oral history and documentary film. Fist, oral history is about the truth, while documentary film is nonfiction. In other words, will the documentary stories distort the facts or exaggerate the events? Second, in order to attract an audience, documentary films tend to choose more dramatic figures or aspects to focus on. Will this hurt the reliability of oral history?

41.2.3 How to Plan and Implement an Oral History Documentary Project

41.2.3.1 First, Set Up the Theme

The two documentary series "Our Fathers' Revolution" and "Family Album" were completed by MA students from the City University of Hong Kong. At the Department of Media and Communication, the internship program looked for suitable topics to engage students. Coincidentally, most of these graduate students came from all over Mainland China. Historical themes became the first choice that could attract the student participation and interest.

Students from Mainland China know little about China's history over the past 100 years. For example, the Cultural Revolution (CR) was a social-political movement in China from 1966 until 1976. Launched by Mao Zedong, then Chairman of the Communist Party of China, the movement paralyzed China politically and negatively affected the country's economy and society to a significant degree. However, China's youngsters don't have much access to understand this period of history, except for a couple of general paragraphs in their textbooks at school. The internship project chose the Cultural Revolution as the topic to stimulate students' curiosity. In 2011–2012, around 20 students produced an 11-episode documentary series called "Our Fathers' Revolution." This documentary series focuses on the stories that the students' family suffered then or what happened in their hometown a couple of decades ago. Due to the big success of "Our Fathers' Revolution," another oral history documentary series, "Family Album," was launched in 2013 to explore more personal Chinese everyday people's stories to further understand China's modern history.

These two topics are all based on student's interest and very attractive to the young students from Mainland China. The students took part in the project with great enthusiasm. However, both the Cultural Revolution and family history include an abundance of diverse topics and personalities. It's not easy to choose the topic and character to satisfy the authenticity of oral history and the storylines which documentary films require at the same time. Moreover, the distinction between oral history films and other documentaries is not always clear. The films must use oral history strategies to produce documentaries.

41.2.3.2 Second, Training (Pre-production)

For the students who do not have much experience to film a documentary, training is a necessary stage. Usually, the whole process of documentary includes three stages: pre-production, production, and postproduction.

The training stage is about contents training and technical training. It takes one semester (around 3 months). Contents training includes choosing a topic and characters and understanding the sociological significance of the topic and storylines. This part is very important and requires a lot of reading and discussion; especially critical and creative thinking is a must. Contents training will stimulate students' curiosity and interest and help the students conquer many difficulties from the filming and editing.

Since it's about an oral history documentary production, historical literacy training is important. This training was completed through reading and screenings with discussions.

41.2.3.3 Third, Filming (Production)

For both documentary projects, the shooting time was about 1 month and pretty tight since the students need to go back to their hometown during the new year's vacation. However, after 3-month contents and technique training, the students were ready for the filming.

41.2.3.4 Fourth, Video Editing (Postproduction)

It takes around 4 months to complete the video editing. Usually the students would take a lot of footages, and editing is kind of recreating – to further understand the storyline and the character.

41.3 "Our Fathers' Revolution" Oral History Documentary Production

The 11-episode Our Fathers' Revolution produced by City University students tried to discover what everyday people experienced during the Cultural Revolution.

41.3.1 Choose Story Theme by Region

After deciding the theme of this documentary series, the Cultural Revolution, the next step is to choose a topic or character for individual stories.

The students were from all over China, and finally 11 topics were selected in their regions (Table 1). During the Cultural Revolution, different places in China have different characters and stories. For example, in Chongqing, armed fight was fierce during the CR, and many people were killed or injured. Henan, China, was the place of the Great Famine, and many people died of hunger. The student from Beidahuang, Heilongjiang, tried to explore the stories about youth from big cities who were sent to the countryside for reeducation by the peasants. They found many of them who never got back to their city in their lifetime. One of the students from Hunan province, the hometown of Chairman Mao, went to investigate their memories of Chairman Mao.

For the first time, the students got firsthand stories about the Cultural Revolution and further understood what happened in their hometown during the Cultural Revolution.

Table 1 11-Episode "Our Fathers' Revolution" documentary topics and geographical distribution

Region	Theme	Topic
Henan	In Memory of the Great Famine	Henan's Great Famine
Tianjin	Sorry and Cheer	Encounter of Tianjin's tradition culture during the Cultural Revolution
Shijiazhuang, Hebei	The Man Who was God	The story of the old red evolution base
Shaoshan, Hunan	Long Live Chairman Mao	How people from his hometown evaluate Mao Zedong
Beidahuang, Heilongjiang	Gone Gone Gone	Stories about sent-down youth in China during the CR
Fuyang, Anhui	Past of Huizhou	Stories about the experience of grandmothers during the CR
Chongqing	Invisible Armed Fight	Victims' experience of armed fight in Chongqing during the CR
Chengdu, Sichuan	Story of the Imperial City	The change of Tianfu Square in Chengdu
Jingzhou, Hubei	The Silent Jingqian Village	The stories during the CR in a small Chinese village
Jingzhou, Hubei	Haven in the Storm	The story of May Seventh Cadre School in Shayang during the CR
Hong Kong	Their 1967	Hong Kong's Cultural Revolution in 1967

41.3.2 The Difficulties of Making Oral History Documentaries About the Cultural Revolution in China

For most young people in China, the Cultural Revolution is a very unfamiliar historical term. During the training stage, the students need to read many books, especially oral history books about the CR and watch some available movies or documentaries about the CR. To help them know what happened in the past was the first difficult mission since they had very little knowledge about what happened during that period of time.

Students were suggested to read *Mao's Last Revolution* by Harvard professor Roderick MacFarquhar and some other memoirs about the CR which made them understand what happened in order to have a relatively objective and comprehensive picture about that period of history. After they explored their topic, they conducted specific readings. For example, the student who would focus on the Great Famine from 1959 to 1962 would find more related materials to read and research after understanding the whole historical background. This process greatly helped the students prepare the upcoming interviews.

After choosing the topic, the next mission was to select characters. The students could choose some candidates through the Internet or recommendations from their

family members and then decide the main character. One of the students, who was from Fuyang, Anhui, was pretty confused to find a proper character. She wanted to know what everyday people experienced during the CR and she talked with her parents. For the first time, she knew her both grandmothers from mother and father sides had suffered a lot due to their family background of being so-called landlord or capitalist. The student therefore filmed a story about her two grandmothers and told the real story how much family background could influence a person's life during the CR.

The biggest challenge at the stage of postproduction was how to visualize those historical stories. Documentary film needs a lot of footage to support, and the audience would feel very bored if there are too many talking-head interviews. When it comes to the topic of the Cultural Revolution, visualization became a big difficulty. There is much footage about the CR; however, the Chinese government does not allow the copyright to be used for a documentary. Family albums and some other resources from the Internet helped to visualize some stories.

How to approach the historical truth at the most? The students were guided to interview different people and ask questions from different perspectives. For example, the story about the Great Famine, the students took great risks (since the Great Famine is still a taboo in China and people were very afraid to talk about it under the government's surveillance) to interview five survivors in a small village, and a scholar who has been doing research about the Great Famine for above 10 years. After talking with these people, the documentary could give an answer about what happened in 1959–1962.

41.3.3 Accomplish the Target of Liberal Arts Education Through Oral History Documentary Production

It took almost a year to complete a 15-min short documentary film "Our Fathers' Revolution." What the students have learned from the whole process was much more than making an oral history documentary. Chinese youngsters who are born after the 1980s or 1990s have been called the Me Generation. This oral history documentary project helped them to care about the broader world – the modern history and the Chinese society. Not only the students, even their parents, who were born in the 1960s or 1970s mostly, participated enthusiastically in the whole filming process. Some feedback from the parents indicated that they were eager to know what really happened and why it happened during the Cultural Revolution.

The whole producing process of Our Fathers' Revolution achieved the goal of oral history documentary education – recollect, reflect, and reshape. That means, recollect history facts, reflect the history attitude, and reshape values. The project emphasized critical and creative thinking and required students to remain open-minded and not take anything for granted, for example, not to pre-assume that all the people are victims from the CR and that all the people would say *no* about the CR. The students filmed the documentary with a lot of questions and confusions. For instance, a group of students filmed the story about Chongqing's armed fight during the CR. They

assumed many victims would regret about what happed and what they had done. However, when they interviewed a then chief of the armed fighters group, he described his behavior then as a hero and was very proud of what he had done, although he lost one of his fingers in the fight. The students could hardly understand this character and felt even more confused. However, the students got to know that the real world is not only black or white. Human nature is more complicated than we can imagine. In this case, students could further understand why the Cultural Revolution happened in China. It is a process to recognize the diversity of the history.

41.4 Oral History Documentary Series "Family Album"

Due to the political sensitive nature of "Our Fathers' Revolution," we could not find major access to broadcast the series in Mainland China, and it was more and more difficult for the students to interview witnesses. Therefore, a new project, "Family Album," was introduced to encourage the students to record family histories in general.

The Family Album documentary series was launched in 2013. By 2017, this project has produced 79 short films. These short films feature the stories of their families, grandparents, parents, and friends. In China, there are major differences between generations. Especially for the young people, most of them have no idea about their family history and even have no idea about their grandparents' name. This project helped them to go back to their own hometown and discover what has shaped their family and themselves.

Since the students came from different family backgrounds, the stories are more related to China's temporary society. Some students tell stories about their grandparents' generation and discover the roots of the whole family. This project drives the students to sit down and talk to their aged grandparents and to explore the old times. For instance, one student produced a short film about her grandparents – how they are losing their memories and express the worries about the issues of an aging society.

The topics of Family Album covered many aspects of social life – the conflicts between generations, the influence of the broken marriage of their parents on the children, China's one-child policy and the discrimination of baby girls in China's rural areas, and so on.

Table 2 Topic distribution of Family Album project

Year	Student age	No. of short films	Distribution of topics	
			Grandparents	Parents
2013–2014	Born in 1989–1990	17	14	3
2014–2015	Born in 1990–1991	21	11	10
2015–2016	Born in 1991–1992	19	10	9

41.4.1 100 Chinese Ordinary Family Stories' Vision Archive

The topics of Family Album are changing with the students' ages and the change in society.

From Table 2, we can see that when the students are getting younger, their focus changes from the grandparent generation to the parent generation. The social background they tried to express was also changing from the Cultural Revolution to the 1980s after China's economic reform. These topics not only care about social change but also focus on their own experience and how to explore their own identity.

One student told a story about her and her father, who divorced her mother when she was only 2 years old. The student moved to her father's home in New Zealand when she was 10, but the relationship between father and daughter never improved until she completed the short film. This short film tries to discuss the process how a young girl experiences her family's hidden history and how she achieve reconciliation with herself and her father.

Another story was about belief and religion. The student told a story about her grandfather, her father, and herself – how did they peruse their own belief and the conflicts between them.

It takes a lot of efforts to choose topics for the Family Album. One of the principles is to emphasize the storyline as well as the truth. Critical thinking is very important during the whole process, especially when the story is about family members. All the topics try to find the meaning of sociology and anthropology behind the story.

During the whole process of film making, the pre-preparation is more important since it is the cornerstone of the film production. The students are required to do a lot of readings and prepare at least 100 questions for the interviews to dig more stories behind the scenes.

41.4.2 Recollect, Reflect, and Reshape

Both oral history documentary projects *Family Album* and *Our Fathers' Revolution* aim to help students retell and recognize history; reflect and re-establish universal values; and reflect and reshape their point of view on history and the whole world and eventually reshape themselves.

The *Family Album* project focuses on family history, and the students did actively explore their stories with great enthusiasm. They could start interviews with a great deal of questions and find answers for issues which have confused them for so many years or give themselves a chance to re-recognize the essence of some family stories. The whole process is the way that the students try to recollect, reflect, and reshape consciously.

Whatever it's for retrospective of history or exploration of current society, all these short films recorded the reality of the society. Many years later, these 100 *Family Album* short films will be a valuable visual archive to describe ordinary Chinese families.

41.5 How to Evaluate Oral History Documentary as Historical Data

In order to meet the requirement on the dramatic character of stories and the restriction on the length of time, the students were asked to carry out a very complicated postediting. This subjective editing would certainly affect its value in the sense of oral history to some extent.

Moreover, the individual's narrative cannot avoid the composition of the performance. At the same time, it's difficult to judge the veracity or accuracy of the oral narrator without the supporting evidence of more parties. The use of oral history documentaries as historical materials does have to take into account some inherent problems.

Judith Moyer, a historian and educator, raises the following issues to pay attention during the collection of oral history.

1. Is it related to the memory of people's failure?
2. In some cases, people who have little relationship with the event itself will be forced to enhance the structure of the narrative. What is the purpose of doing so?
3. What is the motivation of the storyteller?
4. Between the interviewer and the interviewee, what is the right relationship affecting the reporting of the incident?
5. What's the difference between spoken and written text?
6. What may be inaccuracies in the meaning of words when trying to record a conversation?

Moyer also pointed out that compared to oral history, other forms of historical records have the same problem: they also have personal and social prejudices. Written materials appear in a certain social context. Even historical analysis published by a professional historian still does not reach the goal which is difficult to achieve – a complete "objective" description of the event.

The same problem was encountered during the creative process of *Our Father's Revolution* and *Family Album* film production. Especially for Family Album series, it is difficult not to beautify or exaggerate the possibility of suffering due to the stories of the most intimate family members. Therefore, we hope that by developing the students' critical and creative thinking, we tried our best to overcome these problems.

The students are reminded that they are family members and professional film directors as well; they should keep calm and objective records. A students' history literacy cannot be accomplished by reading a couple of books alone. This process needs to be related to the entire society.

In short, oral history documentaries must be carefully used in the research process as well as other documents and require much analysis and interpretation. But it also provides a new field of information. As a widely disseminated research method and recording process, oral history documentaries democratize historical records – allowing us to have a more inclusive and accurate view of the past.

41.6 Conclusion

For education on oral history documentary production, the most fundamental thing is not only to produce a documentary, but especially in the entire creation, students actively participate in the process to recollect, reflect and reshape, and truly realize the critical and creative thinking that our education has been pursuing to cultivate students' awareness and concern for social and public issues.

Oral history documentary teaching requires a lot of patience and sincere input.

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Differences Between Micronesian and Western Values

42

Tom Hogan

Contents

42.1 Small Communities and Geographical Isolation 769
42.2 Youth's Dependence on Elders 771
42.3 The Nonliterary Nature of Micronesian Culture 777
42.4 Differences in Gender Roles 782
42.5 Micronesians as Information Sharers 785
42.6 Micronesian Concepts of Time 786
42.7 Micronesian Notions of Politeness 788
References 790

Abstract

In 1986 an organisation called the Micronesian Institute was set up in Washington, DC. It followed the mutual signing of the Compact of Free Association between the US government and the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM). The Institute was assisted by the US Department of the Interior.

A small group of expatriate Micronesian college students, calling themselves the Student Program Committee, saw a need to explain some of the sociocultural differences between young Micronesians and Americans. They wrote the script of a radio play, calling it *An Adventure Far from Home*.

The students recorded the play and sent a master open-reel tape to Ezekiel Lippwe, the Broadcast Chief of the FSM, with instructions to dub the tape to

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audio cassettes and distribute them to the four radio stations of the FSM states as well as those of the Marshall Islands and Palau.

I first heard the tape when it was broadcast one evening on Truk's (now Chuuk's) radio the following year. It seemed a very handy *expository device* upon which to base the ethnographic observations made in the following article. It is not used as ethnographic or anthropological material *per se*.

Keywords

Bilingualism · Chuuk · Kosrae · Micronesians · Yap State

One of the remarkable aspects of the dramatized radio feature, *An Adventure Far From Home*, is the willingness of the young Micronesian producers to engage in sociological generalizations. I found it simple enough to check the validity of these with a suitably wide range of informed people from Micronesia. (In the course of this study's fieldwork, all points of cultural difference raised in the dramatized radio feature program *An Adventure Far From Home* were used as points of reference and checked with a cross section of Chuukese, Pohnpeian, Yapese, Kosraean, Marshallese, and Palauan interviewees, as well as with relevant ethnographic material. All points raised by the program-makers were regarded as valid by all Micronesian interviewees.) Micronesians might be reluctant to explain aspects of their culture, but I've noticed that normally they're quick to point out mistakes or to verify the truth. So the investigator is spared the sort of soul-searching that's typified by David Nevin's apologetic recourse to a generalized account of aspects of Micronesian society.

> Yet I will generalize about them and their culture, for their differences are not germane to my subject, which is the part the United States has played in the social malaise gripping them all. . . I will try to deal only with the parts of Micronesian culture that seem to exacerbate the malaise — for understanding that exacerbation is critical to understanding the malaise itself. The views that follow are anthropologically sound, but they are based on my own observation and interviews. (Nevin 1977, p. 46)

That's a bold statement for a person who isn't a practicing anthropologist, but I've found in general that Micronesians find Nevin's views to be culturally sound enough. Sociological and cultural observations made public by Micronesians about themselves, however, are obviously preferable, but it wasn't David Nevin's fault that no such revelations existed when he was researching his book almost 10 years before the production of *An Adventure Far From Home*.

In the first section of the radio play, "Cultural Barriers," Mike, a graduate of an American college, nostalgically visits his alma mater and finds Arkangkel from Pohnpei. The unfortunate Pohnpeian is homesick and confused, so Mike advises him particularly on matters relating to social aspects of college life. They're joined by Maria, a very worried young woman from Saipan, the capital of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Maria's problems form the basis of further

discussion and of more advice from Mike. It's within this imaginary context that Mike, Maria, and Arkangkel bring forward and discuss openly a significant range of sociocultural issues that relate to differences between them and Americans in particular. It's important to this work to consider them all and relate them to considerations of what Americans or others contemplating developing relationships with Micronesians probably most need to know. I've checked all the claims made by the Micronesian students against pertinent ethnographic material. And please remember, I'm using the radio play as *an expository device*, not as a source of ethnographic information in itself.

It will be helpful to you if I first list the actual generalizations raised by the Micronesian students. You'll find all the quotations I've selected to illustrate them in the Appendix to this work which is a full transcription of the relevant first part of the play. These broad generalizations should be thought of as "macro-values," each of which simply states a cultural area of belief and practice within which there's a collection of specific attitudes and approaches to existence. I'll examine the general issues raised in the order in which they occurred in the program, as the students who prepared the instructional radio play obviously saw a certain logic in that arrangement of ideas:

- Unlike the majority of Americans, Micronesians are from small communities on small islands, and the social rules governing behavior are very different.
- Young Micronesians are not encouraged to use their own initiative.
- Micronesian culture has no literary roots.
- Sex roles are more clearly differentiated in Micronesia than in the United States.
- Micronesians are not ready sharers of information.
- There are considerable differences in concepts of time between Micronesians and Americans.
- Micronesians generally avoid contradicting others.

42.1 Small Communities and Geographical Isolation

ARKANGKEL I have found that other foreign students have problems too. But I think for us it's harder because we come from tiny tropical islands and atolls, where our chances of seeing the outside world are very small. Our lives are simple, and we are brought up by family and traditional rules which don't fit into Western society.

From a sociological perspective, it's not surprising that most Micronesian island groups developed similar ideas about society and the place of the individual within it. For David Nevin "The key cultural point in today's dilemma is the pressure of life on a small island on the individual and on the community" (Ibid.). Fr Hezel prefers to emphasize the smallness of the community rather than the habitat, pointing out that this is not a chicken-or-egg genesis argument, for small and isolated communities may be found even in very big countries. In the course

of one of our six or so discussions of this and other issues, he told me that his experience tells him that within small, mainly self-contained communities, unique sets of social pressures arise which, in turn, generate rituals of behavior which determine the lifestyles of all acceptable members of the group. When the balance is affected by the ingress of powerful outsiders who have different codes of social behavior and are persistent in their attempts to bring about change, then change will inevitably occur. Fr Hezel, however, takes issue with the "anthropological zoo" theorists, pointing out that the notion that irreparable damage is necessarily caused to developing states by potent change agents is naïve and simplistic:

> Years ago it was fashionable for cultural anthropologists to regard societies or cultures as complex bits of machinery, like the old-fashioned spring watch, in which every part was inter-related. An alteration in one of the parts would invariably change and often damage the functioning of the entire machine. Lately we have come to realize that societies are as organic as the people who make them up. Like the human body, a society can adapt to stresses and changes in the environment and even to the viruses and bacteria that assail its inner workings. (Hezel 1987, p. 12)

"Micronesia" means, literally, "small islands" and is aptly named. William Alkire notes that there are more "low" islands or coral atolls, than "high" islands of volcanic origin in the total collection of islands and archipelagos. "The societies of the central Caroline atolls, Truk, Ponape, and Kusaie constitute the major cultural groups of central Micronesia. . . The islands of the central atolls are all small; few have as much as one square mile of land area" (Alkire 1972, p. 24).

Many of the atolls of the Federated States of Micronesia, even today, contain fewer than 100 people. On larger islands, such as Pohnpei, Kosrae, Yap proper, and Moen (the largest in Chuuk State), several thousand people will be found. "But there the society tends to break down into communal villages that are nearly as isolated and territory-conscious as are atoll communities," writes David Nevin. "I believe. . .the differences between the two are slight" (Nevin, David, op. cit., p. 47).

Today's Micronesian states have evolved from pure subsistence societies which were largely static by nature. Work habits weren't dictated by the passage of the sun but rather by the need for human sustenance within a self-sustaining ecosystem. As a consequence, observes Nevin, there was never a need for constant toil. "Rather it was done as needed, often on impulse, often in groups as in fishing or digging taro, so that it had a social and even a sporting note. There was ample time for doing as one pleased, which in the humid tropics often meant resting. It was not a life to implant a burning work ethic or to make Western work patterns attractive" (Ibid., pp. 47–48). You might recall that Marshall Sahlins pointed out that Western societies were underpinned by economic forces and that David Hanlon pointed to quite a different cultural institution fundamental to Micronesian societies, a web of social forces which make up the social and family scene. It's to David Nevin's credit that although he didn't have access to the analyses of the two social scientists, he got it right anyway.

Part of the "simplicity" of Micronesian societies mentioned by Arkangkel is no doubt related to a pace of life and a speed at which things normally get done which

are attuned to the physical demands of a tropical maritime climate and the psychological demands of a well-defined lifestyle. Day follows day in Micronesia without much variation. Why rush toward the predictable and inevitable?

The key members of the Trust Territory administration were alerted to this difference between American and Micronesian attitudes to the pace of existence, as well as to a number of others – such as static Micronesian and fluid, dynamic American visions of the immediate and long-term future – as early as August 1955. During that month, the Trust Territory district administrators' conference was held at the Guam headquarters. Heading the agenda was a keynote paper from the Trust Territory staff anthropologist, Dr A.H. Smith, who was seconded from Washington State College. Most of the paper appeared in Micronesia Monthly, the headquarters newsletter, early in 1956. It was one of few items written by an anthropologist on cross-cultural issues to be circulated by the Trust Territory administration.

Dr Smith began with a brief outline of his subject. "Mr Nucker [the High Commissioner] has requested me to discuss with you briefly the broad and difficult question of American-Micronesian attitudes and relationships" (Smith 1956, p. 26). On the subject of the complexities accompanying the sheer pace at which most Americans appeared to lead their lives, Dr Smith issued the district administrators a caution that "Speed is an important American goal and ideal, so deep-seated in our cultural background and our psychological world-view that it appears in such seemingly irrelevant contexts as our intelligence tests. For this reason it's often difficult for us to become reconciled to the fact that many other societies do not place the same value upon speed as we do, and, indeed, that speed may not be so fundamentally important after all" (Ibid., p. 31). Dr Smith led the administrators step by step through a comprehensive analysis of Micronesians' negative attitudes to a number of cherished American goals. There's no evidence whatsoever in the history of the United States administration of the Trust Territory since the mid-1950s that his advice had any significant impact.

The "simplicity" of life and the "traditional rules" referred to by Arkangkel appear to be directly related to the subsistence origins of small and geographically isolated Micronesian societies. As Fr Hezel has noted, the static nature of a confined community of food-gatherers, whose peaceful coexistence was forced on them by circumstance, necessitated the development and perpetuation, by word of mouth, of ritualized survival techniques. Most of these, naturally enough, didn't work well on the American mainland or, for that matter, anywhere else in the West.

42.2 Youth's Dependence on Elders

ARKANGKEL Another problem is that we aren't trained to make the independent decisions that are expected of us here.

There's a good deal more to this deceptively simple statement than is apparent at first. In fact, it's the key to a range of cultural differences between Micronesians and Westerners. In much of contemporary Micronesia, a baby is born into a kin group,

clan, or community in which elders – male or female – or chiefs are still the recognized repositories of knowledge and wisdom.

In the more tradition-conscious societies of Yap and Pohnpei, hereditary leaders still pass on the rules for regulating the use of available resources and for coexisting gainfully with others in a close-knit community, and all are expected to obey. It's significant that Arkangkel is from Pohnpei, for it's there that the most complex sociopolitical organization of central Micronesia, involving stratification and complexity of ranks and titles, is still intact today.

By the same token, many of Yap's traditions remained unscathed. American anthropologist Dr Sherwood Lingenfelter records that "much of the traditional political life remains. All of the major statuses and institutions for villages and regional nets persist today… [But] Yapese mix and match traditional and new alternatives to plan the most promising strategies for political success and to find the most satisfying solutions to their contemporary problems" (Lingenfelter 1975, p. 193). Lingenfelter here is also pointing to one of all Micronesian societies' strengths in the process of acculturation: the willingness and capability to adopt and adapt. There's a lesson here for those who wish to introduce innovations to Micronesian societies: don't expect them to be taken on board wholesale. Rather, if they're not rejected outright, expect adaptations and accept them without rancor. And remember at all times that the real power doesn't necessarily reside with governors and the dignitaries who inhabit the state legislatures. Throughout Micronesia, the strings are pulled by traditional leaders or, in the case of Kosrae, the senior clergy.

The most striking example of the power of traditional leadership can be observed in Yap State. Here, the governmental structure shares with the other Micronesian states and republics the typical executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government that are the salient features of most constitutional democracies. There's one difference, however. In Yap State, there's a fourth branch of government, originally acknowledged in a charter issued by the former Congress of Micronesia and now enshrined in the State's constitution. Yap's constitution acknowledges the two councils of traditional and hereditary leaders in the legislative process. The councils of Pilung and Tamol represent, respectively, the collective voices of the chiefs of the main island, Yap Proper, and of the outer islands. I've found from experience that if an outsider wishes to do serious business of some sort in Yap, it's imperative to make contact with the relevant council of traditional leaders at the earliest possible opportunity.

In Kosrae, the roles of traditional leaders have not been abandoned with the passing of traditional chiefly leadership. Interestingly, they've been taken over by the Protestant Christian leaders within the four municipalities of the island state. Kosrae's leadership is indicative of the ways in which Micronesian peoples borrow, change, and adapt as organic social entities yet, in the process, retain significant components of their traditional ways, as William Alkire has observed:

> Primarily as a consequence of missionary influence the importance of titles began to decrease in the middle and late nineteenth century. By 1960 only two title holders survived and their titles had lost political significance. Nevertheless, rank is still important to a

> Kusaien, but prestige is now measured either though control of church affairs or, more recently, through positions established in the. . .administration of the island. . . The church and the American municipal system have offered mobility to many who would have had fixed status in the old system. (Alkire, William H., op. cit., p. 37)

Fundamentalist Protestant Christianity is the single most powerful influence in Kosrae. No work of any kind is permitted on Sunday, which is set aside totally for worship and rest. The Kosraean radio station, WTFL, starts every day with at least a half hour of religious music. The young are by no means repressed, but neither are they encouraged to develop initiative and individuality in the American sense. The reason is simple enough; the majority still live in villages where the traditional need for consensus operates as strongly as ever. Alkire notes that "Although the old hierarchical, highly centralized system of old no longer functions, Kusaien society at the village level is still dependent on subsistence cultivation of breadfruit, taro and bananas. Post marital residence is usually patrilocal unless an alternative choice offers a couple greater potential gain. Membership in descent groups is still defined by rights to particular land parcels" (Ibid.).

Dr Pedro Sanchez believes that young Micronesians in general are far more dependent on their elders than young Americans and are often bewildered by the typical Western emphasis on the development of initiative and individuality in the young. They come into contact with notions of competition and the promotion and assertion of "self" in the American-oriented school curricula and their associated literature and often find that these ideas are reinforced and actively promoted by American-trained teachers, Peace Corps volunteers, and others who have derived their values from the United States:

> Young Micronesians are told by expatriate teachers and by a lot of Westernized Micronesian instructors to "run with the ball", to strive for the top marks, to push themselves forward. This can lead to severe tensions in the home and the village if the child behaves in this way, because this sort of conduct is the opposite of the traditional ways in which children are taught to behave by their parents and other elders. So it's normally the home which wins, despite the typical Micronesian parents' desire for a "modern" education for their children. And then there can be tensions in the classroom. (Sanchez, P., interview, 1987)

In Chuuk, the rate of social change from the 1960s to the present appears to have been more rapid than in the other three states of the Federated States of Micronesia. Since his arrival in 1967, Fr Hezel has observed the acceleration of a process involving "the breakdown of the traditional extended family into what we can call standard packaged families — that is, nuclear families composed of father, mother and children, often with a few spare relatives added to the household" (Hezel, Francis X., "The Dilemmas of Development", p. 14).

Fr Hezel maintains that in traditional terms, the basic unit of Chuukese life has always been the lineage. Arkangkel pointed out that young Micronesians were not encouraged to make decisions on their own. This is still true of Chuukese youth but for reasons that are more closely aligned with those which hold good in Kosrae. In Chuuk, there has been, well within living memory, a dramatic shift in leadership

responsibilities. Until quite recently, writes Fr Hezel, "The lineage group might be made up of three or four households, each with a single nuclear family and perhaps some other relatives added. The members of these households, especially the younger ones, were subject to the authority of the lineage chief, the senior man in the lineage. He was empowered to oversee the lineage land, assign work responsibilities to other members of the lineage, and supervise the distribution of the food among them" (Ibid., pp. 14–15).

More recently, however, as the economic influence of the American administration has inexorably led Chuuk from a subsistence to a cash economy, the major area of occupational growth has become the public service, so jobs and cash income have come to represent, as Fr Hezel put it to me, the first wedge driven into the economic monopoly of the lineage. From the point at which this trend commenced, he says, traditional leaders have lost much power. As the lineage head lost more of his hold over the economy of the lineage, he suffered a corresponding loss of authority. More and more, children were expected to remain under the supervision of their own biological parents, even after adolescence when they would have normally come under the authority of the lineage seniors. Here's a clear case of acculturation and traditional behavior working in tandem. The young in Chuuk are still controlled well into adulthood, but not in the traditional way.

Fr Hezel has raised an issue which needs to be emphasized at this point, as it concerns a social process which has affected and continues to affect all Micronesia's traditional institutions and folkways, and thus is highly relevant to other points of cultural difference raised in this study. Just as the introduction of American practices has led to shifts in Chuukese family power structures, so other traditional aspects of life in Chuuk and, indeed, throughout Micronesia have undergone similar sorts of modifications. When confronted with new Western models, Micronesians frequently become involved in a form of two-way adaptation.

Some of the principles governing traditional approaches are preserved and some discarded, and some of the new ways are taken on and some also discarded. Just as changes are occurring in the form of the extended family and methods of communal government, so other areas of traditional Micronesian life, including communications, medicine, and even jurisprudence, are undergoing similar adaptive processes. Some commentators, in fact, see this phenomenon – which I term selective acculturation – as typical of developing states and nations on a Pacific-wide scale. Drs Daniel Hughes and Stanley Laughlin, from Hawaii's Institute of Polynesian Studies, for example, are prepared to include Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia in their observations on the particular theme of the administration of justice:

> In every Pacific country law and justice have been influenced by introduced principles and practices, but in every country some aspects of the traditional order remain — in some cases very strongly. Some years ago many people assumed that the traditional elements would soon be totally replaced, but it has not been so or likely to be so. Each Pacific country is evolving a unique amalgam of local and foreign precedents in creating its own system of justice.

> Little is known or recorded about these systems or about their needs — individually and for the Pacific as a whole. (Pacific Courts and Justice. No. vii, 1977, p. 77) Hughes and Laughlin claim that the point made on the adaptive acculturation process "can validly be applied to political as well as to legal principles" (Ibid.). In fact, it could validly be said to have a universal application to the developing world.)

Arkangkel's point relating to social pressures which aim at discouraging initiative in young Micronesians may be further illustrated by reference to traditions related to land use and disposal, understandably still very powerful in a part of the world where land is genuinely a scarce resource, and to certain checks and constraints which have to be surmounted by the young if they wish to take part in their state's political life. Most American and Australian attitudes to land ownership are at odds with traditional Micronesian value systems. In the West, for example, the major impediment to a young person's wish to own land is the availability of money. If the young person is of age, has the urge to buy, and can raise the capital, land is normally readily available. In Micronesia, the situation is not as simple, as a committee chaired by ex-Harvard professor of International Business Relations, Anthony Solomon – sent to investigate and report on the Trust Territory on President John F. Kennedy's orders in 1963 – observed:

> Large areas of land, indeed, sometimes whole islands, often classified as in "private ownership", are in reality controlled by a clan, with use rights being apportioned through historical practice, communal agreement and the intervention of the elders or chiefs of the clan. (A curious and important factor tending to perpetuate the power of the traditional chiefs in many communities where terribly complicated structures of land rights exist is their uniquely authoritative knowledge of boundaries and rights.) Land is the tie that binds families and clans together; the right to occupy and use land, guaranteed by family membership, is the security of young and old, and the index of hierarchical patterns. (Solomon, Anthony Morton (Chairman) 1963, Part 1, p. 18 [This document has become known popularly as *The Solomon Report*.])

By virtue of his intimate knowledge of family and clan land rights, the traditional Micronesian chief had an encyclopedic knowledge of the social ranking of each of the members of the area in which he held sway. In Kosrae, social status, as I've noted, is still considered very important, but the role of arbiter these days has been taken over by religious and political leaders. In Chuuk, says Fr Hezel, the chiefs' prerogatives stemmed from the land originally. Land tenure has changed, yet the status of chiefs remains high. This situation, however, might be expected to change soon as the concept of the lineage itself weakens with the breakup of the extended family and land continues to decline in importance in a cash economy. Fr Hezel is sure the lineage head still has a strong say over the disposal of lineage land, but he also recognizes that the latter has been devalued in recent years as an ever greater proportion of the family's resources is provided by cash income.

In Pohnpei and Yap, the traditional leaders in the villages and municipalities still perform a number of tasks which have important social and political ramifications.

I've mentioned that in Yap, chiefs and elders participate directly and openly in the workings of the overall sociopolitical system. In Pohnpei, there's still participation in politics by hereditary chiefs, but it's covert, especially at times when a Pohnpeian decides to run for political office. Secretary to the governor of Pohnpei State, ex-Peace Corps American Marialice Eperiam, wrote to me in 1987 that "Whoever decides to run for an office will go to the traditional leader of his municipality and inform that person of his decision. By doing this, the candidate is seeking the approval of the chief and asking for his support. The chief at some time in the campaigning process will announce who he supports. He will also tell the people in his municipality to vote for that person." (Marialice Eperiam. Personal letter to the author, October 19, 1987) Mrs Eperiam was then secretary to the governor of Pohnpei State, the Honourable Resio Moses. She was an expatriate American journalism graduate and ex-Peace Corps volunteer, married to Emensio Eperiam, Pohnpeian by birth. They are now with the US State Department posted to Mexico.)

Indeed, some of the American politicians who took a personal interest in the development of Micronesia's political relationships with the United States during the 1960s and 1970s viewed with utter dismay the apparent mutual exclusiveness of traditional Micronesian chiefly functions and American concepts of democracy. Donald F. McHenry, senior Department of State employee during this period and author of the most authoritative work on US-Micronesian relationships at the time, *Micronesia: Trust Betrayed*, recorded dryly in 1975 that:

> Congressman Thomas S. Foley's primary concern is that the United States might be making permanent the hierarchy of Micronesians who are presently in power. Traditional chiefs have retained a great deal of power in modern Micronesia. Senator (James A.) McClure, travelling with Foley in 1969, tells of asking a senator of the Congress of Micronesia whether he would run for re-election. The Micronesian replied that he did not know; he had not yet asked the Chief. "Traditional culture," says Foley, "violates almost every principle the American people have ever known." (McHenry 1975, p. 2)

This is the most authoritative available source of information on matters to do with the political relationships between the United States, the United Nations, and Micronesia in the 1960s and 1970s. McHenry has an intimate knowledge and understanding of the affairs of the State Department, having served as Officer in Charge of Dependent Area Affairs and Special Assistant to the Counsellor of the Department of State from 1963 to 1971.

When I mentioned Congressman Foley's concerns to Fr William McGarry in one of our discussions in Pohnpei, he was thoughtful for a moment then replied with a smile: "I guess that's reasonable since American culture violates almost every principle Micronesians have ever known."

A ready recognition of hierarchical status is still of considerable importance to Micronesians, not for reasons related directly to social competition but on such grounds as being able to identify the social rank of a member of the community and, as a consequence, being able to provide the appropriate responses to his or her presence. The importance attached to status can be seen in Pohnpei where its caretakers and arbiters are the traditional chiefs. Iris Falcam has told me that Pohnpeians

call each other by their titles, not by their given and family names. Often, she says, an office worker, say, won't know the "real" name of a colleague.

Some visiting American scholars have noticed this phenomenon. One, Dr J.L. Fischer, analogized it to common Western academic practice so that "a Ponapean without a title is much like a professor without a PhD: there can be such people but it's likely to be awkward and embarrassing for most" (Fischer 1974, p. 171).

It's not difficult to imagine the difficulties and tensions faced by a young Micronesian such as Arkangkel, denied ready access in his home state to the economic and social mobility that would often follow the exercise of intelligent initiative in a Western culture, returning to his traditionally structured Micronesian homeland with a mind full of American egalitarian ideals and values. As Pohnpeian Emensio Eperiam says, "You've got problems when you get back from the mainland. In my case, I just don't bother any more getting permission to do this or to do that. I'll give you an example. I really wanted to start a shop, so Marialice and I started our shop. We didn't ask permission as I guess we should've. I just don't listen to our chiefs any more. And you know what? They come and buy booze from us!" (Interview with Pohnpei's Historic Preservation Officer, Emensio Eperiam, March 9, 1989).

42.3 The Nonliterary Nature of Micronesian Culture

ARKANGKEL We are very different from most foreign students... there is a lot to read, and many of us don't read English very well when we arrive. We haven't had a reading background for newspapers and libraries. Ours isn't a reading society.

Western societies, because of the scale of operations within them, and the bureaucracies which have developed as they've become more complex, depend heavily on the generation, dissemination, storage, and retrieval of written, typed, and printed information. This information documents and schedules the processes of the institutions fundamental to the effective functioning of the component groups within those societies. The documentation, furthermore, is normally perceived as part of an orderly, sequential and cumulative set of events which assists in the organization of group behavior and its culmination in predetermined ends.

If Micronesia's American-style governments are moving, albeit slowly, in this direction, there are few other aspects of Micronesian society which seem to be doing so. David Nevin saw little evidence of any rapidity in the rate of change:

> Since nothing was expected to change, there was little reason for planning, and even today Micronesians seem to give little consideration to the future... This attitude also relates to why there is so little institutionalization all across the Pacific. Relationships tend to be personal and to rely on oral contact. Even among literate Micronesians, for example, letters count for little and often are not answered, nor is what they say accepted —let alone integrated — into an ongoing situation. (Nevin, D., op. cit., p. 49)

During the period he spent researching his subject, as a consultant for the Ford Foundation examining education in Micronesia and preparing a background report that would help the Foundation evaluate a grant it was contemplating there, Nevin spent some time with a political scientist from the University of Hawaii, Dr Norman Meller. Meller helped organize the Congress of Micronesia which first met on September 28, 1964. It consisted of elected legislators from the Trust Territory districts of the Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei (Kosrae was still the part of Pohnpei known as Kusaie), and the Marshall Islands. He was also used as a consultant in the formulation of the constitution of Pohnpei State. Meller appeared to be well aware of the nonliterary nature of the Micronesian societies:

> Well, for instance, one of the key differences between American administrators and Micronesians is that the American tends to deal in formalized ways, with emphasis on written materials. He doesn't feel something is settled until it's written down. And he's time-conscious, schedule-oriented. . . [In Micronesia] there is no institutionalized follow-through, no way to get something in motion and expect it to follow an orderly, agreed upon, scheduled path. And this frustrates lots of Americans. (Meller, N., quoted in Nevin, D., op. cit., p. 49)

In a society in which, historically, written or printed records have played no part, it's significant that so much traditional culture has survived. But Micronesians are used to deploying their memories in directions they see as relevant to their own domestic existences. The "secrets" which have to be memorized concern matters which are traditionally circumscribed and, after all, in most parts of Micronesia chiefs, elders, and religious leaders are at hand when information is needed about such complex matters as land rights and social status. Like most Westerners, they're not adept at remembering the "administrivia" of bureaucratic activity, yet, unlike Westerners, they generally avoid systems of documentation, storage, and retrieval. It's obvious that such predilections are at odds with many of the work practices within the more bureaucratized societies of contemporary Micronesia, the most "Americanized" of which, in my experience, is the Republic of the Marshall Islands.

Even today, the majority of people who need a good working knowledge of English – professional broadcasters, for example – experience difficulties with the language, and yet this is the lingua franca of most of the Pacific. The extent of the problem is often not readily apparent, even to expatriates who have accumulated a good deal of experience in Micronesian societies. Marialice Eperiam is such a person. Owing to a background in journalism and her experience as media secretary to the Congress of Micronesia as well as the governor of Pohnpei, she was asked to work as co-trainer in a Micronesian subregional radio news workshop, run in Kolonia, Pohnpei, in May 1988, by PACBROAD Coordinator, Hendrik Bussiek. Even the acculturated Mrs Eperiam, who speaks Pohnpeian well, was not prepared for some of the linguistic surprises she encountered when teaching professional broadcasters from Pohnpei, Yap, Chuuk, Kosrae, and the Republics of the Marshall Islands and Palau. "One thing I did notice in almost all the trainees," she reported, "was their limited understanding of English. This came as a shock to me. I have been on Pohnpei for many years and felt like most people could hear, speak and write English fairly well. I have now discovered this is not true. The trainees found it very difficult to read

something [in English] and comprehend correctly what it said. This lack of understanding can only limit their success." (Eperiam, Marialice. Report to Hendrik Bussiek of May 26, 1988, on the discharge of her responsibilities and final results of the subregional workshop on radio news gathering and news presentation held for Micronesian journalists in Kolonia, Pohnpei, May 1988.)

It's worthwhile remembering that there's no history of the use of English as a second language in Micronesia prior to the end of the Second World War. Between the wars, Japanese had become the working language of Micronesian administration, and many older Micronesians are still fluent in the language of their former colonial overlords. I've found no traces left today of the languages of the previous colonizers, Germany and Spain.

I've had the opportunity of working for a number of years with a distinguished Australian linguist, Dr George Kanarakis, who speaks English and his native Greek with equal proficiency. Thus I've referred some of the linguistic problems I've encountered in Micronesia – at least in principle – to him. Kanarakis regards "bilingualism" as the practice of using two languages with similar levels of proficiency (This is the definition favored in Kanarakis 1983, p. 7). My experience tells me that most Micronesians have not reached this linguistic status. Generally, they use English only at need and favor their vernaculars in normal communication. Almost exclusively, Micronesian broadcasters are "dependent" rather than "coordinate" bilingual, in Kanarakis's vocabulary. Whereas the dependent bilingual person uses the vernacular consistently as a point of reference for encoding and decoding a second language, "In the coordinate bilingual the two languages function like independent and separate systems without fusing either during the encoding or during the decoding of the message" (Ibid., p. 8).

Dr Kanarakis believes that "Dependent bilingualism carries with it quite serious [negative] personal, social and educational consequences" (Ibid., p. 13). Related to this observation, I've found that a major difficulty can easily emerge, say, in a training program where Micronesians actively wish to learn some of the experiences of the West in an area of knowledge relevant to their needs. In many training and development courses with which I've been intimately associated or which I've observed in operation, there have been difficulties experienced in communication between Micronesian participants and English-speaking overseas trainers, and this has been accompanied by a slowing of progression from task to task in the training curriculum and, on occasions, an accompanying frustration all round. This can explain why accurate consultants' reports of training missions submitted to the assistance agencies which sponsored them can actually look so threadbare.

Added to the problems associated with dependent bilingualism are problems Micronesians encounter with different English accents, the pace of speech, and idioms. On the subject of accent, Micronesians readily admit difficulties. Paulino Pablo, Program Director of Radio Pohnpei, told me in 1986 that "I went to Sydney, Australia — to the International Training Institute — in 1984. For a while, I thought I was in a country where they didn't talk English. I'm used to the way Americans talk. It took me a week to get used to the Australian accent and, with one instructor, I just didn't understand a word he said the entire program" (Interview

with Paulino Pablo, Program Director Radio Pohnpei, WSZD, Kolonia, Pohnpei, April 30, 1986).

Yap State's Information Officer, Henry Muthan, told me in 1988, during a workshop I was running at Yap State Radio, about a course in radio news production he'd attended about 2 months previously. "In Pohnpei, the course was run by Mr [Hendrik] Bussiek and Mrs Eperiam. I could not understand Mr Bussiek. I am sure his English is good, but I think he is German, and I had problems with the way he said words. So I had to sneak up to Mrs Eperiam sometimes and get a translation. And, you know," he added with a wry smile, "I am a print and information [public relations] person these days. I really went to the course to help improve my English" (Interview with Henry Muthan, Information Officer for Yap State, Colonia, Yap, July 11, 1988).

And a couple of days later, one of the Chuukese participants, Kemeterio Joseph, said to me quietly: "You will think I am rude for saying this, but can you slow down your English so I can understand?" (Kemeterio Joseph, Announcer Radio Chuuk, WSZC. Request made to me at a subregional workshop in radio magazine programs, Colonia, Yap, July 14, 1988.) Native English speakers – and I include myself among the guilty parties – are often unaware of an acceleration of pace, especially when they're warming to a subject.

It was Paulino Pablo of Pohnpei who told me the story of his Micronesian friend who worked as an assistant at the office of Pohnpei's governor. On one occasion, apparently, an expatriate economic adviser asked him about a message he was supposed to deliver from the lieutenant governor, and Mr Pablo's friend read it to him from notes he'd pencilled on a piece of paper. "What?" said the American. "Sorry, I guess my head was out to lunch. Would you run that by me once again?" So the Pohnpeian walked backward about 30 paces and, waving the paper over his head, ran furiously past the expat. The American, according to Paulino Pablo's grinning account, was mystified. This story genuinely amused a group of Yapese with whom I've worked often. They're used to having to contend with the vagaries of American idiom. I told it to them early in 1987, and the last time I worked there, in December 1989, the Yapese Media Chief, Peter Garamfel, told me he still chuckled about "the Pohnpeian who ran the message past the American once again. I remember it because it's so funny. I can see it in my head."

On the subject of idiom, anthropologist, Dr A.H. Smith, offered the district administrators' conference of August 1955 some practical advice when he addressed the assemblage in Guam:

> One often hears that Micronesians in our service must be reminded over and over to carry out actions of the simplest and most obvious kind. Perhaps this is frequently the case. If so, it's not because of any deficiency in Micronesian intelligence but rather because of a failure through language difficulty to comprehend precisely what is wanted. . . In our interpersonal relations with Micronesians we should make every effort to be certain that the Micronesians understand our wishes and directions.
>
> How excessively idiomatic our everyday conversational speech is cannot easily be imagined by one who has not been repeatedly faced with the knotty problem of translation into a non-European language. (Smith, A. H., op. cit., pp. 26–27)

Micronesians understand the difference between "levels" of language well. In Pohnpei and Yap, notes William Alkire, more formal and refined modes of speech are reserved for speaking with traditional leaders (Cf. Alkire, William H., op. cit., p. 34). Thus, if we use an example from my field of expertise, Micronesians understand easily that a friendly, conversational style of English is favored for radio by professional Western broadcasters, in lieu of the comparatively more formal and stilted form generally used in written English, but find it difficult to use the style because of bilingual dependency. This problem, says Henry Muthan of Yap, has caused a deal of friction between American broadcast trainers and Micronesian trainees in the past. "Some American trainers have got upset and they ask us why we do not do what they say. We do not say much but I can tell you they have made many of us ashamed of our English" (Interview with Henry Muthan, op. cit.).

Many Micronesians are sensitive about what they feel are inadequacies in their spoken and written English. On occasions, in conversations with English speakers, some make attempts to justify their status as dependent bilinguals by resorting to rationalizations that might appear obvious to a Western researcher who's gained some insights into their cultures but are regarded as truth by the respondents. In Pohnpei, writes Fr McGarry, "The power of the word is extremely important... Words or speeches can change the nature of something which is going on... the very fact that I am able to explain it convincingly makes it what it is" (McGarry, William F., op. cit., p. 48).

The same concept relating to the relativity of truth operates in Yap. Henry Muthan, who is expected to perform well in English and Yapese as a disseminator of government information, confesses that he has difficulties with English but attempts to minimize the effects of these by claiming some advantages in dependent bilingualism:

> When I speak English, I think first in Yapese and then find the right words in English. There are often ideas which have to be treated very carefully. Like, if I want to say: "I love my sister," that's OK in English, but I could be kicked out of my village for saying it like that in Yapese. Yapese is a much simpler language, and when you translate that thought, the closest you get means "make love to", and that's taboo if you are talking about your sister. So I find it best to think in Yapese all the time. Then I would think of our word "liyor" [lee-or] and say: "I care for, or respect, my sister," and that is an idea that is OK in both languages. (Interview with Henry Muthan, op. cit.)

This statement does not stand close inspection from the standpoint of Western concepts of conventional logic. In fact, from the visitor's viewpoint, it's strangely put. A typical Western response might be: "If you do most of your thinking in Yapese, surely that's a safeguard against making embarrassing mistakes." From the Micronesian point of view, what the Yapese man is saying is: "If I thought and spoke in English just as easily as I do in Yapese, I might mix up my expressions and make embarrassing mistakes." Further inspection of the statement reveals an obliqueness in making the point that is foreign to a Westerner but typically Micronesian.

Fr McGarry provides more insight into a circumstance which you can notice throughout Micronesia. It relates to the references made already to the power of the

word. In its most obvious form, Micronesians will explain a custom, event, or course of action to a Westerner or to a fellow Micronesian on one occasion in some depth and on another occasion will offer a different set of reasons for precisely the same subject under discussion. This is not seen by Micronesians as inconsistent, but this form of verbal and intellectual behavior can cause considerable confusion and frustration to a visitor who's seeking the truth in Western terms:

> One particular characteristic which stands out in Ponape is a type of casuistry which is characterized by sloganizing and ambivalence. This is not ambivalence as used in psychology. This is rather an ambivalent standard for judging action. By casuistry I mean the justification of almost any action by some principle or other. On the one hand something is condemned while on the other hand, by the enunciation of a particular saying or proverb, I can justify my behavior or non-action on any particular occasion. What counts is getting out the statement on time.
>
> There is a saying in Ponape which I do not suspect is very ancient, but it's common enough today: *Nan awatail me kitail kin pitkihla*. A rough translation: Our clever tongue helps us to escape. We can get out of any number of difficulties, we can justify our actions, we can escape from condemnation by being good talkers. (McGarry, William F., op. cit., p. 49)

Again, here's food for thought for the researcher in Micronesia. I'm sure you can see that if you gather information empirically, you normally need to check it rigorously from a number of sources before you can reach a reasonable conclusion.

42.4 Differences in Gender Roles

MARIA	. . .so far those American men are just marvellous.
ARKANGKEL	What do you mean? You like them better than us?
MARIA	Well, no – but they treat us better than you guys do! They don't order us around but do what we ask. . .
MIKE	Yes, but Micronesian girls aren't used to being treated so well by men. It's a cultural difference we should be aware of.

Even in those parts of Micronesia where descent and kinship are traced through the female line, men are expected to act as the dominant members of their social groups. Visitors to Micronesia witness women apparently occupying socially inferior roles in relation to men. It's rare, for example, for an overseas consultant to any of the governments of Micronesia to have dealings with anyone but males. I've seen women arranging and preparing food for domestic purposes and for public feasts, shopping, looking after children, and weaving artifacts for the household. But in the public services, I've noticed they generally occupy minor positions. Fr Hezel has observed that appearances, as the aphorism goes, can be deceptive. "Many of us today are misled into believing that the function of men was to rule while that of women was merely to obey. Appearances to the contrary, this was certainly not the case in Micronesia. While women generally were expected to avoid 'center stage' positions

and were barred from speaking in public, they were very often the real movers behind the scenes when it came to allocating resources and even initiating political intrigues." (Hezel, Francis X., op. cit., p. 17).

The strong traditional allocation of gender roles, and the rate of recent change, can be detected in observations made on Chuukese society by William Alkire:

> Gardening and preparation of breadfruit for consumption are responsibilities of men — perhaps two or three working together for several hours two or three days a week. Until recent times the women provided most of the fish consumed, taken from the fringing reefs of the islands. Women did not, however, fish from canoes (a practice forbidden to women throughout Micronesia). Today the women are rarely seen with their small hand nets working the reefs; most fish are either caught by the men or taken from cans purchased at local stores with proceeds from copra sales. (Alkire, William H., op. cit., p. 29)

Fr McGarry has noted that, in Pohnpei, women appear publicly to occupy "a lower position than men" but perform, nonetheless, highly significant functions in their society. "There are phrases [proverbs] which give some indication of the importance of women… At the same time, a man will be laughed at if he shows [in front of others] too much consideration for his wife or if he lets her run his life in any way… the husband is supposed to be in charge and may express this in-chargeness from time to time by a few blows about the head and shoulders" (McGarry, William F., op. cit., p. 69). I might add that these "blows" are tokenistic and aren't intended to hurt. And Micronesian women, I've noticed, frequently smack their men folk playfully and affectionately (but quite hard) on the arms or shoulders when sharing a joke or pointing out the ineptitude of a man who has dared to try his hand at what they see as "women's work."

Throughout Micronesia, men and women, at least in public, appear to behave in a dominant/submissive relationship. Men seem to treat their womenfolk in the sort of cavalier way referred to by Maria in the radio play. As is almost always the case in Micronesia, there is a good deal more occurring behind the scenes, as Fr Hezel has noticed in Chuuk:

> In gender relations as in other aspects of traditional life there was a strong note of reciprocity. Just as women were required to show certain kinds of deference to men, especially to male relatives, men were also required to practice respect behavior towards women. Men were prohibited from using certain kinds of language in their presence, and this to a far greater degree than was practiced in Victorian Europe. What we might call "women's rights", limited as they may have been, were well protected in traditional society. It's true that these "rights" fell considerably short of today's standards. Women, for instance, might be beaten by their husbands. Even so, however, the woman's family kept a close watch over her and were ready to intervene on her behalf in the case of excess. Women in traditional Micronesian societies surely did not enjoy equality with men, but they were not without a considerable measure of security and even power in those societies. (Hezel, Francis X., op. cit., p. 17)

Recently, however, says Fr Hezel, the circumstances of Micronesian men and women have undergone considerable change, and it seems that the changes "have had a far more unsettling effect on men than on women" (Ibid., p. 18).

The spread throughout Micronesia of the American-induced cash economy and the development of American-style government institutions have led to a change and devaluation of men's traditional roles. For a period of time, it seemed that new roles had been created for men. "Indeed there are a variety of salaried jobs as well as new political positions that offer money and influence," says Fr Hezel. "Volunteer organizations, churches, and even athletic associations provide new avenues of status. All these are attractive alternatives to the traditional roles that men have lost with the advent of the modern society" (Ibid., p. 18).

The educational opportunities for Micronesian women, however, have advanced to the point at which women are successfully competing for positions in overseas colleges and universities. In recent years, educated women have become frustrated by the fact that men appear to be monopolizing the new roles in the changing societies and have begun to act and, as Fr Hezel notes, "herein lies the problem. Men see women scrambling for these. . . positions and intruding in a domain they regard as rightfully theirs. Women work in government agencies, they drive cars, they play basketball and volleyball, and they even run for elected political office. Hence, women are perceived as competitors rather than partners. With the old restrictions on male and female roles giving way, women become a hostile rather than a complementary force" (Ibid.).

My observations throughout contemporary Micronesia bear out Fr Hezel's. Men generally are attempting to hold on to a rigorous differentiation of sex roles, and women are trying to break them down. There's little doubt in my mind that in the workplace Micronesian women will probably see the scales balanced more equitably only when more of them move into positions of managerial responsibility. Of course, this is also still true of the Western workplace, but it's fair to state that most Western societies have evolved in the direction of sexual equality to a significantly greater degree than have Micronesian nations.

An example of a victim of the sort of discrimination which is still deeply rooted in Micronesia is a hardworking and intelligent woman, and very experienced broadcaster, Emiko Boaz (Emiko Robert when I first met her in 1986). Near the end of 1988 – in her early forties and she told me with some pride, newly remarried to a handsome 25-year-old – she took me aside at the end of the first day of my fourth visit to the station since 1984. She was visibly upset: "I put in for the job of News Editor, and what happens? Nothing! I've had 18 years broadcasting experience, and who do they appoint? A man. A man with *no experience*. You know my problem? I'm a woman. That's a real problem in Pohnpei. And my mother was Kosraean, and that's a real problem, too, because here you inherit your clan from your mother, so I don't belong to a Pohnpeian clan."(Interview with Emiko Boaz, News and Program Producer, Radio WSZD, Kolonia, Pohnpei, September 28, 1988) Emiko Boaz, in my professional opinion, is a talented broadcaster. The difficulty with such discrimination, of course, is akin to the problems related to privilege by birth. Often individuals of genuine merit miss out on the sort of employment their talents best fit them for, and their society misses out on the potential quality of their contribution to its general welfare.

42.5 Micronesians as Information Sharers

MIKE …we and the Westerners have different ideas about ownership. They give away their knowledge but don't want people to take their things.

We let anyone take our things, but don't give away our knowledge…You'll also find that when Americans ask us personal questions, usually they mean no harm. They're just being friendly, and aren't trying to learn our secrets.

MARIA Yes. They think we're unfriendly if we don't share our information…

This pervasive aspect of Micronesian behavior is a fundamental part of the value systems of all Micronesian social groups. This phenomenon whereby the "secrets," or special knowledge, of individuals or groups leads to a virtual taboo on sharing information with *anybody* certainly makes life difficult for researchers.

The second point made by Mike that Micronesians are very generous with their personal property is worthy of comment. Certainly, Micronesians are genuinely free with their possessions. Frequently, if something one person owns is admired by another, the object is presented as a gift. This can present something of a problem to a Micronesian manager such as Sam Jordan from the Marshall Islands who told me that "I'm the Program Director of our State-run radio station at Majuro and I hardly ever know the exact time. It's impossible to keep a wristwatch. I've given up buying even the cheap digital ones. What happened to the last one I bought was typical. It was admired by one of my cousins and so I had to give it to her. It's our custom."(Interview with Sam Jordan, Program Director of Radio Marshalls, WSZO, Majuro, Republic of the Marshall Islands, February 12, 1987) Sam Jordan is in his 50s and is wise in the ways of the West, as well as his native culture. But traditional pressures are brought to bear on even the most sophisticated Micronesians. Some such as Emensio Eperiam of Pohnpei, a member of the younger generation, decide to open a shop without the traditional seeking of permission. A member of the older generation, Sam Jordan, says he "just rolls with the punches."

Sam Jordan referred to one of his "cousins." Westerners are inclined to think of the term quite literally, but it's often not intended as such throughout Micronesia. A "cousin" is more frequently not a blood relative but rather someone from the same village or geographical area or even a long-standing friend of either sex.

Micronesians genuinely are not overconcerned about possessions. I recall having to placate an Australian tourist, a man in his thirties, after a party at the home of a Peace Corps volunteer in Palau. It's Pacific-wide etiquette to leave your footwear at the door when entering someone's house, and there gets to be quite a pile of items, normally "flip-flops," "sandals," "slippers," "thongs," "jandals," or "zoris" (referring to the same variety of footwear but depending on where you're from) at the entrance. Micronesians, incidentally, use the last term for the now universal flat footwear with the support that goes between the first two toes. "Zori" is just one of many linguistic legacies of the Japanese colonial period.

A few moments after the tourist had left the gathering of locals and expatriates, there was a roar of: "Some bastard's pinched me bloody thongs!" I went to the door with the American hostess and discovered the man peering at the pile of footwear in the gloom of late evening. "Got a torch?" he asked of the hostess. "What do you want a torch for? You want to weld something or crack a safe?" she replied. "He means a flashlight," I put in.

In the light of the flashlight, it was clear that the visitor's "zoris," apparently purchased only the day before, had disappeared. "No problem," said one of the Palauan guests. "You have big feet like me. Take mine." And he fished out a dilapidated pair, very much the worse for wear.

"Great!" replied the Australian. "And what are *you* going to do for thongs?"

"Take someone else's, of course," replied the Palauan. After the Australian had left, somewhat disgruntled, the Palauan guest turned to me with a wide smile. "You know, mine were someone else's yesterday, anyway."

42.6 Micronesian Concepts of Time

MARIA I have learnt another Western custom and that is that they really expect people to be on time – Western time! To them the clock is important, but to us it's finishing what we are doing. I was late for a job interview because I was finishing a paper, and the man was gone when I got there and I didn't get the job.

ARKANGKEL Yeah! There's a beautiful girl who won't speak to me now because I was an hour late for a date with her. She still doesn't understand that I first had to finish what I was doing.

Micronesians make no apologies for their general lack of respect for "Western time." Frequently, differences in concepts of time form the basis of wry or whimsical comments made by Micronesians to Western visitors. They often enjoy a joke at their own expense, as well, on matters that relate to some of the more trying aspects of Micronesian existence. Their physical environment is a case in point. At times, they're among the most rained-upon people in the world. Some of the "high" islands, the mountainous ones of volcanic origin, are characterized by tropical maritime climates generating very high annual rainfall. The rain forests covering the mountains of Pohnpei, for example, receive about 400 inches a year, among the highest in the world. Most Micronesians make light of the drenchings they so often receive by making fun of their climate, just as they "laugh continually at themselves and their own shortcomings," as Glenn Petersen observes (Petersen 1985, p.19). They also make no attempt to hide a sense of time which is not just non-Western but is seen even by themselves as distinctly idiosyncratic. On one occasion, I arrived at Pohnpei Airport in drenching rain and was greeted as follows: "Kaselehlie! Welcome to Ponape's liquid sunshine! I hear you have a workshop schedule to prepare. You're Australian, so you know about Western time. You've worked in the Pacific, so you know Pacific time. But now you're in Micronesia, so you've got to learn to think in Micronesian time. We invented it a long time ago, and

we still use it. I hope you will learn to use it, too, after you have been with us a little while" (Greeting me on my first visit to Pohnpei [and indeed to Micronesia north of the equator] from Ezikiel Lippwe, then Federated States of Micronesia Information Office Broadcast Chief, May 2, 1984).

It's undoubtedly true that, as David Nevin recognized, "Most Pacific Islanders aren't time conscious. The more Westernized they become, the more conscious of time they get — you can see the change" (Meller, N., cited in Nevin, D., op. cit., p. 49). It's also true that there are very few Micronesians who appear to have adopted wholesale the ways of the West. The influence of the traditional folkways, in the area of chronology, is still strong.

Nevin's interpretation of "Micronesian time" provides part of an explanation. "[It] is a phrase Americans throughout the islands use constantly, at first in despair and later in comfort, since it also relieves them of the necessity for promptness. It means simply that things will be done when the doer gets around to it"(Nevin, D., op. cit., p. 49).

There's a good deal more to the Micronesians' idea of time than this. The concept is fleshed out in Arkangkel's and Maria's treatment of the subject in *An Adventure Far From Home*. There, the idea of "finishing what we are doing" before attending to other matters is stated as part of a value system. One has to be very careful, however, in interpreting this phrase. Indeed, it would be very easy to fall into the misconception, as I originally did, that Micronesians are task-oriented. Maria's reference to her lateness for a job interview being caused by her "finishing a paper" appears to point in the direction of task-orientation, a concept which seems, on reflection, to coincide more with aspects of the typical Western work ethos. Pohnpeian Anita Bryan told me that "We are taught that if a job is started it must be finished otherwise what is the point of beginning it? If it's something big that could take more than a day, such as a large sleeping mat, or even many days, such as some of the woodcarvings the men do, we have ways of thinking about the parts. So a part at a time is started and finished until they all add up and the job is done" (Interview with Anita Bryan, April 8, 1987, Kolonia, Pohnpei). Mrs Bryan, wife of expatriate American Information Adviser to the FSM Information Office, 1983–1987, Tom Bryan, was born into a Mokilese family residing on Pohnpei Island. Mokil is a small outer island of the Pohnpei group and is culturally akin to Pohnpei).

Fr Hezel was responsible for pointing out that the behavior described by Anita Bryan was atypical of Micronesians. "I'm very sceptical about what she's told you," he mentioned in one of our discussions. "I've a hunch she's working to a non-local agenda. Micronesians just aren't so conscious of finishing tasks within a given timeframe as she says. I'd check back on that if I were you. What Micronesians are really very conscious of bringing to a satisfactory conclusion are personal interactions. This is what most often holds them up and makes them late getting home or to appointments or whatever" (Interview with Fr Hezel, op. cit.).

Careful checking did indeed confirm Fr Hezel's doubts. Mrs Bryan had observed the work habits of her American journalist husband, invariably involving finishing what he started to tight deadlines, and, according to principles of Pohnpeian-Mokilese etiquette, had anticipated the answer she thought I probably wanted to

hear. Micronesians, too, have also discovered that pleading task completion as a reason for lateness is much more acceptable to Westerners than an excuse such as: "I had to finish talking to my cousin, and it made me late." They believe, I'm sure you'll recall, that truth necessarily resides in whichever words seem most appropriate to social lubrication. I guess you could call them "white lies," but they're no strangers to our culture either. Generally, Micronesians like to carry out and finish their relationships with others in a courteous and unhurried way. It's much more likely that Maria's paper had to be finished in order to augment her relationship with her teacher rather than as a simple task *per se*.

One final point related to Micronesians' consciousness of time has been raised by Glenn Petersen who's researched Pohnpeian oral history for a number of years. It's interesting for a Westerner to think of life without a calendar, a watch, or a clock. I invite you to consider that prospect for a moment. Imagine ending up not knowing the year, the month, the week, the day, or the time of day. The risk of psychological problems resulting from temporal disorientation would be undoubtedly high unless you recorded scrupulously, in some fashion, the passing of the days from the moment you lost contact with our system of time-tellers. We've all seen the classic cartoon prisoner who scratches off the days on the wall of his cell. Micronesians simply can't see the point in this. The Western consciousness of the passage of time is often so acute that an individual will actively choose a watch with an analogue rather than a digital face. I've heard friends say things like "I just can't organize my life around a digital watch."

In Petersen's view, such temporal orientation appears of no account to Pohnpeians, despite the fact that they probably came into contact with European devices for measuring time some hundreds of years ago. "Ponapean accounts of their own history seem to emphasize distinctions in space over temporal chronology. Individuals, events, and changes seem to be linked together by variations in spatial organization… Ponapeans continue to conceptualize events in terms of where they take place, and thus remain acutely aware of local variations in historical process" (Petersen, Glenn, op. cit., pp. 16–17).

Be warned. If a Micronesian arranges to meet you, or you arrange to meet a Micronesian, at a particular time at a particular place, the encounter mightn't take place immediately. "Hang loose," as the Hawaiians say, try again, and take no offense if times aren't observed punctiliously.

42.7 Micronesian Notions of Politeness

MARIA Something else I'm learning is that they don't understand our sense of politeness. They think we are uncertain, or dumb, or even rude if we don't say "no" but just keep quiet or say "yes" but don't mean it because we don't want to hurt their feelings or humiliate them in public.

There is, in fact, more to this aspect of Micronesian behavior than mere politeness. The values discussed here are associated with the "secretiveness" noticed by

David Nevin and others which "permeates the culture… No one lets others know exactly what he is thinking or how he really feels. Face is all important and no man, high or low, may be contradicted or denied" (Nevin, D., op. cit., p. 53).

The avoidance of contradiction and denial is closely allied to the pressures of consensus forced upon small groups of people living on small areas of available land. And the concept of not saying "no" is further related to the Micronesian propensity for telling their peers and visitors to their islands what they think the listeners want to hear. This characteristic is often commented upon by expatriate Americans. Tom Bryan, expatriate American Information Adviser to the FSM government, told me that "If you go to a store and they're out of potatoes, say, you might ask when they'll be getting some. And the shop assistant will look at you and think: 'Now what does he want to hear?' And she'll say: 'Maybe tomorrow.' And you know the ship won't be in for two weeks! It's sort of nice in its way — they want you to feel better about things. But you've got to be real careful of this if you're doing serious research in Micronesia" (Interview with Tom Bryan, Kolonia, Pohnpei, April 29, 1986). Stories about earnest foreign students, dutifully recording other people's interpretations of what they themselves are thinking, abound in Micronesia.

There's an element of Micronesian behavior which many visitors find puzzling, and that's the lack of animation on the typical Micronesian face in everyday contact. "Don't these people ever smile?" is a remark made often by Westerners. In fact, after the mandatory warm-up period, Micronesians smile a good deal with visitors, but the fact remains that in their day-to-day relationships with one another, there's a good deal less overt expression of beliefs or feelings than one encounters in most Western countries. Glenn Petersen, as I've mentioned, has identified the phenomenon in Pohnpei as *kanengamah*, which implies the avoidance of expressing "one's sentiments, feelings or beliefs. It can mean, as I have heard it put, constructing and keeping a blank countenance" (Petersen, Glenn, op. cit., pp. 38–39).

One source of frustration and irritation to Americans working in Micronesia is the impact the "sense of politeness," referred to by Maria in the radio play, has on Micronesian administrative systems. Locals who work in them are brought up to avoid opposing others, or hurting their feelings, at any cost. According to Fr McGarry, "It's hard for such people to give or to accept orders. It's hard to demand specific performance at a specific time or to evaluate another person or to punish failure or to fire someone. Micronesians strenuously avoid such actions, which is one reason government is so huge; people are transferred, not fired" (Nevin, David, op. cit., p. 54). He has identified, in the Pohnpeian context, a further reason for an absence of what the Westerner calls "discipline" in the Micronesian workplace:

> There's another very widespread characteristic of Ponapeans. It's contained in the word *mahk*. The word is hard to translate. It might be translated as the embarrassment experienced in confronting a person who has done something which is displeasing to yourself. I am embarrassed at the embarrassment of someone else when caught in the act… There are a number of people in authority who are quite unwilling to correct the mistakes of another person or to dismiss an employee simply because of this *mahk*. They do not want to be embarrassed at having to embarrass another person. (McGarry, William F., op. cit., p. 58)

It's not difficult to imagine a possible end result of a process whereby incompetent or otherwise inadequate people are not disciplined but, to avoid further problems, are transferred to positions of equivalent rank. At some time, there's no longer anywhere they can possibly be transferred to. In Yap, Henry Muthan talks of "the situation where a senior State Government official has been replaced by a younger, better educated man. This younger man comes to the office every day and does his work, and the older man comes in, too, and just sits at the other end of the office. He has nothing to do but they both pick up their pay checks each week. The Governor won't fire the old man. It would upset the Governor too much. They have known each other for a long time" (Interview with Henry Muthan, op. cit.).

The same principles apply in Chuuk. Fr Hezel suggests a scenario in which a Chuukese man, a provider of food for his family for much of his life, makes the transition to a job in the state civil service:

> For failing to provide [food] for kin and others to whom he is especially obligated he can undergo the humiliation of being looked on as niggardly and suffer a corresponding loss of status among those closest to him. On the other hand, the retribution for neglecting his job or abusing his position can be uncertain at best. Supervisors in many parts of Micronesia would be reluctant to fire him or even impose pay deductions and other penalties because of their fear of incurring the lasting enmity of the employee and his family. (Hezel, Francis X., op. cit., p. 13)

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Part VII

Climate Change and Sustainable Development

Communicating Climate Change: Where Did We Go Wrong, How Can We Do Better? 43

Emily Polk

Contents

43.1 Current Attitudes Around Climate Change 797
43.2 Intersections Between Development Communication and Climate Change Communication 798
43.2.1 Challenges to Effective Climate Change Communication 801
43.2.2 Communication Challenges for Scientists 802
43.3 Characterizing the Current Climate Change Communication Field 802
43.4 Moving Forward: Focus Areas for the Future of Climate Change Communication 803
43.4.1 Framing as a Concept, Practice, and Process 803
43.5 Framing Considerations for Different Stakeholders 805
43.5.1 Individual Attitudes, Beliefs, and Personal Experiences 805
43.6 The Influence of a Fragmented Media Landscape 806
43.7 Climate Advocacy and Social Movements Must Adhere to Frames That Hold Perpetrators Accountable, Including Those Within the Movement 807
43.8 Measuring the Effectiveness of Climate Change Communication 808
43.9 Conclusion: Lessons Learned and Looking Ahead 809
43.9.1 Distribution of Scientific Information Is Not Enough for Sustained Behavior Change 809
43.9.2 Focus on Positive Solutions, Local Stories 810
43.9.3 Interdisciplinary Sharing and Dialogic Communication Between All Stakeholders Must Be Central 810
43.9.4 Communication Efforts and Their Evaluation Need to Be Long-Term and Sustained 811
References 811

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Abstract

This chapter traces the historical trajectory of climate change communication, theory, and practice, including the cultural and social context for attitudes and beliefs around climate change and intersections between development communication and climate change communication. It also identifies particular challenges to the field and maps out the current landscape for scholars and practitioners. The main findings support previous development communication research that suggests the distribution of information is not enough to generate sustained engagement with either climate change advocacy or individual behavior change. Climate change communicators are most effective when they focus on positive solutions and appeal to specific local communities. Scholars must do a better job sharing their work across disciplines and with practitioners in the field, and finally, all communication efforts and their evaluation processes would benefit from sustained long-term engagement.

Keywords

Climate change communication · Media framing · Advocacy and social movements · Effective evaluation

In the summer of 2017, right in the middle of the planet's hottest non-el Niño year and one of the three hottest years on record (World Meteorological Association 2017), *New York Magazine* published a controversial and widely read article "The Uninhabitable Earth" with the subhead: "Famine, economic collapse, a sun that cooks us: What climate change could wreak – sooner than you think" (Wallace-Wells 2017). The article paints a terrifying and apocalyptic picture of an inevitably doomed planet. It was controversial for many reasons, but critics and supporters primarily focused on the content and the tone. Some scientists said it was hyperbolic, referring to it as "climate disaster porn" (Cohen 2017). Still others, focusing on how different publics respond to information about climate change, noted that people respond better to hopeful messages, not fatalistic ones (O'Neill and Nicholson-Cole 2009). Acting becomes harder, they argue, when people think there is nothing they can do to change the current situation.

It is not hard to see why readers might come away from the article believing there is nothing they can do about climate change. "The Uninhabitable Earth" cites science-supported research that documents a 50-fold increase in the number of places experiencing dangerous or extreme heat over the last 40 years with bigger predicted increases to come. Droughts may cause massive food shortage and forced migration as a result of some of the world's most arable land turning to desert. According to the article:

> By 2080, without dramatic reductions in emissions, southern Europe will be in permanent extreme drought. . .The same will be true in Iraq and Syria and much of the rest of the Middle East; some of the most densely populated parts of Australia, Africa, and South America; and

the breadbasket regions of China. None of these places, which today supply much of the world's food, will be reliable sources of any.

The apocalyptic consequences of unmitigated climate change also include increased risk of diseases that thrive in warmer climates, increasingly unbreathable air from small particles emitted from fossil-fuel burning and wildfire smoke, and more conflicts as a result of economic devastation. Let's not even get into the ruined oceans.

The article clearly wanted to communicate the urgency and gravity of climate change, but was it effective? How do we determine effectiveness? What communication processes and practices result in positive social change?

This is not a new question. Development experts, policy makers, researchers, advocates, and communication scholars have been trying to figure out how positive sustainable social change happens and the role communication can play for the better part of the last century. This chapter asks if there are any useful intersections between development communication for social change and emerging scholarship on climate change communication. What can development stakeholders learn from the people on the frontlines of climate change? And from the evolving practices and strategies of communicating it?

43.1 Current Attitudes Around Climate Change

It is important to understand the cultural and social context for attitudes and beliefs around climate change before diving into the emerging literature on climate change communication. Despite large-scale scientific consensus, and apocalyptic articles in popular media like the "Uninhabitable Earth," public attitudes and beliefs, particularly around whether or not the issue should be a priority, have fluctuated extensively. Unfortunately, the majority of current research is focused on developed countries with a notable dearth of research in developing countries (Wolf and Moser 2011; Wibeck 2013; Ming-Lee et al. 2015). Nevertheless researchers have identified compelling reasons for fluctuating attitudes despite scientific consensus. These reasons include experiences of economic insecurity, growing political polarization, media bias, personal exposure to visual images of climate change, and experience with extreme weather events, with the first two being the most significant causes of fluctuating attitudes and public concern (Brownlee et al. 2013; Weber and Stern 2011).

According to a recent Pew Research Center poll (Motel 2014), a majority of Americans believe that the earth has been getting warmer in recent decades, but rank it as a low actionable priority. It is thus important to distinguish between "awareness of" and "concern about" the issue. The poll revealed sharp partisan divides consistent with previous research with Democrats being more likely than Republicans to see it as an actionable issue. Most Americans and Congresspeople, however, still rank several other issues as greater threats than global climate change.

After evaluating and documenting significant fluctuations in over 30 years of public opinion data about global warming and the environment, Scruggs and Benegal (2012) suggest, perhaps unsurprisingly, that the decline in belief about

climate change is most likely driven by economic insecurity. They argue that economic recessions lead people to demand behaviors by governments and others to increase the economy and improve the market which conflicts with their beliefs about what is needed to mitigate the negative impacts of climate change: limiting economic activity. One implication for climate change communicators is that framing to address the issue might benefit from more acutely addressing economic concerns (IE: the promise of the renewable energy industry).

It is important to note that opinion on climate change is, for some portion of the public, increasingly becoming more stable and largely fixed by ideological and social identities, identities shaped and codified by elite cues – that is, leaders of the political and cultural identity group – in which different individuals align (Brulle et al. 2012). The fluctuations in belief and growing political divides have concerned climate change communicators, researchers, and advocates who believe that there must be a bigger mobilization of engagement in order to coordinate the responses needed to create the sustained change necessary. The historical trajectory of development communication scholarship may offer some useful lessons regarding how to mobilize and evaluate sustained engagement.

43.2 Intersections Between Development Communication and Climate Change Communication

Development communication scholarship precedes the emerging literature on climate change communication by about 10 years though there are some interesting intersections, namely, around the top-down approach to communicating messages in order to inspire behavioral change. Nora C. Quebral, the first person to coin the phrase "Development Communication" in 1971, called it "the science and art to change society in a planned way." She since updated it to "the science and art of human communication linked to transform society from a state of poverty to one of socio-economic growth that makes for greater equity" (2005). Servaes (2009) defines it as a social process that involves the sharing of knowledge aimed at reaching a consensus for action that takes into account the interests, needs, and capacities of all concerned.

Lennie and Tacchi (2013) note that currently Communication for Development (C4D) "encompasses all forms and modes of communication, including community radio, community based information and communication technology (ICT) initiatives, processes such as community dialogue, participatory video, and digital storytelling activities, and the use of various combinations of new and traditional media." They highlight, however, that it is about people first and foremost.

Traditionally the communication process was seen as a one-way transmission from sender to receiver. Beginning in the 1950s, early approaches assumed a one-way progression from an agricultural to an industrial society, from the premodern to the modern, and from the nondemocratic to the democratic. Mass media was the channel through which these "modern" ideas were transmitted, and the success of their "transmission" was measured in economic terms (Schramm 1964;

Lerner 1958; Rogers 1962). Similar ideas were centered in early climate change communication: however, perhaps ironically, success in economic terms might be determined by how much people are willing to give up (relative to their consumption practices), rather than gain. Initially, in the 1980s, climate change was communicated primarily by scientists and narrowly focused on scientific findings and synthesis reports (such as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, IPCC) and sometimes by high-level conferences or policy meetings (Moser 2010).

Following on the heels of Schramm, Lerner, and Rogers, climate change communication efforts focused on the role of mass media with the expectation that an increased amount of coverage would bring an increased awareness and thus behavioral change and, perhaps more importantly, a sense of urgency with public engagement. The scientific facts were assumed to speak for themselves with their relevance and policy significance interpreted by all audiences in similar ways. However, the reality was actually much different. Different audiences interpret the news in different ways based on their own cultural, social, and political ideologies (Nisbet 2009). To complicate matters, the US news media, perhaps in an effort to garner more views or to subscribe to a "balancing" norm, initially publicized news about climate change as something that was up for debate, giving equal weight to the scientists and the "climate deniers." This gave the erroneous impression that there was limited expert agreement, contributing to a public with varying perceptions and levels of awareness that rose and fell with the attention cycles in the media (Moser 2010; Nisbet 2009).

This strategy of providing the public with information and assuming that it would lead to active and sustained social change – a strategy that has become known as the "information-deficit" model has also informed a majority of climate change communication campaigns outside of the mass media. Over the past three decades, countries, provinces, and supranational institutions have launched top-down climate change and energy-related communication campaigns pursuing a range of goals (education, awareness raising, behavior change) – with the exception of the United States, whose communication mobilizations have not been centrally coordinated by the government but by different organizations and advocacy groups (Wibeck 2013).

Alongside these information transfer campaigns, however, there has more recently been a move toward more participatory and dialogical approaches aimed at increasing public engagement. Such approaches have been the subject of communication research, as a growing number of recent studies illustrate how dialogic, deliberative processes can deepen understanding and empathy, change attitudes, and increase receptivity to policy alternatives (Moser 2016). This move parallels the historical trajectory of development communication. The multiplicity framework in development communication emerged in the 1980s in many ways as a response to the failures of the transmission approach. The framework emphasized plurality and dialogue along and in between all levels of society (Servaes 1999) while suggesting that there is no universal path or standard to development but rather that each culture and community must decide the best path based on a grass-roots, bottom-up approach: self-development of local communities.

This framework centered on participatory communication, based largely on Brazilian author, activist, and teacher Paulo Friere's work (1970) which stipulated

that dialogic communication was essential for conscientization – the autonomy of each individual to realize their own self-worth. A participatory approach first recognizes that the point of departure must be the community. The viewpoints of local groups must be considered before resources for projects are allocated and distributed. Secondly, social equity and a democratic process are best fostered through a horizontal process of information exchange.

Participatory communication in theory sounds idyllic: however, the reality in practice tells a more complicated story for both the development communication field and climate change communication efforts. Waisbord (2008) notes that institutional dynamics often undercut potential contributions of participatory communication, while others argue that the language of "participation" has, in fact, been co-opted and used in the rhetoric of bureaucratic organizations that continue to operate under the top-down modernization paradigm. Another critique is that while the theory takes a cultural-specific approach, it cannot, in practice, account for the ways that different cultures structure their hierarchies of power and gender differences, since the theory advocates equality and horizontal processes of communication. Lennie and Tacchi (2013) note that a consideration of power dynamics must be prioritized in participatory efforts. "Opening up spaces for invitational participation is necessary but not enough to ensure effective participation. Supportive processes are needed because invited spaces for participation in development are often structured by those who provide them, rather than created by the people themselves. . . Invited participation in spaces created for this purpose by those in positions of power can diminish the spaces where people set their own agendas on their own terms" (p. 11).

Similar complexities with regard to participation and dialogue around climate change efforts have emerged, even as evidence suggests that participatory communication processes are more effective. For example, public participation exercises where the community is invited to deliberate on a local climate change problem or attend a workshop on global warming, while in stark contrast to top-down climate change information campaigns, have proven to generate behavioral change. "Carbon Conversations Groups" in the United Kingdom, for example, offer a supportive group experience that helps people cut their carbon footprint by connecting to group members' values, emotions, and identities. The groups are based on a psychological understanding of how people change and offer: *space* for people to explore what climate change means for them, their families, and their aspirations; *permission* to share hopes, doubts, and anxieties; *time* to work through the conflicts between intention, social pressure, and identity; *reliable, well-researched information* and practical guidance on what will make a difference; and *support* in creating a personal plan for change (Rayner and Minns 2015). The wider communication challenge is to deploy this at a scale beyond local support groups who are already "carbon capable" (Whitmarsh 2009).

Wibeck (2013) notes that while public participation in climate science and policy implies mutual learning between lay people, decision makers and scientists in deliberating on appropriate responses, in order for these participatory exercises to be successful, people need to be able to contribute their time and ideas. When public participation events can only include a limited group of participants, there is a risk

that only people with the financial and social capital will attend. Vulnerable members of the population – that is, those who live in poverty, or are otherwise marginalized will not necessarily have the capacity to participate. In countries where a large proportion of the population struggles simply to survive each day, those who do end up participating are less likely to be representative of the general population and especially of the people who might benefit the most from policies that might emerge from such public deliberation (Wibeck 2013). Similar findings were echoed in Polk's long-term ethnographic study of a Transition Town in Amherst, Massachusetts, where it was found that the people who were able to participate in the initiative aimed at "transitioning" their community toward greater resiliency were the ones with the most resources – including time and money – to engage. Thus outreach to and actions involving the most vulnerable in the community were not necessarily prioritized (Polk 2015).

A lack of consideration of power not only risks the success of climate change initiatives, but it has also informed (as noted earlier) the very sites where climate change communication research has taken place (i.e., almost all in developed countries).

43.2.1 Challenges to Effective Climate Change Communication

It is important to note that climate change communication presents its own series of unique challenges and obstacles to creating sustainable social change. Indeed some of the most pressing challenges include the fact that climate change is not visible for many people, especially people in positions of privilege to set policy and mobilize sustained movement; the lack of immediacy (i.e., it is difficult to sustain mobilization around preventing the earth's temperature from heating up two degrees in the future as opposed to organizing a rally against police violence); delayed or absent gratification for taking action (this is related to the former – if one cannot see the immediate fruits of one's labor, it becomes difficult to prioritize and sustain massive action); and finally the complexity and uncertainty of a problem that affects people all over the world in different ways (Moser 2010; Marquart-Pyatt et al. 2011; Weber and Stern 2011; Whitmarsh 2011).

McAdam (2016) outlines several reasons why people have not yet mobilized around climate change. His ideas provide important considerations for climate change communicators. He suggests that climate activists have failed in the United States at creating a collective identity frame for the climate movement. Because there is no clear identity or ownership of the climate change issue, sustained collective mobilization is difficult. McAdams notes, for example, that the only segment of the American public for whom climate change is highly salient is, ironically, extreme conservatives, whose views on the issue are central to their political and ideological commitments. For the rest of the population – the majority of whom acknowledge that climate change is happening – the salience of the issue is highly variable, depending on numerous factors, as noted above. Further climate change communication research might explore the processes of other advocacy groups in creating effective identity frames as one way to inspire massive sustained mobilization.

43.2.2 Communication Challenges for Scientists

Scientists, as the gatekeepers of knowledge, will always play a crucial role in communicating climate change, and they face their own set of challenges. Lupia (2013) notes that one of the biggest challenges is that people have less capacity to pay attention to scientific information than many communicators anticipate. Secondly, even if they do pay attention, people often make different choices about whom to believe based on political ideology and cultural worldviews (Akerlof et al. 2013), and as noted earlier these choices are growing increasingly sharp among partisan lines, reinforced by a bifurcated flow of conflicting information from the media and from elites on both sides of the spectrum (McCright and Dunlap 2011). These challenges – in addition to the lack of perceived immediacy and visibility – cause policy makers and the public to be less responsive to scientific information.

Lupia (2013) suggests that scientists might be more effective if they understood two communication-related concepts: attention and source credibility. New science information is always in competition with all other phenomena to which that person can potentially pay attention. Science communicators can benefit by obtaining information about what an audience initially believes about the new information they are conveying, since people assign meaning to new information by comparing it with what they already believe. Source credibility, the extent to which an audience perceives a communicator as someone they would benefit from believing, is key for science communicators. In order to achieve source credibility, the listener must perceive the speaker to have sufficiently common interests, and the listener must perceive the speaker to have relative expertise (Lupia 2013).

43.3 Characterizing the Current Climate Change Communication Field

Despite the above challenges, the field has grown considerably for both practitioners and researchers in the last decade in ways that mirror development communication. In fact, one might note a similar trajectory – including, as noted earlier, the movement in practice and research from studying top-down transmission flows to more dialogic flows, the impact of culture and values on belief and action, as well as intersections between the climate movement and other current social movements (Caniglia et al. 2015; Luers 2013; Hadden 2014).

The year 2015 brought one of the most significant climate change communication moments, when Pope Francis released his encyclical on the human-earth relationship with its particular focus on climate change (Francis 2015). A global religious figure of his statute choosing to focus on climate change brought a heightened moral immediacy to the issue – the long-term effects remain to be documented. Such an event is situated within a larger landscape of a growing field that, much like development communication, is defined largely by its interdisciplinarity and by the depth and breadth of research and practice possibilities. Moser (2016) divides the climate change communication landscape into six categories: (1) the climate

itself, which has provided ample research opportunities with increased superstorms, droughts, flooding, and acidification of the oceans, among others; (2) scientific advances, notable discoveries, and climate change assessments; (3) climate policies and actions including annual international meetings of policy-makers; (4) climate communicators and practitioners, who use the former three categories to practice their craft; (5) climate communication science as a multidisciplinary branch of academic research; and (6) important contextual and foundational factors that are relative to the site of research. This includes the social and political culture of a nation; "political destabilizations...heightened terrorism fears, pandemics (e.g., Ebola), or the ongoing refugee crisis in the Middle East and Europe; as well as larger economic, technological or cultural shifts and events in specific industries, nations, or regions of the world." (Moser 2016).

Within this climate change communication landscape, several central themes emerge, themes which again mirror the turns in development communication a decade ago. For example, the role of values, beliefs, worldviews, identity, and meaning-making has become one of the most central foci of climate communication researchers, which has informed significant research on framing, messaging, and language (see more below). A second theme involves the importance of storytelling and narrative formats to convey climate change. A third theme centers communication channels and forms and explores the relationship between the media (in all its forms) and the science and policy aspects of climate change. This theme is connected to a fourth theme, familiar to most development communication scholars: how best to move audiences to action. This question has informed considerable research into human motivation and how best to communicate it. Finally, there is a growing focus in practice and research on how best to communicate climate change mitigation and adaptation as well as new research on the intersectionality of the climate movement with other social movements (Moser 2016).

43.4 Moving Forward: Focus Areas for the Future of Climate Change Communication

43.4.1 Framing as a Concept, Practice, and Process

A deeply fragmented media and political landscape demands that climate change communications continue to focus on framing. Framing – as a concept and an area of research – spans several social science disciplines. Frames are interpretive storylines that communicate why an issue might be a problem, who or what might be responsible for it, and what should be done about it (Nisbet 2009).

Framing as a theory emerges from the relationship between the media landscape and relevant cultural and social forces that shape the opinions of multiple publics and these publics' wills to act. Climate change communication frames that seek to appeal to the general public have included appeals to morality and ethics, as featured in Al Gore's WE campaign (short for "We can solve it") which launched in 2008 in an attempt to unify US citizens by framing climate change as a solvable and shared

moral challenge. Other effective frames include public health and economic development. Such frames have been used to both negate and suggest policy changes as well as shape public understanding of the issues.

One example is the use of the word "dangerous" in the framing of climate change. Research suggests that public support or opposition to climate policies (e.g., treaties, regulations, taxes, subsidies) is greatly influenced by public perceptions of the risks and dangers inherent in climate change (Leiserowitz 2005). However, the word "dangerous" is defined differently depending on the stakeholder. Expert definitions will be informed by scientific efforts to identify, describe, and measure thresholds in physical vulnerability to natural ecosystems or to critical components of the current climate system. Expert definitions of dangerous can also be derived from scientific efforts to define thresholds in social vulnerability to climate change and can also include efforts to identify particular ceiling levels of atmospheric greenhouse gas concentrations or global temperatures. Lay public perceptions and interpretations of what constitutes "dangerous climate change," however, are based on psychological, social, moral, institutional, and cultural processes, including trust, values, worldviews, and personal experiences. These perceptions are made all the more complex by climate change's "invisibility" for many. Leiserowitz (2005) found that while experts tend to narrowly define risks using two dimensions (e.g., probabilities and severity of consequences), the general public tends to utilize a much more multidimensional and complex set of assessments. Thus the media's role in choosing how to define and frame "danger" is directly implicated in the translation of scientific information and the way in which this information relates to the aforementioned social and psychological factors. Relatedly, it is important to note that these factors are subject to change and can be manipulated by the messenger. For example, an economic frame used by conservatives to denounce climate change mitigation policies might also be employed by environmental policy makers as a way to persuade people that the economy will be revitalized by investing in clean energy technology (Nisbet 2009).

Previous research on framing has looked at the ways in which people have responded to different terminologies to describe the changes they are seeing in the environment. The term "global warming," for example, focuses attention on temperature *increases*, which makes it a less convincing word for climate skeptics during the winter. For example, US President Donald Trump tweeted on Dec. 28, 2017:

> In the East, it could be the COLDEST New Year's Eve on record. Perhaps we could use a little bit of that good old Global Warming that our Country, but not other countries, was going to pay TRILLIONS OF DOLLARS to protect against. Bundle up!

Such idiotic comments are not new. The Drudge Report ran a headline in 2004, "Gore to warn of 'global warming' on New York City's coldest day in decades!." The implication, however, with regard to the fact that the same rhetoric is being used and distributed to the mass public suggests that climate change communication scholars and practitioners still have much work to do. Perhaps the term "global warming" will always remain too confusing for some.

Research suggests that the term "climate change," in contrast, may recruit more general associations of temperature *changes*, which can more easily accommodate cold temperatures and record snowfalls. Whitmarsh (2009) found that "global warming" evokes stronger connotations of human causation, whereas "climate change" evokes stronger connotations of natural causation. This implication is important to consider, especially in American politics, where conservatives tend to be more skeptical about the phenomenon and particularly its human origins (McCright and Dunlap 2011).

43.5 Framing Considerations for Different Stakeholders

43.5.1 Individual Attitudes, Beliefs, and Personal Experiences

A recent line of scholarship focuses on the effects of personal experience on climate change beliefs, focusing on the relationship between long- and short-term exposure to temperature anomalies and extreme weather events, such as flooding, droughts, and hurricanes (Akerlof et al. 2013; Hamilton 2011; Pidgeon 2012).

Akerlof et al. (2013) found that perceived personal experience of global warming appears to heighten people's perception of the risks, likely through some combination of direct experience, vicarious experience (e.g., news media stories), and social construction. They suggest this could be an indication that a small percentage of the general public are able to tap into aspects of direct experience that influence their local perceptions of climate change risk, apart from their political and cultural identities. These findings are particularly meaningful given the influence of increasing political polarization.

For those individuals for whom climate change remains largely invisible, communication scholars and practitioners must think of how to make the impacts resonate on a personal level. First communicators must understand that any information they are offering about an issue must compete with the immediate challenges involved with supporting one's family. Most individuals (even scientists) cannot and will never fully grasp and hold this amount of scientific complexity and uncertainty in their minds, much less be able to process it (Moser 2010). Even if it were to be accepted, mitigation and adaptation responses offer another slew of complexities to understand and engage in. Climate change communication scholars and practitioners must craft communication that takes not only the complexities into account but the lack of personal resources to accommodate them as well.

Given these complexities, Sander van der Linden (2014) suggests that successful climate change campaigns must meet three criteria: (1) interventions should design integrative communication messages that appeal to cognitive, experiential, *as well as* normative dimensions of human behavior; (2) the context and relevance of climate change needs to be made explicit; and (3) specific behaviors should be targeted, paying close attention to the psychological determinants of the behaviors that need to be changed.

43.6 The Influence of a Fragmented Media Landscape

In framing climate change, the media play many crucial roles. Brulle et al. (2012) conducted a study that included coverage of climate change in *The New York Times*, major broadcast television nightly news coverage, and weekly magazine coverage. They found perhaps not surprisingly, the greater the quantity of media coverage, the greater the level of public concern. The media reflects and shapes worldviews and values that inform public opinion and the public's understanding of options to mitigate climate change, shifts attention to specific areas the public should focus on and care about, suggests linkages between events, and proposes which actors should be seen as responsible and accountable.

The issue now is that while an increase in and fragmentation of media – in both the possibilities of consumption (via social media, mainstream media, blogs, computer games, etc.) and platform distribution (via computers, mobile app technology, printed paper, television, radio) – brings more possibilities for education and awareness, people can also choose to read information that is already aligned with and supports their political and cultural worldviews and beliefs. One implication of this fragmentation is the magnification of existing social divisions and the spread of misinformation (Moser 2010). Another potential complication is that while attention to climate change at news outlets such as *The New York Times* and *Washington Post* reaches record highs, this coverage may actually reach a proportionally smaller audience now than it would have in the past (Nisbet 2009).

Moser (2016) articulates the paradox of the current moment in the climate change communication media landscape well. "The tension between climate change as a scientifically, politically, socioeconomically and culturally complex phenomenon often requiring expert communication and interpretation on the one hand and a media landscape that is in the hands of the variably educated, motivated and ideologically leaning many on the other, however, could not be starker."

It is important to note amidst this tension that recent studies have shown that media focusing on climate change *MUST* not only reach lay audiences, but must be effective at persuading political elites. This is because, as noted earlier, science-based information is actually limited in shaping public concern, while other, more political communications appear to be more important to the public. Climate change communicators would do well to focus on getting the attention of political and social elites, not just the general public (Brulle et al. 2012).

The same might be said for engaging and sustaining participation in social movements around climate change. Some theorists and advocates argue that we must do more than mobilize massive engagement and get the attention of elites; we must also hold elites accountable for the ways in which they are culpable for the grievances caused by climate change. This next section explores how climate change communicators might be more effective at doing this.

43.7 Climate Advocacy and Social Movements Must Adhere to Frames That Hold Perpetrators Accountable, Including Those Within the Movement

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), with its myriad meetings and activities from the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 to Kyoto in 1997, Copenhagen in 2010, and Paris in 2015, has inspired and helped to sustain multinational mobilization around climate change. In 2010, Brulle (2014) identified 467 unique organizations that comprised the US climate change movement alone, and the numbers are growing.

At the core of all social change processes lie cultural and political disputes to maintain or redefine a field of practice involving a number of actors, including industry organizations and their trade associations, professional bodies, government actors, social movements, and countermovements. The most basic way that social movements change the social landscape is by framing grievances in ways that resonate with members of civil society (Caniglia et al. 2015). Social movements focus members of civil society on particular dimensions of social problems of concern and provide clear definitions of those problems, along with arguments regarding who is at fault and what options exist for solving their grievances (Caniglia et al. 2015). To create and sustain a social movement on climate change, however, Brown (2016) argues that it is not enough for advocates to counter the false scientific and economic claims of climate change policy opponents; they must constantly seek to educate about the causes of the injustices that climate change is causing if they seek to build and sustain a social movement.

But accountability must extend to those within the climate and environmental movements as well and the particular framing choices they made, the consequences of which have contributed to partisan and cultural divides. Historically, large environmental organizations, which were largely funded by white members and run by men, developed fear-based public messaging around controlling consumption ("Reduce, reuse, recycle!") and "saving the planet." Framing the issue in these terms has worked to center certain cultural values, perhaps at the expense of alienating others. According to Corner et al. (2014), one unintended result is that public engagement with climate change has become polarized along values-based lines: individuals and groups that tend to strongly endorse certain values have come to view climate change as a serious problem requiring immediate action, while those who more strongly endorse different values have come to view action on climate change as an (implicit) attack on or deliberate ignoring of their own values. Recently, the environmental justice movement, which aims to center marginalized voices that have largely been on the outside of mainstream environmental movements, has made meaningful intersections with climate change movements. Such intersectionality accompanied with an awareness of and sensitivity to different cultural and social beliefs, values, and worldviews must continue if the movement is going to grow and sustain itself. Climate change communication experts can play a key role in facilitating those connections.

43.8 Measuring the Effectiveness of Climate Change Communication

Currently, there is a dearth of sustained research that has measured the effectiveness of climate change communication. This is partially due to the complexity of the word "effectiveness" and the trouble with developing generalizable frameworks to measure it – a difficulty quite familiar to the development communication field. Most concerted communication campaigns on climate change have not been guided or carefully assessed by follow-up evaluation studies to discern whether the goals set initially had been achieved and, if not, why. Historically, the success of a communication campaign has been measured by the numbers of printed pamphlets delivered, media hits, or website visits. Some follow-up studies have assessed changes in attitudes before and after specific events focused on climate change, such as viewing Al Gore's film *An Inconvenient Truth*, attending or watching the *Live Earth Concerts* in 2007, or viewing the action thriller *The Day After Tomorrow* (Moser 2010).

Researchers might fill a gap in evaluation by working with organizations to develop ways to document and evaluate their communication and engagement practices and their subsequent short- and long-term impacts. Kahan (2015) argues that much like the measurement problem of quantum physics, the measurement problem of the science of science communication involves the intrusion of multiple competing forces including education, democratic politics, and other cultural and social domains that force individuals to engage information from one of these perspectives only. Thus, the people whose orienting influence evaluators need to observe are not necessarily scientists but rather the thought leaders within specific communities. "They are the people in their everyday lives whose guiding example ordinary members of the public use to figure out what evidence of scientific belief they should credit and which they should dismiss. We can through these interactions measure *what they* [the public] *know* or *measure who they are*, but we cannot do both at once."

Kahan's insights are crucial for communication scholars seeking to evaluate the effectiveness of their campaigns. One can measure how much somebody knows about climate change in terms of the information they have, but one must also figure out a way to measure what they will *DO* with the information, and this is based on their understanding of who they are – their identity-protective selves which research suggests will be prioritized as a way of preserving their particular "group status." Greater scientific knowledge can actually increase one's capacity for and facility with explaining away the evidence relating to their groups' positions.

Climate change communication researchers interested in developing effective ways to evaluate climate campaign efforts might be interested in borrowing frameworks from development communication scholars. Recently, communication scholars have tried to address the social, cultural, institutional, and organizational complexities of measuring the success of their efforts by developing more holistic frameworks for evaluating projects – that is, shifting the focus from measurement-oriented approaches, which have historically been used as a way to be accountable

to large donors, to one grounded in a systems approach and complexity theory. This approach emphasizes long-term engagement in all evaluation stages of a project. While project constraints don't always make long-term engagement possible, by grounding an assessment framework in a wider lens, it becomes possible for the assessment itself to be seen as an ongoing learning experience and less about managing a set of specific deliverables within a specific timeframe. Lennie and Tacchi (2013) argue that social change needs to be seen as dynamic, nonlinear, and unpredictable. They developed seven interrelated framework components for evaluation. They suggest the framework must be participatory (for trust and mutual learning), holistic (must take into account interrelationships and networks), complex (outcomes unknowable in advance), critical (focus on gender and other differences), realistic, learning-based, and emergent. Such an approach shifts the focus away from proving impacts to improving initiatives, using evaluation to support the development of innovation, and redirecting the focus to internal and community accountability. Climate change campaign efforts – especially those that center a dialogic approach – would be well suited to this framework.

43.9 Conclusion: Lessons Learned and Looking Ahead

This chapter has attempted to provide a brief overview of the landscape of climate change communication, including the ways in which it mirrors the historical trajectory of development communication as well as mapping out the field's own unique and particular challenges. Several important themes have emerged which may be important for both development and climate change scholars.

First unlike development communication, more climate change communication research is needed in developing countries. Although there are some studies that have been done outside of the United States and Europe, the majority continue to center the thoughts and behaviors of the Western world. Ming-Lee et al. (2015) note that academics in developed countries tend to assume widespread awareness of climate change. However, these awareness and risk perception are unevenly distributed around the world. While high levels of awareness (over 90%) were reported in developed countries, the majority of populations in developing countries from Africa to the Middle East and Asia – including more than 65% of respondents in countries such as Egypt, Bangladesh, Nigeria, and India – have never heard of climate change (Ming-Lee et al. 2015).

43.9.1 Distribution of Scientific Information Is Not Enough for Sustained Behavior Change

Research from multiple disciplines suggests that promulgation and distribution of scientific information to the public on climate change has a minimal effect. Information-based science advocacy has had only a minor effect on public concern, while political mobilization by elites and advocacy groups has been critical in

influencing climate change concern (Scruggs and Benegal 2012). Thus communication scholars and practitioners *MUST* address the complexities of socially embedded uses of scientific knowledge by multiple stakeholders. The knowledge and mechanisms available (or not) to translate understanding and concern into practice must be the central focus of relevant communication efforts.

Some of these complexities are most evident in the political sphere, where climate change beliefs have become deeply partisan, particularly in the United States where recent research suggests that education and self-reported understanding of global warming have little effect on the views of climate change held by Republicans and conservatives. Thus "bombarding citizens with more information doesn't diminish polarization but instead aggravates it by amplifying the association between competing identities and competing positions on climate change." (Kahan 2015). Rather than focusing on how to get out more information, researchers would do well to focus on the circumstances that make recognizing valid scientific information hostile to the identities of certain populations.

43.9.2 Focus on Positive Solutions, Local Stories

In terms of communication that motivates and inspires action around climate change, research suggests that to enhance engagement, positive feedback on individual actions with a focus on solutions as well as locally and personally relevant framings is most effective. This includes increasing visibility of the issue that will connect locally to individuals as well as making climate-related issues more concrete as opposed to only focusing on the negative consequences (Whitmarsh 2011; Wibeck 2013). A supportive narrative might also evoke "climate protection" as a source of a socially desirable identity which might signal to a population the need for behavior and policy change (Moser 2010).

Kahan et al. (2012) note that communicators should endeavor to create a deliberative climate in which accepting the best available science does not threaten any group's values. They suggest that effective strategies can include use of culturally diverse communicators, whose affinity with different communities enhances their credibility, and information-framing techniques that invest policy solutions in ways that will resonate with diverse groups.

43.9.3 Interdisciplinary Sharing and Dialogic Communication Between All Stakeholders Must Be Central

Two-way information flows do not just mean dialogues in community; it means that opportunities must be created for all stakeholders to share information from multiple perspectives, fields, and disciplines. Information must flow from and be shared between community members, political elites, media, scientists, advocates, and researchers.

It is not yet clear at this moment just how much is shared between climate communication practitioners and climate communication scholars, but more institutionalized opportunities for sharing findings, data, insights, and experiences would benefit all stakeholders involved in communicating the issue. Moser (2016) notes that relatively few communication researchers actively interact with those who do the majority of climate communication. Academics typically are not rewarded for such outreach; it is time-consuming; researchers are not trained to do so effectively, and given the often polarized atmosphere around climate change, many shy away from it (Moser 2016). However, if researchers want climate communication to be as effective and impactful as it could be, their work must connect more effectively with those who do most of the talking – climate scientists, policy makers, advocates in all sectors of society, journalists, editors, and public intellectuals.

43.9.4 Communication Efforts and Their Evaluation Need to Be Long-Term and Sustained

The effects of communication on the general public regarding climate change are short-lived. Brulle et al. (2012) found that a high level of public concern was seen only during a period of both high levels of media coverage and active statements about the issue from political elites. It rapidly declined when these two factors declined. Thus, if public concern is to be sustained, there must be continuous and sustained public communications efforts to maintain public support for climate change action, especially in the face of opposing messaging campaigns.

Despite increased global temperatures, record-breaking storms, flooding, and droughts around the world, there are still majorities of people in many countries for whom the word "climate change" is not familiar and/or who do not have the power to play an active role in developing the adaptation and mitigation policies that will best serve them. Despite predictions from scientists regarding climate change's serious and often devastating impacts, which include massive human migrations, poisoned oceans, a range of extinctions, food shortages, and increased conflict, many people – particularly in developed countries – continue to rank climate change as a low priority. Until there is a sustained reconciliation between climate change and the willingness of stakeholders, particularly those in power, to prioritize necessary action, the need for effective climate change communication will remain urgent and critical.

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Bottom-Up Networks in Pacific Island Countries: An Emerging Model for Participatory Environmental Communication

44

Usha S. Harris

Contents

44.1 Introduction 816
44.2 Framework 817
44.2.1 Participatory Environmental Communication (PEC) 817
44.3 The Pacific Region 820
44.3.1 Background 820
44.3.2 Nuclear and Mining Catastrophes 821
44.4 Networks 823
44.4.1 Pacific Regionalism 823
44.4.2 Bottom-Up Networks 825
44.4.3 Faith-Based Networks 825
44.5 ICT and C4D Initiatives 826
44.5.1 Improving Connectivity 826
44.5.2 Cultural Concerns 827
44.5.3 Participatory Initiatives 828
44.6 Conclusion 830
References 830

Abstract

As interrelated human actions converge to produce devastating results on both human and natural environment, new frameworks are needed to enable a diversity of voices in bottom-up environmental communication. Communication is necessary in engaging people and entities in the process of identifying the problems and collectively finding solutions to a broad range of environmental and social change issues. In Pacific Island countries, where people are already facing existential threat from the many impacts of climate change, participatory media is increasingly being employed to share stories and influence power brokers. Based on the

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author's research in the Pacific, this chapter offers a model for participatory environmental communication (PEC) that brings together diverse human (and nonhuman) networks in a process of dialogue and collaboration to find solutions to the many environmental challenges.

Keywords

Pacific · Oceania · Participatory environmental communication · Climate change · Bottom-up · Networks · Diversity · Agency · Dialogue · Collaboration

44.1 Introduction

The village elders sit on the rough sandy ground near the deconsecrated church in the abandoned village of Tebunginako on Abaiang atoll in Kiribati. Children play on the soggy ground where the seawater has formed streams on what once was the village green and farmland. Salt water inundation has turned this once productive soil into barren land. People mill around the once busy Maneaba (community hall), keen to share their stories with the visitors. One of the village elders tells us why his people had to leave their village. As the seawater rose inundating the ground, they lost their taro pit, then the banana trees, and then the road access to the village. Slowly people started to find alternative sites for their home and taro pit. He is not sure why the water is rising and destroying their village. (This story was received by the author when she visited Kiribati in 2017 as part of an Australian delegation with Pacific Calling Partnership.)

Human-induced climate change and environmental degradation impact the lives and livelihoods of people in many parts of the world. Climate change is a crosscutting issue that makes its presence felt at the intersections of culture, politics, economy, and ecology. With natural disasters increasing in regularity and intensity, a range of information and communication tools is necessary as a lifeline in emergencies and long-term sustainability of vulnerable communities. Access to media and communication is essential to people's ability to tell their stories in an effort to bring about change, as many years of research in communication for development (C4D) tells us (Wilkins et al. 2014; Servaes 2008). Yet, the most affected communities are also those that struggle to have their voices heard.

Environmental communication research and analysis have centered on the top-down dissemination model, which uses mainstream media or strategic communication to disseminate messages from policymakers, scientists, and other interest groups to the wider population. Receiving less attention in this subfield of communication are bottom-up initiatives, which are critical in fostering whole of community participation. In this regard, environmental communication scholars and practitioners can benefit from experiences in the communication for development and social change fields, which have more than three decades of literature on alternative communication paradigms that prioritize bottom-up channels.

This chapter firstly introduces a conceptual framework for participatory environmental communication (PEC), a model that encourages connections among diverse stakeholders at local, national, and international levels. The second part of the

chapter presents an overview of the Pacific region and discusses C4D approaches that communities in Pacific Island countries (PICs) employ to share their knowledge and experiences of climate change.

44.2 Framework

44.2.1 Participatory Environmental Communication (PEC)

International agencies, local NGOs, scholars, and practitioners all recognize the need for concepts and processes that strengthen both human and nonhuman interconnections. It is increasingly clear now that diverse forms of knowledge – inclusive of scientific, experiential, and traditional – are essential in order to understand vulnerabilities and resilience of local communities in the face of environmental changes and to identify effective adaptation methods on the ground. A participatory model of communication has an important role in disrupting centers of power in the face of draconian laws which inhibit citizen engagement in environmental protection. With a need to find new ways of thinking about and practicing environmental communication, this chapter offers a conceptual framework for participatory environmental communication (PEC). In introducing the term participatory environmental communication, the author brings together epistemic knowledge and practice-based insights from the two areas: participatory communication and environmental communication.

Participatory environmental communication is a process-oriented approach, which engages ordinary people in dialogue about environmental concerns so that they are able to identify the problems and are collectively empowered to make decisions to improve their situation. PEC incorporates three interrelated strands: *diversity*, *network*, *and agency*. I refer to these as the *DNA* in participatory environmental communication because each of these strands is important to the survival of both natural and social systems (Harris 2019). They are the essential building blocks of a resilient society. Embedded in these elements are the core principles of participatory communication which White and Patel so eloquently describe as "equalitarian, transactive and dialogic" in nature (1994: 363).

Through collaboration and dialogue, the PEC approach encourages cross-fertilization, forges new relational possibilities, and inspires problem-solving. In participatory environmental communication, the voice of affected communities is integral to finding solutions. PEC seeks to bring in traditional methods of adaptation alongside scientific understanding of climate change. The three elements – *diversity*, *network*, *and agency* – are interconnected and integral to participatory environmental communication processes that create the condition for greater sustainability (Fig. 1).

Diversity enables innovative and transformative thinking. The term here means both difference and inclusion of a broad range of factors – different knowledge systems, sociocultural values and beliefs, abilities, talents, demographic variables (age, gender, class, ethnicity), and the nonhuman world (ecosystems, technologies, texts).

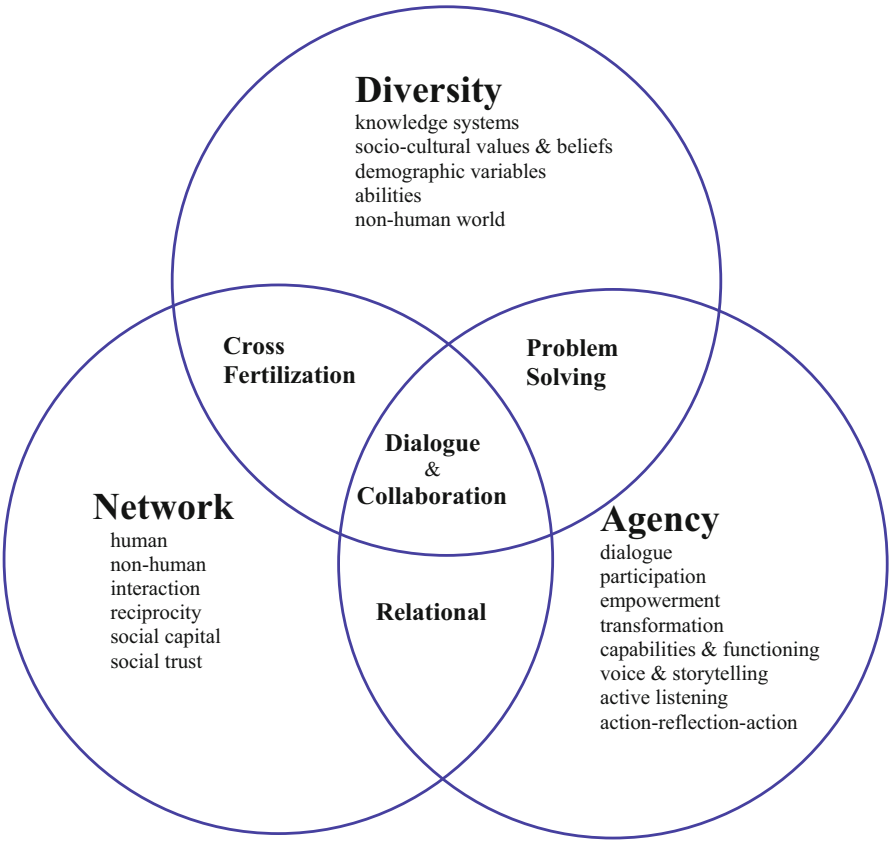

Fig. 1 The DNA framework and its attributes. (Source: Adapted from Harris 2019)

Networks are a complex system of relationships connecting both human and nonhuman worlds. They include vertical and horizontal human networks as well as nonhuman networks. The understanding that humans are but one part of this intricate web of creation, and not separate from it, is essential in the action-reflection-action cycle of the PEC process.

Agency is an action or a doing of human and more-than-human entities, which leads to an effect or outcome. Agency in the natural world contributes to the efficient working of an ecosystem. Human agency results from a realization of our own power and potential through dialogic encounters that act as the catalyst for change.

At its core, participatory environmental communication framework is designed to advance collaboration and dialogue and empower people to become engaged environmental citizens. A detailed discussion of the framework and concepts can be found in this author's book titled *Participatory Media in Environmental Communication* (Harris 2019).

Table 1 *DNA* essentials

Elements	*Diversity*	*Network*	*Agency*
Definition	*Diversity* describes both difference and inclusion of a range of entities, abilities, and ways of knowing	*Networks* are complex systems of relationships and interactions (links) between human and nonhuman worlds (nodes) vital for exchange of information and resources	*Agency* is the capacity of an actor to have the power to act in a given context
Attributes	Knowledge systems Sociocultural values and beliefs Demographic variables (age, gender, race, identities, education, place disabilities, etc.) Interface Nonhuman world Biosphere Holistic	Human Nonhuman Relational (form and content) Reciprocity Social capital Social trust Social cohesion	Dialogue Participation Empowerment Transformation Capabilities and functionings Voice and storytelling Active listening Agents of change Participatory action research
Manifestations	Communication Cross-fertilization New connection Innovation Intergenerational Intercultural Interdisciplinary Interfaith Interagency Cross-sector	Communication Local or endogenous network Heterogeneous network Trusted network Top down Horizontal Bridging and bonding Collaboration Cooperation	Communication Catalyst for change Mutual learning Problem-solving Gather information, analyze, design, knowledge sharing Transformative thinking Awareness raising Active participation Marginalized voices Action-reflection-action cycle

Source: Harris (2019), p. 37

Manifestation of communication produces a range of responses as illustrated in Table 1. Diversity in communicative practices leads to new connections and innovation and encourages intergenerational/intercultural/interdisciplinary/interagency dialogue; communication forges a variety of new networks or strengthens existing networks of collaboration; agency of individuals in communication processes becomes a catalyst for change, mutual learning, problem-solving, and transformative thinking.

PEC projects are designed as bottom-up initiatives which enable integration of local narratives and cultural practices. Through dialogue with other community members, discussions with environmental experts and by researching traditional adaptation methods, vulnerable communities learn how to plan for the future.

Participatory projects may include anything from folk theatre production to everyday media tools such as smartphones, digital cameras, and audio recording devices. Using these tools communities collectively identify problems and gather and analyze information to find viable solutions through the process of content creation. This process of production enables communities to make that critical link between (say) the impacts of climate change and why it is necessary to adapt and change, be it in relation to the types of crops they plant, fishing methods, or coastal management. In the next section, examples of participatory communication approaches used by NGOs and communities in the Pacific region are discussed.

44.3 The Pacific Region

44.3.1 Background

The Pacific Ocean spans 30% of the planet's surface and is home to 2.3 million people. Pacific Islanders inhabit more than 2,000 islands, which range from coral atolls to mountainous volcanic formations, extending from New Zealand in the south to Hawaii in the north. The three geo-cultural subregions are Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia with each group having its own diversity in cultural and social practices (Smith n.d.).

More than 50% of the region's population lives within 1.5 km of the shore, and many of these countries are barely a few meters above sea level, putting them at extreme risk from sea level rise. Despite the fact that Pacific Island countries (PICs) emit less than 0.01% of total global greenhouse gas responsible for climate change, the region is among the most vulnerable in the world to its negative impacts (Oxfam 2015; WWF Pacific 2015). Changes are already being recorded in the region's climate and ocean. Parts of the Western Pacific have experienced the fastest rate of sea level rise in the world at 10 mm per year (SPREP 2013). This is already affecting communities living along the coasts as well as the coastal ecosystems and natural resources that people depend on for their survival. In Fiji several coastal communities are being relocated to higher ground with 40 other villages planning for relocation in the near future as a result of flooding from seawater inundation and storm surges. Permanent cross-border resettlement is one of the projected impacts of climate change for some small island states, among them are Tuvalu, Kiribati, and the Marshall Islands, where their populations face the prospect of becoming climate refugees (McNamara and Gibson 2009; Yamamoto and Esteban 2014). Yet government officials and communities in these countries consider that an option of last resort because displacement not only means loss of ancestral homes but also loss of their cultural identity, sovereignty, and connection to land and sea (Richards and Bradshaw 2017).

Rising sea levels are just one of the many effects of climate change in the Pacific Islands. Associated impacts of climate change, both currently experienced and projected, threaten communities' livelihoods and long-term viability. These include an increase in the frequency and intensity of

cyclones, coral bleaching, coastal erosion, changing patterns of pests and diseases, saltwater intrusion, storm surges and flooding, increased temperatures (affecting taro production on lowlands, increasing risk of fire), and drought. Irregular rainfalls resulting in floods and droughts will have a devastating impact on agriculture production, forcing reliance on imported foods and threatening the livelihood of local farmers (SPREP 2013).

Collectively the Pacific Islands are the most vulnerable in the world. They suffer floods and droughts controlled by the El Niño-Southern Oscillation (ENSO) phenomenon. Drought and flood risks change during La Niña (normal cool years) and El Niño (warmer years) affecting different areas of the Pacific in different ways. For example, La Niña brings flood risk in Western Pacific and drought in Central Pacific, and during El Niño it is reversed with flood risk in Central Pacific and drought in Western Pacific. Climate change affects the frequency and intensity of natural hazards, consequently impacting on people's ability to respond effectively. Hydrometeorological hazards most common in the Pacific are ocean acidification and temperature increase, which means more warm days and warm nights and fewer cold days and cold nights. Two recent super cyclones devastated homes, infrastructure, and the economies of Fiji and Vanuatu, affecting the livelihood of almost half of their populations. The region faces other natural hazards not linked to climate change – volcanoes, tsunamis, and earthquakes – due to its location in the Pacific Ring of Fire.

Pacific Islanders face numerous homegrown ecological challenges. These include poor urban planning, waste disposal, energy inefficiency, and overuse of natural resources. Social and economic factors facing urban populations in Pacific Island countries include urban drift leading to overpopulation in cities and towns, insecure housing, and high cost of living leading to poor nutrition and health, which add to the burden of recovery from hazards. The Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) has identified four main regional priorities in its 10-year strategic plan (SPREP 2017: 10): climate change resilience; ecosystem and biodiversity protection; waste management and pollution control; and environmental governance.

44.3.2 Nuclear and Mining Catastrophes

Between 1946 and 1996, Oceania was the site for nuclear testing by the United States, Britain, and France. A total of 315 atmospheric and underground tests were carried out in the colonial territories of the Marshall Islands, Gilbert and Ellis Islands (now Kiribati and Tuvalu), and the Mururoa Atoll. The colonial powers had little regard for the well-being of Pacific Island inhabitants who were under their jurisdiction. Instead the Oceanic region, with 96% sea surface and thousands of uninhabited islands, was seen as a "safe zone" because of its distance from the metropolitan centers of the world. Smith (1997: 1) explains that during the postwar period, the microstates of the Pacific were generally dismissed as

"political backwaters"... and Pacific Islanders portrayed as passive actors – as opposed to recognizing their abilities to influence events.

The Pacific region has experienced other conflicts between the local population and foreign interests arising from environmental mismanagement of land and water in the extraction of mineral resources. Papua New Guinea endured ecological destruction on a huge scale as a direct result of bad mining practices in the Bougainville and Ok Tedi mines (Kirsch 2007, 2014). One of the worst human-caused ecological disasters occurred at the Ok Tedi copper-gold mine in the western province of Papua New Guinea operated by the Australian mining giant then called Broken Hill Proprietary (BHP, now BHP Billiton). An average of 50 million tonnes of tailings and mine waste per year were dumped in the Ok Tedi and Fly Rivers, causing large-scale damage to the surrounding forests and wildlife, poisoning the river system and village gardens, and leading to the displacement of villagers from their traditional lands. A class action by Papua New Guinean landowners forced BHP to commission a report into its operations at Ok Tedi mines. In 1996 the company reached an out-of-court settlement with the landowners for an estimated US $500 million. With BHP's withdrawal from the mine, its commitment to clean up the polluted areas remains to be met (Troubled Waters 2012).

In Bougainville, conflict ensued between landowners and mine operators as a result of pollution from mine tailings to the surrounding environment and its impact on the islanders' traditional way of life. Panguna mine, one of the world's biggest open-cut copper mines, was owned and operated by a subsidiary of the mining giant Rio Tinto. While the mine generated billions of dollars of revenue for the PNG government and huge profits for the mine operators, Bougainville landowners received little compensation for their land and rivers, which were being poisoned as reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*: "...millions of tonnes of acid-laced mine tailings killed the Jaba and Kawerong rivers. The rivers had been a source of water and food for thousands, but large sections now resemble a moonscape, forcing people to leave their homes" (Flitton 2016). With their demands unmet, a rebel group made up of young Bougainville landowners formed the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA). They fought a bloody civil war which drove out both the PNG government forces and Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ) leading to the closure of the mine (see Robie 2014; Phillips 2015). The decade-long conflict, which began in 1988 and cost 20,000 lives, became known as the first successful eco-revolution.

In West Papua, similar concerns are recorded in the operation of the Freeport copper mine, where 200,000 tonnes of tailings per day (over 80 million tonnes per year) are dumped in the river systems, causing floods, deforestation, and grave impacts on community health and livelihoods (Troubled Waters 2012). In the case of West Papua, which is under Indonesian rule, the mining operations not only imperil the environment but also the indigenous population who are considered to be at risk of becoming "an anthropological museum exhibit of a bygone culture" (Schulman 2016). The West Papua resistance to Indonesian rule has claimed thousands of lives; however the international communities including Australia and the United States continue to recognize Indonesian sovereignty in the region. Many small island nations rely exclusively on their river systems for fresh water. Protection of rivers and streams

from long-term pollution is more critical than ever before, given the increased presence and severity of droughts due to climate change.

Nauru and Banaba Island in Kiribati are other examples of Pacific nations that have borne the consequences of decisions made by colonial powers with vested commercial interest, which disregard the rights of indigenous people under their protection. Both these countries have suffered irreversible environmental damage from intensive phosphate mining with the loss of 80% of island soil from strip mining. Much of the mined phosphate has become part of Australian farmland as agricultural fertilizer. After having experienced the ups and downs of its mining fortunes, Nauru now earns its income by hosting the much-maligned offshore refugee detention center for the Australian government.

44.4 Networks

44.4.1 Pacific Regionalism

Pacific scholars have searched for their unique Pacific identity borne out of Pacific indigenous histories in order to counteract the neocolonial imagination. The imperialists envisioned the Pacific Island countries as small, remote, disconnected, and dependent. These nation-states were in need of salvation by their economically powerful neighbors, especially "Australia which saw itself as the natural leader of the post-colonial South Pacific" (Fry 1996: 2).

Pacific scholars emphasize the interconnectedness of islands as an important framework of analysis in Pacific Island studies. In 1994 eminent Pacific scholar Epeli Hau'ofa argued that the Oceanic region should be imagined as "Our sea of islands" with the Pacific Ocean as their common home (Hau'ofa 1994). In reimagining the region, Hau'ofa recalled the pre-colonial links of Pacific cultures, their mastery of the ocean, and the myths and legends that guided them. As he observed:

> But if we look at the myths, legends, and oral traditions, and cosmologies of the peoples of Oceania, it becomes evident that they did not conceive of their world in such microscopic proportions. Their universe comprised not only land surfaces, but the surrounding ocean as far as they could traverse and exploit it, the underworld with its fire-controlling and earth-shaking denizens, and the heavens above with their hierarchies of powerful god and named stars and constellations that people could count on to guide the ways across the seas. (1994: 154)

Hau'ofa's call to reframe the Pacific included not only dry land surfaces but the oceans that surrounded them because "There is a world of difference between viewing the Pacific as 'islands in a far sea' and as 'a sea of islands'" (Hau'ofa 1994). A new generation of Pacific leaders asserts this revised regional identity of an "Oceanic continent" echoing Hau'ofa's imaginary identity, which favors the interconnections of the Pacific Island states.

New Pacific regionalism has emerged despite pressure from the metropolitan neighbors. Maureen Penjueli, coordinator of the Pacific Network on Globalization, observes:

> Continued attempts by the Forum Secretariat to frame the region consistently as small, vulnerable, fragile, aid-dependent is no longer a working narrative for our people, let alone our countries. The wind of self-determination has set our countries on a journey to reduce our dependency on foreign aid, to be more self-sufficient, to negotiate and demand a fair share of the wealth of our resources, to redefine security and find newer partners (rightly or wrongly). (Penjueli 2017)

Instead of isolation, the surrounding sea presents new economic opportunities for the ocean states, especially the benefits generated under the exclusive economic zones (EEZ). Some of the smallest islands today command some of the largest ocean resources under the terms prescribed by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. This includes the 370 km boundary over which a state has special rights regarding the exploration and use of marine resources, including energy production from water and wind (Rona 2003). Kiribati today controls one of the largest EEZ in the world, embracing fisheries stock and future prospects of mining the ocean floor. Ironically this brings with it new threats of domination and exploitation by more powerful states which are already maneuvering for favorable positions through political and soft power diplomacy. It also raises the ugly specter of a new frontier for environmental disasters with growing interest in seabed mining and exploration.

In the twenty-first century, Pacific Island nations are strengthening their networks across a wide spectrum of sociocultural, economic, political, and scientific endeavors (Harris 2014). This solidarity has been most pronounced in the area of climate change negotiations. In 2015 Leaders of Pacific Islands Development Forum signed the Suva Declaration on Climate Change which called for an agreement "to stabilise global average temperature increase to well below 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels" (Pacific Islands Development Forum 2015: 1). The Declaration reflects the concerns of all Pacific Islands nations by noting that "climate change poses irreversible loss and damage to our people, societies, livelihoods, and natural environments; creating existential threats to our very survival and other violations of human rights to entire Pacific Small Island Developing States" (Pacific Islands Development Forum 2015: 1). The main positions put forward in the Suva Declaration were reflected in the final Paris Climate Change Agreement of the 21st session of the Conference of Parties (COP21) in Paris in 2015. The Suva Declaration for the first time enabled Pacific Island nations to put a cohesive Pacific voice in climate change negotiations. The strong-arm tactics of its more powerful neighbor, Australia, which had tried to water down the Pacific leaders' statement on climate change, failed to work. Fiji's presidency at COP23 in Bonn, Germany, in 2017 is further proof of a strengthening Pacific diplomacy on the world stage.

44.4.2 Bottom-Up Networks

At another level, regional civil society organizations (CSO) are proactive in environmental advocacy. The Pacific Island Climate Action Network (PICAN) advocates for climate justice at regional and international forums. As part of a three-tiered network, PICAN is made up of smaller country-based networks – e.g., VCAN in Vanuatu, KiriCAN in Kiribati, and TCAN in Tuvalu – and is linked to the worldwide Climate Action Network (CAN) which has over 900 nongovernment organizations "working to promote government and individual action to limit human-induced climate change to ecologically sustainable levels" (Climate Action Network 2017; Pacific Island Climate Action Network 2017). Pacific Climate Warriors from 350.org Pacific enlist youth to take global action on climate change. In 2014, Pacific Climate Warriors paddled out in traditional canoes to blockade the world's largest coal port in Newcastle, Australia. Through their banner "we are not drowning, we are fighting," Pacific Climate Warriors reframe the narrative to show that Pacific Islanders are not passive victims but proactive civil society actors demanding climate justice.

The "bottom-up regionalism" which once forged the nuclear-free movement is now seeing a resurgence around climate change advocacy led by civil society actors (Titifanue et al. 2017: 142). CSOs organized protests at the annual climate change discussions during the COP23 in Bonn and the crucial Paris Agreement at COP21. Social media platforms allow groups to "share information, communicate, and organize" using multimedia content, event invitations to protest sites, and use of hashtags using local and global networks. Titifanue et al. observe that after the antinuclear movements of the 1980s:

> Regional solidarity seemed to take a hiatus at the grassroots level and became simply something that decision makers and academics concerned themselves with. In recent times however, through digital interconnectivity, there has been resurgence in grassroots interest on key issues that have captivated the public imagination. (2017: 142)

Like the nuclear testing of 50 years ago, Pacific peoples are once again angry at the injustice of being at the receiving end of environmental impacts which are not of their making. A Pacific regionalism at both top and bottom levels of society has emerged to network, organize, and protest against the excesses of the developed world.

44.4.3 Faith-Based Networks

People in the Pacific are predominantly Christian. This places a responsibility on churches to communicate the growing threat of climate change to their constituencies. Churches are an integral part of the support networks as villagers are uprooted from their coastal homes and moved to higher ground. Member churches

are trained to offer psychological trauma healing to communities who have been displaced from their ancestral homes. This includes workshops which explain the science of climate change to help people have a better grasp of the changes in their natural environment and the new challenges to social cohesion as communities move to locations which are closer to transport and mobile networks.

Belief in Christian narratives, such as God's promise to Noah to never flood the earth, often complicates public awareness. Some people demonstrate blind faith in terms of divine protection from natural disasters. This creates barriers to communication of knowledge of emergency preparedness, due to conflict between disaster information and religious beliefs (Tacchi et al. 2013). Religious leadership is important in breaking this cycle by reeducating both the clergy and the congregation as Rev. Seforosa Carroll, manager of Church Partnerships Pacific at UnitingWorld, explains:

> How do we as a community and people care for the earth the way we are called to? What we hope to do is to help people to engage and to see it as part of their spirituality. You've got to start from the grassroots; you've got to start with things as simple as Sunday school. Also, what is said from the pulpit; that is a retraining and a reforming of ministers. (Carroll 2017)

In Australia, Pacific Calling Partnership (PCP), an initiative of the Edmund Rice Centre, a Catholic NGO, creates spaces for I-Kiribati and Tuvaluan voices in international forums. PCP prepares the next generation of Pacific leaders by training them in advocacy and community education. The aim is to raise awareness of the situation in these countries by facilitating people-to-people exchange with politicians, policymakers, private industry, and community groups.

44.5 ICT and C4D Initiatives

44.5.1 Improving Connectivity

Pacific Island countries have experienced uneven access to broadband and mobile connectivity, with some countries like Fiji achieving high-speed Internet, while countries such as Kiribati experience slow and expensive connection. Connectivity is delivered through mobile and fixed networks with connections to satellites and undersea cables. While more Pacific nations are investing in undersea cable connections, mobile networks are favored in driving connectivity and Internet access, due to the dispersed nature of PICs, many of which are archipelagos comprised of a large number of islands. This is consistent with global trends in mobile broadband usage, which has outpaced fixed broadband subscriptions, with prices dropping substantially in least developed countries where 35% of individuals using the Internet are young people aged 15–24 (ITU 2017). The World Bank (2017) projects that in the next 25 years, most people in PICs will have access to faster and cheaper Internet services with increasing

potential for information and communication technology (ICT) in environmental management, including monitoring, grievance redress, and citizenship engagement processes.

The Pacific Region Infrastructure Facility (PRIF) highlights the following changes in the Pacific (PRIF 2015):

- Mobile coverage across Fiji, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Vanuatu has jumped from less than half of the population in 2005 to 93% of the population in 2014.
- The cost of mobile calls fell by one third between 2005 and 2014.
- International Internet bandwidth jumped over 1500% between 2007 and 2014, rising from less than 100 megabits per second to over 1 gigabits per second (excluding Fiji which enjoyed high bandwidth from 2000 when it was connected to a submarine cable).

The Southern Cross Cable Network links the West Coast of the United States, Hawaii, Fiji, Australia, and New Zealand using high-capacity fiber-optic cable, with new connections to Tonga, Vanuatu, and Samoa. This has resulted in a phenomenal rise in international Internet bandwidth. Most island nations are connected by a single submarine cable, which makes them vulnerable in the case of cable damage. Some mobile network operators encourage the adoption of hybrid solutions, including both satellite and fiber-optic cable in the Pacific, thus reducing the cost of connection to many sparsely populated islands (UN-OHRLLS 2017).

44.5.2 Cultural Concerns

How does the new technology fit into the broad information ecosystem that already exists within communities? Access to improved Internet and social media brings both positive and negative impacts. The number of Facebook users in the region grew over 250% between 2011 and 2014, with 80% accessing the social media site via mobile phones (Minges and Stork 2015). In 2015 the Government of Nauru banned access to Facebook, blaming the social media site for creating instability in the nation, citing cyberbullying and offensive posts. The president of Nauru, Baron Waqa, said the action was taken to protect the small, tightly knit community of 10,000 people from unregulated use of the social networking site, which had created tensions among friends and families (ABC News 2015).

ICT use in the Pacific Islands must be seen in terms of challenges faced and within the wider communication context, including the culture and belief systems of Pacific Islanders. Effective use of ICT should not only aid information dissemination but also invite local participation in communicative processes. It can facilitate the preservation and sharing of indigenous knowledge, provide an essential network for information and communication exchange among the community sector and government agencies, and enable learning and skill building for the growing

youth population. Digital narratives are a powerful way for people to capture the everyday life and concerns of a community. For example, by using participatory media tools, village elders can share the important history and heritage of their village with the younger generation and the wider Pacific community.

Digital technologies encourage greater participation in political dialogue. People in both urban and rural communities are now able to participate in debates from which they previously felt excluded. Facebook discussion groups, such as Yumi TokTok Stret in Vanuatu, and blogs provide a forum for exchange of information and opinion where all users can participate. There is a greater need for understanding how to integrate ICTs like mobile phones into media and communication plans for disaster-response technologies such as broadcast radio (Tacchi et al. 2013). Radio remains a key media platform for communication across vast distances and audiences. More research is needed in the Pacific on how radio can be successfully integrated as a communication strategy in climate change education and community-based adaptation.

The communication challenges presented above point to the potential that ICTs offer in addressing issues of local participation and content that are inclusive of gender, youth, and marginalized communities. As female-headed households are most affected by climate change impacts, Ospina and Heeks (2010) suggest that ICTs could play a key role by providing relevant information, capacity building, and empowerment to strengthen women's adaptive capacities.

In adaptation processes, ICTs are most effective in networking and knowledge exchange of good practices, inclusion of vulnerable communities in decision-making for best policy outcomes, and integration of information and knowledge that have local relevance in reducing risk and vulnerability (Ospina and Heeks 2010; Heeks and Ospina 2018). Message creation and dissemination must be strategically integrated with stakeholder inclusion using conventional media forms (participatory video and community radio) and new media (mobile and online platforms). As tools for empowerment, ICTs provide opportunities for local communities to raise awareness of their situation, demand action and accountability from their leaders, build coalitions, and share knowledge using peer-to-peer networks (Kalas and Finlay 2009).

44.5.3 Participatory Initiatives

Given the popularity of social media in the region, community-led initiatives are more likely to make it easier for communities to actively shape and take part in their own awareness process, introduce their own solutions to climate change mitigation, and share these solutions with other Pacific communities. Project Survival Pacific, Fiji's youth climate change movement, is an example of youth-based social media, which mainly shares stories through its Facebook page to reach out to young people. It encourages youth engagement in climate change communication and provides users with opportunities to share and co-create. This offers a good example of ICT use for interactive social dialogue, youth engagement, and participatory communication.

Participatory media training projects have been implemented regionally as part of the PACMAS strategic activity on climate change awareness. They have adopted innovative participatory approaches that highlight local issues through community involvement. Notable projects include mentoring of high school students across the Pacific in the production of media content to raise climate change awareness and capacity-building activities which provide training and mentoring of journalists in order to produce local content and improve coverage of regional and international events about climate change (PACMAS n.d.). Contents also focus on gendered aspects of climate change impact and adaptation. A series of participatory videos made with women living in a coastal village in Fiji shows how climate change disrupts women's lives on a daily basis and provides ways to find sustainable livelihoods (see Harris 2014).

The NGO 350.org, which coordinates global climate advocacy, offers its Pacific teams the opportunity to share their own perspectives on climate-related issues. Participatory media has become an important element of its work as it ensures stories about climate impacts coming out of the islands are shaped and told by Pacific Islanders living with the impacts of climate change and not by someone else. This included their use of Twitter during tropical cyclones Pam in Vanuatu and Winston in Fiji.

Two creative NGOs in Vanuatu have been using arts and theatre to educate communities. Wan Smolbag Theatre works at community level to raise awareness about a range of social and environmental issues. Through their travelling theatre groups and film productions, Wan Smolbag teaches about waste management, climate change, and the ecological importance of turtles and reefs in Vanuatu and other Pacific Islands. Further Arts, a community arts organization, runs a range of arts, media, and cultural projects to develop long-term social and commercial enterprises that are culturally, socially, environmentally, and financially sustainable. It uses participatory methodology in a peer-to-peer knowledge exchange through its media hub in Port Vila, Vanuatu.

Community radio is an important forum that invites participation by and gives voice to women and youth. femLINKpacific, a women-led community radio station in Fiji, has documented women's experiences with floods and other natural disasters in their communities since 2004. It uses rural networks such as women's clubs with 165 community-based women-led groups through their community media network. The Women's Weather Watch program has a network of women weather reporters on the ground in different towns and villages who update listeners about the local condition and imminent threat to community from a rain event or other weather-related disasters. femLINKpacific campaigns for gender-based disaster risk management-response strategies "because women are often left out of the formal discussions and decision-making process in any disaster although they are the ones that are responsible at household level" (Tacchi et al. 2013). Its online presence includes Facebook, Twitter, SoundCloud, and a website. While ICTs offer possibilities for a younger generation, issues of illiteracy and capacity often remain overlooked. For these reasons more face-to-face and radio initiatives are favored because they involve oral cultures and invite participation by those who cannot read or write.

The short life span of participatory media activities means that the effectiveness of these projects is not properly evaluated. Instead of single one-off projects that are sporadically funded, a more networked approach to participatory projects would encourage greater citizen engagement and improve community understanding of the issues. However it must be noted that short-lived participatory initiatives do not necessarily mean they have been ineffective. On the contrary, many participatory projects end because they have been successful in achieving their initial objectives, and the community feels no further need for them to be continued. With assistance from governments and involvement of community-based environmental groups, a focused campaign that strategically incorporates participatory activities would incorporate local perspectives, cultural knowledge, and concerns which are specific to the area.

44.6 Conclusion

As interrelated human actions converge to produce devastating results on the environment, communication tools that encourage greater collaboration and dialogue among diverse networks are essential. Pacific Island communities interact with various forms of ICT at the local level, using participatory approaches to develop content which is closer to their own realities and which reflects local cultures, values, and individual aspirations. It is important to gain greater understanding of the mediated implications of ICTs in climate change communication and disaster risk reduction at the community level. An evaluation tool, such as the DNA framework, helps to build a pool of knowledge from diverse stakeholders. The framework provides opportunities for new alliances that engender cross-fertilization of ideas and new ways of problem-solving. Participatory environmental communication initiatives go beyond raising awareness. The value of interpersonal dialogue, the importance of networks in social cohesion, and the agency of communities to bring about change are inextricably linked in resilience building.

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Youth Voices from the Frontlines: Facilitating Meaningful Youth Voice Participation on Climate, Disasters, and Environment in Indonesia

45

Tamara Plush, Richard Wecker, and Swan Ti

Contents

45.1 Facilitating Meaningful Youth Participation 834
45.2 Using Story for Social Change 836
45.3 Developing CDST as an Adaptable Approach 837
45.4 Championing Youth and Their Stories 840
45.5 Focusing on Responsive Listening 841
45.6 Strengthening Youth Voice and Influence 843
References 844

Abstract

In Indonesia children and youth are often impacted the most by disaster, environmental degradation, and a changing climate in ways unique to them. Yet in discussions to address specific impacts, they are rarely part of formal decision-making even when their participation is promoted as a foundational expression of child rights. The reason for such absence is rarely that young people have little to contribute as youth are often passionate advocates for change interested to identify, explain, and act on issues important to them. What is more likely to be lacking are opportunities to learn youth-friendly techniques and tools for exploring and sharing their concerns, as well as access to decision-makers open to hearing and

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responding to what they have to say. In support, there is a growing interest by development organizations in using participatory media as a collaborative, exploratory storytelling process that can amplify youth voices in policy spaces as a way to rebalance decision-making power. Such interest was at the core of a 2016–2017 initiative in Indonesia entitled *Youth Voices from the Frontlines.* This paper offers insight from the initiative for promoting meaningful youth participation in governance such as ensuring adult participatory media facilitators have sufficient training, mentorship, and organizational support and that social mobilization projects are adequately resourced for meaningful dialogue and listening interactions critical for building influential youth voice. Creating such environment can support youth in tackling the issues they decide are most pressing to them – in this case, flooding, polluted rivers, fire, pollution haze from peat fires, and more.

Keywords

Disasters · Climate change · Youth engagement · Capacity building · Community digital storytelling · Child rights · Advocacy · Voice · Listening

45.1 Facilitating Meaningful Youth Participation

In Indonesia children and youth are impacted by disaster, environmental degradation, and a changing climate in ways contextually relevant to their subject positions and surroundings (UNICEF 2015). As one example, children breathe at twice the rate of adults, so they face a disproportionate health risks from the impacts of the air pollution from the peatland fires that occur in Kalimantan, Indonesia (UNICEF 2016a). Similarly, due to their age and development, they are more vulnerable to hunger and malnourishment during floods and droughts (ibid). In response, multiple development strategies are required not only to secure child rights to safe environments but to promote their meaningful participation in decisions that directly affect their lives (Ruiz-Casares et al. 2017; UNICEF 2017). Participation is used here in relation to Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), which highlights children's rights for their views to be seriously considered in governance decision-making (United Nations General Assembly 1989). The focus on meaningful child participation as a human right means that youth-engaged initiatives go beyond merely consulting youth and amplifying their concerns. Youth must also be adequately supported with the appropriate tools, knowledge, and resources to actively engage with issues, offer their own solutions, and be sufficiently heard, valued, and responded to (Lundy 2007; Plush 2015; UNICEF 2017). Youth, in this case, refers to young people aged 15–24 as per the United Nations universal definition (United Nations 2018a).

Globally there is a growing interest in and use of participatory media to engage youth and connect their voice to policymakers, especially as a strategy for disaster risk reduction (DRR) and reducing climate change impacts (Fletcher et al. 2016; Haynes and Tanner 2015; Plush 2009). As an example, UNICEF's Disaster Risk

Fig. 1 Flood in a participating youth's Badung neighborhood. (Photo by Nurul)

Reduction (DRR) and Climate Change Unit developed the 2016–2017 *Youth Voices from the Frontlines: Community Digital Storytelling (CDST) for Social Change* initiative in Indonesia to enhance dialogue and response between young people, communities, and decision-makers on topics of climate, disasters, environment, child rights, health, and well-being (UNICEF 2016b) (Fig. 1).

This article explores the *Youth Voices* initiative to offer insights into using participatory media as a strategy to increase youth participation in decision-making. The initiative was implemented as part of the Children in a Changing Climate (CCC) coalition in Indonesia (Globally CCC is a partnership of five child-centered development and humanitarian organizations: ChildFund Alliance, Plan International, Save the Children, UNICEF, and World Vision International). The workshop focused on strengthening youth voice at scale across the region by training 11 CCC network members and 14 young people from 10 organizations to apply the CDST methodology (including ChildFund; Plan International Indonesia; Yayasan Sayangi Tunas Anak, Save the Children; Climate Warriors; Pramuka [Scouts]; Wahana Visi Indonesia [WVI, World Vision]; National Youth Forum [FAN]; Youth for Climate Change Indonesia [YFCC]; Youth Network on Violence Against Children [YNVAC]; and Sinergi Muda). The initiative was co-designed and facilitated by an international consultant and PannaFoto Institute staff in Jakarta, delivered in Bahasa, and supported through PannaFoto staff mentoring and a CDST training manual in English and Bahasa developed specifically for the initiative participants.

45.2 Using Story for Social Change

The *Youth Voices* network initiative used Community Digital Storytelling (CARE 2015b) as a process to engage and mobilize youth affected by the impacts of disaster, environmental degradation, and a changing climate. This included directly working with more than 300 youth across Indonesia in rural areas affected by air pollution caused by land and forest fires and carbon emissions, as well as urban areas affected by flood, drought, and river pollution (Fig. 2).

CDST is a creative participatory media process – directed by young people in this case – aimed at catalyzing action within a community. Photo-based videos are produced through collaborative processes in which facilitators and youth participants generate stories together using different creative forms of communication and expression such as photography, narration, and music. As a core value of the CDST process, storytellers own the stories they produce and have the ability to make informed choices about the content, production, and use of their work. In the Youth Voices project, ownership processes for youth participants were guided and agreed upon through action plans developed and reviewed as part of ongoing mentorship support to facilitators.

The intention of CDST is that story development and sharing processes of research, reflection, dialogue, engagement, and mobilization strengthens the knowledge and self-confidence of participants on a pathway for more engaged citizenship (CARE 2015a). The process is built on core values that align with participatory development and communication for social change literature, including:

Fig. 2 A West Kalimantan youth photographs her environment as part of her CDST photo-video. (Photo by Ng Swan Ti)

- It is *community-driven* where youth are equal production partners in storytelling (Milne et al. 2012; Servaes 2013; Shaw 2015).
- It is *flexible and embedded* within organizational structures and networks to enhance ongoing empowering initiatives (Gaventa and Barrett 2010; Waisbord 2008).
- It is *aware and respectful* of cultural, social, and political contexts to support complex processes of social change (Cornwall et al. 2011; Walsh 2016).
- It supports *dialogue and listening* as key components for meaningful youth participation (Dutta 2014; Dobson 2014; Waller et al. 2015).
- It is mindful of making *appropriate technology choices* in the type of media to use to enhance local capacity and minimize power imbalances so the least heard can participate (Askanius 2014).
- It is vigilant about ensuring *informed consent* as well as an environment free of harm for people sharing their stories (Cornwall and Fujita 2012; Wheeler 2011).

Participatory media initiatives like CDST hold promise for meaningful youth participation in decision-making, which can be especially empowering for young people living in poverty or vulnerable situations who may struggle to have their voices heard due to multiple factors (Gidley 2007; UNICEF 2017). For instance, they may not speak the official language being used in decision-making forums (CARE 2015a). They may have restricted access to local, regional, or international policymaking spaces or lack the confidence to raise their voice with more influential people in society (Couldry 2007; Sparks 2007). They may be restricted by gender, social, or cultural norms or affected by stigma (Cornwall and Rivas 2015; Dasgupta and Beard 2007). Here, participatory media offers potential to build youth awareness, increase self-confidence, and mobilize young people when positioned alongside strategic, comprehensive, and supported activities for youth engagement (Milne et al. 2012). Such actions are globally understood as imperative for addressing disasters and climate change, as illustrated in the child-centered adaptation approaches promoted by the United Nations Joint Framework Initiative on Children, Youth and Climate Change as part of the *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change* (United Nations 2018b; article 6; United Nations General Assembly 2016).

45.3 Developing CDST as an Adaptable Approach

Supporting CDST facilitators to implement participatory media processes both in the long-term and in their own contexts was deemed critical in the design of the *Youth Voices* initiative – especially in training multiple organizations focused on youth, climate change, and DRR. Thus, in addition to providing ongoing mentorship after the initial training workshop, the workshop trainers developed a CDST guide in English and Bahasa that responded to how participants planned to use the methodology. It included steps so participants could adapt the process to the various contexts in which they work (see Table 1).

Table 1 Youth voices from the frontline: steps in the guide for using community digital storytelling for social change (UNICEF 2016b)

Prepare for CDST	Facilitators analyze issues of risk for youth to determine if CDST is appropriate Facilitators ensure they will have sufficient time, resources, and management support for a CDST initiative Facilitators and youth participants determine how to monitor and evaluate the initiative
Use photography to identify key themes	Facilitators build youth photography and media ethics skills Youth take photos on the topic they are exploring Facilitators print the photos for story development (printing helps to equalize power in the group) Youth sort the photos together to develop key themes for further exploration for the final story
Develop the story	Youth determine who should hear their story, including what they want viewers to see, think, feel, discuss, and do? Youth take more photos to expand their story; ensuring the photos adhere to ethics and have proper consent Youth prioritize the top photos Facilitators print the photos for collaborative storyboarding Youth develop a script to match their storyboard Youth attain photo and script approvals from key stakeholders
Produce photo-videos	Based on feedback, youth finalize the script and record the narration Youth select emotive copyright-free music, or record music Facilitators and/or the youth technically produce the photo-videos Youth review and approve the final photo-videos, and seek final approval from stakeholders
Strategically use photo-videos to engage youth and decision-makers	Facilitators support youth in connecting them to decision-makers Youth develop questions to accompany the photo-videos Youth use the photo-videos to spark dialogue on the topics with people they want to influence Youth use social media to engage audiences as appropriate Facilitators and the youth use the photo-videos for advocacy as per a youth-approved strategy for dissemination Facilitators and the youth review the photo-video use against monitoring and evaluation objectives to assess impact, making changes as needed

The CDST steps are designed to explore and address youth concerns through young people telling their own stories in their own voice and language (Fig. 3). As a driver of social change, they incorporate techniques to negotiate power within the group that might marginalize some youth. For example, the CDST process encourages facilitators to print the photos youth have taken to create the story structure rather than using digital photos on a computer for story development. This is strategic to ensure that less technically adept youth are able to fully engage during story development as the group sorts, prioritizes, and arranges the printed photos into a storyboard – which may not occur if the photo selection is done on a computer (Fig. 4).

Fig. 3 Young people narrate their story as part of a Pramuka initiative in Bogor. (Photo by Edy Purnomo)

Fig. 4 Youth learn the CDST storyboard process with photos at the Jakarta workshop. (Photo by Ng Swan Ti)

As another example, CDST prioritizes strategically working with young people to reach different audiences according to whom they want to influence. The focus on generating meaningful response is critical, as merely holding an event to show the youth photo-videos cannot guarantee sufficient response to youth concerns and could even be harmful if decision-makers fail to respectfully and responsively listen (Kindon et al. 2012; Ruiz-Casares et al. 2017). Considered effort by supportive adults is often required for youth to enter the complex arenas of local governance and be heard in ways that can lead to meaningful social change (UNICEF 2017).

45.4 Championing Youth and Their Stories

Through the Youth Voices CDST initiative, youth across Indonesia created 16 independent stories on the themes of climate change, disaster risk, and issues of child rights, health, and well-being. The photo-videos focused on flood prevention and warning systems, cleaning up polluted rivers, fire detection, and responding to air pollution from slash-and-burn practices. The young people also shared their concerns and ideas with their peers and decision-makers locally and nationally at various events. A few examples include a youth storytelling peer learning event in Jakarta (Plan International Indonesia); a screening with health, education, and child protection government representatives (Wahana Visi Indonesia); a photo-video showing with health, agriculture, education, and social affairs government representatives (ChildFund); a school discussion event (Climate Warriors) (Fig. 5); and story sharing at the national Pramuka (Scouts) Jamboree.

Fig. 5 Youth attend a Climate Warriors photo-video screening in Bandung. (Photo by Deden Iman)

Within participatory media initiatives, skilled facilitation, and a contextually informed vision are necessary to ensure meaningful engagement and influential voice in policymaking (Plush 2016; UNICEF 2017). Accordingly, the *Youth Voices* initiative took steps early to ensure organizational support for the initiative and the trained facilitators. For instance, the training included developing action plans with both the facilitators being trained and their managers. Even so, only six of the nine implementing organizations who participated in the workshop were able to fully complete all steps within the CDST process. Time availability, sufficient resources, and ongoing organizational prioritization for CDST were identified as the key challenges for CDST facilitators. In one case, for example, the trained facilitators were unable to complete the CDST activity and handed it over to other staff members. The untrained facilitators struggled to understand and fully implement the storytelling process according to the CDST values, specific steps, or in adherence to media ethics and copyright law taught in the workshop.

Other organizations struggled with the initiative's flexible timeframe that allowed organizations to fit CDST into ongoing program activities as appropriate. Here, the non-binding commitment appeared to work best within established, child-focused, nongovernment organizations (NGOs) with a wide base from which to allocate resources as needed. In addition, internationally supported NGOs were often well-equipped to connect the youth participants to local, provincial, and national decision-makers in Indonesia with potential to respond due to internal communication and advocacy efforts. The implication in the *Youth Voices* initiative was that CDST proved the most sustainable when embedded into ongoing youth programs with dedicated facilitators equipped to support the entire storytelling process from creation to dialogue and response. That said, complex participatory media processes that aim to politically engage youth (such as CDST) are not *inherently* better suited for NGOs. For even in the initiative, one of the youth trained in the workshop from a youth-centered organization – with limited means and supervision – was able to create, share, and advocate for a concerning issue through the CDST photo-video story she developed.

Rather, the learning highlights that, from the start, initiatives must readily acknowledge that sufficiently engaging youth in participatory decision-making may require additional capacity-building investment and initiative funding when working with less-resourced and/or connected organizations. This finding in particular was highlighted by one organization that integrated use of additional tools into a broader *Adolescent Kit for Expression and Innovation* (UNICEF 2016c). The kit was designed to build capacity of adolescent groups to be better prepared before, during, and after an emergency and to find solutions to problems faced in their communities.

45.5 Focusing on Responsive Listening

As the initiative showed and scholars argue, public screenings themselves require considered attention by supportive adults (Kindon et al. 2012). Ensuring trained facilitators have the capacity to work with youth from a story's telling to realizing its influence is critical as young people negotiate complex processes of both speaking

and listening. For instance, sharing their stories in public can be an affirming act of representation for aspiring youth citizens (Milne et al. 2012). However, public screenings can also bring harm if they lead to embarrassing, intimidating, or even emotionally scarring situations that might occur if those listening are not in a position to respect youth views and provide meaningful response (Wheeler 2011). What this means is that extra efforts and resources are required to ensure young people stories can be told without harm and that they are shown in places of influence where decision-makers are not only open to hearing their ideas but able to provide direct response to the issues raised (UNICEF 2017) (Fig. 6).

To foster greater listening and response, the *Youth Voices* initiative emphasized that the act of storytelling is only one part of social and political change. Attention is especially required for understanding the politics of listening that might keep youth voices from being heard within the differing contexts in which they live (Dreher 2009). Issues of concern to youth can be complex or politically sensitive and can put youth at risk in telling their stories. For instance, a group of young people in the *Youth Voices* initiative investigated and shared stories about the negative impacts of air pollution from fires intentionally started to clear land for palm plantation planting – activities which are often illegal (Varkkey 2012). They did so through an organization that knew the issue well to ensure their safety in telling their story. This illustrates the importance of participatory media facilitators understanding issues of local context, media ethics, and child well-being. For on the one hand, raising issues that directly affect them through storytelling supports young people in understanding

Fig. 6 A CDST storytelling event by youth and Plan International champions youth voice in Jakarta. (Photo by Edy Purnomo)

their world. Additionally, hearing directly from affected youth holds potential to influence policymakers when they connect lived experiences to their decisions. This can help to promote constructive and changing perceptions of adults toward young people (UNICEF 2017). On the other hand, storytelling activities can increase a young person's marginalization or vulnerability if institutions fail to recognize and respond accordingly to the risky and sometimes delicate nature of the process (Plush 2016; Ruiz-Casares et al. 2017).

Adult facilitators need to be aware that telling certain stories might threaten a young person's rights to safety and security as outlined by the UNCRC (United Nations General Assembly 1989). It is thus valuable to incorporate child protection specialists into the storytelling process so they can flag concerns early in the story production, as well as during development and public sharing. Such attention on child protection was incorporated in the facilitation training workshop but was identified as a gap within individual CDST story development during individual initiatives. Involving communication and advocacy teams early in the initiative can also support youth in connecting them to decision-makers at local and national levels. In the *Youth Voices* initiative, as mentioned, NGOs proved the most successful at linking youth to audiences with the power to meaningfully respond to their issues based on their existing programs. Here their strength lie in the potential to incorporate CDST stories into larger youth participation and mobilization efforts. This supports critical arguments that influencing policy debates is a longer and more involved endeavor than celebratory, public story-sharing events may imply (Kindon et al. 2012; Wheeler 2011). Rather, strategic efforts are required to shift marginalizing powers and processes that might silence youth concerns so their voice can be sufficiently considered, valued, and incorporated into decisions that affect their lives (Cornwall and Fujita 2012; UNICEF 2017).

45.6 Strengthening Youth Voice and Influence

The Indonesia *Youth Voices from the Frontlines* case study highlights that participatory media initiatives can benefit from a strategic design that prioritizes sufficient facilitator capacity and an attention on listening for youth participation in and influence on decisions that affect their lives. Such action requires strategic visions and plans for ensuring youth are not only provided opportunities to voice opinions. They must also be supported as active participants in researching and acting on issues that concern them as they acquire the knowledge and tools to safely share their concerns and ideas. Doing so starts with strengthening individual and organizational capacities in sustainable ways, as well as positioning youth engagement and mobilization activities in large organizations and national coalitions for greater policy influence. It requires participatory media facilitators with sufficient and appropriate tools, resources, capacity, and organizational support to adeptly use participatory media to navigate and address the contextual constraints and possibilities for youth voice and influence. In the case of the *Youth Voices from the Frontlines* initiative in Indonesia, such support offered youth opportunities to identify and champion

solutions to overcome the negative impacts of disaster, environmental degradation, and a changing climate. The stories not only raise critical concerns for Indonesian youth but position young people as key actors able to understand, address, and solve the country's greatest challenges today and in the future.

Disclaimer The opinions expressed in this chapter are the authors' and do not reflect the view of UNICEF.

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Key SBCC Actions in a Rapid-Onset Emergency: Case Study From the 2015 Nepal Earthquakes

46

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Contents

46.1 2015 Earthquakes in Nepal: Impact and Needs 848
46.2 Social and Behavior Change Communication Response 849
46.2.1 Coordination Mechanism 850
46.2.2 Rapid Appraisal of Communication Channels and Resources 851
46.3 Community Consultation and Participation 852
46.4 Mobile Edutainment Shows with Celebrities 854
46.5 Youth Engagement 855
46.6 Recovery and Preparedness 855
46.7 Monitoring and Evaluation 856
46.8 Conclusion and Recommendations 857
References 859

Abstract

In case of an emergency, various social and behavior change communication (SBCC) instruments can play an important role not only in providing immediate access to lifesaving information to affected populations but also in resilience building and strengthening accountability of government and international and national civil society organizations.

This case study provides the readers with an overview of key challenges, needs, and SBCC strategies in case of a large-scale emergency that affects beneficiaries, service providers, and humanitarian actors at the same time. It suggests a step-by-step approach, starting with functional media channels for immediate dissemination of lifesaving messages and collection of feedback on the needs and concerns of affected population, and then slowly moving on to directly reaching out to communities through a variety of SBCC strategies including mobile 'edutainment'

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(Entertainment with the purpose of providing educational information to the target audience) shows and face-to-face community mobilization.

The chapter focuses on key elements of the SBCC strategy pursued by UNICEF: a strong coordination mechanism between the government and national and local partners both regarding communication efforts and accountability mechanisms, a rapid assessment and rehabilitation of communication channels and mechanisms to ensure meaningful participation, and opportunities for community members to provide feedback and receive mass-scale counselling.

Keywords

Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (ACORAB) · Bhandai Sundai' radio program · Communicating with Affected Communities (CWC) · Communication for Development (C4D) program · Nepal community radio stations · Social and behavior change communication (SBCC)

46.1 2015 Earthquakes in Nepal: Impact and Needs

Due to Nepal's complex geological formation, its position in an active seismic zone and heavy annual rainfall, the South Asian country is highly prone to rapid- as well as slow-onset natural disasters such as earthquakes, landslides, floods, or droughts. In the past, Nepal experienced major earthquakes every few generations (Government of Nepal, National Planning Commission (2015)) providing a historical pattern for an eventual earthquake return period of 40 till 80 years. Given such a context, two elements are key: emergency preparedness and a rapid response mechanism once an emergency hits.

The two devastating earthquakes that occurred in Nepal on the 25th of April and the 12th of May 2015 severely affected many regions within the country. Around 8,959 people lost their lives, and 22,302 people were injured, 2,661 of whom were children. In the worst affected areas, entire settlements were flattened or swept away by landslides. (Government of Nepal, National Reconstruction Authority (2016). According to the survey conducted by the Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA), 605,254 houses were fully damaged, and 288,255 houses were partially damaged.) With a majority of houses being damaged or fully destroyed, people were forced to leave their houses and move to safe spaces or live in makeshift shelters. Many health centers and much of the community infrastructure, including water systems and latrines, were damaged or destroyed.

The ensuing landslides blocked major roads and highways, and transportation was severely curtailed for authorities and relief agencies to reach affected districts and populations. All forms of communication and transportation were severely affected, and telecommunication networks were disrupted in all the affected districts. Public service television and radio broadcasts went off air, some of them for several days. A lot of equipment and buildings belonging to community radio stations were either damaged or destroyed. Government

authorities, development agencies, and aid workers in Kathmandu and at the district headquarters faced difficulties in communicating with affected communities.

Providing critical response and early recovery is a core task of the first weeks after an emergency hits. In addition to the immediate survival and protection needs, people needed critical, lifesaving information and the means to communicate with their family members and the authorities (For a detailed timeline for an effective response and a toolkit on behavior change communication in emergencies, please see UNICEF (2017b), pp. 32–35 and UNICEF (2006)). Lack of electricity, mobile and telephone connectivity, and damaged physical infrastructure made it very difficult for communities and relief responders to communicate with each other. In addition, communication service providers such as design agencies, media-buying agencies, and printers had all been affected and were working at sub-optimal capacity.

There was an imminent need for communication channels to be re-established in order to communicate with the affected communities for rescue, aid, ensuring safety from constant aftershocks, prevention of disease outbreaks, providing key lifesaving messages and psychosocial support, and for providing affected populations platforms to voice their concerns and provide feedback on the response to duty bearers.

46.2 Social and Behavior Change Communication Response

In view of the above, social and behavior change communication (SBCC) was an intrinsic part of the UNICEF response to Nepal earthquake. (DARA (2016), p. 8) It was guided by the Core Commitments for Children (CCC) in Humanitarian Actions. (UNICEF (2010). The CCC is UNICEF's central policy to uphold the rights of children affected by humanitarian crisis and are based on global standards and norms for humanitarian action.) The founding elements of the response included:

- Forging alliances with multiple stakeholders and strengthening their capacities to effectively communicate with affected populations. In order to better coordinate, plan, manage, and monitor communication initiatives and as such avoid duplication, misunderstanding, rumors, and misinformation, an inter-agency coordination group was established.
- Using various communication channels to promote dialogue with affected populations around key lifesaving messages and critical information in the areas of health, nutrition, water and sanitation, education, child protection, and relief and rehabilitation.
- To ensure participation of and accountability to affected populations, providing them with platforms and spaces to obtain relevant information, voice their concerns, provide feedback on the response to duty bearers, and receive psychosocial counselling to help deal with their situation, with a focus on women, children, and the most marginalized.

UNICEF worked with the Government of Nepal and other development partners to develop a comprehensive SBCC strategy for responding to the situation. Based on

a rapid assessment of sectoral and crosscutting communication needs, key messages and content for dialogue were developed and channels identified to disseminate these in the most affected districts. Care was taken to ensure that it was not just a one-way dissemination of messages but that there were appropriate mechanisms to ensure that community feedback and voices were heard in order to make the communication and response efforts need-based and also ensure accountability to affected populations.

46.2.1 Coordination Mechanism

To ensure a convergent and coherent SBCC response to the earthquake, UNICEF established a '*Communicating with Affected Communities*' (CWC) working group. The group brought together several development partners including UN agencies, international and national nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), civil society organizations (CSOs), media organizations, and community radio operators. It ensured that partners were informed about each other's efforts, had a common vision and approach, and that there was no duplication of efforts. In collaboration with members of this group and the National Health Education Information and Communication Centre (NHEICC), which operated under the Ministry of Health and Population, a national communication response plan was developed. This was implemented through various partners.

After the first few weeks of the earthquake, the CWC was further subdivided into four subgroups in order to coordinate the work better. These included:

Subgroup	Responsibility
Messages and materials	Through this subgroup a common set of messages were developed so that all partners communicated the same messages to communities and that there was no confusion among communities over these messages. The group would also periodically update and refresh messages based on evolving needs. Action-oriented communication materials that were developed by partners were uploaded onto a drop box site, which was accessible to all members of the CWC. Members could download, view, and print these materials as per their needs, helping in avoiding duplication in terms of different partners developing similar types of materials for the same audience
Community mobilization	The subgroup on community mobilization was responsible for coordinating direct, community-based outreach work. This helped in ensuring that partners could spread themselves and cover areas in an organized manner and avoid duplication
Radio	This group comprised of representatives of community radio operators and media-based organizations. The group managed work related to assessing the status of damaged community radio stations and preparing a roadmap for their rehabilitation. They also worked with various community radio stations to ensure uniform and correct transmission of key messages
Monitoring and evaluation	Understanding the criticality of evidence-based and data-driven work, the subgroup was responsible for carrying out communication assessments, monitoring, and evaluation

46.2.2 Rapid Appraisal of Communication Channels and Resources

If an emergency strikes, it is crucial to immediately disseminate key messages to affected families and communities through a variety of communication channels. In the aftermath of the earthquakes, however, most telecommunication networks were badly damaged, and services were disrupted. National and local television and radio stations went off air because of structural damage to their buildings, damage to equipment, and the absence of human resources to run news programs.

In Nepal community radio stations (270 radios were registered as community radios in 2015.) serve as one of the most important sources of information for communities, especially in remote areas, and was the preferred channel to receive information during the aftermath of the earthquakes. (Inter-Agency Common Feedback Project (2016), p. 12. 55% of the 2100 respondents indicated to have used radio and 31% television immediately following the earthquake.) Many of these radio stations were partially or fully damaged, and many were not in a position to communicate with communities in the geographies that they serve due to breakdown in the supply of electricity.

Through the radio subgroup of the CWC, discussions were held to identify effective ways of resuming community radio services in the districts that had suffered most. In collaboration with the Asia Pacific regional office of AMARC and the '*Association of Community Radio Broadcasters*' (ACORAB), an assessment of the extent of damage suffered by community radio stations was conducted. (The Humanitarian Data Exchange (online platform), https://data.humdata.org/dataset/radio-stations-in-earthquake-affected-areas. Accessed June 2018) Based on the assessment findings, a short-term and a long-term rehabilitation plan was developed and implemented.

The short-term plan comprised of providing rehabilitation supplies to the damaged stations such as tents, zoom recorders, power generators, telephone hybrids, power backups, batteries, stabilizers, laptops, and radio receivers for distribution in communities and also providing training to local technicians on repairing damaged radio sets. As soon as these community radio stations were equipped with the minimum requirements for airing, they started to intensively broadcast critical information related to staying safe, relief efforts, and messages around health, nutrition, water and sanitation, education, and child protection. Over 100,000 min of messages were broadcasted through 191 community radio stations. Rapid assessment findings collected in July and August 2015 indicated that around 87% people could recollect key messages that were aired through radio. (Inter-Agency Common Feedback Project (2016), p. 40. The rapid assessment was done based on 222 key informant surveys across 10 earthquake-affected districts.)

The long-term plan comprised of providing training to community radio stations on strengthening disaster risk reduction and increasing emergency preparedness and developing programs to help communities better prepare and respond to future emergencies.

46.3 Community Consultation and Participation

Immediately after the earthquake, most of the relief and response activities focused on rescue, treatment of injuries, and provision of essential relief supplies to affected communities. While these were extremely important, there was also a need to provide opportunities for affected populations to voice their needs and concerns and to provide psychosocial counselling to people to get over the emotional trauma that the earthquake had caused. (Plan International, Save the Children, UNICEF, World Vision in collaboration with the Ministry of Federal Affairs and Local Development and the Central Child Welfare Board (2016), p. 5) People including children were demonstrating common signs and symptoms of mental stress such as palpitation, sleeplessness, headache, dizziness, anxiety, fear, and inability to focus on day-to-day activities. A consultation among 1,838 girls and boys done in May and June 2015 by development agencies, in coordination with the Government of Nepal, revealed that major concerns regarding the "well-being were grief and sadness at deaths of family members, friends, and acquaintances and a strong feeling of loss, fear, and other psychosocial impacts of the damage and destruction." (Idem, p. 22)

In order to reach out to communities at scale with psychosocial counselling support and entertainment-education, the radio program '*Bhandai Sundai*' (Talking-Listening) was initiated. While many of the community FM stations, which are an important source of information for communities in rural Nepal, were unable to broadcast because they had been damaged by the earthquake, the national broadcaster '*Radio Nepal*' was still broadcasting round-the-clock. It was the only means of information for people in remote areas of the country. People were constantly tuned into Radio Nepal to get more information on the situation as well as relief and response efforts. (Inter-Agency Common Feedback Project (2015), p. 18. 94% out of the 222 respondents of the rapid assessment done in July and August 2015 indicated to listen to radio.) As such, the station provided a unique opportunity to reach out to people at scale, within a week of the earthquake.

The programs quickly gained great popularity, and many calls could not be taken due to time constraints. Listeners across the earthquake-affected districts and beyond greatly benefitted from listening to the advice given by counsellors on the show as most of them were facing similar issues (Fig. 1). Thus, gradually the program turned into psychosocial counselling on a mass scale. Considering the inherent private and personal nature of counselling, the identities of all callers were kept confidential unless they wanted to identify themselves on-air. By targeting different audiences (Table 1), the program was successfully able to address the psychosocial concerns of children, women, and families who were otherwise outside the immediate reach of direct counselling services due to the devastating impact the earthquake had had on the physical infrastructure of the country. A survey conducted 1 year after the earthquake highlighted that the psychosocial benefit was ranking just behind information to relief assistance and knowledge around earthquakes, resulting in an overall recommendation to strengthen the role of communicating with communities in addressing trauma and psychosocial needs. (CDAC Network (2016), pp. 8 and 10).

Table 1 Format and audience of *Bhandai Sundai* program

Time	Duration	Audience	Content
Morning	30 min	All audiences	Situation updates and information on relief and response efforts of the government and development partners. An opportunity for people to call in and share their needs and concerns with concerned government authorities who would periodically participate in the show was provided
Afternoon	55 min	Women	Psychosocial support: Calls on the show were answered by trained counsellors who would provide counselling to callers to help them deal with their problems and trauma
Early evening	20 min	Children and adolescents	Psychosocial support and entertainment: During the show, children were encouraged to call and share their feelings with a trained adult, who would give them practical tips on how to deal with the situation. They were invited to sing songs, recite poems, share jokes, or simply talk to help them get a few lighter moments and get over the trauma. Occasionally popular celebrities and comedians would also be invited on the show to increase the entertainment quotient of the show
Evening	45 min	All audiences	Psychosocial support to everybody who wanted to talk to a trained counsellor to discuss the emotional issues that they were going through and find options to deal with their condition

Source: Author

Radio Nepal, being a credible government body, also helped ensure accountability to affected populations by directly calling concerned government authorities on getting grievances from affected communities in order to address them at the local level. The program also helped disseminate information and critical lifesaving messages and content on health, nutrition, water and sanitation, education, and child protection. Around 13,300 min of on-air psychosocial counselling, key lifesaving messages and information were provided to listeners through the '*Bhandai Sundai*' radio program.

The program steadily turned into a very strong platform to promote initiatives such as the *Back to School Campaign*, *Nutrition Week*, and the *Cash transfer scheme* (For more information, please see: https://www.unicef.org/media/media_82139.html, https://www.thelancet.com/journals/langlo/article/PIIS2214-109X(15)00184-9/fulltext, https://www.unicef.org/evaldatabase/index_100594.html.) for earthquake-affected families belonging to certain disadvantaged groups. For instance, as part of the Back to School Campaign, 'mock classes' were organized on the show to help teachers and administrators understand the facilities and services that needed to be provided in schools and how they should carry out classes in the first few days after reopening of the school so that children could overcome their fears and slowly settle down in a child-friendly environment. Several telephone conversations and interviews were also carried out with district

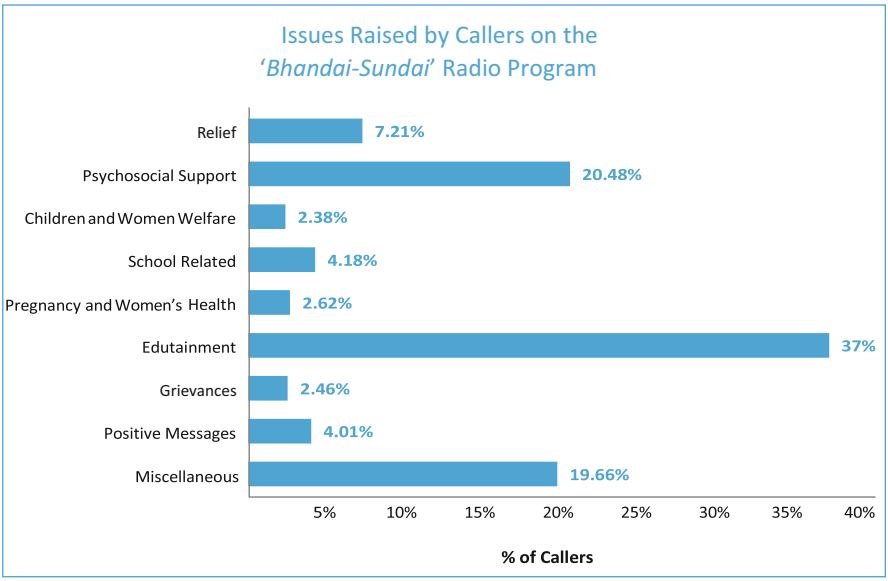

Fig. 1 Issues raised by radio audience. (Out of the 1200 callers, 68% were male and 32% were female. Although the number of female callers was lower than the male callers, an analysis of the calls revealed that many men were calling to discuss problems or issues related to their children or female members of their family. 61% of the callers were adults, whereas 39% were children. Miscellaneous included, among others, questions on rumors, other earthquakes or after-shocks, related to day-to-day life or support from government. Source: Author)

education officers, principals, teachers, parents, and students to discuss issues around reopening of schools including psychosocial and safety concerns.

Starting at a time when people were desperate for information and psychosocial support, the program was able to successfully reach out to people to satisfy both their information needs and requirements for emotional support. Further, it also created a conduit for community needs to reach duty bearers for taking necessary actions.

46.4 Mobile Edutainment Shows with Celebrities

Based on the positive response to the radio program and building on the popular brand name, '*Bhandai Sundai*,' a travelling 'edutainment' show titled '*Bhandai Sundai Gaon Gaon Ma*' '*Talking – Listening in villages*' was created.

Popular Nepali celebrities – comedians, magicians, singers and other performing artists (These included UNICEF goodwill ambassador Ani Choying Drolma, and other celebrities such as Jeetu Nepal, Kaliprasad Baskota, Komal Oli, Deepak Raj Giri, Deepashree Niraula and others.) – reached out to communities in remote areas with entertainment coupled with messaging on critical issues. The celebrities along with the messages that they carried were warmly received by people in much need

of entertainment to help them forget the traumatic experiences that they had been through. The celebrities reached out to the communities and camps in severely affected districts (Rasuwa, Nuwakot, Dhading, Gorkha, Ramechhap, Dolakha, Sindhupalchowk, Kavre, Sindhuli, Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur) and provided them entertainment along with lifesaving messages on health, nutrition, sanitation, hygiene, and child protection – through music, comedy shows, and other entertainment-based programs. The program received tremendous response from the people, drawing in huge crowds wherever it was organized.

46.5 Youth Engagement

To reach out directly to communities in most affected and media-dark areas with critical, lifesaving messages, UNICEF partnered with a youth organization – '*Yuwalaya*' – with strong district-based networks. Hundreds of youth volunteers went door to door, community to community, and also to camp sites to talk to people and provide information to keep them safe from disease outbreaks and other effects of the earthquake such as trafficking of women and children which dramatically increased after the earthquake. These face-to-face activities were valued especially for information exchanges and discussion. Further, young volunteers also demonstrated the use of essential rehabilitation supplies and distributed communication materials.

Involving young people from local communities in the outreach activities not only ensures appropriateness and acceptance of messages but also increases identification and creates a sense of ownership. Furthermore, engaging children and youth in the design and implementation of disaster risk reduction and preparedness plans will provide them with lifesaving messages before a disaster strikes and will support them in protecting themselves and their families. (Plan International, Save the Children, UNICEF, World Vision (2016), pp. 5 and 42ff.)

46.6 Recovery and Preparedness

From a long-term perspective, the SBCC goals in the recovery phase were to help families and communities better prepare for and respond to natural disasters with a focus on women's and children's issues and to positively impact knowledge, attitudes and practices.

Given the destruction of livelihoods as well as reduction in the protection and security provided by the family and community, children and young people were at an increased risk of sexual violence, gender-based abuses, human trafficking and unsafe migration. To empower young people and their communities to make informed choices that enable them to become more resilient during and after natural disasters, a SBCC program for '*Promoting Recovery and Resilience among Earthquake-affected Communities*' was designed based on the Socio-Ecological Model and implemented in select earthquake-affected districts. The capacities of civil society organizations, community-based groups and networks and young people

were built to disseminate critical information; track community perceptions and needs; develop community actions plans to address unsafe migration and human trafficking; create mechanisms for feedback generation and action by duty bearers and prepare communities for future disasters, reaching over 57,000 people.

With the aim to increase family and community preparedness for natural hazards, UNICEF designed and implemented an *edutainment* radio drama series '*Milan Chowk*' covering child survival and well-being and including episodes on health, nutrition, sanitation, education and protection. These were complemented with disaster risk reduction (DRR) messages around recurring types of natural disasters in the country. The drama, located in the imaginary village '*Milan Chowk*', was developed and broadcasted in Nepali and four widely spoken languages. It was supplemented by local content in local languages produced by 16 community radio stations from priority districts who benefited from mentoring and training. The local program capsules created community participation and ownership of the drama series and increased the effectiveness of the content. Audience feedback was generated through interviews with people from the community, so-called voxpops, group discussions held during the recap episodes, and focus group discussions (FGD) and key informant interviews (KII) held during the field and mentoring visits and fed back into the radio drama series.

46.7 Monitoring and Evaluation

The Common Feedback Project (CFP), (For further information, please see http://cfp.org.np/.) which was a member of the CWC and housed under the UN Resident Coordinator's office carried out communication assessments in collaboration with the CWC member organizations. These were carried out to understand communication needs that communities had, as well as preferences, barriers, and challenges that they were facing in accessing information. These assessments provided valuable information to UNICEF and partners to fine-tune the communication response as well as provided insights into the effectiveness of ongoing communication interventions.

The CFP also carried out community feedback and perception surveys as well as weekly rumor tracking surveys (In the initial phase, a lot of rumors where spread, including misinformation on other earthquakes, and related to government response and relief material. Reports are available on http://citizenhelpdesk.org/nepal-archive/ (previously: http://quakehelpdesk.org/).) in collaboration with Internews, Local Interventions Group, and Accountability Lab. Data from these feedback mechanisms helped inform communication efforts.

A third-party end-user monitoring system to monitor the effectiveness of the humanitarian response was established, which provided periodic reports on the performance of UNICEF emergency programs, including the SBCC initiatives. The feedback from the monitoring system helped understand program performance as well as implementation bottlenecks and course correct as required.

An independent evaluation of the UNICEF response which highlighted that the response succeeded in achieving the Humanitarian Performance Monitoring (HPM) target of reaching 1 million affected people. "The C4D (Communication for Development / SBCC) section was able as well through the CWC working group to harmonize and coordinate the messaging of different partners and different sectors. This resulted in raising the profile of communication with communities to a specific area of activity, with its own funding and objectives. Effectiveness and coverage have been outstanding."

46.8 Conclusion and Recommendations

The mega-earthquakes that struck Nepal in April and May 2015 were the biggest disasters to hit the country in a very long time. With the aim of better coordinating communication efforts among relief providers, UN agencies, international and national nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), civil society organizations (CSOs), media organizations, and community radio operators collaborated under a newly established '*Communication with affected Communities Working Group*' (CWC) in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake. The latter in collaboration with the government took a key role in providing situation updates and disseminating critical and timely lifesaving messages right from the onset of the emergency and help communities stay safe from aftershocks, clarify rumors, and recover from the effects of the earthquake.

A partnership with the main national broadcaster helped ensure accountability to affected populations by providing communities with a channel to give feedback to humanitarian responders on their concerns and needs. Intensive messaging through Nepal's widespread network of community radio stations coupled with community mobilization through youth volunteers and edutainment activities – especially in media-dark areas – ensured that affected populations had access to critical and lifesaving information. As highlighted by an external evaluation (DARA, 2016), this approach achieved significant results especially taking into account the inaccessibility of most areas. Given the increasingly high rate of mobile ownership and usage, sharing and collecting real-time information via an SMS-based technology is currently been looked into (Inter-Agency Common Feedback Project (2016), p. 12. 70% of the 2100 respondents indicated to have used the mobile phone immediately following the earthquakes. Sharecast (2017), p. 19. 67% of the respondents were listening to the radio on their mobile phones. However, special attention needs to be paid to reach women as across generations, significantly less women own phones than their male peers (22% difference for the 15–19-year-olds and 15% for the 20–24 year-olds), Government of Nepal, Ministry of Health (2017) pp. 322 and 323.).

Building capacities of community radio stations and CSOs on disaster preparedness and response can be a valuable investment so that they can prepare communities as well as immediately start local programs after a disaster. In the case of Nepal, two pilot projects were launched shortly after the

earthquake, strengthening the capacity of selected community radios and CSOs in hazard-prone areas in producing programs and conducting social mobilization activities on disaster risk reduction.

Much required, on-air psychosocial counselling helped people cope with their trauma. As consequences for children and women in emergencies are likely to be more severe, special programs were created addressing their needs and concerns. A strong focus should also be put on actively involving children living with disabilities in such programs. (UNICEF 2017a)

This interactive radio program as well as community perception surveys that were carried out through the CWC provided valuable feedback on the information and rehabilitation needs of communities. However, in the absence of a SBCC cluster, this feedback could not often reach clusters in a systematic manner. Further, information on the timeframe of response efforts such as supplies, equipment, or shelter could not be fed back to communities to the extent desired as information on these were not systematically available to the CWC partners. The CWC was activated after the emergency. Given the importance of having such a group as a preparedness measure and hence to push the preparedness and prepositioning agenda, the CWC was maintained. (Renamed into the '*Community Engagement Working Group*' (CEWG), the group got reactivated during the 2017 floods in the Terai region and acted as an important coordination mechanism for all humanitarian actors in Nepal regarding community engagement and SBCC.). As an external evaluation (DARA, 2016) summarizes the SBCC response, the "creation of the CWC working group, set up of feedback mechanisms, design of communication activities, harmonization of materials, and use of radio programmes for mass psychosocial counselling were all appropriate initiatives, some of them with an innovative approach that should be highlighted as elements of good practice."

The CCC underscores the critical role of preparedness for a rapid and efficient emergency response. (UNICEF (2010), p. 5) Having a contingency plan including specific agreements with partners for community mobilization and long-term agreements for needs assessments, monitoring and evaluation, material development, and media buying greatly helps in expediting the response during a disaster.

Concurrent monitoring, evaluation, and documentation help course correct as well as establish the added value of SBCC interventions for ensuring greater investments in SBCC human resources and program budgets.

In disaster-prone countries like Nepal, it is crucial that government and developing and implementing a comprehensive SBCC strategy to reach people with critical information for disaster risk reduction and emergency preparedness, at the same time as ensure accountability to affected populations by collecting feedback and inputs from at risk and affected people, providing platforms through which children, women, youth, and populations as a whole can communicate with duty bearers on their needs and concerns. Building resilience and capacities of communities by actively involving children, adolescents, and youth will help the society as general to help them better prepare and respond to future emergencies and protect the most vulnerable.

Disclaimer The information of this document expresses the personal views and opinions of the authors and does not necessarily represent UNICEF's position.

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Importing Innovation? Culture and Politics of Education in Creative Industries, Case Kenya

47

Minna Aslama Horowitz and Andrea Botero

Contents

47.1 Introduction: Development, Creative Digital Industries, and Innovation Education ... 862
47.2 Illustration: Case Kenya ... 863
47.3 Three Dimensions of Innovation in Education ... 865
47.3.1 *MACRO*: Development and Innovation in the Policy Context ... 865
47.3.2 *MESO*: Discursive Framing of Innovation ... 866
47.3.3 *MICRO*: Practices of Innovation Education ... 867
47.4 Redefining Innovation ... 868
47.5 Cross-References ... 869
References ... 869

Abstract

This chapter discusses the need to critically reframe the concept of innovation, especially regarding North-South development cooperation. The emerging discourse on the "Silicon Savannah" illustrates the situation: Eastern Africa is becoming more and more interesting to the Global North because of local technological innovations and emerging examples of locally inspired content that has begun to reach both local, regional, and global customers. This has evoked discussion on how ICTs, innovation, and entrepreneurship will form the core of bottom-up solutions for development. At the same time, training and mentoring programs tend to be designed to match the ideals of Western start-up

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culture, without broader regard to local practices. Given some of these conditions, it is fair to ask, "whose innovation?" This case study seeks to answer the question based on a case study on a creative industries' start-up incubation project in Kenya. The multi-method Living Lab study within the project (2014–2017) points to how different actors of innovation ecosystems can add value to the ecosystem and offer also value to participants through managing relationships with peers, clients, funders, and partners and thus creating new learning and development possibilities. At the same time, they tend to import Western start-up discursive culture and politics of innovation. This may be in contrast to other creative opportunities that are embedded in country- and region-specific cultural content and practices that might be overlooked. Using the case study as an example, the chapter highlights key tensions of definitions, policies, and practices of innovation and development.

Keywords

Innovation · Development policy · Digital creative industries · Discourses · Kenya · Living Labs

47.1 Introduction: Development, Creative Digital Industries, and Innovation Education

Communication for development has always had different dimensions, functions, and impact. They range from the perspectives of social relationships, of access to information and competencies, and of citizen participation to those of structures and institutions paramount for democracy and of international cooperation (e.g., Servaes 2008; Scott 2014).

In the second decade of the millennium, yet another approach seems to have entered policy-making and public discourses: that of communication as entrepreneurship. Innovation and creativity have become broadly used terms in many national development strategies. The creative industries concept in policy documents suggests added value, exports, and new jobs, implying a foundation of competitiveness. Innovation and creativity terms are used in development strategies worldwide and are included in policy documents of the UNDP, OECD, WTO, World Bank, and other large international organizations (Moore 2014).

In addition, ICT for Development (ICT4D) has evolved to broader discourses about social entrepreneurship, or the so-called Fourth Sector (e.g., Sabeti 2017), broadly referring to a variety of ventures that in some manner do good socially but also make money to sustain their operations. In tandem, due to growing digitalization, creative industries and related communication products and services have been hailed as some of the new areas that support sustainable development in the Global South (e.g., UNESCO 2012). Numerous actors involved in development, from UN programs to governments to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and corporate donors, have embraced ICTs and digital creative industries, as significant

contributors to social and economic development. A part of that strategy has been the rise of educational and entrepreneurial projects that are designed to enhance capacity for innovative products and businesses in the field.

Yet, the trend of innovation education as a part of development has at the same time evoked debates about how ICTs, innovation, and entrepreneurship can form the core of bottom-up solutions for development. Creating knowledge and skills in the Global South for participation in the global marketplace of digital creative industries seems to meet the needs of the ever-globalizing sphere of communication. At the same time, communication, training, and mentoring programs tend to be designed to match the ideals of Western start-up culture, without broader regard and engagement with local practices.

Based on a case study on a creative industries' start-up incubation project in Kenya, this chapter illustrates why asking "whose innovation?" should be key strategy when addressing communication for development projects. Using the case study as an example, the chapter highlights some of the key tensions of definitions, policies, and practices of innovation and development that these types of projects confront.

47.2 Illustration: Case Kenya

Eastern Africa is becoming more and more interesting to the Global North because of local technological innovations and emerging examples of locally inspired content that has begun to reach both local, regional, and global customers. This is also the case in Kenya. Several international rankings place the country among the ones on the rise (e.g., Digital Index 2015). Many technological innovations, such as the mobile banking system M-Pesa, and social innovations such as the crowdmapping system Ushahidi have been discussed and praised in the global media and, in many cases, have been exported to other regions. Innovators from the Global North, as well as numerous Western governments, have established and supported a variety of creative and entrepreneurial hubs and makerspaces (De Beer et al. 2017). These developments have given rise to the moniker of "Silicon Savannah" (e.g., Bright 2015) that refers to Eastern and Southern Africa.

With income levels rising, Eastern African countries and Kenya in particular are said to be on a path to become a middle-income country over the next 20 years or so. In the 2010s, Kenya's mobile phone penetration is already providing an infrastructural base for many new ventures. It is no wonder that foreign direct investment is increasing and with it innovation ecosystems that cater for local, regional, and even global markets. All these trends have thought to pave the way for growing more technologically oriented innovations as well as related cultural products and services. The pride in, and demand for, local cultural products in the region is in the rise, and this means new opportunities for digital creative industries in Kenya and elsewhere (Fleming 2015; Van der Pol 2014).

At the same time, research indicates that institutional support for cultural production and digital innovations has not developed with the same speed as the

developments in the country require. A major challenge for digital creative industries is that the bulk of the applicants for work are those without qualifications or experience: Many individuals learn the skills needed on their own, because of their passion for their field (ACRI 2012). There is also a need to increase the participation of women in these sectors to fully utilize the country's human resources (UNCTAD 2012). Finally, acclaimed innovations do not automatically translate into sustainable businesses: The skills of, and educational models for, entrepreneurship in cultural production need to be further developed (Okolloh 2012).

The case in point, the GESCI-African Knowledge Exchange (GESCI-AKE) program, aims to educate young people at the beginning of their creative industries' careers with new skills in digital animation, sound production, as well as game design. The program was initiated by the Global e-Schools and Communities Initiative, aka GESCI, an international NGO in Nairobi, Kenya. As the case is with many of the Kenyan and Eastern African innovation education projects and incubator hubs (De Beer et al. 2017; Marchant 2015), the work was funded partly by foreign donors, in this case the Foreign Ministries of Finland and Ireland.

The program followed a Living Lab participatory action approach that documents the processes from curriculum development to innovation team-building and showcasing. The Living Lab research was to inspire participatory practices that would feed into the concrete teaching modules of media skills, as well as incubate ideas for future start-up businesses for the participants and reflect on the results and future of the program.

GESCI's initial focus was in ICT4D. It was founded on the recommendation of the United Nations Task Force on Information Communication Technology, at the first World Summit on the Information Society (2003), with a mandate to assist governments in the socioeconomic development of their countries through the integration of technology for inclusive and sustainable knowledge society development. Today, GESCI supports ICT and education policy-making, as well as training of teachers, but also creates educational innovation programs for the disenfranchised youth. GESCI's African Knowledge Exchange (AKE) training program belongs to that sector of GESCI's work, with the purpose of combining culture and digital media technology. The program addresses the changing employment environment driven by new technologies in the context of growing youth unemployment.

The first GESCI-AKE projects, The Sound of the City (2014–2015) and GESCI-AKE Creative Media Venture (2016–2017), were pilots to develop this approach to development, digital creative industries, and youth. They offered training for Nairobi-based young creatives, by combining digital and creative skills, and project work, with start-up business model building and learning entrepreneurial tools. GESCI-AKE's training and enterprise model is in line with the trend that believes in local entrepreneurship as one of the most empowering, and cost-effective, solutions to local systemic problems of youth employment (Schoof 2006).

In practice, these projects trained entry-level digital media creators in three different fields: animation, game and app design, and sound design. Training was done in three phases: First came technology skills training, then apprenticeship, and lastly the so-called start-up incubation. These phases included several benchmark

projects: showcases, community events, roundtables, feedback and pitching sessions, as well as policy forums. The events were designed to discuss the results, progress, and insights from the projects made by participants with different stakeholders, the most important being policy-makers, educators, and industry representatives.

For most of its duration, the GESCI-AKE program employed the so-called Living Lab method, a participatory action research model in which innovation happens hand in hand with research (Feurstein et al. 2008). Living Labs have become a key tool in creative industries as well as in policy-making because they have radically mixed the roles of those who innovate. They involve user or client communities, not only as observed subjects but as cocreators (Higgins and Klein 2011). The goal was to examine how to facilitate engagement between mentors, students, digital creative industries specialists, researchers, and entrepreneurs. The secondary aim was to create new knowledge that can also be translated into policy recommendations, networking and partnership opportunities for support, and sustainability plans of the training and trainees beyond the project parameters. The Living Lab process included several methods and tools, ranging from background market and policy analyses to questionnaires, interviews, collaborative blogging, visual diaries, and participatory observation in different events. Other participants included the young creatives, their tutors and mentors, the GESCI management, as well as industry contacts and policy-makers from Kenya and the region.

47.3 Three Dimensions of Innovation in Education

Different iterations of innovation and development create challenges for digital creative industries and related education. These iterations of innovation and development can be seen in three different levels: the macro-level policy context, the meso (discursive) framing of the particular educational initiative, and the microlevel, practical reiterations of teaching innovation and pedagogy.

47.3.1 *MACRO*: Development and Innovation in the Policy Context

Organizations like GESCI operate not only in youth education in creative media but also in training, interacting, and advising teachers and policy-makers. In this case GESCI is an organization well informed by the macro-level policy goals, and it constantly interacts with Kenyan, and other African, innovation, ICT, and education policy-making as well as the related industries. Therefore, understanding the tensions requires a review of the Kenyan policy context for innovation and development.

Kenya has been hailed as one of the next hubs of technology and creative industry innovation. Specifically, cultural distinctiveness, very strong traditions, and flair across creative sectors including music, crafts, fashion, visual arts, and film define the centrality for creative industries for the economy in the region. At the same time,

there are significant challenges, including aversion to risk-taking and general entrepreneurialism. Policy-making around copyright is inconsistent, as is policy support in the field of education for creative digital industries. Digital literacy still needs to be supported, as must creative and entrepreneurial educational opportunities that are few and far between (Fleming 2015).

Kenya is addressing these challenges in several fronts. Its first innovation policy, the so-called Vision 2030 initiative (2008), is the national long-term development policy that aims to transform Kenya into a newly industrializing, middle-income country by 2030. The Vision comprises three key pillars, economic, social, and political. Science, technology, and innovation (STI) are thought essential to the vision (Ndemo 2015). This Vision 2030 has been practically parallel to Kenya's new cultural policy (Kenya 2009). In general terms, Kenyan policy-making has been geared toward protecting cultural products (e.g., copyrights). The challenges lie in the livelihood of cultural creators. For instance, the draft policy recommendations for the music industry illustrates numerous mechanisms, ranging from education to incentives and funding, that can be used to not only support but actively encourage creative industries (Kenyan Ministry of Sports, Arts and Culture 2015).

These developments follow recognizable patterns identified for developing innovation ecosystems in global economies. However, Kenya's wider socioeconomic context does not match the innovation model of the Global North or even those of the Asian digital economies. In Kenya, as in many other African contexts, it is international funders and other partners who are playing bigger roles in incubating innovation, much more than venture capital does. Multinational corporations have set up research and innovation labs in Kenya to expand their own reach while getting closer to the source of unique problems and markets (Marchant 2015; Ndemo 2015). The innovation ecosystem is thus created in collaboration with for-profit and not-for-profit local and international partners.

The policy context recognizes the gaps in meeting global standards in creative media education in terms of skills, as well as in terms of entrepreneurial training. At the same time, much of this education is currently tied to international actors: foreign universities, companies, and donors, with specific agendas. This is well exemplified in the case of the emergence of innovation hubs and training labs for digital skills. Already in 2015, the country hosted 23 different ICT hubs based on innovation and learning models well established in the Global North (Fleming 2015). The emergence of these hubs is the result of research efforts in Kenyan universities, yet many have developed co-funding and other sustainability mechanisms. In those cases, international funders, either countries or businesses, are key to the sustainability of these actors (Marchant 2015).

47.3.2 *MESO*: Discursive Framing of Innovation

The ambiguity in the macro-level between local needs, national policies, and global drivers of innovation is replicated also within the meso-level in GESCI-AKE. This does not, by any means, indicate that the programs would not serve an important

purpose and offer both skills training and innovation opportunities. Their experiences are illustrative of a shift that reflects the broader transformation in terms of development and communication. While GESCI started as an ICT4D-focused organization, GESCI-AKE works toward individual livelihoods and independent small business ventures.

This shift may come from the above-described global development and innovation discourses, as well as practices established in the Kenyan context at large. But GESCI-AKE's own experiences may also play a role. Indeed, the outcomes produced by participants of the 2016–2017 training are small ventures combining art and jewelry design or collaborating as freelancers in music production. The program even notes that the employment rate after the training is 100% and that some of that is self-employment. Hence, the core concept here is not local cultural products, but rather youth entrepreneurship.

It seems that the GESCI-AKE program itself has become the innovation product, rather than the framework in which its trainees learn skills and produce digital media innovations. It has transformed from organizing ICT and creative training for local youth to another innovation hub, a makerspace that facilitates meetings with investors and policy-makers. Sustainability of the existence of the programs (a key challenge for many innovation hubs in the region, CSBKE 2014) is incubated by their Living Lab approach and GESCI-AKE's multi-stakeholder policy forums.

47.3.3 *MICRO*: Practices of Innovation Education

The third tension arises at the microlevel of practices. In the GESCI-AKE, it involves between the above-described educational innovation and its concrete training curriculum. While it was clear that a significant amount of time was skill development and concrete team-building, the curriculum also entailed numerous segments that draw on typical product innovation and Western start-up practices.

GESCI-AKE has experimented with several strategies to turn the hub into an accelerator of promising start-ups. The curriculum framed entrepreneurial competences to mark a holistic training process, ranging from "opportunity-seeking behavior" to "taking calculated risks" and "self-confidence." Pitching sessions were prepared geared to help the teams gather investments. Some support was organized to help them think about business models. Discussions and training for mapping needs regarding protecting intellectual property rights were organized. Showcases of product prototypes and innovations were done in fancy hotels. The incorporation of some of these practices implied that the results of teamwork and their expected goals shifted. From the early idea of GESCI-AKE as a supportive environment for the emergence of small-sized creative ventures, a new purpose took shape, conceptualizing GESCI-AKE as an incubator or start-up accelerator. This manifested itself both in the abovementioned inserts into the training program and in the discourses about the program, including mentions of GESCI-AKE as a lab or a hub.

The initial purpose of the GESCI-AKE program placed emphasis on the underlying cultural ambition and on ventures as more open-ended aim for the

entrepreneurial activities that could emerge from the work of different teams. The first pilot did not include an "incubation" phase but rather a collaborative project phase. When the approach shifted to one, in which start-ups should be formed, should begin to make money, and should grow – and therefore would initially need funding and investment – some discrepancies emerged. The ideas and prototypes were not Silicon Valley-type technological innovations, but small-scale cultural products, ranging from modest synopsis of games to singer-songwriter endeavors and jewelry. The continued reinforcement of start-up discourse ended up generating conflicting expectations for participants and for some members of the collaboration network of the program.

In the course of its transformation from an ICT training program to a hub, GESCI-AKE transformed its young creatives to innovators – but with what impact? While it is too soon to tell how the start-ups formed within GESCI-AKE are making their mark in the Kenyan digital creative industries, GESCI's partners in industry, government, and civil society have been adamant in stressing the need for local content and opportunities for both for- and not-for-profit content creation. Recent research seems to back up the potential and urgent need as well (Bekenova 2016). Did the imported innovation discourse take over the local needs here as well?

47.4 Redefining Innovation

Does communication as entrepreneurship belong to the realm of communication for development and social change? Whose innovation is at stake here? Whose development is fostered via digital creative industries and their cultural products, as described in this case? The tension between global innovation discourse and local cultural appreciation is, in fact, expressed as an opportunity by many, ranging from market reports to policy decisions. On one hand, sub-Saharan Africa at large is seen as a vast market, and "Silicon Savannahs" are emerging, clearly indicating potential for international players. On the other hand, the reports on creative industries celebrate "Africa Rising" in terms of rekindled interest and modernization of local cultures, in ways that attract regional and international markets of creative industries. The role of culture has also been stressed globally as one of the key drivers of development, as expressed, for instance, by the United Nations Development Group: Cultural productions should "make an important contribution to poverty reduction, as a resilient economic sector that provides livelihood opportunities." In addition, "education strategies should aim to develop cultural literacy and equip young people with the skills to live in a multicultural and diverse society, in both economic and social terms" (UNDG 2014).

Yet, absent from this discussion is the discourse of innovation as a local, communal, grassroots phenomenon. Not everyone will build a tech empire or become a global music producer. There are many skills courses and foreign-sponsored innovation hubs. But how to educate and inspire creative media producers who can service local communities and make the difference that the UN is calling for: life skills, cultural appropriation, tolerance, and diversity?

The rise of social entrepreneurship as a business model is at least a discourse, if not yet universal model, that tries to address development, social change, and livelihood by small, local, concrete steps. There is clearly a political trend to favor and support activities, big or small, that position themselves as innovators of social value. This does require specific support system, most importantly including ongoing support networks and leadership training for young social entrepreneurs (see, e.g., Brixiová et al. 2014; Ndemo and Aiko 2016). Local and international investors are ever more keen on supporting local social innovation (UNIDO 2017). But even then, who sets the parameters and frames for what innovation needs to be?

The GESCI-AKE experience highlights ways in which some new actors in innovation education ecosystems can add value by providing young entrepreneurs new brokering relationships with peers, clients, funders, and partners, creating new learning and development possibilities. At the same time, it also exemplifies how it is that it is very easy to import Western start-up discursive culture as the global standard and, with it, market-driven politics of innovation – and similar policies of development. There is a need to continue questioning and redefining innovation and related innovation education and policies. Broadening the idea of innovation, its pedagogy, and its meaning for development and social justice would not only benefit Kenya but the global North and South alike.

47.5 Cross-References

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- ▶ Communication for Development and Social Change Through Creativity
- ▶ Empowerment as Development: An Outline of an Analytical Concept for the Study of ICTs in the Global South
- ▶ ICTs and Modernization in China
- ▶ Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Maternal Health in Africa
- ▶ New Media: The Changing Dynamics in Mobile Phone Application in Accelerating Health Care Among the Rural Populations in Kenya
- ▶ Political Economy of ICT4D and Africa

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Part VIII

ICTs for Development

ICTs for Learning in the Field of Rural Communication

48

Rico Lie and Loes Witteveen

Contents

48.1 Introduction 874
48.2 Historical Development of the Field 875
48.3 Learning 876
48.3.1 Theory-Based Approaches to Learning 876
48.3.2 Design-Based Approaches to Learning 881
48.4 Conclusion 886
References 887

Abstract

This contribution surveys learning approaches in the field of agricultural extension, agricultural advisory services, and rural communication and explores their relationships with Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). It makes a distinction between theory-based approaches to learning and design-based approaches to learning. The reviewed theory-based approaches are *social learning*, *experiential learning*, *collaborative learning,* and *transformative learning* and the design-based approaches are *visual learning*, *intercultural learning,* and *distance learning*. The choice for surveying these specific approaches is based on the relevance that these approaches have for the field of agricultural

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extension, agricultural advisory services, and rural communication. It is concluded that learning itself is to be seen as social and behavioral change and that the group is much valued in existing learning processes. Furthermore, experiences and reflections are central elements in all reviewed learning processes, and the visual and the cultural play crucial roles.

Keywords

Learning · ICTs · agricultural extension · agricultural advisory services · rural communication

48.1 Introduction

Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) cover a broad range from information leaflets and magazines to mobile communication devices with an outstanding role for radio, which has been and still is an important ICT in the agricultural sector in the so-called Global South. Agricultural advisory programs on television address large audiences in specific parts of the world and mobile phone applications have gained importance as a means of communication and information exchange in many parts of the world. ICTs have always been part of communication and information exchange in the field of agricultural extension, agricultural advisory services, and rural communication and is as such not an innovation by itself. What is new, in the past two decades or so, is that much attention has gone to so-called new ICTs as if the "T" in the abbreviation did not exist before the digital revolution. It seems limitedly recognized that e-agriculture, e-business, and e-health are becoming common terms to refer to electronic adaptations of existing concepts of knowledge exchange and learning. New ICTs claim to have the potential of easily spanning space and crossing time and reaching objectives never imagined before. Mobility and 24/7 access have created opportunities for innovative and impactful forms of communications and improved feedback qualities of communication channels.

These new features of ICTs have attracted and been given much attention. Their potential seems endless and unproblematic although currently more critical views are emerging especially in relation to the public sphere with recent Facebook scandals such as the role of Cambridge Analytica before the Brexit referendum and the Trolls used in the US electoral campaign of 2016. However, an important question that seems to be a bit under addressed is what the promising features of digital or new ICTs might mean for the quality of learning. Learning has been identified in Lie and Servaes (2015) as a central theme in communication for development and social change. Therefore, this contribution addresses the role ICTs (old and new) can play in learning in the field of agricultural extension, agricultural advisory services, and rural communication. It surveys different approaches to learning and reviews their relationship with ICTs. First, we will briefly address the historical development of the field of agricultural extension, agricultural advisory services, and rural communication and its relationship with media, ICTs,

and new ICTs in learning processes. Then the contribution continues with distinguishing different approaches to learning. The theory-based approaches to learning, which are discussed first, are the approaches that are most often referred to in the context of agricultural extension, agricultural advisory services, rural communication, and the role of ICTs. These are social learning, experiential learning, collaborative learning, and transformative learning. These forms of learning have often been put on stage when dealing with complex problems in the agricultural and rural sector. Second, the design-based approaches to learning are discussed. These are learning approaches that emphasize specific aspects of an operational form and content. The aspects, which are selected for review in this contribution, are the use of visuals in learning processes (visual learning), dealing with intercultural differences (intercultural learning) and crossing space and time through distance learning and e-learning. The design-related aspects have potential in contributing to improving the quality of learning in the field of agricultural extension, agricultural advisory services, and rural communication.

Learning in this contribution is fundamentally defined as change in cognition and/or behavior and concerns adult learning in formal and non-formal contexts. This change can be individual or collective as it, for instance, relates to groups, organizations and cultures. Social change, as well as behavioral change, is thus seen as forms of learning. Learning is positioned as ranging from establishing educational and capacity building environments, "training of trainers" (ToT) activities, vocational education and training (VET) to social and behavioral transitions (see also Lie and Servaes 2015).

48.2 Historical Development of the Field

The field of agricultural extension, advisory services, and rural communication has always been about communication and learning, but it has only been in recent decades that learning has been given explicit and increased attention. "How do people learn?" and "How can we best cater to the different learning styles of people?" became new questions pushing the field forward. Röling (1988, 1989), Chambers (1993), and others have been giving quite some attention to this central concern for learning in the field that we are discussing here. Pretty and Chambers (1993, p. 182 a.f.) even talked about a new "learning paradigm."

In the 1960s, the Training & Visit (T&V) system was the dominant approach within agricultural advisory services, but as this approach depended on regular output from the research system resulting in blueprint extension messages, as it was strongly top-down and required a costly system whereby extension agents were in touch with contact farmers only, the ambitions for "a green revolution" did not materialize in many types of contexts (Moris 1991). Contrary to T&V, the emerging Farmer Field Schools (FFSs) and other participatory advisory approaches built the analytical capacity of the farmers to encourage experiments to find more locally appropriate solutions. With the general known change in paradigmatic thinking about communication, the view on learning also changed. Where previously the

T&V system emphasized the transfer of knowledge, the FFSs emphasized the interaction and co-creation of knowledge. Learning came to be a social context related process of change. Against this background, attention rose for the importance of learning. For instance, in the 1990s, Röling and Wagemakers (1998) focused explicitly on learning processes as they relate to sustainable agricultural practices. They emphasized the importance of facilitating learning through participatory approaches and appropriate institutional support and policy structures. Leeuwis and Pyburn (2002) and Wals (2007) gathered many contributions in their edited volumes, which addressed various aspects of learning as related to rural resource management and sustainability. It is also in this context that especially "social learning" became the dominant approach to learning in the field of agricultural extension, agricultural advisory services, and rural communication.

As the field shifted its focus toward the study of agricultural knowledge and information systems (AKIS) (FAO & World Bank 2000; Röling 1989; Reijntjes et al. 1992) and agricultural innovation systems (Klerkx et al. 2010) (see also Lie and Servaes 2015), the increased attention for learning continued to grow (e.g., Beers et al. 2016; Van Mierlo et al. 2010). The publication by Leeuwis and Aarts (2011) is seen as a key publication in this process as it calls for a focus on networks, power, and social learning (see also Lie and Servaes 2015). Networks and learning relate and cannot be disconnected in our interpretation. It is seen as important that people connect and that in this connection shared learning ambitions arise. In collective action lies additional value for improving the quality of learning. Another trend is the renewed focus on ICTs. As the general ICT and mobile phone possibilities expanded exponentially, all kinds of ICTs also became part and parcel of the pallet of agricultural advisory services. Some ICT-based approaches created new ways of communication, but several others just adapt ICTs to modernized traditional communication styles to transfer knowledge. Mobile applications for all kinds of data collection and social media are now considered as new communication forms and are currently being explored and are becoming established in the field. Underlying the use of these applications are quests for understanding vital roles and possibilities of ICTs in learning processes for communication and information exchange in the field of agricultural extension, agricultural advisory services, and rural communication.

48.3 Learning

48.3.1 Theory-Based Approaches to Learning

This section surveys four approaches to learning: social learning, experiential learning, collaborative learning, and transformative learning. These approaches have been termed theory-based as they originate from the minds of theoretical thinkers in an academic context. They have not originated and developed specifically in an agricultural/rural setting but have been used widely in this field. This is the

reason why these approaches are discussed below. Some potentials of ICTs will briefly be addressed as to how they relate to particular learning approaches.

48.3.1.1 Social Learning

Social learning has been, and still is, one of the most influential theoretical learning approaches in the field of agricultural extension, agricultural advisory services, and rural communication. The essence of social learning theory lies in the importance of the social, collective context for learning. Learning is taking place under the influence of the environment in which the learning is taking place. Through directly observing the actions of others, through listening to stories of others, or, for instance, through role-plays, a model for aspiring behavior is constructed, which influences one's own cognition and behavior. On the one hand behavior is thus imitated; but on the other hand, learning is also based on constructing expectations based on earlier (social) experiences (cognitive learning). Based on understandings of these previous experiences combined with behavioral learning, people decide to act in a certain way in a certain situation and herewith are involved in a process of change.

Social learning theory originated from Bandura's work in the 1960 and 1970s (Bandura 1963, 1977) and has been picked up by many different scholars and practitioners since. A very useful addition to better recognize how people learn is made by Argyris and Schön (1978) and concerns the distinction between single, double, and triple loop learning. Single loop learning addresses the "what" and refers to learning outcomes such as recalling knowledge, copying behavior and applying rules. Double loop learning addresses the "how" by focusing on learning about the causes of problems; the reasons behind the way things are done as they are done. Double loop learning addresses the unknown and discovers and creates new knowledge and behavior, whereas single loop learning is about applying the known to solve problems or perfecting the way things are already done. Feedback and reflexivity play crucial roles in double loop learning. It is through these mechanisms that a deeper level of learning is reached and the "how" becomes known. Triple loop learning then refers to knowing the "why." If you know the "why" you can teach others and address the norms and values underlying second loop learning. "How do we think, behave, and learn?" "Why are we thinking in the way that we are thinking?" Seen in this way, triple loop learning is about culture. Culture underlies the assumptions and patterns of actions. Triple loop learning underlies transformational/transformative learning, which will be discussed later.

Another distinction often made is the difference between conceptual learning and relational learning (Pahl-Wostl 2006; see also Beers et al. 2016). Conceptual learning relates to knowledge and refers to changes in cognition, conceptual understandings, and ideas. Relational learning can be understood as networked learning (see also Kelly et al. 2017) through which change occurs in one's understanding about his or her own position in a network as well as of the functioning of the network as a whole.

An important distinction to better articulate that learning itself is social and/or behavioral change is the one made by Beers et al. (2016) between learning outcomes and learning impacts. Their point of departure is that learning takes place through

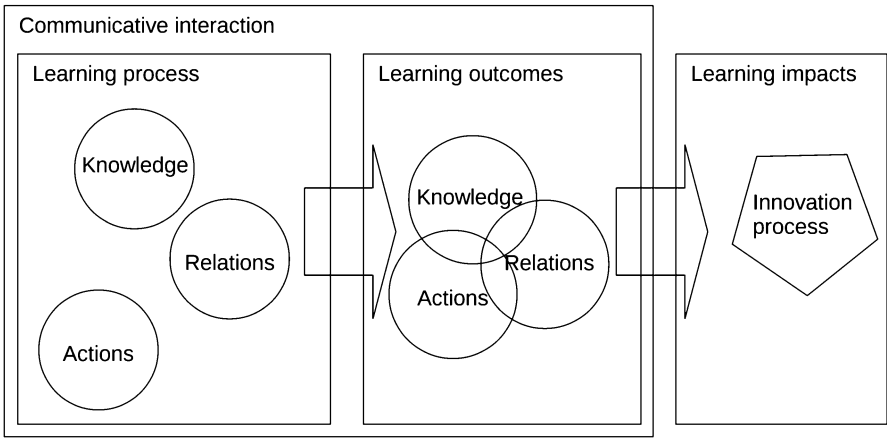


Fig. 1 Learning as a discursive process with interwoven knowledge, relations, and actions as align left outcomes

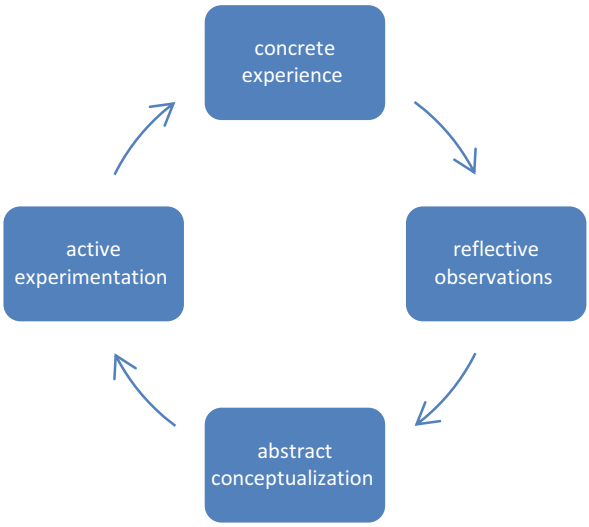
communicative interactions. They see learning as a discursive process and distinguish between knowledge, actions, and relations (Fig. 1). They emphasize that "during social learning, three dimensions of learning may become aligned: (1) new or changed knowledge (the what), (2) new or changed actions (the how), and (3) new or changed relations (the who)" (Beers et al. 2016). It is these three dimensions that become central in their view on learning. A learning outcome is then seen as a process of interweaving these three dimensions and an impact is the change achieved outside the discursive field of communicative interactions (see Fig. 1).

When it comes to ICTs, social learning theory has more than once been brought into relation with media and especially film (video) and television. The dominant thought here is that moving images can portray the behavior of socially desired models, for instance through soap operas. Besides this role of "model function" that television and film can play, ICTs also have the potential to bring people together and this is what is necessary for social learning. In these gatherings, feedback and reflection are key concepts and visually based ICTs can be strategically used to feed into the discursive process as an additional voice or portrayal of knowledge, actions, or relations.

48.3.1.2 Experiential Learning

The field of agricultural extension, advisory services, and rural communication deals with adult learning, individually or in groups, and learning is often not classroom based. Kolb's model (1984) is widely used within the field and describes an archetypal way in which people learn. Experience is the key word here. Learning is seen as a continuous interaction between observation and interpretation. Kolb distinguishes four different stages in a cycle of learning: a concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation (see Fig. 2).

Fig. 2 Kolb's learning cycle



Experiential learning builds heavily on social learning. It is often also addressed under the terms "learning by doing" and "discovery learning." The main characteristic of experiential learning is that concrete new experiences (obtained by doing and discovery) merge with previous experiences, and such an articulated process of merging leads to change. FFSs emerged from this basic idea about learning (Anandajayasekeram et al. 2007; Braun and Duveskog 2008; Van de Fliert 1993). FFSs create space for social interactions and observations of contemporary events in the field and thus create an appropriate environment for observing others (behavioral learning) and sharing experiences and sharing and co-creating knowledge (cognitive learning). The Digital Farmer Field School (DFFS) (Witteveen et al. 2016, 2017) is an endeavor to translate some of the principles on which the FFSs are based to an ICT environment. The DFFS offers a tablet-based digital learning environment for farmers and related service providers such as extension agents. The tablet comes with tailored (instructional) films (in a social learning mode) and other educational materials and learning modules, which are then linked to features like the camera function for documenting and sharing the field experiences such as the observation and documentation of pests and diseases. It also features a telephone function to interact with an extension back-office. Besides being based on the FFS learning principles, the digital interface was also designed following the principles of responsible innovation (Stilgoe et al. 2013).

48.3.1.3 Collaborative Learning

An important aspect that is emphasized throughout the field, and which to a certain extent also underlies social learning, is the importance of the group in learning processes. A group can accomplish things beyond the capabilities of an individual, and collaborative learning, cooperative learning, team learning, multi-actor learning, networked learning, and group learning all recognize this by emphasizing collective

characteristics of learning. They all share the basic idea that the old paradigm of "teacher/expert vs. student/layman" needed revision. Group interactions within Communities of Practices (CoPs), stakeholder platforms, teams, and all kinds of configurations of workable groups of people, with eventually different roles but somehow similar status, are now seen as being valuable in themselves and as having a positive influence on the process and impact of learning. Another characteristic that they all share is the view that meaning is constructed in social interaction. It is also generally accepted that this social construction has greater learning potential within heterogeneous groups than in homogenous groups. Collaborative learning is defined by Laal and Laal (2011) as "an educational approach to teaching and learning that involves groups of learners working together to solve a problem, complete a task, or create a product." Collaborative learning seems to act as an umbrella term for other group-based learning strategies. Cooperative learning can then, for instance, be seen as a specific kind of collaborative learning and is defined as "the instructional use of small groups to promote students working together to maximize their own and each other's learning" (Johnson et al. 2008).

Two concepts that stand out when discussing the importance of the group in processes of learning are "system interactivity" and "continuous reflexivity." System interactions need to be understood from a system's perspective on learning in which the value of interactions is recognized as having an important impact on learning. Within a system, learners are responsible for each other's learning as well as for their own learning. They are accountable and have responsibility towards themselves, towards each other, but also towards the whole, the functioning of the group itself. Interactions thus come with interdependencies. The basic principle here is that people depend on each other, also for their learning. How learners act with each other requires facilitation and the facilitator plays an important role in the functioning of the learning system as a whole. Learners actively participate in the group dynamics and construct the group process.

Reflexivity has already been briefly touched upon when discussing social learning and experiential learning, and it could as well be discussed under the next heading of transformative learning. Reflexivity has a central position and plays a crucial role in all forms of learning being applied in the field of agricultural extension, agricultural advisory services, and rural communication as discussed in this contribution. Although Kolb's interactional view on observations and interpretations implicitly incorporates reflection, it has been one of the critiques on Kolb's learning cycle that he did not give enough attention to reflection in his model (Boud et al. 1985; Smith 2010). Reflexivity relates to rethinking, taking a step back, overlooking the situation, and deciding about how to continue. Awareness is a fundamental condition for reflexivity. One cannot reflect without being aware and this going back and forth between observations and interpretations through reflections is the core of reflexivity. Elzen et al. (2017) following Beck, Giddens. and Lash (1994) make a distinction between reflexivity and reflection and see reflexivity as a social condition, whereas reflection refers to "reflecting at the deeper level of issues, the underlying assumptions and values" (Elzen et al. 2017, p. 245). Reflexivity is thus seen as a condition for learning (b.t.w., Elzen et al. (2017) also conceptualize it as an outcome of learning) and reflection is seen as an activity in a learning process.

48.3.1.4 Transformative Learning

Learning is bringing about change and transformative learning addresses a particular kind of change; a transformational change. Transformational change is based on a holistic perspective on change and incorporates a strategic choice for a systems change and thereby links to triple loop learning. It concerns a change in fundamental principles, underlying norms and values, and deeply rooted cultural perspectives and beliefs, focusing on questioning, imagining, and achieving radically changing routines or establishing something completely new or revolutionary. The difference between transformational change and transitional change is that transitional change replaces a practice or a condition that already exists and aims to improve the existing situation by adjusting it. Improvement and adaptation does not always require a fundamental change in norms, values, and mind-sets and when such change is not the case, it is common to talk about transitional change. Transformational change, on the other hand, does require a fundamental change, which, at the start of the transformational learning process, is open and unknown. Such learning processes align when dealing with complex problems, articulating the low predictability of future scenarios and the expected frictions or conflicts in the diverse knowledges participating in the process. One doesn't know the future outcome and needs to be flexible and adaptive during the process to be able to deal with the uncertainties, which are encapsulated in the learning process.

Mezirow is widely acknowledged as the founding father of transformative learning (1978, 1991, and 2009). To be able to change people's worldviews, Mezirow argued that people needed to be confronted with "disorienting dilemmas." Disorienting dilemmas do not fit people's existing mind-set and worldview and therefore need to be changed to be able to deal with them (see also Howie and Bagnall 2013). Other authors refer to this as "learning on the edge" or "positive dissonance." "Critical reflection" (Mezirow 1990) in a collaborative setting plays an important role in dealing with these dilemmas (see also Smith 2017). It is through confrontation – between people and between worldviews – that people learn. Transformative learning is in fact a form of experiential learning and depends on collaborative learning (see for instance Percy 2005). Collaborative learning processes in its turn is necessary to bring about transformational change. To be able to change people's frames of reference, a social learning approach, in which the social context is emphasized, is helpful to make the transformational change happen.

It is again the group that plays an important role and it is also for that reason that transformative learning formed part of the theoretical lens in the study by Taylor, Duveskog, and Friis-Hansen (2012) that explored the practice of FFSs in East Africa. But, ICTs also have the potential of bringing people together without being physically in the same room and the previously discussed DFFS is an example of that. ICTs also have the potential to offer disorienting dilemmas and offer a platform in which reflection can be facilitated.

48.3.2 Design-Based Approaches to Learning

This section surveys three design-based approaches to learning: visual learning, intercultural learning, and distance learning. In contrast to the discussed approaches

above, these approaches are design-based as they do not fundamentally discuss the theoretical groundings of learning, but instead theorize design aspects of learning processes in the field of agricultural extension, agricultural advisory services, and rural communication. These design aspects relate to crossing boundaries. Visual learning crosses boundaries between people with different learning styles and searches to overcome and challenge boundaries between literacy and illiteracy. Intercultural learning crosses cultural boundaries and distance learning crosses boundaries of time and space.

48.3.2.1 Visual Learning

Visual Learning is one of the learning styles that Fleming distinguished in 1987 in his VARK model of learning. VARK stands for Visual, Aural, Read/write, and Kinesthetic and makes a distinction between the associated modes of learning or learning styles. Visual learning can be considered as demonstrating a particular modal preference for learning (Fleming and Baume 2006). Other authors focus on visual learners preferring learning with visual media such as colors, spatial organizations, (mind) maps, diagrams, drawings, photos, films, and so forth. Visual learning in such views leads to visual literacy as a skill and a reinforced preference for certain learning styles but also refers here to learning with visual media.

In this context, as far as visual literacy is concerned, Pratish (2006, p. 13) states that visual literacy refers to the competency to:

- Understand the subject matter of images.
- Analyze and interpret images to gain meaning within the cultural context the image was created and exists.
- Analyze the syntax of images including style and composition.
- Analyze the techniques used to produce the image.
- Evaluate the aesthetic merit of the work.
- Evaluate the merit of the work in terms of purpose and audience.
- Grasp the synergy, interaction, innovation, affective impact, and/or "feel" of an image.

Pratish further claims that visual literacy "involves problem solving and critical thinking and these can be applied to all areas of learning" (2006, p. 15) (see also Witteveen 2009, p. 4 a.f.). In the current digital age, visual literacy is a competence that is of crucial importance to read digital images and to be able to navigate through digital visual landscapes.

The other area of visual learning is using visual methods in learning processes and a variety of visual media (which contents of audio-visual ICTs in fact are). Visual methods are widely used in agricultural extension and advisory services. Video mediated learning is one of the forms of visual learning in which visuals are used for learning. Video and film have, in the past two decades, become often used in the field of agricultural extension, agricultural advisory services, and rural communication. In 2009, Lie and Mandler made an inventory of how film and video were used in rural development and one of the areas that the book refers to is the use of

instructional videos (e.g., by organizations such as Digital Green, Video Volunteers, and Access Agriculture). In the past ten years, many studies have been conducted to get more grip on how video can be used (e.g., Bentley et al. 2015; Chowdhury et al. 2011) and how it connects to social learning (e.g., Karubanga et al. 2017). "The power of using film lies in its appropriate character and its multi-modal form of communication, and can be effective, especially in illiterate and low educated environments (e.g., Bentley et al. 2016)" (Wyckhuys et al. 2017).

Another field that is addressed in Lie and Mandler (2009) is learning about complex problems exemplified with the use of Visual Problem Appraisal (VPA). VPA is a film-based learning strategy that uses filmed narratives in collaborative learning about complex problems such as HIV/AIDS, coastal zone management, and rural livelihoods (Witteveen and Lie 2012, 2018). The essence here is that learning about a complex problem takes place by listening to, and relating to each other, the stories of various stakeholders who have a stake in a complex problem. The "system interactivity" and "continuous reflexivity," as discussed under collaborative learning, play a central role in the VPA learning strategy. Participants in the VPA workshops work in small groups of about four people and form a systemic learning unit through continuous interactivity and reflexivity. In addition, the system approach to the complex problem is being emphasized by the totality of the narratives of the various stakeholders. Complex problems can only be managed in an adaptive way as the different perspectives, which together are part of a system, are given a voice and are being heard. VPA gives a voice to these various perspectives and enhances learning in a collaborative way.

48.3.2.2 Intercultural Learning

One of the critiques on Kolb's model is that it takes very little account of different cultural experiences/conditions (Anderson 1988; Smith 2010). "As Anderson (1988, cited in Tennant 1996) highlights, there is a need to take account of differences in cognitive and communication styles that are culturally-based" (Smith 2010). Culture has indeed hardly been touched upon in the field of agricultural extension and rural communication. Even though understanding the role of culture is fundamental in implementing effective extension and communication, culture has not been given the attention that it should have been given in extension and education.

Intercultural learning, as a concept, is difficult to grasp and is broadly defined here as "a process of learning in which the role of culture is emphasized" (Lie and Witteveen 2013, p. 22). Culture always plays a role in learning. Culture is a collective phenomenon, so especially in collaborative forms of learning, which recognize culture as a determining factor, it plays an important role. In Lie and Witteveen (2013) we distinguished two different modes of intercultural learning: a sociopsychological mode of intercultural learning and an ethnographic mode of intercultural learning. The sociopsychological mode takes place in an etic way, reduces complex situations to known and identifiable variables, centralizes the individual in his or her learning about the other, emphasizes first loop learning, is short-term, and treats culture to be a context of human behavior. The ethnographic mode, on the other hand, takes place in an emic way, treats complexity as being a

complex whole, values collectivity, values learning in a participatory way with the other, emphasizes second and third loop learning, is long-term, and treats culture as being text instead of context. Understanding the differences between the two modes makes us better understand how people learn in an intercultural setting. The two modes are complementary but develop differently over time. People often start learning in the first mode and over time the second ethnographic mode gains position.

Intercultural learning can be an essential part of transformative learning and touches upon aspects of triple loop learning. Intercultural learning is concerned with underlying norms and values. Transformative learning focuses on changing norms and values, but intercultural learning can also concern learning about all kinds of topics from a specific cultural perspective (conscious or unconscious). In group learning processes different cultural perspectives come together. In the field of agricultural extension and advisory services, people have to cross disciplinary cultural boundaries too. Farmers have a different culture as compared to policy makers, and extension officers have a different culture as compared to academic researchers. Recognizing and valuing these cultural differences has a positive influence on learning. Intercultural competence, which includes cultural sensitivity, is thus an important competence to acquire. Besides differences in disciplinary cultures, people can also have different culturally-related learning styles. These styles can, for instance, differ in relation to views on hierarchy, gender roles, recall capabilities, etc. Intercultural learning deals in one way or the other with diversity (e.g., UNESCO 2009).

48.3.2.3 Distance Learning

Distance learning can broadly be defined as learning away from a physically located (often formal) educational setting, like a university, a school building, or any other educational institution. Because of this spatial disconnection, distance learning is by definition connected through ICTs. Internet, e-learning, online education, MOOCs, and "synchronous learning and asynchronous learning" are all characterized by the use of ICTs of any kind. All the above terms might not all be falling strictly under the umbrella of distance learning (especially not in the traditional meaning of so-called correspondence courses), but the term distance learning nicely captures the ability of ICTs to cross distances of time, space, costs, and cultures. Distance learning thereby offers a playground to experiment and study a deliberate strategic use of ICTs, which can be overlooked or not recognized as such in place-based education.

ICTs in learning offer advantages that connect to crossing spatial and other boundaries. These include, among others, the following:

- ICTs can facilitate access to education (overcome space, time and finances).
- ICTs can create virtual learning environments.
- ICTs can facilitate individual learning as well as collaborative learning.
- ICTs can facilitate that the pace and form of learning can be defined by learners.

- ICTs can include varying combinations of content and cater for different learning styles.
- ICTs can be designed with benefits for low literate learners.
- ICTs offer wider options for using visual and film-based learning strategies.
- ICTs can cross cultural borders and facilitate intercultural learning.
- ICTs can create functional distance towards to subject of learning (e.g., film can show sensitive topics by letting people tell their story in a mediated encounter).

The above mentioned advantages can be put in a different perspective upon reviewing the so-called bold experiment in American Samoa (Schramm et al. 1981) where teachers were replaced by television sets. It was assumed that presenting the same content in the same way to all learners could enhance and level the learning experience. Although replacing teachers in the classroom with television sets is not distance learning, under the given definition above, it shows a valuable lesson for distance learning—namely, that a facilitator in person is essential for maintaining a high quality of learning. Even for relatively simple online discussion lists, moderators are important to observe and safeguard the appropriateness and the general working of the discussion list. In the beginning of distance learning there was a central focus on and a high belief in communication technology and the assumed ability for complete stand-alone learning configurations. In more recent years, also because of the success of The Open University, there is far less focus on technology and more focus on ways and qualities of learning.

Hybrid forms of learning have been introduced in the past two or three decades. Blended learning and flipped learning ("flipping the classroom") combine online and offline formats of learning, which somehow combine "traditional" classroom teaching approaches with out-of-the-class formats. Flipping the classroom is built on ideas of flipping or reviewing taxonomies of learning (e.g., Anderson et al. 2001) ensuring that more complex (cognitive) learning activities take place in the classroom and less complex tasks at home. Flipped classrooms are very specific in this by asking learners to watch an e-learning video (an instructional clip) or complete an online exercise before coming to class. This somewhat trendy interpretation of flipping the classroom meaning that "homework" tasks are presented as video recordings or other digital formats can again represent an example of framing ICTs as "new," whereas the underlying learning principles are overshadowed by new technological developments; in the case of flipping the classroom, it is built on an already existing idea of expanding the classroom to home.

The major point to make here is again, a lack of focus on the potential contribution of ICTs in a setting of combined lecturer-guided classroom session and individual homework activities. To begrime the scenario further, it deserves attention to question the feasibility of a lecturer eventually carrying a responsibility to produce a series of videos as preparations for classroom activities. If it is not about producing the videos, then the selection of visual material from a wealth of options might be time consuming. In the worst scenario, an overloaded lecturer with no qualifications, expertise, or interest has to produce videos, which leave him / her without resources for further teaching preparations. Reviewing flipped classroom evaluation creates an

impression that the term attracts and motivates certain groups of teachers to rethink and innovate their teaching strategy, combining classroom activities and homework in a more coherent learning process.

Flipping the classroom is very much related to formal education, but in the field of agricultural extension and advisory services, forms of blended or hybrid learning can also be found. For instance, distance learning in the field of development in the Global South still involves radio as a main means of communication, but through a blended learning strategy radio was combined with FFSs to attend to skills and knowledge about cocoa farming with farmers in Sierra Leone (BBC Media Action 2005). Another example is provided by researchers from Johns Hopkins University who conducted research into the potential of blended learning models to reinforce learning and application of knowledge for health professionals. The researchers concluded that blended learning is an important strategy for reaching health professionals in lower- and middle-income countries (Ahmed et al. 2017).

48.4 Conclusion

A first conclusion that can be drawn from the above presented survey of approaches to learning is the basic understanding that *learning itself is social or behavioral change*. Learning not only leads to social and behavioral change but is the change process itself. Learning and change are integrated. This is an important perspective to incorporate in designing rural learning interventions, and Beers et al. (2016) made it clear by making a distinction between learning outcomes and learning impacts. The learning process and the learning outcomes together are to be seen as communicative interaction (see Fig. 1). The process and outcomes of learning are thus to be seen as social and/or behavioral change and this change leads to impact.

What further stands out from the review is *the value of the group* in adult learning processes. The group, but also the social environment and the network, contribute in a positive way to the quality of learning. Collaborative learning is indeed a much-valued approach to learning in the field of agricultural extension, agricultural advisory services, and rural communication. Relational learning is then about learning about one's own position in a social functional whole. It is also here that the system approach to learning comes into play. System approach means that the whole is considered and that interdependencies in learning processes are not only taken into account but are also seen as adding value to the learning process itself. The emphasis is on social construction.

A third point that stands out is *the centrality of experiences and reflexivity*. Kolb's experiential learning and Mezirow's transformative learning have both emphasized the importance of experiences, and reflections and reflexivity is widely seen as an important condition for collaborative learning. Having many experiences is a strong asset in adult learning processes. Experience is the key word in experiential learning, and old and new experiences lead – by the act of reflecting – to learning. Learning can therefore be seen as an interactive play between experiences and reflections and

between observations and interpretations. Reflexivity is to be seen as a condition for learning.

A fourth point is that *the visual and the cultural play crucial roles* and that there is a need for addressing these aspects explicitly. In this contribution, the visual and the cultural aspects have been operationalized as design aspects of learning. Calling these aspects "design" feels a bit arbitrary as they could as well be theoretically explored. However, fact is that these two aspects have been undervalued in designing learning interventions in the field of agricultural extension, agricultural advisory services, and rural communication, whereas they do play a decisive role. Visual learning has its merits as visual literacy is becoming of increased importance in the current digital age. In addition, it can be concluded that visual ICTs – especially film and video – have a huge potential in learning processes. The case of the flipped classroom described in the section on distance education can be interpreted as a recent example of continuous fashionable uses of new technologies whereby underlying learning theories are easily deleted from educational designs.

How then are these four concluding points on learning and change related to the use of ICTs? The challenge is to create innovative learning strategies and learning environments, which are based on theories of learning and make use of the potential of new and old ICTs. In this regard, it is important to have a basic theoretical understanding about how people learn before engaging in designing, developing, and applying ICTs. The challenge is indeed not to center the technology. Simply wrapping existing strategies in innovative new technological designs is likely to underestimate the full potential of possibilities for learners, learning facilitators, and involved institutional arrangements. The focus should first and foremost be on articulating the guiding principles of the learning and change process and every professional and academic should have a vision on learning before taking ICT-based actions. Considering agricultural and rural learning needs in a contemporary context of climate change adaptation, increasing conflicts over resources, and issues of rural-urban and international migration as characterized by a sense of urgency, demands full attention on the smart use of available learning resources. Conceptualizing motivation, time, and other human capitals for learning as an ever-scarce resource instigates the notion that learning processes have to constitute a meaningful praxis of learning and learning facilitation. A further recognition of ICTs integrating a concise learning theory, creative design, and appropriate development carries the ambition to create a wider access and enhanced participation of rural learners in learning processes, which links to their rural realities and may influence their futures.

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How Social Media Mashups Enable and Constrain Online Activism of Civil Society Organizations

49

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Contents

49.1 Introduction 892
49.2 Social Media and Activism 894
49.2.1 Beyond a Human-Centered View of SM Use 894
49.2.2 Connective Affordances of SM 895
49.2.3 Instantaneous and Integrative Content Sharing as Means for Connective Action 897
49.3 Digital Activism in Tunisia 898
49.4 Hashtags and Mashups: The Ordering and Disordering Role of Non-human Actors for CSO Activism 900
49.4.1 Integrative Content Sharing 902
49.4.2 Instantaneous Content Sharing 903
49.5 Future Directions 905
49.6 Conclusion 907
49.7 Cross-References 907
References 907

Abstract

Activists of civil society organizations often use social media (SM) to organize and achieve social change by sharing content across different SM technologies. These technologies themselves can be understood as non-human actors that crucially influence how activists share content and organize. This chapter focuses on how the sharing of content, which is shaped by the interplay between human

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and non-human actors, results in mashups, i.e., mutable interactions that emerge from disparate locales. Based on affordances theory and an ethnographic study, this chapter investigates how these mashups influence activist organizing of two civil society organizations. The study shows how the human-technology interplay that rests on the feature of "exporting" and "importing" content across SM connects various actors and interactions. The study furthermore shows the role and agency of non-human actors (algorithm-driven hashtags) in creating mashups and shows how these mashups can develop ordering and disordering effects.

Keywords

Social media · Digital activism · Mashups · Organizational theory · Connective affordances

49.1 Introduction

Social media (SM) are computer-based tools (such as websites and apps) that people use to create and share content with other people and organize collectively (McKenna et al. 2017). SM are important for connective action, i.e., a new form of collective engagement, whereby multiple actors come together spontaneously and informally, even if they do not all equally identify with a common cause, and engage in co-participation and co-production of content (Bennett and Segerberg 2012; Vaast et al. 2017). Civil society organizations (CSOs) are increasingly using these technologies in their efforts to promote social change by mobilizing and engaging large and loosely connected crowds (Lee and Chan 2016). Research has looked at the effects technologies have on the way people organize (for a review see Leonardi and Barley 2008; Leonardi et al. 2012). Much of the work looking at SM affordances (i.e., the relations linking the capabilities afforded by technology interactions to the actors' purposes) has extensively examined the ways in which SM affect technology-organization relationships (Treem and Leonardi 2012) and the interdependent roles of different actors that these technologies create (Vaast et al. 2017). However, the emphasis is typically placed on how actors use *one SM technology at a time* (Leonardi et al. 2013, emphasis added). As a result, there is only little known about what happens when multiple SM are used at the same time.

Furthermore, current studies usually assume that the actors in SM networks are humans. This chapter argues that more attention needs to be paid to how non-human elements, such as algorithms, play an increasingly important role in information diffusion and organizing processes, i.e., selecting what information is considered relevant to individuals for coordinating organizational tasks (Scott and Orlikowski 2014; Gillespie et al. 2014). Particularly, when SM technologies are used at the same time, these algorithms affect how different technologies interact with each other and consequently how human actors organize. Recent studies show, indeed, that algorithms change the way humans interact and organize when they are using hashtags (i.e., linguistic markers preceded by the dash sign #). One such example is the

hashtag #LasVagasShooting that was used to share news and information about a mass shooting that took place in Las Vegas (Abbruzzese 2017). While it may seem like an innocent typo that can be discarded (LasVagas instead of LasVegas), it represents a larger problem. Such mistakes can lead to big misinformation problems when algorithms are involved and even cause the system to help spread easily disproven information. The algorithm takes into account, on the one hand, the number of tweets that are related to the trends when ranking and determining trends. On the other hand, the algorithm groups together trends and hashtags if they are related to the same topic. For instance, #MondayMotivation and #MotivationMonday may both be represented by #MondayMotivation (Twitter 2017). While Twitter does have some human oversight of its trends, both employees and users have little power to make changes – even correcting a misspelling since it is the algorithm that decides which hashtags will be trending (Abbruzzese 2017).

In addition, the same hashtags are often used on different SM platforms, thereby connecting interactions across platforms, which results into mashups (i.e., freely mixed and combined content, Yoo 2012). While mashups can be central to organizing by connecting platforms, actors, interactions, and content, there is still little knowledge of the subsequent implications for connective action (Bennett and Segerberg 2012). For a richer understanding, this study will explore how both human and non-human elements create mashups through the sharing of content (i.e., clustering mutable interactions that connect with each other across large communities, Asur and Huberman 2010).

To shed light on these processes, this chapter builds on complementary approaches from affordances literature and organizational communication studies (Leonardi et al. 2013). These approaches, which are well-established in the social sciences research tradition, were adopted because they work specifically within a relational and performative ontology and help us examine how human and non-human elements form a social and material nexus that is constitutive of organizing. Accordingly, in this study SM interactions are conceptualized to be created by both humans (SM users) and non-humans (i.e., algorithm-based hashtags). The analytical focus is on material agency, which allows to show that action and agency are not human beings' privileges but that humans are acted upon as much as they act. Such an approach would neither overplay technology's effects (seeing it as primarily deterministic) nor underplay its pliability (seeing it as primarily subject to human interpretations and intentions), and it would neither black-box the dynamics and entailments of technology nor diminish its workings and effects in the world (Scott and Orlikowski 2014). With this theoretical lens, the chapter identifies connective affordances that appear when SM are used in the same time and the implications of these affordances for the everyday organizing of fluid collectives.

In short, this chapter proposes that due to distributed agency, SM afford content sharing in uncontrollable manners, and because they do, SM introduce new forms of collective engagement (Bennett and Segerberg 2012). As it is discussed next, content sharing enables and constrains organizing, by introducing both order and disorder for the organizing processes. Disorder occurs when digital interactions exceed authors' full control as they leave the initial context of their creation and have

negative effects for collective organizing. This happens, because digital interactions have the capacity to produce unprompted actions and collective coordination across large, varied, and uncoordinated audiences (Yoo 2012).

In sum, this chapter provides insight into the ordering and disordering effects of SM use and shows how both human and material agency shape connective action. It thereby sheds light on the hybrid use of SM, whose interrelations, implementations, and outcomes are not yet fully understood (Fulk and Yuan 2013). The chapter proceeds as follows: first it is discussed that, despite emerging studies on non-human agency in SM, a tendency to focus only on humans prevails in existing research. Then the connective affordances of SM are introduced, and it is shown how these enable forms of content sharing with both ordering and disordering effects. After describing the ethnographic methods and analytical steps employed, the chapter presents a case study that shows the implications of multiple SM use in two CSOs. Lastly, the chapter concludes by discussing the limitations of the study, which acts as a springboard for a brief future research agenda.

49.2 Social Media and Activism

49.2.1 Beyond a Human-Centered View of SM Use

There are many actors on SM that interact in far-reaching social networks, such as Twitter and Facebook. In social network studies (Wasserman and Faust 1994), the actors of networks ("nodes") are thought to be human beings that are connected through ties, such as friendships. For instance, studies on the impact of social influence on product adoption and content generation on SM platforms emphasize the human aspect of actors by conceptualizing them as individuals/people (e.g., Aral and Walker 2014). Also, in organization and communication studies, SM are typically considered to be tools used by humans for organizing processes, such as recruitment, mobilization of resources, and more generally the promotion of social change (Dobusch and Schoeneborn 2015). SM are then often understood as instruments that individuals use to disseminate information and create community engagement. In social movement studies, for example, actors are considered to be users that protest authoritarian regimes or use SM instruments to execute communication strategies (Lovejoy and Saxton 2012).

The focus on *human agency* offers of course valuable insights concerning how SM facilitate organizational processes such as information diffusion (Meraz and Papacharissi 2013), campaigning, mobilization, and engagement (McPherson 2015). However, studies about the role of non-human elements, which are increasingly present on SM, for connective action are scarce. For instance, algorithmic syntaxes have been shown to have influence over changing peoples' behavior through creating awareness and social learning. Indeed, studies indicate that collaborating for knowledge, exerting or receiving influence, purchasing or reviewing products, or diffusing information in SM do not need to be driven by people; such processes can also be guided by algorithms which modify how SM work

and hold so far unexplored implications for organizational theory and practice (Salge and Karahanna 2016). In fact, SM can be seen to remove human agency from the center stage (Kallinikos et al. 2012), and it is only through these technologies that human and non-human actors are able to act in certain ways and therefore make human agency possible in the first place (Kallinikos et al. 2012).

Besides a tendency to focus strongly on human agency in SM research, an enthusiastic tone tends to pervade current studies about SM use for social change. Indeed, studies understand SM as technologies that facilitate and create dialogue, increase the access to information, and help organizing processes (see Lovejoy and Saxton 2012). While such research about the human use of SM is valuable, studies need to investigate also the increased complexities introduced by algorithms and how these shape data flows (Flyverbom 2016) and connective action. Furthermore, more knowledge is needed about the ways in which non-human elements act on SM and their ability of manipulating data sharing practices, because they may generate both order and disorder. Specifically, important issues surrounding non-human actors' agency are related to digital activism. The ways in which algorithm-based hashtags or the multiple use of SM can be used by CSOs to raise awareness for a social cause in a way that also mobilizes people to participate in offline connective action, and the constraints that arise when doing so, are still undertheorized.

For understanding such matters, it is useful to explore how the uses across, and communication through, different SM can enable content sharing in which multiple actors are tied together. To this end, it is next discussed how connective affordances facilitate different types of content sharing. Since the chapter adopts an inductive grounded theory approach (Charmaz 2006), the study iteratively compared existing data with emerging data and refined the theoretical framework accordingly. Therefore, the connective affordances of three SM (Facebook, Twitter, and Meerkat) used in the case study are next discussed.

49.2.2 Connective Affordances of SM

An established stream of literature has examined SM affordances, such as visibility, persistence, editability, and association, which influence organizing processes and their outcomes (Treem and Leonardi 2012; Leonardi et al. 2013). For example, the visibility of communications, which were once invisible, facilitates new practices of knowledge sharing and may influence actors' decision to participate in organizing processes (e.g., Yardi et al. 2009). Similarly, the association of actors with multimedia content (e.g., "tagging" users and creating hashtags on Facebook and Twitter) allows actors to enrich their social connections (e.g., Thom-Santelli et al. 2008). Recent studies have shown how SM create connective affordances, which means that users are mutually dependent upon each other's particular SM use for coordinating connective action. For example, Vaast et al. (2017) show how interrelated use of Twitter creates interdependencies and new emerging roles of different actors that are fluid and that depend on socio-material relationships and the ways in which

material features are employed by multiple individuals. For these affordances to play out, individuals depend on each other's SM use through similar patterns.

To this extent, SM affordances that facilitate data sharing across spaces, times, and technologies afford connective action, while depending on multiple actors that use SM in similar ways. For example, in order to mobilize action through a hashtag that connects activists from multiple sites, actors need to use SM in similar ways, thereby creating mashups, which in turn will influence the processes of organizing, for example, during instant protests (see Rane and Salem 2012). Algorithms play a crucial role for the creation and impact of mashups, thereby facilitating new socio-material relationships that influence how individuals connect and organize. To understand how this relationship between human and non-human actors unfolds, this chapter shifts the focus away from emerging and interdependent roles of connected individuals (e.g., Vaast et al. 2017), toward the emergence of mashups that depend on socio-material practices of both humans and non-humans.

Hashtags as non-human actors develop agency because they are driven by an algorithm, which embodies a command structure enabling them to act (Goffey 2008). This is not to say that human agency is passed over in the process of using SM. Instead, the key phenomenon is hybrid association: the entanglement between humans and technologies that affords connective action in manners that could not be done otherwise because both actors exchange properties with each other leading to unprecedented fluid and messy collectives (Deuze 2012). This relationship helps one understand the extent to which combined interactions substantiate both: *order* through collectively specifying goals and targets, setting and sharing deadlines and responsibilities, and mobilizing actors in relation to sudden environmental changes and *disorder*, as the interactions misguide individuals about meeting locations; decontextualize, omit, or promote fake information on reports; and disassociate actors from texts. Both ordering and disordering are specific to each instance of organizing since digital interactions can take a life on their own, as they are co-produced by various actors in different times and spaces. For a more detailed understanding of the implications of SM use, the chapter turns the attention to trace how such interactions propagate and connect with each other across outspread communities of activists. This is important, because digital interactions are based on the transformation and accumulation of communication acts and interaction (Jackson 2007). This approach allows the examination of how such interactions "travel" crisscrossing multiple sites with underexplored ordering and disordering implications.

Specifically, when actors engage in practices that share content across different SM, content becomes combined and can produce unprompted change driven by large, varied, and uncoordinated audiences (Yoo 2012). In the case study of this chapter, content sharing is facilitated in two manners, on the one hand, by the ability to "export" interactions from one SM to another (Twitter interactions can be exported to Facebook). This allows actors to link different SM platforms and organize and act at a distance across different SM platforms. On the other hand, as

the case study will show, content sharing is based on the integration of interactions from one SM to another (e.g., Facebook allows integrating live videos from Meerkat). To this extent, both human and non-human actors "import" interactions from distinct sites to coordinate with large often anonymous audiences. In this context, actors become temporarily connected with each other enabling connective action (see Dobusch and Schoeneborn 2015). However, these types of data sharing done by human and non-human actors introduce also disorder in organizing processes because they create mutable, often uncontrollable, and unpredictable mashups that constrain organizing processes (Wilkie et al. 2015).

49.2.3 Instantaneous and Integrative Content Sharing as Means for Connective Action

When interactions are combined across SM, mashups are established with visible and persistent links ("tags") between texts, photos, or videos with other users or with specific spatiotemporal locations ("check-in") that users can edit and modify at any time. For instance, in the case of the "We are all Khaled Said" Facebook page, "liking," "tagging," "hashtagging," and "reposting" or "retweeting" a Facebook page across other SM created mashups with visible links which, among other factors, enabled over 390,000 members of civil society to put into motion the Egyptian revolt of 2011 (Herrera 2014). Thus, mashups have become central elements in organizational processes, particularly in an environment of turmoil, fast changing conditions, and high uncertainty. Studies have shown that a major part of connective action that occurs in a publicly open manner is often based on visible hyperlinks (Segerberg and Bennett 2011). Mashups may therefore increase the visibility of the dynamics of connective action and mass mobilization (Milan 2015). Based on an inductive analysis, this chapter identified that mashups result from two interrelated types of content sharing (e.g., integrative and instantaneous) made possible by connective affordances of SM, which are presented next.

Integrative content sharing happens as interactions that are publicly exchanged between Twitter, Facebook, and Meerkat locales prompt actors to act as a collective based on emerging incidents. Here the dynamic integration of various interactions produces order in organizational activities since this integration can modify the direction and content of organizational conversations, circulate reports, set up meeting coordinates, and share strategic data (Segerberg and Bennett 2011). Multiple actors and their conversations are connected by being re-embedded in the situated space-time of another actor, if that actor in turn retweets or reposts (i.e., forward the tweet to the bot's or individuals' "followers" or "friends," see Murthy 2011). Disorder may happen due to different reasons, such as the limited visibility of SM interactions (Murthy 2009) or confusion caused by the intended or unintended integration of deceptive information by intervening actors which alter and edit the interactions (Salge and Karahanna 2016). For instance, in the case of the

conflict in Eastern Ukraine, SM became a propaganda outlet whereby users integrated and broadcasted opposing views and misinformation about the ongoing conflict in Facebook and Twitter mashups (Makhortykh and Lyebyedyev 2015).

Instantaneous content sharing takes place when Facebook, Twitter, and Meerkat interactions permit actors to coordinate connective action at high speed. The intertwined sharing of Twitter interactions with Facebook and Meerkat ones generates mashups that can lead to order by allowing fast response to sudden changes in the environment (Agrawal et al. 2014). This happens, as combined interactions form the basis for ad hoc coordination, for example, for the coordination of meetings after significant turning of events (Aouragh and Alexander 2011). In doing so, interactions track events in real time and spontaneously mass mobilize members (Eltantawy and Wiest 2011). One example is the hashtag #SidiBouzid which was used on both Facebook and Twitter to share content (e.g., messages, photos, videos, and locations), which connected over 200,000 Tunisian members of civil society to coordinate concurrent protests in different locations that subsequently contributed to starting the Jasmine Revolution of 2011 (Rane and Salem 2012). Disorder may also be introduced because of the speed with which combined interactions move across SM. Confusion can arise because these interactions transport information faster than organizational members' abilities to keep track of the immediate developments across SM, even though they might be connected to each other.

In short, integrative and instantaneous content sharing, which connects human and non-humans actors, can have both ordering and disordering implications for organizational processes (Campbell 2005). It therefore becomes relevant to identify the distributed forms of agency present on SM and their (dis)ordering potential, which are revealed primarily in the interaction with its users (Deuze 2012). The case study presented next thus examines the ways in which data sharing through connective affordances leads to order and disorder in digital activism.

49.3 Digital Activism in Tunisia

Tunisia was chosen as a site of investigation for digital activism, because it is a representative of the MENA region where social media has a high penetration rate for civil society organizations (Rane and Salem 2012). For instance, on the list of the top 20 nations worldwide in terms of new Facebook users in 2010, half are from the MENA region, and during 2011 the number of new MENA users has increased by 78% (Rane and Salem 2012). Two CSOs were studied because these types of organizations use SM as central resources in organizing against human rights abuses and coordinating with international actors to lend their support for protests and uprisings (Lee and Chan 2016). A CSO with a longer experience in using SM for collective action (Kappa, 3 years) and a CSO who was in the beginning of using such technologies (Omega, 9 months) were selected in order to obtain a diversity of parameters for the purpose of comparison (Tracy 2013). Omega is a CSO that works to promote open government and democracy in Tunisian institutions

(Omega Annual Report 2015). Omega members use SM for coordinating their daily work (create advocacy strategies, attract supporters for anti-corruption campaigns, recruiting of volunteers, etc.). Kappa is an advocacy CSO that works to defend the freedom of access to information fundamental right by offering citizens the means to stay updated with their elected representatives and thus reposition citizens at the core of political action (Kappa Annual Report 2015). In doing so, Kappa members rely on SM for coordinating organizational tasks (e.g., disclosing the activities of Tunisia's National Constituent Assembly to the public by broadcasting, etc.).

Digital activism was analyzed based on multi-sited fieldwork (participant observation, qualitative interviews, and sourcing the SM interactions of Kappa and Omega members). The analysis focused on critical events where interactions had an impact on the ability of members to organize and collectively coordinate specific activities (i.e., campaigns, protests, conferences). The rationale of selecting critical SM events builds upon an established tradition in research that investigates connective action (Segerberg and Bennett 2011). Critical events were identified by following four criteria: (1) they involved multiple actors interacting through multiple SM use; (2) they were characterized by an identifiable, but not necessarily very precise, common cause or theme; (3) they unfolded over time; and (4) they involved specific and intended organizing tasks, taking place in physical or virtual locations (e.g., press release or virtual vote count). The case study shows what actors (i.e., users, hashtags) did (share data) in specific critical events, what this meant for collective action (order and disorder), and how this related to connective affordances (see Table 1). These results are presented in the following section on the basis of two themes.

Table 1 Connective Action and Content Sharing

Data analysis			
Content sharing	Order	Disorder	Actors and examples
Integrative			
Is facilitated through connective affordances, where human and non-human actors integrate content (i.e., reports, videos, pictures, interactions, etc.) across spaces, times, technologies	Integrative content sharing and the resulting mashups enable connective action by mobilizing and engaging large and loosely connected crowds by giving mutual access to information and interaction, thereby connecting actors	Integrative content sharing and the resulting mashups disrupt connective action by misguiding actors about meeting locations, and omitting or promoting fake information on reports, and disassociating authors from texts	Once **#Tunisia** and **#TnXYZ** started ***trending*** that day on Twitter and Facebook, we had to use them everywhere although they weren't our hashtags (Omega manager, interview) [H]ashtags ***stand*** *for something else* and *work* ***differently*** across platforms than what you'd expect (Kappa manager, interview)

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Data analysis			
Content sharing	Order	Disorder	Actors and examples
Instantaneous			
Is facilitated through connective affordances that rest on the socio-material feature of importing and exporting content across technologies, which makes sharing to happen at high speed and instantly	Instantaneous content sharing and the resulting mashups enable connective action by producing unprompted actions and driving collective coordination across large, varied, and uncoordinated audiences at high speed	Instantaneous content sharing and the resulting mashups disrupt connective action by confusing actors because interactions transport information faster than one's abilities to keep track of the immediate developments across SM, even though actors might be connected to each other	We have a team [. . .] ***posting*** on our social media all the sessions planned, all the votes. Like this we give those interested in the accountability of elected representatives the chance to be in ***real-time control*** of their votes in the assembly (Kappa manager, interview) @Kappa where can we find information about the plenary session of today? I follow #FL2016 but the ***info*** went ***too quickly*** among all sorts of stuff. Which is the room number? (Tweet, Kappa manager)

49.4 Hashtags and Mashups: The Ordering and Disordering Role of Non-human Actors for CSO Activism

Connective action by Omega and Kappa, as it is illustrated next, depends crucially on connective affordances of SM, which facilitate content sharing and connect human and non-human actors through dynamic socio-material relationships. In doing so, SM allowed both CSOs to generate and co-produce activist online tactics (i.e., raising digital petitioning signatures, broadcasting and live streaming protests, increasing awareness for advocacy campaigns, etc.) on platforms, such as Meerkat, Twitter, and Facebook, where visible hyperlinks connect actors and aggregate content from these different platforms. In the case of Omega, an instance indicative of the ability of SM to create connective action was the live broadcasting of a press conference in order to mobilize actors across different sites: "@Omega |LIVE NOW| Press Conference Now: Our symposium of civil society #meerkat Watch Omega |LIVE NOW| from Tunis mrk.tv" (Omega Facebook/Meerkat mashup). Meerkat interactions allowed Omega members to collaboratively broadcast through the "cameo" feature where the video stream was

"taken over" for 60 seconds by another actor following the event, who could integrate his or her own content into the broadcast. Such affordance allowed a shift from simply broadcasting to a certain audience to broadcast together with other connected actors that track and contribute to the respective mashup. In such instances, mashups create order as they allow activists to engage in connective action and attract supporters for their activities, as the manager indicates:

> We managed to gather more than 20 national and more than 5 international organisations for our symposium where we gave a preliminary report of the problems encountered in our fight for human rights vis-à-vis the authorities' fight against terrorism. In order *to get more activists to show up* write a reply to our *tweets where we tag their user names like cc @user and a hashtag*. This goes across all our [social] *media* accounts as we've *put all together*. We broadcast live streams on Meerkat and use Facebook at the same time, as in Tunisia most of people that live outside of the big cities rely on Facebook. So now when we share something it *goes everywhere* and this *gets bloggers on their feet*. (Omega manager, interview, emphasis added)

However, the resulting mashups introduce also disorder to connective action. In the case of Kappa, a mashup of a Facebook event and Meerkat broadcast was mobilized for coordinating and broadcasting a press conference: "@Kappa |LIVE NOW| #meerkat #Décentralisation The questions/remarks will follow at the end of our press conf – live: https://mrk.tv/" (Kappa, Twitter/Meerkat mashup message). The mashup acted as an "action alert" (Obar et al. 2012) and mobilized actors to participate in the event. At the same time, disorder occurred because of intervening actors, whose SM interactions are at best obscure and often nonsensical (Wilkie et al. 2015). This happens because these intervening actors were able to aggregate content in routinely odd and contrary ways to the visible flow of exchanges and therewith alter the meanings of the mashups. Hence, mashups had disordering effects by taking conversations "off track," as the manager indicates:

> We get disturbing comments all the time both on [our interactions from] Facebook and Twitter that *take us a bit off track* with claims such as "you are funded by the Mossad." And they are *all the time visible, I mean everyone can see* the comments. And it's getting so absurd that no matter what I answer they say the same, so I should reply "yes the Mossad funds me" [laughs]. (Kappa manager interview)

Similarly, in the case of Omega, activists' efforts of generating connective action were disrupted because nonsensical interactions benefited of the same visibility affordances provided by SM, as an Omega member suggests:

> They [nonsensical mashups] *are* always on topics where the political debates are highly polarized such as Libya where you currently have two governments claiming legitimacy. I think Twitter as a platform makes visible all sorts of conversations and trolls are part of what it means to have open conversations. But yes, such visibility works both ways. (Omega manager interview)

Furthermore, disorder also occurred due to the fleeting visibility of the interactions: when Omega stopped streaming, the video message disappeared from the access list,

leaving only a "stream over" message behind. As a result, actors could not participate in the respective activity and connect with other actors, therefore not receiving details about meeting points and other necessary information. Similarly, the importance of connective affordances that base on the feature to import and export conversations across technologies was confirmed, when looking at Meerkat and Facebook, which do not allow such combined use. Here, actors were unable to connect and coordinate with each other, when relying on these specific SM. More in detail, the visible digital interactions that exhibited ordering and disordering properties in both cases facilitated two interrelated types of data sharing that are presented next.

49.4.1 Integrative Content Sharing

The integration of various interactions between SM produced order by combining scattered content from multiple sites that facilitated connections between various actors. In one instance indicative of many similar situations in the case of Kappa, mashups of Facebook and Twitter interactions facilitate Kappa members' efforts of connective action by providing information about simultaneously occurring tasks despite their different geographical and temporal locations (e.g., following up fiscal legislation making proposals, signposting MPs' interventions). Integrative data sharing took place as interactions were retweeted and re-embedded in the organizational conversations of 30 actors simultaneously. In doing so, integrative content sharing ensured offline mobilization of key constituents (i.e., volunteers) at ad hoc events by connecting actors and indicating time and location coordinates (Segerberg and Bennett 2011). Yet, the interactions exhibited also disordering properties, when they allowed the integration of unwanted or deceptive content by unknown audiences. As the manager indicates next, mashups and hashtags disrupt the presumed one-to-many communication properties and the intended positive effects on connective action that SM are considered to have:

> We use #FL2016 #GenLeg and #TnXYZ on both Facebook and Twitter to *"signpost"* on what project *we are working now*, so #FL2016 and #GenLeg shows that we are working on the Fiscal Law 2016 that is part of the general legislative package. We also use these hashtags because citizens use them to *search, find* information and *be part* in the democratic process with their elected representatives. But we can't really predict how hashtags *work*. . . sometimes they are of big help and sometimes not and everyone gets confused. Now and then, the hashtags *stand for something else* and *work differently* across platforms then what you'd expect. But you can't buy or control a hashtag because social media is not a media. *It's a world and it makes you as much as you make it.* And since you can't escape it you'd better be ready to deal with it. (Interview, Kappa manager, emphasis added)

Furthermore, connective affordances create order and enable SM to act as rallying and mobilizing mechanisms (Segerberg and Bennett 2011) by connecting actors and content across technologies. But equally, such affordances create disorder given that mashups can also "stand for something else," "work differently" (manager Kappa), and enable open authorship across multiple sites. On the one

hand, the #TnXYZ hashtag integrates Facebook and Twitter content (the hashtag was initially developed by Kappa managers to geo-locate their work in the house of representatives and signpost specific organizational activities in order to mobilize more support for their actions). On the other hand, the hashtag disrupts integrative sharing by permitting other actors to alter and include it in their interactions that coordinated unrelated events. Similarly, Omega members were able to use the same #TnXYZ hashtag to share their daily news coverage activities. By posting and tweeting the hashtag, Omega members together with other actors "bec[a]me part of the conversation," as it happened in the case of a terrorist attack at the Bardo National Museum in Tunisia:

> Once #Tunisia and #TnXYZ started *trending* that day on Twitter and Facebook, we had to use them everywhere although they weren't our hashtags. So you use what hashtags are used in that day. *This is what you have to do if you want to be part of the conversation* along with international channels such as Al Jazeera. When people were looking for the Bardo attack on the tourists the only thing they would find is #TnXYZ and #JesuisTunisien, which was started by Tunisian activists in our network, so I use those. But everyone else does it too, which makes things a bit chaotic sometimes. (Interview, Omega manager)

The SM used in both Omega and Kappa are not simple means or products of interactions and discourses of human collectives (Fayard and Weeks 2007). Instead, the agency of the interactions is dependent on both their material features and situated use. It is therefore the distributed use that enables connective action in specific situations, such as the algorithmic operation of "trending." Such mashups gain traction based on the non-human agency of an algorithm that promotes in some arbitrary manner hashtags that suddenly dramatically increased in volume (Wilkie et al. 2015). The agency of the interactions resides thus in their interconnected use by both human and non-human actors (hashtags, algorithms, etc.). In doing so, integrative content sharing creates order for Omega, Kappa, or new actors, such as the community of followers contributing to #TnXYZ, for that matter. However, additional to the disordering effects due to information overload and misappropriation of the combined interactions described above, Twitter and Facebook interactions cannot be exported on the Meerkat platform. Thus mashups are impeding both Omega and Kappa members from relying on combined interactions to coordinate for activism.

49.4.2 Instantaneous Content Sharing

Sharing content at high speed is a daily practice in Omega and Kappa, which aim at real-time coordination. Omega managers engage with an average of ten times a day "tweeting," "posting," "streaming videos," and "hashtagging," across multiple SM with several hundreds of followers. Mashups generate order, when they enable actors to manage ad hoc activities, share relevant data, and connect to key audiences instantly:

> We use the Facebook messenger for practical things, [be]cause it's fast and convenient. But we mix up social media for our work. People *follow us* on Twitter and like our Facebook page because they are interested in what we have to say. . .uhm. . .so *we tweet* and *at the same time post* on Facebook*, do hashtags* and *share videos* a lot across platforms. . .[uhm] about things people care about. This way *we show* what is going on. (Omega manager, interview, emphasis added)

Similarly, in the case of Kappa, Facebook and Twitter interactions ("sharing," "tweeting," and "posting") create mashups that facilitate instantaneous content sharing. On the one hand, mashups allow Kappa's members the ability to connect with unknown audiences "on the spot" and share information about activities such as making recommendations on bills in the same time as these are promulgated by the parliament. On the other hand, the mashups give the ability to be in "real-time" control of constituents, as the manager indicates:

> The [Tunisian] parliament only audio-records the meetings but the records are not immediately available to the citizens. So, we have a team in the parliament measuring attendance of deputies, *posting* on our social media all the sessions planned, all the votes. Like this we give those interested in the accountability of elected representatives the chance to *be in real time control* of their votes in the assembly. We basically *tweet* and *post everything* the MPs say, pictures, videos, you name it, everything from the moment the parliament session is opening in the morning until the evening when the doors close. . .uhm. . .like showing misbehavior or so on. By *doing this*. . .uhm. . . *every day*. . .uhm. . .we are *able to make recommendations on the spot* for the assembly that is preparing the bill that day. (Interview Kappa manager, emphasis added)

The capacity of quickly transporting interactions across different SM and thereby creating mashups contributed to the immediate synchronization of actions among connected activists, since it provided information about "where and when are we meeting that day" (interview manager Kappa). For instance, in the case of Kappa, a Facebook interaction mashed up with a link to the Twitter account, and #TnXYZ permits Kappa members to signal the time and location of their work in the house of representatives. In addition to the instantaneous coordination of work tasks, the mashup also upholds the mission of the organization across different physical and virtual locations: "@Kappa we are back for the plenary this evening. Our mission, we are leading to the end #TnXYZ." In doing so, the mashup communicates and generates awareness about "who we are and what we do" (interview manager Kappa).

Nevertheless, instantaneously combined interactions create also disorder for connective action. For instance, instantaneous data sharing at high speed led to data overload and confusion, which stopped individuals – even though connected – from obtaining relevant information or participating in certain events, as the manager indicates: "[w]e work hard to get the message out the right way but we often get feedback from our interns and volunteers such as 'these hashtags are flooding our timelines'" (manager Omega interview). In the case of Kappa managers, mashups exhibited disordering properties because of the overwhelming speed with which these work: "@Kappa where can we find information about the plenary session of today? I follow #FL2016 but the info went too quickly among all sorts of

stuff. Which is the room number?" (tweet Kappa manager). The importance of connective affordances that enable integration of content across technologies for connective action was confirmed by the fact that Facebook interactions do not aggregate with Meerkat ones, which restricted the emergence of mashups and disrupted the ability of both Kappa and Omega to engage in connective actions when they relied only on these technologies for coordination purposes.

In sum, in both Kappa's and Omega's case, SM use is indicative of the distributed agency specific to connective action. When it comes to SM, not only what humans do with SM is important, but also the actions of non-human actors such as hashtags are highly relevant. The chapter has shown how instantaneous and integrative content sharing specific to SM combined use has ordering and disordering effects for connective action.

49.5 Future Directions

Literature that looks at the role of SM for connective action typically studies how individuals use SM as tools for disseminating information and creating new modes of participation and organizing (Lee and Chan 2016; Segerberg and Bennett 2011). By adopting a socio-material and affordances lens on connective action (Vaast et al. 2017), this chapter has shown how these connective affordances, by enabling data mashups, facilitate connections between these actors and analyzed the outcomes of data sharing practices that are shaped by both human and material agency.

Accordingly, the presented study enriches the understanding of data sharing practices and digital activism, in which human and non-human actors are tied together (Leonardi 2017). The chapter shows how connective action depends as much on similar patterns of SM use by human actors, as much as it does on material agency of non-human actors. Overall, the chapter indicates that two kinds of effects are introduced through instantaneous and integrative content sharing practices, specifically: (a) ordering effects that stem from distributed material and human agency that makes it possible for communication and organization to exist in a virtual time and space without disrupting the routines of the connected actors and (b) disordering effects which are equally generated by human and non-human agencies that omit and disassociate actors from interactions, thus disturbing connective action.

The introduced theoretical framework therewith accounts for the multiple use of intertwined technologies, which has so far only gained little attention in current research (Leonardi 2017). Indeed, research typically looks at the use of one SM technology at the time (for an overview see Treem and Leonardi 2012). The complex combination of multiple SM use, instead, requires an understanding of the relationship between these technologies and the various actors, which apply them. The proposed theoretical framework made it possible to understand these relationships and conceptualize the connective affordances that account for the interplay between the practices that humans apply on multiple technologies and the material features that these technologies offer. In doing so, the framework enabled an analysis of

affordances on collective level, of how multiple SM use creates connections between different actors, and of how the resulting mashups affect connective action.

In contrast to many studies that are pervaded by a mostly positive or even enthusiastic tone about the effects of connective actions through SM use (e.g., Segerberg and Bennett 2011), the chapter has, next to ordering effects, detected the disordering effects of multiple SM in digital activism. Indeed, combined interactions across technologies help but also often restrain actors to organize across physical and virtual settings. When actors modify interactions, mashups act back simultaneously in often uncontrollable and unintended ways while being appropriated by various actors. In fact, connective affordances allow appropriation by actors that may intentionally disturb organizing processes. Furthermore, disorder may be introduced without bad intentions, when instantaneous content sharing leads to information overflow or when integrative content sharing makes a certain hashtag that takes a different direction than intended. Hence, by acknowledging agency of non-human actors, the chapter shows how disorder occurs because combined interactions produce unprompted change driven by fluid collectives (Yoo 2012).

In sum, this study contributes to existing research in two ways: on the one hand, it reveals that SM interactions are entities irreducible to humans or human communication and have both ordering and disordering effects. On the other hand, it indicates that combined interactions introduce connective action across multiple spatiotemporal localities and SM platforms. While the case study examined three of the most popular SM technologies in a specific country context, these practices are feasible between other SM. As the study shows, SM are not stable but vacillate depending on the situated interactions between both human and non-human actors. Thus, the material and organizational world created by these technologies does not exist separate from the people communicating with them. Instead, organizing happens through heterogeneous and conflicted socio-material practices mediated by both human and non-human actors.

The chapter offers a particular view of the combined use of multiple SM in a particular context (Tunisian CSOs) and for a distinct period of time. With the limitation of interconnected Facebook, Twitter, and Meerkat uses, the study covers three of the most popular SM currently in use. Future technological developments of these and other tools will possibly result in other forms of interaction. For example, Facebook recently introduced the live stream function that opens up new possibilities and at the same time renders hybrid use with Meerkat less important. Nevertheless, this chapter provides relevant and generalized knowledge concerning the role of non-human actors, such as algorithm-based hashtags, and the crucial role of connective affordances that connect actors, interactions, and content across SM. The results that emerge from the chapter can be transferred if there are common characteristics between the cases in focus. Furthermore, the presented analysis of SM uses in a politically unstable environment such as Tunisia can act as a springboard for future research to validate or challenge the results of this case through a longer examination of the struggles and dynamics introduced by SM in organizations that rely on such technologies for accomplishing everyday work, such as medium enterprises and start-ups. This is particularly important as such tensions tend to be rendered invisible by the search for coherent and unitary answers.

49.6 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the use of intertwined SM technologies by drawing on affordances theory and an ethnographic study. The chapter advances research by providing insights concerning how the combined SM use generates connective action through mashups, in which multiple actors are tied together. Firstly, the chapter identifies connective affordances that are particular to the interplay between multiple SM technologies and human actors, and allow integrative and instantaneous content sharing, which rests on the socio-material feature of "exporting" and "importing" content across platforms. Such connective affordances allow the creation of mashups, i.e., mutable interactions, which emerge from multiple and disparate locales. Secondly, the analysis has shown how mashups develop not only ordering but also disordering effects, whereby the socio-material relationships between various human and non-human actors and their distributed agency have a crucial role for how these effects play out. The developed framework may support future research that aims at investigating organizing practices through SM, which takes human and non-human actors equally seriously.

49.7 Cross-References

- ▶ Communication for Development and Social Change: Three Development Paradigms, Two Communication Models, and Many Applications and Approaches
- ▶ Communication for Development and Social Change Through Creativity
- ▶ Political Engagement of Individuals in the Digital Age
- ▶ Protest as Communication for Development and Social Change in South Africa
- ▶ Strategic Social Media Management for NGOs
- ▶ Women's Empowerment in Digital Media: A Communication Paradigm

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Strategic Social Media Management for NGOs

50

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Contents

50.1 Introduction 912
50.2 Social-Mediated Communication: What's in It for NGOs? 913
50.3 A Social Media Management Process 915
50.3.1 Developing a Social Media Strategy 915
50.3.2 Social Media Communication: From Strategy to Implementation 918
50.3.3 Evaluation and Social Media Metrics 922
50.4 Conclusion 925
50.5 Cross-References 925
References 926

Abstract

Social media channels provide intriguing opportunities for NGOs to communicate with their audiences, raise awareness, and campaign for change. Maintaining strong social media communication that supports the organization's ability to achieve its goals is the mandate of social media management, the day-to-day maintenance and management of an organization's social media channels and communication. This chapter provides an overview of the potential, practice, process, methods, and tools of effective social media management, including strategic planning based on formative research, implementation, and communication, as well as evaluation.

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Digital communication · Engagement · Social media management · Social media · Strategy

50.1 Introduction

When the ALS Ice Bucket Challenge started in 2014, few would have thought that the campaign would end up raising more than $115 million (Sample and Woolf 2016) to fund research for a cure and support for those living with the disease. Those who accepted the challenge donated to the cause, poured a bucket of ice water over their heads, and shared a video of the spectacle on their social media accounts while challenging their friends to do the same. As social media users, including high-profile persons like George W. Bush, Heidi Klum, or Leonardo DiCaprio, challenged each other, they shared more than 2.2 million videos (Steel 2014). With this simple and cost-effective strategy, the campaign took advantage of the unique features of social media and traversed individual networks to raise awareness and funds.

Social media are commonly defined as "a group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 and that allow the creation and exchange of user generated content" (Kaplan and Haenlein 2010, p. 61). They bring intriguing opportunities for NGOs. At the onset of 2018, approximately 3 billion people used social media worldwide, an increase of 13% compared to the previous year. While the percentage of users varies widely by country and continent, social media accounts continue to increase globally (WeAreSocial 2018).

Differently from traditional channels, "social media [. . .] has made the ability to comment, respond, share, critique, change and add to information possible on a broad scale" (Pridmore et al. 2013). With large numbers of active users, social media platforms can thus enable even small organizations with little budgets to reach stakeholders across the world, raise awareness for issues, fundraise, recruit volunteers, and share information quickly, among others. What's more, social media allow for immediate two-way communication, thus providing opportunities for organizations to build and maintain strong relationships with stakeholders and seek their input (see Saffer et al. 2013; Saxton and Waters 2014).

At the same time, social media networks also pose managerial and communicative challenges. Organizations need to implement new processes and divert resources to their social media communication within digital environments where information can spread rapidly and widely. Organizations are often used to high levels of control over content shared via traditional channels like newsletter, press releases, flyers, or read-only websites. Control, however, is shared on social media platforms, which evolved around Web 2.0 principles of sharing, participating, and collaborating (see Constantinidis and Fountain 2008; Kietzmann et al. 2011; Trunfio and Lucia 2016). Thus, when even small social media blunders may impact the organization's reputation and any user can share criticism and information, social media communication requires thoughtful and professional management.

In response, social media management has emerged as a sophisticated organizational function (Torning et al. 2015) and "the collaborative process of using Web 2.0 platforms and tools to accomplish desired organizational objectives" (Montalvo 2016, p. 91). It is commonly located within an organization's integrated communication function, which may include public relations, marketing, and internal communication, among others. As a strategic practice, social media management includes planning based on research and listening, implementation and communication, and evaluation. In addition, it requires everyday monitoring and maintenance of social media communication with the organization's stakeholders (Kim 2016).

This chapter provides an introduction to the strategic social media management process with a particular focus on NGOs, which include "private, not-for-profit organizations that aim to serve particular societal interests by focusing advocacy and/or operational efforts on social, political and economic goals, including equity, health, environmental protection and human rights" (Teegen et al. 2004). We first provide an overview of NGO communication and social media. Subsequently, we lay out key steps of a social media process that may guide organizations when planning and implementing their social media communication.

50.2 Social-Mediated Communication: What's in It for NGOs?

Long before social networking sites became mainstream, scholars argued the potential of the Internet as a "potential equalizer" (Coombs 1998, p. 289), allowing activists (and advocacy groups) greater access to power resources in an effort to influence change in business practice. Limited access to power resources, i.e., "the number of followers, favorable media coverage, public support, money, and political champions," explained, in large part, why activists (and NGOs, more broadly) were considered secondary stakeholders (Coombs 1998, p. 291).

Social media have considerably altered this power relation, making it easier for NGOs to challenge and expose unethical and socially irresponsible business practices (Coombs and Holladay 2015). Oft-cited examples include the Greenpeace campaign against Shell's plans to drill in the Arctic and the now-classic Greenpeace challenge to Nestle's palm oil sourcing practices. In these and other cases, social media provide previously marginalized stakeholders such as NGOs a platform to make themselves salient and visible. By posing a threat to corporate reputation, an intangible organizational asset, social-mediated communication has potentially altered NGO-corporate communication and relationships.

Aside from digital activism, social media open up new avenues for NGOs to engage with their stakeholders and supporters. A survey of nearly 5000 global NGOs reports a growing digital presence on social networking sites such as Facebook (92%), Twitter (72%), YouTube (55%), LinkedIn (51%), and Instagram (39%) (27 Stats 2017). Such communication may take the form of raising awareness, providing information, engaging in dialogic communication, fundraising, and/or mobilizing support for specific causes. Current research finds that, thus far, most NGOs use social media in conventional ways; purely to disseminate information and

as a form of one-way communication on focal issues and/or campaigns. Most studies of NGO communication on Facebook and Twitter find limited use of the dialogic and interactive capabilities that are unique affordances of social media (Waters et al. 2009; Waters and Jamal 2011). There are exceptions. For instance, a study found that the American Red Cross uses a variety of tools such as websites, blogs, Twitter, and Facebook to recruit and maintain volunteers, update the community on disaster preparedness and response, and engage the media (Briones et al. 2011). Even when there is recognition to use social media to build relationships with primary publics, efforts may be impeded by the lack of time, knowledge, or dedicated personnel (Ibid).

On the other hand, there is more optimism about the potential to mobilize, connect, and build community especially during humanitarian crises. As a case in point, crowdsourcing for disaster relief and humanitarian crises has been on the rise. Following the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, the explosion of content on social media and mobile messaging landed the Red Cross $8 million in donations via text messaging in under 48 hours (Gao et al. 2011). Social enterprises such as Ushahidi provide open-source tools, crowdmaps, and crowdsourcing platforms to reach marginalized populations and have, since its inception in 2008, reached 25 million people in crises across the globe. Real-time and far-reaching status updates, photo sharing, tweets and retweets, and mobilization of networks in times of crisis amplify recovery and aid efforts (Giridharas 2010). Social media also played a vital role in the campaign to secure the release of Chibok girls in Nigeria. Triggered by a grassroots campaign #BringBackOurGirls, the issue garnered worldwide attention of the abductions by Boko Haram and increased pressure on the Nigerian government to escalate efforts to secure the girls' release (Bring Back Our Girls' Rights 2015).

These illustrative cases do not suggest an unqualified position about some inherent power of social media; rather, they are situated in a larger debate about the potential of social media to foster digital engagement. Critics contend that online support ("Likes") for social causes are manifestations of slacktivism and/or arm-chair activism with no substantive offline impact. Proponents, on the other hand, provide evidence for online behavior being a springboard for engagement, moving individuals from "'knowing' to 'doing'" and possibly even reinforcing offline behavior (Mano 2014, p. 292). The Cone Communications Digital Activism Study (2014) highlights several positive developments. First, liking or following organizations on social media is not an end in itself but a "gateway to further participation." Second, donations are more likely to be made online as opposed to offline. Third, compelling content, urgency and relevance of an issue, and ease of participation drive engagement. Fourth, social media demands that organizations tailor their messages and networks to specific audiences. This implies that NGOs need to understand the motivations and usage habits of their constituents if they are to effectively use digital networks.

Despite the optimism, two points merit attention. Contextual differences are decisive in determining the relative power of NGOs as well as the outcomes of social-mediated communication. A recent report found that NGOs in developing nations lag behind their Western counterparts in the optimal use of the Internet and

social platforms because "the economic and political factors and the quality of Internet infrastructure in each region affects how NGOs use these tools and how donors in each region respond to them" (Morrison 2016). NGOs are also constrained in their ability to effectively deploy social media for fundraising because of lack of dedicated personnel and the reliance on volunteers for day-to-day operations.

Second, it is naïve to view social media as separate from or supplanting traditional forms of NGO communication, be it email, petitions, or offline activism. Scholars have hypothesized that the impetus toward and adoption of social media in NGOs is contingent on organizational strategy (i.e., what strategic approaches does the NGO deploy in fulfilling its social mission), governance (e.g., membership structure, board size), and environmental considerations such that NGOs that depend on or face high pressure from external constituents may be more likely to adopt social media (Nah and Saxton 2012). There is, as yet, limited research to treat these variables as complete or universal; however, the argument that social media be treated as an integral component of overall organizational strategy remains valid.

Together, these tools are part of the strategic communication effort of any organization. For all organization types, whether commercial or nonprofit, a clear understanding of how social media fit with business and communication strategy is a key starting point. Clarity on goals is the precursor to tailoring the tactical choices (e.g., what networks to use, developing a content strategy, etcetera) to the appropriate target audience. Social media are an amplifier, as noted by a WWF executive, "I see our web site as our home base, the blog as our podium and Twitter, YouTube, Flickr and LinkedIn as our mega phone [. . .] provides us with the opportunity to mobilize thousands more people [. . .[" (Catone 2009), not a substitute for conventional channels.

50.3 A Social Media Management Process

50.3.1 Developing a Social Media Strategy

It is tempting for organizations to jump into social media as it only takes a few minutes to start a free page or profile on multiple platforms. Maintaining and implementing effective social media communication, however, takes time, commitment, and knowledge. Just as other areas of organizational operations, it should be informed by sound strategy.

Most basically, a social media strategy outlines how social media goals should be reached so that resources can be used effectively to help the organization fulfill its mission (see Clampitt 2018). It thus provides direction for the organization's social media management as it informs the development and implementation of specific social media tactics, including messages and content, among others (Kim 2016). Doing so, strategy also helps maintain consistency, for instance, when the team faces turnover or crises (Clampitt 2018).

Before developing a strategic social media plan, which provides a guiding framework for the organization's social media activities, the organization should

gather and consider information on several dimensions (see Clampitt 2018; Kim 2016). First, social media management needs to contribute to the organization's overall mission, vision, and goals (Kim 2016). Second, it cannot stand isolated but needs to be planned as an integral part of the organization's overall strategic communication function. It thus ideally works in concert with other on- and offline communication tactics so that they can enhance each other.

Third, while the social media landscape is diverse, organizations do not have to be active on every platform. The selection should rather be based on the platforms' appropriateness (for instance, its users, reach, features, and norms) for the organization's social media plan as each platform provides unique features and opportunities to reach different types of audiences (Clampitt 2018). With over 2 billion active user accounts, Facebook, for instance, remains the most visited social network and attracts people of almost all ages who share a wide variety of content and information. In comparison, LinkedIn has only 260 million active accounts and a strong focus on business and career-related content. And while Qzone is hardly known in many parts of the world, it is one of the most popular social media platforms in China (WeareSocial 2018). Because social media are vibrant and constantly developing, the social media team should further monitor and evaluate changing features and policies, shifts in characteristics of users, as well as emerging platforms.

Fourth, social media management should be tailored toward defined audiences and organizational stakeholders. It is thus important to know how they use social media, what they expect from the organization, and how they might best be reached, among others (Clampitt 2018). This also includes considering different patterns of social media use in different parts of the world. Finally, the organization needs to consider its available resources (for instance, staff, budget, skills, and technology), existing social media presence, as well as its strengths and weaknesses before developing a strategic social media plan (Kim 2016).

Based on the analyzed background information, Kim (2016) suggests that organizations proceed by developing social media goals, vision statements, and objectives (see Fig. 1). Social media goals are general statements about what the organization ultimately wants to accomplish with its social media activities. At this stage, target audiences should also be defined (Kim 2016). A nonprofit organization, for example, may want to be widely known as a trusted source of support for victims of sexual abuse among Millennials. An activist group may want to gain public support for its advocacy to change a law while maintaining strong bonds with its supporters and members. A disaster relief organization may set enhancing transparency with donors and volunteers as a social media goal.

Vision statements then require the careful selection of social media platforms as they summarize the specific function and value of each platform in the pursuit of the social media goal(s) (Kim 2016). Clampitt (2018) suggests thinking about these statements as "platform job descriptions" (p. 84), which define specific duties. While the activities on each platform should be consistent and enhance each other, they may play quite different roles and focus on different target audiences. Doing so, the unique capabilities of each platform for sharing and presenting content and engaging audiences should be considered (Clampitt 2018; Kim 2016). What's more, an

Fig. 1 Structure of a strategic social media plan. (Visualization based on Kim's (2015) model)

organization may decide to consider personal accounts of organizational members as part of its strategy and/or operate multiple accounts on one platform. Multiple accounts can be effective and necessary when the organization is large and has a variety of organizational units and functions that require their own social media representation. UNICEF, for instance, operates dozens of twitter accounts for its units in different countries as well as multiple pages and groups on Facebook. A large number of different profiles, however, also increases the resources needed, may dilute a clearly defined social media presence, and poses high demands on consistency and coordination.

Vision statements for the selected platforms (and profiles) should specify the channel's purpose for the defined audience. The disaster relief organization aiming to increase transparency may, for instance, want to use Facebook for sharing insights into the organization's governance process and facilitate discussions about current issues (for instance, by live-streaming executive board meetings or hosting Q&A sessions with leadership) with donors and volunteers. Instagram, a platform that focuses on sharing pictures, short videos, and gifs, could be used to engage audiences via photos of successful projects and behind-the-scenes impressions, while Twitter may primarily function as a news channel to share information about current developments.

Finally, the social media team can set specific objectives for each channel (Kim 2016). Objectives establish specific targets as a base for evaluation and "facilitate communication planning" (Hallahan 2015, p. 251) by defining desired lower-level outcomes and outputs that will lead to achieving higher-level goals (see Hallahan 2015; Kim 2016). While output objectives focus on the quantity and quality of the social media team's posts, content, and activities, outcome objectives set targets for actual results (Kim 2016). The latter commonly aim to affect change in behavior, which also requires change in awareness and attitudes (Hallahan 2015). An

Fig. 2 Examples of SMART output and outcome objectives

organization may, for instance, want to mobilize a certain number of people to participate in a protest against hydraulic fracturing (behavior), which requires change or reinforcement of opinions (attitude) about the practice as well as knowledge about the process and environmental impacts (awareness). While the organization can control its outputs, but not its stakeholders and audiences, a strong social media strategy will balance output and outcome objectives, so that outputs are directed toward achieving outcomes (Kim 2016).

As for most strategic communication efforts, social media managers commonly define objectives following the SMART model (see Hallahan 2015; Kim 2016; Lipschultz 2017). SMART objectives are specific, measurable, attainable, relevant, and timely. Strong objectives (see Fig. 2) thus avoid any vagueness, set a measurable target to clearly establish success or failure, are realistic, relevant to the organization's mission, and include a timeframe. Together, the social media goals, vision statements, and specific objectives outline the strategic orientation that can be translated creatively into lower-level strategies (for instance, we will recruit more followers by having a contest) and tactics (the actual social media communication and activities).

50.3.2 Social Media Communication: From Strategy to Implementation

In formulating communication strategy, social media goals should be aligned with organizational objectives. Doing so offers a pathway for implementation and evaluation (more on this in the next section). Sinek (2009) contends that the most inspiring organizations and leaders "Start with Why" – the raison d'être and core purpose – that, in turn, defines the "how" (processes and tools to realize the goal) and "what" (results and outcomes of the goal) of organizational actions. By no means

specific or limited to particular forms of media, Sinek's claim resonates with the idea that understanding social media should go beyond knowledge of tools and technical specifications to a broad-based appreciation of their affordances and the possibilities they create for organizational communication (Kaul and Chaudhri 2017).

Having established a clear understanding of goals – whether fundraising, engagement, growing the subscriber base, recruiting volunteers, increasing brand awareness, and the like – organizations can move from strategy to implementation. Although there is no "one size fits all," there are factors to consider in implementing social media strategy.

50.3.2.1 Listen, Scan, and Monitor

Social listening is a vital yet often ignored effort in flagging potential issues that could threaten an organization's reputation, if left unchecked. Issues management through social listening is a valuable source of information on the conversations and topics that pertain to an organization (for a difference between social listening and monitoring, see Jackson 2017). Social listening can also help categorize and prioritize organizational stakeholders relative to their importance and position on specific issues and tailor communication strategies to appropriately deal with each group, for instance, leverage supporters and make an effort to address the negative opinion of problematic stakeholders.

Scanning for posts that mention the organization further allows for identifying content the organization can engage with or needs to respond to. It can indeed be challenging to determine which mentions merit a response and which ones do not. The Chartered Institute of Public Relations (CIPR n.d.) suggests that social media teams categorize posts according to the stones, pebbles, and sand principle. Informed by the organization's goals and objectives, posts should be sorted based on whether they require immediate action (stones), can be dealt with later (pebbles), or don't require a response (sand).

Sorting through the mentions of the organization and other relevant categories, the social media team also functions as a "boundary spanner" (see Gregory 2016) who brings issues relevant to external stakeholders to the attention of leadership in the organization. In this way, monitoring and social listening also help detect emergent challenges and assist with crisis preparedness. Additionally, data and insights gained through social listening can be an invaluable source of knowledge for content creation, idea generation, and campaign focus. Hootsuite, Social Mention, Sprout Social, and Google Alerts are a few of the available tools for social listening and tracking conversations.

50.3.2.2 Select Platforms Based on Goals and Target Audience

Not all social media are created equal; instead, they offer differentiated functionalities. As an illustration, the honeycomb model of social media outlines seven constructs or building blocks (identity, presence, relationships, conversations, groups, reputations, and sharing) that, in some combination, constitute the defining features of each platform (see Kietzmann et al. 2012). Per this model, "relationships" and "sharing" are the primary building blocks of Facebook and YouTube,

respectively, whereas "identity" is core to LinkedIn followed by "reputation" and "relationships." With knowledge of primary and secondary functionalities, organizations can implement informed tactics of engagement to leverage the affordances of each platform. Relatedly, all organizations need to be judicious about their digital footprint although NGOs, in particular, may have limited resources, time, and effort to cast a wide net on social media. Moreover, simply having a Facebook page or a Twitter account is not enough; these need to be regularly updated, monitored, and incorporate engaging content consistent with strategic goals and the defining features and norms on each platform.

50.3.2.3 Create Opportunities for Engagement

Contrary to the static architecture of Web 1.0, social media offer dynamic opportunities for real-time, two-way communication between an organization and its audiences. Interactive features (such as likes, shares, and comments), virtual dialogues, and visual storytelling dramatically alter relational and communicative possibilities. Realizing these benefits, however, can be an uphill task for many organizations.

For one, audiences differ widely in their motivations to engage with organizations. Whereas those that are highly aware, interested, and personally affected by an issue might be more inclined to participate in reciprocal communication, extant scholarship also notes that priorities and behaviors may change over time and latent groups may become salient (see Grunig 1997). Likewise, engagement is not a magic bullet but a process that requires incremental effort. Social engagement, then, may be conceptualized as a ladder starting with awareness and building up to interest, interaction, engagement, and, finally, evangelization. Through a series of progressive actions, this form of digital organizing cultivates "casual supporters into advocates and donors" (Schossow 2014). Barack Obama's election campaign is an illustrative case that started with a simple ask (friending or liking a Facebook page); once campaigners secured a "foot in the door," they could target followers with status updates and specific tasks (e.g., signing a birthday card). With user data and opt-ins, the campaign opened avenues for conversation and furthering the relationship (e.g., actions such as signing an issue-specific petition or making a small donation). At the very top rung, the campaign could comfortably ask supporters for bigger donations, time for voluntary work, and advocacy among friends and networks, etcetera (Ibid).

50.3.2.4 Creating Content that Connects

There is no dearth of advice on creating social media content that is compelling, unique, authentic, surprising, grabs attention, and tells a good story. Using the power of social media, The Dutch Alzheimer's Foundation launched a creative Facebook campaign to "mobilize younger people in the fight against dementia" by letting them experience what patients of the disease go through on a daily basis (The Alzheimer's Event n.d.). The idea was simple: starting with 100 Dutch influencers, people were invited to upload an image of a friend on the campaign website (http://hetalzheimerevent.nl/). The photos were digitally manipulated and, using Facebook functionalities such as photos and tagging, the altered photo was placed in a non-existing event and the participant notified. Participants could tag their friends in the photo,

which appeared on the friends' timeline with a simple message that drove the point home, "Confusing right? You are now experiencing what it's like to have Alzheimer's disease." The novel approach and a simple yet powerful message went viral as more people passed on the message and posted images to get their friends to "experience 'the Alzheimer's effect'." Notably, the campaign reached 2,450,000 people only via blogs, news sites, and Twitter, and over 200,000 people experienced the Alzheimer Event directly or via a tagged friend. Indeed, there are many examples to learn from, and storytelling to forge emotional connections is perhaps an unquestioned "truth" in the digital age. As NGOs compete for attention, funds, and followers in a competitive landscape, they confront the challenge of telling their stories in a unique and distinctive manner.

Content creation, however, is more complex than simply telling a good story, as difficult as storytelling is. Empirical studies indicate that virality in social media is driven by several factors. According to Mill's (2012) SPIN framework, for instance, four key variables make virality more likely; viral content has to be likable and sharable (spreadability), easy to redistribute (propagativity), run on multiple social media platforms (integration), and "successively reinforced by virtue of sequentially releasing units of viral content" (p. 168) (nexus).

Social media managers also need to know what works from a stakeholder standpoint. A study of online reactions to NGO communication (Gregory and Richard 2014) attests to the complexity of content creation, which aims to further engagement through likes, comments, and shares. In this study, the public responded positively to all types of messages from nonprofits, including information-sharing, promotion, mobilization, and community-building. Actual engagement, however, differed significantly by message type. Community-building messages, for instance, prompted the highest number of comments, confirming a preference for dialogic forms of communication over information dissemination. Simultaneously, call-to-action messaging garnered the maximum number of likes. Ironically, however, the messages that are most likely to be shared are one-way informational updates, especially if they include photo statuses. This leads the authors to posit that "individuals will share information about nonprofits, but they are not actively encouraging their networks to participate by sharing information about fundraising, events, or calls to action" (p, 294).

In practical terms, organizations need to have realistic expectations and create content that is best suited to specific goals. By creating a social media calendar, organizations can plan and map periodic social media activity (e.g., tweets, Facebook posts, blog posts, videos, etcetera) across networks and ensure alignment with other marketing activities across the organization. Even with the planning, though, emergent issues require organizations to be adaptive and flexible, a defining paradox of the digital age.

50.3.2.5 Rules of Engagement and Social Media Governance

Irresponsible social media usage can prompt serious "social media fails." Preventing, or at least anticipating, these missteps and managing them is contextual – albeit guiding principles may come in handy. Among the first rules of engagement

are maintaining a pleasant tone of voice, being responsive, and open to (especially critical) feedback. Censorship in social media can threaten its participatory and open nature and can even undermine organizational reputation.

As organizations negotiate the loss of control in the digital age, they turn to social media guidelines and policies as a mechanism for governance. Along with training programs, "formal and informal frameworks which regulate the actions of the members of an organization within the social web" (Macnamara and Zerfass 2012, p. 302) allow organizations to discipline employee use of social media in order to mitigate potential reputational, legal, and operational risks and offer a semblance of control. Most policies highlight rules of etiquette and engagement consistent with brand values, clear identification of authorship, and issues of confidentiality and privacy. They can run from one page to multiple pages of content. Most policies recognize that employees are representatives of the organization and, as brand ambassadors, they assume a powerful position as reputation agents (Rokka et al. 2014). Thus, their actions can hurt or help their employer (Opitz et al. 2018). In light of blurring boundaries, guidelines help but are not enough. Organizational success with social media is equally about enabling and empowering employees embedded in a supportive culture with latitude for mistakes.

Finally, organizations must be ethical in their use of social media and simultaneously be cognizant of the ethical challenges of irresponsible usage. Bowen (2013, p. 126) outlines several guidelines for ethical digital engagement, which include avoiding deception, verifying data and sources, and being consistent as well as transparent, among others. These guidelines also demand consideration during the formative planning stages and ongoing reflection throughout the social media management process. Social media misuse can have far-reaching effects largely because of its permanence and visibility. Organizations, NGOs included, thus need to look in the mirror regularly and assess whether all forms of strategic communication are conducted ethically and in alignment with organizational values. Once the social media plan has been implemented, social media managers can proceed to evaluate the quality and effectiveness of their efforts in order to improve and adjust their tactics.

50.3.3 Evaluation and Social Media Metrics

Social media communication should be evaluated frequently, and the social media team should assess quality and quantity at all stages of the social media process. This includes preparation and strategic design, implementation, content and audience interactions, as well as the impact of the organization's social media communication (Kim 2016). Evaluation can give confidence that strategic and tactical decisions were appropriate to meet the social media goals and objectives, and allow the social media team to document the value of its work. They can also provide opportunities for reflection and improvements as they identify where the team fell short.

Evaluating the quality of the preparation and background research, the team should consider if important information was considered, was correct, and

interpreted appropriately (Kim 2016). Clampitt's (2018) general 5C assessment model suggests that evaluation focuses on five general aspects:

1. Coordinates – appropriateness of goals and how well they are met
2. Channels – social media platform selection and management
3. Content – resonance with audiences, variety, quality, and goal orientation
4. Connections – linkages to other off- and online channels (such as the organization's website, flyers, newsletters, etc.), relevant internal resources and departments, and external communities
5. Corrections – ability to change as well as respond to gaffes and mistakes based on proper evaluation protocols

More specifically, establishing the value and impact of communication is a central concern of evaluation. This question has also been a prominent challenge for strategic communication scholars and practitioners (see Macnamara 2014). Indeed, professional associations such as the Public Relations Society of America (see PRSA n.d.) or the Institute for Public Relations (see IPR n.d.) have commissioned task forces and committees with exploring frameworks and standards for measurement and evaluation. In recent years, these efforts have also focused on the unique characteristics of social media communication and metrics.

The international Association for Measurement and Evaluation of Communication (AMEC 2016) has put forth the Integrated Measurement Evaluation Framework. It suggests that organizations evaluate their communication on three dimensions:

1. *Communication activity* to be assessed by focusing on the quality and quantity of social media communication (outputs)
2. *Audience effects* to be analyzed by measuring outtakes (responses and reactions to the organization's content) and outcomes (change or reinforcement of audience awareness, attitude, or behavior)
3. *Impact* to be established by assessing how the social media communication has contributed to achieving higher-order organizational goals such as establishing a strong reputation or increasing donations

It is helpful that social media companies collect and provide an abundance of data about how followers interact with the organization's profile page and content. Most allow basic free and/or paid access to their analytics. Facebook pages or Twitter profiles, for instance, come with their own analytics feature, and Google Analytics allows for tracking how much traffic to the organization's websites was triggered from its social media platforms. In addition to tools provided by social media companies, organizations have a variety of options for free and paid third-party analytics services.

Social media data is reported based on common social media metrics. These are particularly useful to assess responses and reactions but also provide statistics about communication activity and some outcomes (see Table 1). Facebook Insights, for

Table 1 Selected social media metrics for different levels of evaluation

Level of evaluation	Metric	Measures
Communication activity	Post rate	Number of social media posts within a specific timeframe
	Response rate	Percentage of inquiries and comments the organization responded to within a specific timeframe
Outtakes	Impressions	Number of times a post could be seen by others
	Reach	Number of unique individuals a post could be seen by
	Likes/applause rate	Number of times content has been liked/average number of likes per post
	Shares/ amplification rate	Number of times content has been shared/average number of shares per post
	Comments/ conversation rate	Number of comments in response to content/average number of comments per post
	Engagements	Number of interactions with posts
	Followers/ unfollows	Number of people who follow a profile or page/number of times people unfollow a page or profile
	Mentions/share of voice	Number of times the organization has been mentioned/ percentage of mentions compared to competitors
	Click-through/ click-through rate	Number of times a shared link has been opened, click-throughs divided by impressions
Outcomes	Sentiments	Percentage of positive, neutral, and negative mentions
	Conversions	Number of times social media content interaction was converted into a desired action (subscriptions, donations, signing a petition, attending an event, etc.)

instance, tracks fluctuations in following, reach of posts by time of day, likes, reactions, and shares, among many other metrics.

While social media offer unique access to data on how audiences interact with their profiles and content, evaluation methods should also include qualitative assessments and be tailored to the unique objectives and strategies pursued. The quantity of posts and responses does not reveal much about the quality of the communication activities. To get a complete picture, aspects such as quality of writing and production (for instance, videos), readability and relevance, alignment with strategic objectives, and appropriateness of responses should be assessed as well. Outtake metrics become more meaningful when, for instance, content of comments and mentions, reasons for following/unfollowing, or whether audiences have actually understood the message are explored (see IPR 2003). What's more, social media content may lead to outtakes beyond social media, for instance, if an organization's message gets picked up by traditional news media or leads to feedback and comments by phone.

Metrics are also limited when evaluating outcomes. While conversions can provide important information for specific types of lower-level goals, such as increasing subscribers, they cannot account for other changes in awareness, attitude, and behaviors. Appropriate ways for further assessment depend on the type of change as well as on the organization's budget. If the organization, for instance,

aims to increase donations or recruit volunteers, it should also collect information on what made individuals donate or sign up, in addition to tracking conversion metrics. Changes in awareness and attitude often require surveys before and after implementation to establish that a difference was made (see Macnamara 2005). This is particularly useful when organizations launch large-scale campaigns with specific timeframes (for instance, a campaign to change attitudes toward breastfeeding).

A holistic approach to evaluating multiple dimensions of social media communication quantitatively and qualitatively allows for generating important insights. This in turn helps identify where strategy and tactics need to be revisited and can be improved. Evaluation thus closes the circle of the social media process as it leads back to strategic planning and implementation.

50.4 Conclusion

In a time that some call the "era of social media" (for instance, Mutsvairo 2016), NGOs are well advised to embrace and explore the opportunities for communication that social media platforms provide. Many NGOs have shown how social media communication can significantly support efforts to increase awareness, mobilize, raise funds, build community, and engage stakeholders, among others. Navigating the social media environment so that it benefits the organization's cause, however, is a time-consuming and challenging task. It requires resources, strategic planning, as well as expertise.

This chapter has reviewed opportunities for NGOs and outlined a strategic social media process for organizations. It includes strategic planning, implementation, and evaluation. Doing so, strategic social media management encourages organizations to implement communication creatively and oriented toward the organization's goals and mission while embracing two-way communication, collaboration, and participation.

A strategic orientation to social media management provides focus, consistency, discipline, and orientation. While many everyday tasks of social media management may become routine, social media are vibrant, dynamic, ever-evolving, messy, collaborative, and spontaneous in nature. Besides a strategic mindset, they thus also require openness and flexibility (see Macnamara and Zerfass 2012), and one-size-fits-all recipes for communication and content will thus likely fall short. Indeed, some of the most successful social media campaigns stand out because they creatively play with the unique possibilities that social media afford and embrace user participation as well as collaboration.

50.5 Cross-References

► Capacity Building and People's Participation in e-Governance: Challenges and Prospects for Digital India

- ▶ Communication Policy for Women's Empowerment: Media Strategies and Insights
- ▶ Digital Communication and Tourism for Development
- ▶ Empowerment as Development: An Outline of an Analytical Concept for the Study of ICTs in the Global South
- ▶ How Social Media Mashups Enable and Constrain Online Activism of Civil Society Organizations
- ▶ Online Social Media and Crisis Communication in China: A Review and Critique
- ▶ Strategic Social Media Management for NGOs

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ICTs and Modernization in China

51

Song Shi

Contents

51.1 Introduction 930
51.2 Communication for Development: Modernization, Dependency, and Multiplicity 930
51.3 ICT for Development 933
51.4 ICT for Development and "Modernization" in Contemporary China 933
51.5 Conclusion 937
References 937

Abstract

A multidisciplinary field at the intersection of communication for development and social change (CDS) studies and ICT studies, ICT for Development (ICT4D) is generally understood as the research of development and social change brought about by the application of ICTs. China, the largest developing country, with the largest population, and the biggest Internet population in the world, offered a good case for the investigation of ICT4D in developing countries. This chapter explores the ICT4D phenomena in China in relation to the modernization paradigm in Communication for Development. This chapter reveals that assumptions and theories of the modernization paradigm have significantly influenced the policies and projects on ICT4D in contemporary China. Yet, discussion on the potential of other approaches in ICT4D in China has also emerged among scholars.

Keywords

Communication for Development · ICT for development (ICT4D) · ICT studies · Modernization

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51.1 Introduction

As the biggest developing country in the world, China has experienced tremendous economic development over the past three decades. It has also been widely considered as an example that how an agrarian society could be rapidly "modernized" into an industrial society. At the same time, China now has the largest Internet user base in the world, with upwards of 750,000,000 Internet users (as of June 2017), over twice the population of the United States. The use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) for development and "modernization" in contemporary China has attracted worldwide interest among scholars, policy makers, and the general public. This chapter first provides a brief survey of the concept of modernization in Communication for Development and in ICT for Development. Then, it explores the phenomenon of ICT4D in relation to modernization theories in the specific context in China (PRC). The outline of the chapter is as follows: Section 51.2 will briefly summarize the concept of modernization as well as the critique of the modernization paradigm in Communication for Development. Section 51.3 will survey the concept and practices of ICTs for development. Section 51.4 will discuss the practice of ICT for development in China in relation to modernization theories and alternatives approaches to ICT for development. Section 51.5 concludes.

51.2 Communication for Development: Modernization, Dependency, and Multiplicity

Communication for Development is the study of development and social change brought about by the application of communication research, theory, and technologies (Rogers 1976; Servaes 1999, 2008). Modernization theories (e.g., Almond and Coleman 1961; Lerner 1958; Lerner and Schramm 1967; Rogers 1976; Rostow 1953) is the best established paradigm in this field. They significantly shaped the definition and understanding of the concept of "development" as well as the concept of "modern" and "modernization" among scholars, policymakers, and practitioners, as well as the practice of development from the 1950s to the 1960s (Servaes 1999, 2008; Sparks 2007). The modernization paradigm has also critically influenced the international development policies in the Western countries such as the United States. This paradigm stems from neo-liberalism, functionalism, and behaviorism traditions. It defined development and underdevelopment in terms of observable quantitative differences between rich (developed) countries and poor (developing) countries. And it used a number of quantitative economic growth indicators, such as income, per capita GDP, savings volume, and investment level to measure different stages of development. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, modernization theories incorporated non-economic indexes, such as attitudes toward change, education level, mass media adoption rate, and institutional reforms, to measure development

(e.g., Almond and Coleman 1961; Lerner 1958). Modernization theorists contended that the cause of underdevelopment in developing countries and less developed communities is internal, meaning that internal factors, such as traditional social-political and cultural structures; traditional mindsets; and passive attitudes toward change in these societies and communities, lead to underdevelopment. This implies that the stimulus for change or the solution to underdevelopment in developing countries must come from the outside (Western) world (Servaes 1999). A typical example of this kind of argument is presented in Lerner's canonical book, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*: "From the West came the stimuli that will undermine traditional society . . . for reconstruction of a modern society . . . West is still a useful model. What the West is . . . the Middle East seeks to become" (Lerner 1958). Another characteristic of the perception of development in modernization paradigm is that it understands development as a universal linear evolutionary process. By universal, it means that the Western development model is a spontaneous, unavoidable, and irresistible process that every society must go through (Lerner 1958; Servaes 1999). On a more practical level, it believes that replicating the Western political-economic system is the only means by which developing countries can develop into modern societies. By linear evolutionary, it means that the development process is an irreversible growth process without limit.

With regard to the role and effects of communication in development projects, the modernization paradigm perpetuated the "diffusion model" (Rogers and Shoemaker 1983; Inagaki and World Bank 2007; Servaes 1999) in which communication is considered to flow one-way from the "sender" (development experts) to the "receiver" (less developed communities). In this model, communication is overwhelmingly oriented toward persuasion. Accordingly, in Communication for Development projects guided by modernization theories, less developed communities, the intended beneficiaries of these projects, are considered passive targets. And they are excluded from the policymaking and the designing of these projects as well as from developing a base of knowledge to solve underdevelopment.

On an international level, the modernization paradigm asserts that the transfer of technology, capital, values, and sociopolitical structure from developed countries (Western countries) to developing countries will solve their underdevelopment problems and "modernize" them. The modernization paradigm was criticized for being Eurocentric, overlooking local participation, focusing overwhelmingly on economic growth, and ignoring the consequences of macro and international economic and social-political factors in local development (e.g., Servaes 1999, 2008; Sparks 2007). In the 1960s, the modernization paradigm was criticized and challenged by a new paradigm in development studies-dependency paradigm emerged from Latin America (Servaes 1999). Dependency theories stem from the neo-Marxist or structuralist intellectual traditions and the Latin American researchers' study on development issues. Most dependency paradigm researchers agreed that dependency is a conditional situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development of others. The relationship

between the two groups of countries becomes a dependency relationship when the dominant group can expand through self-impulsion while the dependent group can only expand as a reflection of the expansion of the dominant countries (Dos Santos 1970). Dependency theories argued that the dependency relation between the developing countries and the developed countries causes the underdevelopment in developing countries. Thus, the solution of underdevelopment in developing countries is removing the dependency relationship. The developing countries should disassociate themselves from the world market and opt for a self-reliant development strategy. On a technical level, dependency researchers advocated limiting the import of privately owned and Western controlled technologies, organizing import-substitution programs to design the "appropriate" indigenous technologies in developing countries, and fostering technological cooperation among all developing countries (Servaes 1999).

In the 1980s, the multiplicity paradigm (Servaes 1999) or the participatory paradigm (Inagaki and World Bank 2007) emerged as the critique of the first two paradigms from diverse origins in both Western countries and developing countries. Contrary to the modernization paradigm, it highlights that there is no universal development model and every society must pursue its own development strategy (Servaes 1999). In addition to economic development, the problem of freedom and justice also needs to be addressed. Instead of endless growth, limits of growth are considered to be inherent in the interaction between society and nature. Different from the dependency paradigm, it highlights interdependency. By interdependency, it means that all nations, in one way or the other, are dependent upon each other. Thus, development has to be studied in a global context, in which center (developed countries) and periphery (developing countries), as well as their interrelated subdivisions, have to be taken into consideration (Servaes 1999). With regard to the role of communication in development projects, the multiplicity paradigm proposed a new model – the "participatory model" (Inagaki and World Bank 2007; Ogan et al. 2009; Servaes 1999). Compared with the sender-oriented diffusion model, participatory model is more receiver-oriented. It views the ordinary people (receivers) as the controlling actors or participants in using communication for development. It believes that communication is a dialogue. This means, first, there is no sender and receiver, and all participants are equal peers; second, the meaning and the knowledge of development is not packaged knowledge sent from sender to receiver (the diffusion model); rather, it is constructed in the interactions among different participants. The advocators of participatory model in development projects stated that real participation must involve the redistribution of power, meaning that in a participatory model development project, the elites' power must be redistributed so that a community can become a full-fledged democracy (e.g., Inagaki and World Bank 2007; Melkote and Steeves 2001; Servaes 1999). Overall, in Communication for Development, although modernization theories were criticized first by dependency theories then by multiplicity paradigm, it remains a popular discourse among policymakers and a dominant approach in many development contexts, especially in projects related to ICTs (Inagaki and World Bank 2007; Ogan et al. 2009).

51.3 ICT for Development

A multidisciplinary field at the intersection of Communication for Development studies and ICT studies, ICT for Development (ICT4D) is generally understood as research that uses ICTs to bring about development and social change. The rise of ICT4D as an academic field and the large number of ICT4D projects in different countries is an indication of the strong interest among scholars and practitioners in the effects of ICTs on development and social change (e.g., Donner 2015; Heeks 2008; Hudson 2013; Kleine 2013; Mansell and Wehn 1998; Ogan et al. 2009; Torero and Von Braun 2006). Using meta-analysis and content analysis to examine in peer-reviewed journals between 1998 and 2007, Ogan et al. (2009) found that ICT4D has become the most dominant approach employed by researches concerned with the relationship between communication and development at that time, with 42.3% of the articles (85 out of 201) using ICT4D as their primary approach.

The research of Ogan et al. also reveals that a substantial number of researchers in ICT4D embraced the technological deterministic view of the modernization paradigm, believing that technology is the primary driver of development and ICTs, such as the Internet and mobile phones, are new magic solutions to development problems (2009). Yet, their research and that of others (e.g., Kleine 2013; Torero and Von Braun 2005; Servaes et al. 2006; Slater and Tacchi 2004) also indicate that an increasing amount of ICT4D scholarship considers ICTs to be tools for development and social change. For example, Torero and von Braun stated: "ICT is an opportunity for development, but not a panacea. For the potential benefits of ICT to be realized in developing countries, many prerequisites need to be put in place" (2006: 343). Servaes et al. assert that ICTs provide "a new potential for combining the information embedded in ICT systems with the creative potential and knowledge embodied in people" (2006, p. 5). The second group of scholars therefore believed that research on ICT4D should focus on how users utilize ICTs and the sociopolitical, economic, and cultural contexts of the use of ICTs, as well as the characteristics of ICTs.

51.4 ICT for Development and "Modernization" in Contemporary China

Although not among the most dominant or populous approaches in studies of China's ICTs and the Internet, ICT4D has also been employed by communication and media scholars focusing on China (e.g., Liu 2016; Shi 2013; Ting 2015; Zhao 2008a, b; Zhang and Chib 2014).

Zhao's monograph (2008b) significantly contributed to our knowledge of ICT4D in China by offering an in-depth analysis of ICT4D projects in five rural towns in China. Her research fully applied the ICT4D approach in the context of rural China. In the Communication for Development filed, Zhao's theoretical framework is more in line with the modernization paradigm especially Rogers' theory on diffusion of innovation (1983). Yet, different from most of past research on diffusion of ICTs, Zhao used a qualitative method, which offers her research a unique capacity to seek

in-depth understanding of Internet diffusion in relation to political, socioeconomic, and technological contexts of rural China. Her book also explores the implications of Internet use upon various aspects of rural development and the how government, private industries, and individual users contribute to the diffusion of Internet in rural China. A significant strength of Zhao's research is that it is based on ethnographic research of five ICT4D projects in rural Chinese towns in western, central, and eastern regions in China. The rationale that Zhao selected the five projects is that they represent ICT4D projects initiated by different stakeholders in different parts of China. Two of the projects were initiated by the local government and one was initiated by local government and international development organization. The rest two projects were initiated by the private sector. Through this approach, Zhao's research explored the role of different stakeholders in promoting Internet diffusion in different parts of rural China. Zhao's findings offered a solid critique to technological determinism assumption of the modernization paradigm such as ICTs drive development and social change in less developed community. Zhao argued that the impacts of the five ICT4D projects to various development problems in rural China are very limited (2008b). Zhao's findings also show that local government, development organization, and private industry led every process of the five projects, whereas local rural communities' participation in these projects was relative passive. This indicates that although the five ICT4D projects were initiated by different stakeholders in different parts of rural China, they are all more or less in line with the modernization development theories and the diffusion model in Communication for Development. Zhao's book also shows that the effectiveness of ICT4D projects guided by the modernization theories is questionable.

Zhao's research primarily focuses on ICT4D projects in local level. Shi (2013), on the contrary, explored the state ICT4D policy in rural China. Through a textual analysis of policy documents related to the Connecting Every Village Project, a state initiative to promote telecommunication and Internet services in the nation's vast rural regions, Shi analyzes development theories and assumptions that underpin this state policy. Shi argued (2013) that the Connecting Every Village Project is significantly influenced by the modernization theories and assumptions. Shi argued that in the Connecting Every Village Project, the rural-urban dichotomy replaced the traditional-modern dichotomy of the modernization paradigm as a core concept in the policy discourse. Yet, the conceptualization of development and the solutions of underdevelopment in the project are completely congruent with the modernization paradigm. For example, the modernization paradigm assumes that development in traditional society can be stimulated by external factors–the transfer of capital and technology, expertise and technique from modern Western nations. Similarly, the Connecting Every Village Project believed that the development of the rural regions can be stimulated by external factors such as the transfer of capital and technology, expertise, and technique from more industrialized urban regions within China (2013). Shi argued that in the modernization paradigm, the "modernization" of the traditional societies in developing countries was perceived as a Westernization process, while in the the Connecting Every Village Project, the "modernization" of rural

regions was perceived as an urbanization process. Moreover, like in most ICT4D projects in modernization paradigm, the Connecting Every Village Project oversimplified the ICT development in rural China to a single quantitative criterion – the percentage of villages covered by either the Internet or telecommunication networks. Shi's finding opened up the door to introduce critical research on the modernization paradigm into the study of the unbalanced development and unequal relations between rural China and urban China.

Shi's research revealed the modernization paradigm assumptions that underpin China's state ICT policy in rural China. Yet, it has not addressed the various problems and weaknesses of the modernization paradigm ICT4D initiatives led by the Chinese government. Ting and Yi (2013) offered an in-depth investigation of the weakness of state-led ICT4D projects in Guangdong Province, south China. Guangdong has the biggest GDP in China, $7,281,255 million in total as of 2015. It also has the eighth highest GDP per capita in China, reaching $ 11,143 in 2016. Yet, the economic development in Guangdong was very unbalanced. According to Ting and Yi (2013), the GDP per capita in the most developed Pearl River Delta in Guangdong has researched 67,407 Yuan whereas in the mountainous region in the province, it was just 16,726 Yuan as of 2009. The most economically developed province as well as a province with sharp rural-urban inequality, Guangdong offered a good case to examine ICT4D projects in rural China. Ting and Yi identified four major weaknesses of two provincial ICT4D projects led by the government: "(1) inefficient and wasteful spending resulting from interdepartmental rivalry (2) lack of policy continuity and institutional learning (3) lack of accountability and credible measurements (4) central planning resulting in gap between services and local needs" (2013). The first weakness of the projects is related with the top-down designing and implementation processes of Communication for Development projects that are guided by modernization theories and the diffusion model. The third weakness, lack of accountability, is related with the fundamental characteristics of the modernization theories guided projects such as overlooking local participation and the dominance of the government or elites in all process of the projects. The last weakness of the two projects revealed by Ting and Yi is actually the result of the features of the "sender" oriented diffusion model such as the intended beneficiaries of development projects are considered passive targets and are excluded from developing a base of knowledge to solve their own problems. Ting and Yi (2013) offered a concrete example of various weaknesses of ICT4D projects influenced or guided by modernization theories in rural China.

Liu's article in 2016 examined a provincial level government led ICT4D project in rural region in Sichuan province, with a focus on the sustainability risks of the project. Sichuan ranked fourth in term of population but 24th in terms of GDP per capita in China as of 2016. Its GDP per capita just reached $6022, around 54% of Guangdong in 2016. Compared with Ting and Yi (2013), Liu's research offered insights on government led ICT4D project in a relative poor region in China. Drawing upon Kumar and Best's theoretical framework (2006), Liu (2016) offered a critical analysis of Sichuan's informatization project led by the government by examining its sustainability failure from five perspectives: financial/economic

sustainability failure, cultural/social sustainability failure, technological sustainability failure, political/institutional sustainability failure, and environmental sustainability failure. Liu (2016) argued that the government-led project is at risk of financial, social, and institutional sustainability failures. By institutional sustainability failure, Liu means that the lack of coordination between different government departments and the lack of policy continuity threatened the sustainability of the project in Sichuan. This is in line with the findings in Ting and Yi's research on the weakness of government-led ICT4D projects in Guangdong. In terms of social sustainability failure, Liu (2016) revealed that in the current design of the project, members of rural communities are perceived as passive receivers of what information is delivered to them. They were excluded from the discussion of what contents should be created for and delivered by the newly developed ICT systems in their own communities. Liu (2016) argued without the engagement of local representatives and local communities, the quality of the locally relevant and locally oriented information might deteriorate in the long term. According to the data in Liu article, five out of seven of the local residents interviewed in the research stated that the information from the newly developed ICT systems is not useful for them. Liu's findings reconfirmed the weakness of ICT4D projects guided by modernization theories that Ting and Yi (2013) has revealed in their research in Guangdong such as lack of local participation.

Existing research (e.g., Liu 2016; Shi 2013; Ting and Yi 2013; Zhao 2008b) indicated that modernization paradigm dominated ICT4D projects in China especially in its vast rural regions. Influenced by the increasing significance of new theories in Communication for Development, scholars investigating ICT4D in Chinese society have also begun to examine the potential to introduce new approaches in ICT4D projects and policies in China. Ting (2015), for example, examined the potential and challenges to incorporate the Capacity Approach in ICT4D in the Chinese government's rural ICT4D policy. The Capacity Approach in ICT4D is generally in line with the multiplicity paradigm or participatory paradigm in Communication for Development. The Capacity Approach stems from Indian economist and philosopher Amartya Sen's research (Sen 1993, 1999). It challenged the economic growth focused definition of development in the modernization paradigm. In this approach, development is understood as the expansion or enhancement of the capacity of individuals to live a life he or she values (Kleine 2013). Contrary to the modernization paradigm's belief that technology is the driver of development, the Capacity Approach considers technology as tools and means for individual to expand their capacities. The Capacity Approach has been effectively used to analyze ICT4D projects and policies in other countries (Kleine 2013) and has been incorporated into the Human Development Index of the United Nations Development Programme. Ting (2015) argued that the Capacity Approach has the potential to develop "a more coherent and holistic framework" for ICT4D projects in rural China. Through case studies of two ICT4D projects in rural China, Ting examined the compatibility between the Capability Approach and the conventional top-down modernization approach towards rural ICT4D projects in China and offered policy suggestions (Ting 2015).

51.5 Conclusion

This chapter explores the ICT4D phenomena in China in relation to the modernization paradigm in Communication for Development. Existing research (e.g., Liu 2016; Shi 2013; Ting and Yi 2013; Zhao 2008a, b) indicated that assumptions and theories of the modernization paradigm have significantly influenced the policies and projects on ICT4D in contemporary China. From the national level project (Shi 2013), to provincial level projects (e.g., Liu 2016; Ting and Yi 2013), to village level projects (Zhao 2008a, b), the modernization paradigm dominated in the design and implementation of ICT4D initiatives in China. Yet, discussion on the potential of other approaches has also emerged among scholars (Ting 2015). In order to bring new insights on ICT4D in China, future research could examine why modernization paradigm dominated the ICT4D field in China, the emerging practice of ICT4D that employed other approaches such as the Capacity Approach or the participatory communication model, and how to use the participatory communication model in critical analysis of ICT4D efforts led by the Chinese government or other stakeholders.

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Online Social Media and Crisis Communication in China: A Review and Critique

52

Yang Cheng

Contents

52.1 Introduction 940
52.2 Online Social Media and Crisis Communication 940
52.3 The General Trend of Social Media and Crisis Communication Research 943
52.3.1 Theoretical Framework 943
52.3.2 Methodological Preferences 943
52.3.3 Types of Research 944
52.4 Forms of Crisis Communication Practice 944
52.4.1 Crisis Communication Strategy (CCS) 944
52.4.2 Forms of Response 945
52.4.3 Crisis Communication Effectiveness (CCE) 945
52.5 The Chinese Context and Crisis Communication Practice 945
52.6 Future Directions 947
52.6.1 To Emphasize the Crisis Phases 948
52.6.2 To Extend Theories and Models 948
52.6.3 To Consider a Comparative Logic 949
52.6.4 To Adopt a Uniformed Research Standard 949
References 950

Abstract

This chapter presents a review of the scholarship on the social media and crisis communication in China. Through a content analysis of research articles published in 11 journals listed in the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) and in the Chinese Social Science Citation Index (CSSCI), 58 directly relevant articles are identified in the period from 2006 to 2016. The chapter examines the theoretical framework, methodological preferences, types of research, crisis communication practice, as an overview of current ongoing research trends. This research also explores how the

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unique Chinese characteristics affect the communication practice. Finally, critiques and suggestions for future research are provided from four dimensions, which include emphasizing on the crisis phases, extending theories and models, applying a comparative logic in discussion, and unifying the research standard between articles published in the SSCI and CSSCI journals.

Keywords

Social media · new media · crisis communication · content analysis · China

52.1 Introduction

As China and India have risen into the world's most rapidly developing markets, new patterns of online communication and crisis management are emerging within the Asian area, thereby the twenty-first century has been called "the Asian Century" and attracted increasing attention from global scholars. In the previous 10 years, several major crises in China were broadcast to the world through the rapid transmission of social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Weixin, and Weibo. Among these crises (e.g., the SARS crisis in 2003, Sanlu milk contamination crisis in 2008, China's Red Cross credibility crisis in 2011, and Japan's nuclear crisis in 2013), social media as the mediator between organizations and publics have transformed the way of sending and achieving information. On the one hand, organizations can directly send information to massive subscribed stakeholders on social media. On the other hand, current online users can actively engage in crises through collectively commenting or publishing their own news stories (Bruns 2005). This social-mediated communication may assist effective crisis communication community (Howe 2008) while meantime generate the possibility for intensive crises or risks as well (Huang and Lin 2004). Hackers, viruses, and rumors on social media can easily trigger crises and lead to large amounts of tangible or intangible cost (e.g., organizational litigation cost and customer complain cost). Studies based on interviews in 16 global companies found that 36% of crises resulted from digital security failures or online negative publicities (Burson-Marsteller and PSB 2011).

This chapter proposes to explore the form and practice of online social media and crisis communication as they exist in China. Through a content analysis of 58 articles published in 11 academic journals from 2006 to 2016, the chapter presents the theoretical framework, methodological preferences, types of research, and crisis communication practice addressed in these articles.

52.2 Online Social Media and Crisis Communication

Types of social media such as Twitter, Facebook, WeChat, and Weibo are ushering in a new era of crisis communication. Previous literature has conducted numerous discussions on online social media and crisis communication, which is referred to as the "social-mediated crisis management research (SMCM)" (Cheng 2016a).

Earlier, Hearit (1999) studied the crisis management of flawed Intel Pentium chip on the Internet and found that companies were urged to use the Internet under the pressure of public movements. In turns, Taylor and Perry (2005) suggested that about half of studied 92 organizations adopted online tools in crisis management. Recently, Liu et al. (2012) constructed a blog-mediated crisis communication (BMCC) model and described how the American Red Cross uses blogs in crises. In China, Choi and Lin (2012) explored the consumer emotions posted on online bulletin boards in the crisis of Mattel product recalls. In the Chinese context, Tai and Sun (2007) found that the Internet tools particularly empower the public to challenge official claims during the SARS crisis. Wu and Yeh (2012) suggested that although the majority of Taiwan corporations rapidly respond to the crises online within the first 24 h, the crisis communication effectiveness is below the expectation. In sum, studies in the social media and crisis communication research mainly covered areas such as the use of external social media in organizational crisis communication (Huang and Lin 2004; Jin and Liu 2010; Liu et al. 2012; Taylor and Perry 2005), the management of brand image and organizational-public relationship (Moody 2011), and the crisis communication strategy and effectiveness (Utz et al. 2013; Wu and Yeh 2012).

Considering the large amount of relevant literature on crisis communication involving social media in public relations or in the field of communication, it is time that we should take a synthesized review of how global scholarship examines the realm of social media and crisis communication and provide insights for future research agendas. Research that examines the theoretical framework, methodological preferences, types of research, and public relation practice in this area is lacking (e.g., Veil et al. 2011; Ye and Ki 2012).

According to Huang et al. (2005), although crisis communication scholarship has grown rapidly over the past decades, most paradigms originated, in terms of conceptualization and operationalization, still were applied to and tested only in North America. Little research has explored the social media and crisis communication in China where cultural traits together with institutional contexts can greatly differ from those in Western countries such as the U.S.A.

Traditional Chinese society places a special emphasis on moral values such as collectivism, hierarchy, harmony, social relationships, and face-favor practice (Hwang 1987), while in Western countries, individualism, equality, freedom, and personal achievements are valued (Hofstede 2001). Contrasting with the USA, the block of international social media (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, YouTube) and the Internet censorship serving for political regimes characterize a distinctive online media landscape in China (Jiang 2013). For example, over half (61%) of 984 million Chinese Internet or mobile web users could get access to online media. The nation's top social network, QZone gained 712 million users in 2013, 84% of which participated as active users (Millward 2013). Social media in China enjoyed large numbers of users and a high level of engagement. Sixty-one percent Renren users shared personal information online, and 58% users were willing to accept friend requests from strangers, while Facebook users showed a lower degree of openness that only 36% of them were prone to disclose personal information and only 26% users would like to accept strangers (Yin and Liu 2012). Thus, how did the forms of social media and crisis communication practice present themselves in

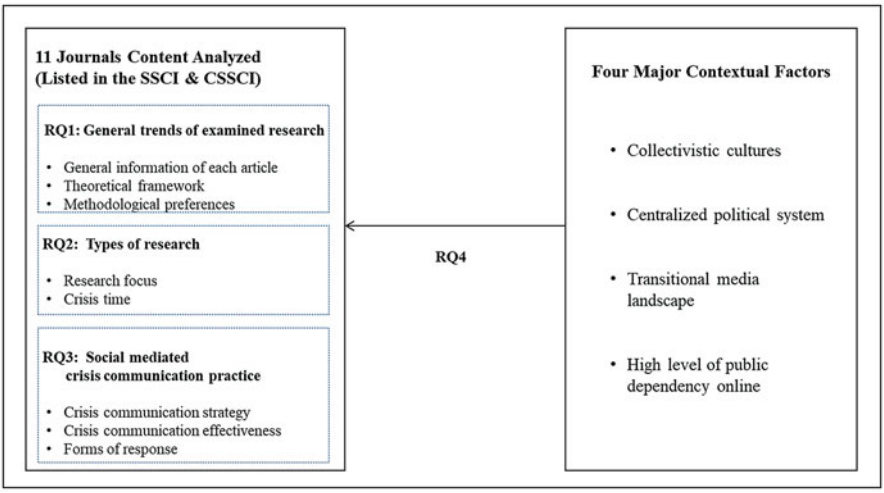

Fig. 1 The theoretical framework of the social media and crisis communication research

China? How did the contexts affect such practice? A comprehensive analysis in the Chinese communication should shed light on these questions and extend Western theories of public relations in general and the crisis communication in particular.

This chapter analyzed a total of 58 articles published by 11 academic journals from 2006 to 2016. Based upon the findings, this study presented the general trend of the social media and crisis communication research, in terms of the theoretical framework and methodological approach, what types of social media and crisis communication research have been studied and what were the forms of social media and crisis communication practice. Finally, the impact of the Chinese context on the crisis communication practice was explored. The ultimate goal is to provide conceptual clarity for future research that seeks to develop a better understanding of the social media and crisis communication research in China. Figure 1 depicts the theoretical framework for this study and suggests four research questions below:

- What is the general trend of social media and crisis communication research, in terms of the article number in each journal, the theoretical framework, and the methodological preferences in each article?
- What types of social media and crisis communication research have been studied (i.e., research focus and crisis time)?
- What are the forms of social media and crisis communication practice (i.e., crisis communication strategy, forms of response, and crisis management effectiveness) in China?
- How do cultural traits and institutional contexts influence the social media and crisis communication practice in China?

52.3 The General Trend of Social Media and Crisis Communication Research

This chapter first presented research trends of all available including general information of articles, theoretical framework, and methodological preferences. Among the total 58 articles drawn from 11 journals, only SSCI (12 articles, 21%) and CSSCI (46 articles, 79%) journals were included, with 5 articles (9%) in *Public Relations Review* [SSCI], as the leading journal in the field of public relations. Twelve articles (21%) were found in the *Journal of International Communication* [CSSCI] and 11 articles (19%) in the *Journalism and Communication Research* [CSSCI] serving as major outlets for the social media and crisis communication research in China. Findings also demonstrated an increasing attention to "social media and crisis communication" over the past 10 years, with only 9 articles (16%) published between 2006 and 2008, 17 articles (29%) published between 2009 and 2011, and 32 articles (55%) published from 2012 to 2016.

52.3.1 Theoretical Framework

Among the articles applying specific theories, the most frequently examined theory was image repair theory (38%), followed by situational crisis communication theory (16%), framing theory (11%), excellence theory (10%), media system dependency theory (8%), uses and gratifications (5%), spiral of silence (5%), diffusion of innovation (3%), contingency theory of accommodation (2%), and others (2%).

With regard to the use of research questions (RQs) or hypotheses (Hs), articles published in SSCI and CSSCI journals exhibited significant differences ($X^2 = 28.55$, $df = 3$, $p < 0.001$). For articles in the SSCI, the use of RQs or Hs increased from 2006 to 2016. As a whole, "RQ" (seven articles, 58%) was the most prevalent one, followed by "neither RQ nor H" (four articles, 34%), and "RQ and H" (one article, 8%). For those indexed in CSSCI journals, only 4 articles (9%) applied RQ; the other 42 articles (91%) applied neither RQ nor H.

52.3.2 Methodological Preferences

Data showed that articles indexed in SSCI and CSSCI journals differ significantly in research method ($X^2 = 16.60$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.001$) and data sources ($X^2 = 45.68$, $df = 14$, $p < 0.001$). Among the 12 articles in SSCI journals, quantitative research was relatively more prominent (10 articles, 83%), and quantitative content analysis (32%) was the dominant method. As for data sources, the most widely used sources were traditional media such as print newspapers (six articles, 50%). In contrast, the qualitative method (39 articles, 85%) and qualitative content analysis (37 articles, 81%) were mostly used, and archival data served as the major source (30 articles, 65%) among the 46 articles indexed in CSSCI.

52.3.3 Types of Research

Types of research discussed the research focus and crisis time. Research focus refers to the main subject of specific research. In the dataset, articles in SSCI and CSSCI journals exhibited significant difference on research focus ($X^2 = 22.22$, $df = 7$, $p < 0.01$). The 12 articles in SSCI showed great interests in the "public" and widely discussed public motivation of using online media, public emotions, engagement, identification, and generated online contents in crises (Choi and Lin 2012; Tai and Sun 2007), while the articles in CSSCI journals emphasized on the evaluation of crisis situation (43 articles, 93%), and few of them discussed public reactions (3 articles, 7%). Among the total 58 articles, the widely discussed crises included SARS (2003), the melamine-contaminated milk powder of Sanlu (2008), flu pandemic (2009), China's Red Cross credibility crisis (2011), and Japan's nuclear crisis (2013).

52.4 Forms of Crisis Communication Practice

This chapter also discussed the forms of crisis communication practice, including crisis communication strategy (CCS), crisis communication effectiveness (CCE), and forms of response.

52.4.1 Crisis Communication Strategy (CCS)

For CCS, several clear features manifested. First, although the context studied was China, the CCS spectrum proposed by Western scholars (Benoit 1997; Coombs 2007) still dominated the social media and crisis communication research. Strategies such as modification, reduction of offensiveness, correction, accommodation, and denial were frequently utilized (e.g., Cho and Cameron 2006). Second, several new patterns of crisis communication strategies have been found in the Chinese context. Different with the recommended "two-way" symmetrical relationship in Western societies (Grunig 1992), organizations in China pertained the "enclosed control model," which described a dominant and asymmetrical relationship with stakeholders (He and Chen 2010, p. 21). Strategies such as face-saving, risk communication avoidance, deception, lying, and offering briberies were utilized to cover up crises, manipulate the public, and reduce negative media exposure. For instance, Tai and Sun (2007)'s study disclosed the highly controlled information system in South China, where local officials lied and covered up the information on the SARS epidemic when this crisis erupted at the beginning. Veil and Yang (2012) found that in a corporate context, the covering up strategies were also applied: instead of admitting the quality problem of products, the company manipulated its relationship with the local government and media (i.e., China largest search engine Baidu and popular forums such as Sohu and Sina) to reduce negative publicity. Thus, the new strategies such as covering up and manipulation were forming an asymmetrical

pattern of crisis communication strategies (Cheng 2016a). Hundreds of dairy farms or companies, however continually announced bankruptcy due to the crisis in the year of 2012 (Veil and Yang 2012).

Third, the social media and crisis communication research in China has realized the empowering function of social media (He and Chen 2010). A transparent and symmetrical online crisis communication strategy was suggested (Cheng, 2016a; Cheng and Cameron 2017). Scholars advised that organizations could apply multi-functions of social media to monitor stakeholder generated contents, pay attention to their desired strategies, and cultivate relationships with online opinion leaders (Cheng and Cameron 2017; Choi and Lin 2012; He and Chen 2010; Veil and Yang 2012)

52.4.2 Forms of Response

Three traditional forms of response (i.e., timely, consistent, and proactive) (Huang and Su 2009) were frequently applied in the social media and crisis communication research. Furthermore, a new type of form – interactive – was intensively discussed in 21 articles (36%). Scholars suggested that organizations should have "interactive" dialogues with key publics online to improve the effectiveness of crisis communication and utilize the social media tools for interpersonal communication and emotional support (Cheng 2016a; Cheng and Cameron 2017; Gilpin 2010; Lev-On 2011).

52.4.3 Crisis Communication Effectiveness (CCE)

It was found that media publicity was most frequently used as a measurement of CCE (50%), followed by revenue reputation (38%), reputation (31%), cost reduction (23%), and organizational-public relationship (15%).

Meanwhile, new measurement of CCE on social media emerged: on the one hand, new items such as numbers of visitors, followers, and subscribers or attributes of comments/posts were added to measure the online media publicity (e.g., Wang 2012). On the other hand, the measurement of economic value involved reduction of negative public emotion (e.g., anger, confusion, fear, and sadness), increased account acceptance, public awareness and engagement (Cheng and Cameron, 2017)

52.5 The Chinese Context and Crisis Communication Practice

This chapter explored how the unique characteristics of cultural traits and institutional systems in China affected the social media and crisis communication practice. The major Chinese contextual factors include the following four dimensions: collectivistic cultures, centralized political system, transitional media landscape, and a high level of public dependency online.

First, cross-culture scholars emphasized the differences between people who live in individualistic and collectivistic cultures (Hofstede 2001). People from individualistic countries, such as the U.S.A. tend to ask for freedom and rights, prefer dominating and integrating styles, and keep short-term relationships. In contrast, people from collectivistic countries such as China emphasize on authority and order; prefer avoiding, obliging, and compromising styles; and embrace long-term relationships (Ting-Toomey 2005). The social media and crisis communication research showed that the collectivistic culture characterized the unique Chinese crisis communication practice. One the one hand, the value of "saving face" and "the ugly things in family shall not go public" resulted in the asymmetrical CCS, leading to certain unethical and unprofessional practices such as bribing officials and manipulating news reports (e.g., Veil and Yang 2012). On the other hand, "relationships" in China were particularly important in facilitating the online crisis communication. Scholars found that if no relationships established among organizations, bloggers, and followers, no information would flow on the Chinese social media (Hu 2010).

Second, contrasting to the American political system, which promotes the democracy, human rights, and free flow of capital in the public diplomacy (Thussu 2006), current Chinese political system reflects its Soviet or Leninist origins (Oksenberg 2001). Enormous power resides in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), whose power and influence are transmitted by local governments and reinforced through the control of education, media, and military systems. This centralized political system impedes a timely, proactive, transparent, and interactive crisis response form on social media. For instance, in the SARS crisis, local officials instead of responding the public timely concealed the real number of infectors until receiving instructions from the central government (Hong 2007). In the melamine-contaminated milk powder crisis, the first action of the accused state-owned corporation, Sanlu, was to hide the truth, rather than actively giving the public a timely and accurate response (Veil and Yang 2012).

Third, in Western societies such as the USA, media system belongs to the liberal model, which enjoys press freedom and enough autonomy, relies on marketization, and acts as a societal watchdog (Hallin and Mancini 2004). The functions of media in crises focus on the scrutiny and information providing. Previous literature discussed the way that online media served as the key information platform in natural crises (Greer and Moreland 2003; Murphree et al. 2009). However, in China, the transitional media system is facing a dilemma in taking responsibilities in crisis communication. On the one hand, the media, especially "state-owned media" under the central governmental control, have to promote and legitimate policies of the CCP. Both online and offline media can hardly escape from the censorship of the CCP. On the other hand, contemporary Chinese media system is in transition and moving toward the marketization and globalization. It is expected that the media could follow international professional standards and ethics to serve public interests in crisis (Xue and Li 2010). In the future, social media may act as a platform for rapid information dissemination and promotion of a transparent media environment in China (Tai and Sun 2007).

Last but not the least, media dependency relations vary in contexts and influence the crisis communication effectiveness (Tai and Sun 2007). In the USA, information transmitted by television messages is more trustworthy than the same message transmitted via social media, which suggest that traditional media exert a stronger influence on public communication than new media in crises (Jin and Liu 2010; Utz et al. 2013), while in China, individuals depend on the social media to a much higher extent than traditional media (Lyu 2012). People rely on social media as a depoliticized and decentralized online communication environment to seek all kinds of information, including rumors and gossips as well (Yin and Liu 2012). Under this circumstance, a rumor of shortage of dairy suppliers can easily stimulate social panic and irrational behavior of the public. For example, in the rush of salts crisis in 2013, despite the government informed that salts were useless in reducing the effects of radiation after Japan nuclear crisis, people still believed this rumor and spread the information quickly online. Crowded people rushed to the store to purchase salts, which led to an immediate out of stock of salts and an intense social panic (Yu et al. 2011). A similar situation of rush for the Radix isatidis (*Ban Langen*) also appeared in the SARS crisis in 2003.

Two major reasons below may help explain the high level of online engagement and the crises emerged on Chinese social media. First, since the traditional media is highly controlled and international social media is blocked, domestic social media (e.g., Renren and Weibo) emerged and provided active "live" reporting tools. Empowered by the high sharing and re-tweet rate with targeted dissemination via social media, large numbers of Chinese Internet users enjoyed the strong personal connection, massive discussion, and interaction in cyberspace, which created the possibilities for social movements (Tai and Sun 2007). In the post-Mao era, Chinese netizens have demonstrated their ability to accelerate the speed of information dissemination and act against the power of government authorities or corporate institutions (Wang 2008). The Wukan incident in 2012 served as a good example illustrating how Chinese villagers utilized new media tools to spread messages, solicit global supports, and act against the local government (Cheng 2016b). Second, the low level of trust toward the whole society may explain the high level of public dependency online. Although Chinese economy developed so rapidly, the level of social trust reached the lowest among recent 5 years (Wang and Yang 2012). Publics hardly trust the governments and traditional media system (Cheng, Huang and Chan 2017). Instead, they have to rely heavily on the Internet to acquire information and relieve stressed emotions and opinions.

52.6 Future Directions

In summary, both the SCCI and CSSCI journal articles showed an increasing attention to the social media and crisis communication research over the past 10 years. The literature in China has realized the empowering function of social media, and current research focus began to shift from the "organization" to the "public." Topics such as public motivation for online media uses, public emotions,

or engagement were frequently discussed (Cho and Cameron 2006; Tai and Sun 2007). Scholars also identified the unique unsymmetrical crisis communication practice in China, and an accurate, transparent, and interactive response form was suggested to accommodate the strong online public agenda (He and Chen 2010).

Based on the review of relevant articles, this chapter also found distinct weaknesses in current social media and crisis communication research in China, including a lack of emphasizing on the crisis phases, narrow application of theories and models, the neglect of a comparative logic in discussion, and the different research standards between journal articles listed in SSCI and CSSCI. The following section offers critiques and suggestions for how scholars should move forward in future social media and crisis communication research.

52.6.1 To Emphasize the Crisis Phases

Previous research showed within a certain "time," organizations' monitoring and application of strategies could effectively prevent a look-like crisis (Taylor and Kent 2007). In the social media and crisis communication research, scholars found that the length of time within which organizations were expected to react has been shortened due to the rapid timeframe of social media (Cheng, 2016a; Gilpin, 2010). Given this, scholars recommended an immediate response way (Muralidharan et al. 2011; Veil et al. 2011). Specifically, an exact response time was proposed. Wang et al. (2012) suggested the response of organizations in China within 48 h was too late for effective crisis communication. Based on the analysis of two rumor storms in China, Sun (2012) found storms usually budded within 48 h and went into the climax from the third to the fifth day. Thus, immediate response within 48 h could effectively terminate rumors and prevent crises.

Depending on the inconsistence of the abovementioned findings and only 9 out of 58 articles (20%) which discussed "time" or stages in crises, it is strongly suggested that future studies could emphasize the variable of "time" in the conceptualization of research design. A longitudinal study could be used to track changes from all involved parties over time and help to identify the critical response time in each stage of crises (Cheng 2016a; Cheng and Cameron 2017).

52.6.2 To Extend Theories and Models

In the social media and crisis communication research, interesting phenomena on new media effects were observed. He and Chen (2010) suggested a reversed agenda setting in online media crises of China, during which the media agenda may lose the power of setting the public agenda on the Internet. Tian (2011) proposed a changing "spiral of silence" in the generation of rumors. However, most studies still adopted public relation theories such as the image repair theory and excellence theory. Little empirical research could challenge traditional media theories such as agenda-setting/building theories and establish new models to extend the area of

crisis communication. As the new technology was changing the way of communication dramatically, the creation of theories or models became necessary in future research. Below several research questions were listed for the next waves of study to rethink traditional media effects: How does interpersonal communication such as the word-of-mouth communication affect public responses in crises? How does the interactivity of social media mediate the relationship between crisis communication strategies and outcomes? How do the online media and traditional media contents intercorrelate in crises? In what conditions, the public agenda may lead the media or policy agenda in crises?

52.6.3 To Consider a Comparative Logic

As any crisis with a certain type, stage or issue must happen within context(s), where a specific legal, media, political, or cultural system exists. Scholars in current social media and crisis communication research already realized the importance of context (s) and focused their studies on China areas (e.g., Veil and Yang 2012; Wang 2012). For example, findings showed that the unique cultural and institutional characteristics of China affect the social media and crisis communication practice and formed an asymmetrical and dominated crisis communication strategy (He and Chen 2010; Veil and Yang 2012). However, few of them applied a comparative logic in discussing multiple contexts within one study, and a cross-contextual empirical study remained lacking. Future research could consider a comparative logic and test the posited hypothesis: in the process of social-mediated crisis communication, the more likely the context has individualistic cultures and democratic political, legal, and media systems, the more frequent the symmetrical strategy and proactive, consistent, and timely response forms could be adopted by organizations.

52.6.4 To Adopt a Uniformed Research Standard

By comparing articles published in the SSCI and CSSCI journals, it was not difficult to find that articles (21%) published in the SSCI journals usually followed the same research standard by reviewing relevant literature, generating research questions or hypotheses, applying the sampling method, and conducting data analysis to make the conclusion, while articles (79%) in the CSSCI journals did not reach the same level of research standard as those in the SSCI journals. These articles written in Chinese presented interesting discussions about the updated social events such as the China's Red Cross credibility crisis but seldom specified the research question or hypothesis, and most of them drew the conclusions based on the subjective judgment of archival data or literature. For example, although He and Chen (2010) proposed a reversed agenda-setting model in the crisis of China, this failed to adopt systematic quantitative methods applied in the 1968 Chapel Hill study to test the relationship between the media and public agenda. Thus, without following the same research standard as other published agenda-setting articles in SSCI journals, it is difficult to

draw the conclusion that the reversed agenda-setting effects significantly exist in the Chinese crisis context. As social media is becoming an emerging research area in the field of crisis communication, future scholars may adopt a uniformed research standard and produce more innovative empirical studies on the social media and crisis communication in China.

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Diffusion and Adoption of an E-Society: The Myths and Politics of ICT for the Poor in India

53

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Contents

53.1 Introduction 954
53.2 ICT for the Poor Initiatives in India and Learnings: Understanding the Myths and Politics 955
53.3 Conclusion 958
References 959

Abstract

The label "ICT for the poor" has been widely used in India whenever ICT moves out of urban settings. There have been many debates on the "digital divide" and reluctance on the part of the masses to adopt the "remarkable changes" being brought out by the ICT boom. In the last 15 years, many initiatives have been undertaken in the form of "information kiosks" to diffuse ICT on the pretext of making the poor e-literate and build an e-society ultimately. Most of these projects have been funded by international multilateral and bilateral organizations and have also got awarded by various reputed international and national bodies for "reaching out" to the masses. It has been observed that most of these projects start with lots of fanfare promising a "leap frogging" to an information society,

Hamelink's (1997) definition of ICTs: "Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) encompass all those technologies that enable the handling of information and facilitate different forms of communication among human actors, between human beings and electronic systems, and among electronic systems" (Hamelink 1997: 3). This functional definition of ICTs includes both the new (i.e., Internet, e-mail) and traditional (i.e., community radio, TV) forms of ICT into its definition.

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but they falter somewhere down the line for various reasons. Though, masses approach the kiosks for land records, birth or death certificate, or any document that needs to be obtained from the Government. As a result of which, the information kiosks, after a while, are no more used by the masses, because their "temporary need" for an e-service has been fulfilled. Ultimately, all these information kiosks which have been put up by the Government, nongovernment organizations, and other philanthropic bodies end up as training centers on software/hardware for the local village youth at a price. Later on, the kiosk sustainability is solely based on the revenue that is generated by the e-courses that it offers and on the other allied services like printouts, serving as a public phone booth or may be as a cool drink center. This paper attempts to understand whether ICT is a boon or bane for India It also tries to understand how the poor is defined by the information kiosks, or are they being only catered to a particular class of people who have proximity to the kiosk operator and how comfortable they are in utilizing the services of the kiosk. It also argues that in the pretext of creating an "information society," the state has somewhere missed out on other needs of the poor, which are required for a holistic development of the society and an e-society ultimately. This article aims to understand if the information and communications technologies (ICTs) really empower poor communities and does it actually bring in the change that is anticipated of it. This article investigates this question, focusing on the role of information and communications technologies in diffusion and adoption of e-society in India through the ICT for the poor programs in the last few decades. The framework attempts to contrast with the global discourse around the "digital divide" and the holistic human development of the poor brought in by the ICT revolution.

Keywords

ICT for the poor · Diffusion · Kiosks · Village information center · Digital divide

53.1 Introduction

The advocates of ICTs (World Bank 2000; UNDP 2001; Pohjola 2002; Braga 1998) take an optimistic view and highlight the positive effects ICTs to create new economic, social, and political order for developing countries and especially for the poor, whereas the critics take a pessimistic view and claim that ICTs due to existing socioeconomic inequalities and structural factors will only favor the privileged segments within the society and not reach the economically and socially disadvantaged, thus, leading to a further widening of the gap. The impact of ICTs on poor communities cannot be understood without first understanding the role information and knowledge play for development. In the ICT *for* development debate, the emphasis is placed on providing access to ICTs to the poor before analyzing the value information and knowledge exchanges play for development at the local level (Black 1999; Mansell 1999; Norris 2001). Digital divide is actually has more to do

than the adoption of technology. It is more of a social divide, an economic divide, a cultural divide, a political divide, and of course a "technological divide." Technological gap can always be bridged easily because it is market driven. The technological companies will jump at any given opportunity to intervene in the ICT market in the developing countries. However, hypothesizing on the fact that access to ICTs, computers, and Internet will lead to sustainable social development is far from being the answer. Gumucio Dagron (2003) critically approaches the development paradigms which developing countries have gone through around the world. He clearly states that technology alone is not sufficient, but states that information and knowledge are also important to help the rural population to improve their living conditions. A number of development organizations around the world have begun to understand that information and communication are not the same thing. Information alone does not generate changes, whereas communication – which implies participation, sharing of knowledge in a horizontal way, and respect for diversity and culture – is key to social change. Unfortunately, too many development programs today are still basing their approach on the diffusion of innovations theories of the 1960s, often mocking participatory approaches, but seldom really involving communities in the decision-making process, because it clashes with institutional agendas and the "annual report" syndrome.

The very first broad category of development's primary objective is to better the lives of the poor. The Millennium Development Goals (United Nations 2009) strongly focuses on targets to end poverty and hunger and to improve health and education for the poor. ICT is seen as a key prerequisite to improved healthcare delivery and the better assessment of development programs (Braa et al. 2004). Telecenters have been widely applied with the aim of bridging the digital divide for the poor (Reilly and Gómez 2001), providing them with access to information and better freedom of choice. Digital divide is not solely a matter of technology but also of the social, political, institutional and cultural contexts that shape people's access and use of ICTs (Warschauer 2003).

53.2 ICT for the Poor Initiatives in India and Learnings: Understanding the Myths and Politics

India from the past few decades has become a test-bed for innovations in information and communications technology (ICT), serving the rural people through village information center (VICs) or kiosks. Various reasons explain the emergence of VIC or kiosk. The most obvious reason may be rural area has remained undeveloped in terms of basic infrastructure and basic facility. Another reason is providing a bunch of services through a kiosk is seen as a very easy process. Rural India is the largest underserved area for banking, microfinance, e-commerce, insurance, medical services, and e-governance service. Therefore, a kiosk can work as a bridge between the outer world and a village. Rural kiosks are one manifestation of various attempts to apply information and communications technology for socio-economic development. In many cases, a kiosk can be thought of as Internet cafes

for rural villages, with one or more connected PCs available for shared use by village residents. They differ greatly from urban Internet cafes, however, in that the operational challenges and user needs of remote rural villages are appreciably different from that of cities. Rural kiosks typically offer a broad range of services and applications specialized for rural areas. Kiosks are initiated by various kiosk project agencies, which identify one or more people per rural village to act as a kiosk operator. In many cases, the kiosk operator is also the kiosk owner, in which case the agency takes on a franchise model, with operators as franchisees or rural entrepreneurs. By some estimates, there are more than 150 rural kiosk projects across India, some of which already have, or are planning, thousands of installments (According to I4D Magazine, 2005). Most of these projects were started within the last 5 years. Reflecting the nation's diversity, these initiatives differ in goals, models, operating paradigms, and geographic distribution. Every sector is involved – large enterprise, entrepreneurs, government, and NGOs – with motives ranging from turning a commercial profit to driving socioeconomic growth to streamlining government bureaucracy. Early evidence indicates that rural kiosks can help villagers improve their economic standard of living by expanding livelihood options and empowering them with information, tools, goods, and services (such as education and healthcare). The true challenge is in finding ways to deliver this benefit broadly and consistently while making kiosk projects economically sustainable in the long term. The experiences of these noncommercial projects suggest that the information needs of a community should be thoroughly assessed before the launch of a project. It suggests finding out motivated and skilled grassroots intermediaries as a necessary condition for any project to succeed in bringing e-government to rural communities. Lack of awareness among the community is a major learning from the ICT for the poor initiatives in India. Either the people are completely unaware of the kiosk in their village, or they would not know about the services it offers. Many of the kiosks were put up in the homes of the operators, thus, making it difficult for the people to access it. The information center operator needs to understand the basic technology, such as how to navigate the Internet or to maximize the use of the available tools, and marketing. In most of the kiosks, the kiosk operator does have the details of the services offered. And they are lacking in basic operation of the kiosk. Information and communications technology (ICT) can reduce poverty by improving poor people's access to education, health, government, and financial services. ICT can also help small farmers and artisans by connecting them to markets. It is clear that in the rural area, realization of this potential is not guaranteed. Low-cost access to information infrastructure is a necessary prerequisite for the successful use of ICT by the poor, but it is not sufficient. The implementation of ICT projects needs to be performed by organizations and individuals who have the appropriate incentives to work with marginalized groups. These intermediaries are best suited to promote local ownership and poor people's participation. People also continuously face the languages barriers while using the Internet as it is predominantly in English. Though, off late other language interface is developing but it's far from achieving the desired impact because they lack the local language products. It was also observed that many people also lacked the motivation to use information over the Internet.

Information communication technology is to bridge the digital divide (i.e., disparity between digital have and have-nots according to their geographical location or demographical groups) and aid economic development by ensuring equitable access to up-to-date communication technologies. Information and communications technologies played a significant role in promoting social and economic development that includes improvement of individual livelihoods, community prosperity, and the achievement of national development goals related to the UN Millennium Development Goals (David et al. 2005). National ICT strategies and the programs of international donors are incorporating ICT components on this basis, with specific objectives in reaching poor rural and semi-urban as well as urban communities. The earliest of the focus by India was on the use of IT (not ICT) in the mid-1950s to late 1990s. It was predominantly used in the government and private sector organization. The Millennium Development Goals coupled with the rapid rise and spread of Internet in the late 1990s to late 2000s led to a rapid increase in investments in ICT infrastructure and projects in developing countries. The telecenter was used to bring information on development issues such as health, education, and agricultural extension into poor communities. Later, telecenters were also used to deliver government services. In the early 2000, the shift toward mobile phones and SMS came into vogue where there was less concern with e-readiness and more interest in the impact of ICTs on development. Additionally, the focus on the poor as producers and innovators with ICTs (as opposed to being consumers of ICT-based information) was more prevalent. The earlier approaches on ICT marginalized them, allowing a supply-driven focus, and ICT brought them into the core and operationalized by creating a demand-driven focus. The previous initiatives on ICT viewed the poor at the "bottom of the pyramid" concept and characterized them largely as passive consumers, whereas ICT4D viewed the poor as active producers and active innovators. Access to ICTs in the developing world has been framed through the concepts of digital divide and use/non-use. Market liberalization and competition as well as various regulatory and technical solutions are believed to be useful in closing the digital divide and ensuring the universal access to ICTs. The general perception is that people who have access to ICT will benefit from it and those who don't would not. Benefits include boundless information sharing, connectivity, and participation in the global economy. The use of mobile phones shows some positive effects in improving access to information and services. The ITC e-Choupal was an important initiative that aimed to provide computers and Internet access in rural areas across several agricultural regions of the country, where the farmers can directly negotiate the sale of their produce with ITC Limited. Online access enabled farmers to obtain information on mandi (market) prices, and good farming practices, and to place orders for agricultural inputs like seeds and fertilizers. This helped farmers improve the quality of their products and helps in obtaining a better price. ITC kiosk with Internet access run by a sanchalak – a trained farmer. The computer is housed in the sanchalak's house and is linked to the Internet via phone lines or by a VSAT connection. Each installation serves an average of 600 farmers in the surrounding ten villages within about a 5 km radius. The sanchalak bears some operating cost but in return earns a service fee for the e-transactions done through

his e-Choupal. The warehouse hub is managed by the same traditional middlemen, now called samyojaks, but with no exploitative power due to the reorganization. These middlemen make up for the lack of infrastructure and fulfill critical jobs like cash disbursement, quantity aggregation, and transportation. Since the introduction of e-Choupal services, farmers have seen a rise in their income levels because of a rise in yields, improvement in quality of output, and a fall in transaction costs. Even small farmers have gained from the initiative. Farmers get real-time information despite their physical distance from the mandis. The system saves procurement costs for ITC. The farmers do not pay for the information and knowledge they get from e-Choupals; the principle is to inform, empower, and compete. market place for spot transactions and support services to futures exchange. There are 6100 e-Choupals in operation in 40,000 villages in 10 states, affecting around 4 million farmers. Gyandoot which means "purveyor of knowledge" in Hindi was a government-to-citizen, intranet-based service portal, implemented in the Dhar district of the state of Madhya Pradesh, India, in January 2000. The project was designed to extend the benefits of information technology to people in rural areas by directly linking the government and villagers through information kiosks. The kiosks provided access to a variety of government services, such as registration of complaints and submission of applications for the issuance of certificates and loans. Data on prices of agricultural crops in different markets are also available. Gyandoot pioneered the idea of rural telecenters in India. The project concept has been replicated by other information and communication technologies (ICT) development initiatives in India. Gyandoot was considered to be very successful in the early years of its implementation, and the project was awarded the Stockholm challenge information technology (IT) award in 2000 for public service and democracy. However, subsequent evaluations have reported diminishing levels of activity, placing in question on the long-term viability of the project. ICT for development has attempted many initiatives in different parts of India. This was an infiltration with or without the knowledge and consent of the people related. While some proved to be a success, others did not. This gap is yet to be studied in detail in the field of this venture.

53.3 Conclusion

ICTs under certain conditions can significantly enhance the human and social capabilities of the poor, thus empowering them at the individual and collective level. At the core of this empowerment process stands the notion that ICTs can enhance peoples' control over their own lives. Similarly, to literacy, newly acquired "informational capabilities" can act as an agent for change for individuals and communities enhancing their abilities to engage with the formal institutions in the economic, political, social, and cultural spheres of their life. In this context, the issue of whether ICTs are channeling resources away from the real priorities and needs of poor communities seems to be misguided. Instead this question should be rephrased and address the issue of how ICTs could be used to meet the "basic

needs" of the poor. This however will require a shift in focus of ICT interventions to address such challenges as the fight against HIV and AIDS, helping to avoid famines and their support in the mediation of conflicts. At the same time, the case studies have demonstrated that due to the existing "hype" around the potential benefits of ICTs, the high expectations of poor communities cannot be met. The experience shows that ICTs are only able to address certain aspects of the development challenges facing poor people and that in fact they are not able to change the existing structural, social, political, and economic inequality. For instance, while ICTs can act as an effective tool in improving the access of small-scale farmers to market price information, they are not able to address the underlying structural market inequalities between small-scale farmers and agrobusinesses. Furthermore, the paper has illustrated that there is not a direct and causal relationship between ICT and poverty reduction. This relationship is much more complex and indirect in nature, whereby the issue of its impact on the livelihoods of the poor depends to a large extent on the dynamic and iterative process between people and technology within a specific local, cultural, and sociopolitical context. Frequently, the most immediate and direct effect of ICT programs seems to be the psychological empowerment of poor people, whereby newly acquired ICT skills provide poor people with a sense of achievement and pride, thus strengthening their self-esteem. A key recommendation of the paper is that the human development of people, rather than technology itself, should be the center of the design and evaluation of ICT programs. As has been shown, the important advantage of using the "capability approach" as the basis for the evaluation of ICT programs is its emphasis on the ability of ICTs to improve the daily livelihoods of poor communities, in contrast to more conventional approaches which overemphasize the significance of technology itself for social change. Furthermore, evaluations of the impact of ICT programs should focus on an analysis from the vantage point of the poor, rather than from the perspective of outside donors. In addition, the analysis provides the following concrete recommendations on the manner in which ICTs programs should be designed in order to be most effective on facilitating the empowerment of marginalized groups.

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Online Activism in Politically Restricted Central Asia: A Comparative Review of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan

54

Bahtiyar Kurambayev

Contents

54.1 Introduction 962
54.2 Context of Central Asia 963
54.3 More Government Control over the Internet and Social Media 964
54.4 Conclusions 973
54.5 Cross-References 973
References 973

Abstract

This comparative study examined the Internet's role and wider social media in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, three Central Asian countries in the democratization process. Specifically, this work aims to discuss how the Internet and social media are allowing Internet users wider opportunities to access and share information in a media-restricted region as well as collectively speak up in a restricted region of Central Asia. In general, Internet penetration is relatively low compared to other parts of the world. Still, the Internet has demonstrated its power in the region when presidents of Kyrgyzstan in 2005 and in 2010 were ousted. Both times, the Internet played the key role in facilitating such drastic change. While it is true that Central Asian countries have differently related policies and practices, varying from some freedom in Kyrgyzstan and total state control in Uzbekistan, it is also true that the region is experiencing an unprecedented boom in mobile phones, which brings the Internet to citizens.

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Online activism · Censorship · Surveillance · Central Asia · Democracy · Authoritarian government · Social media · Internet · Former Soviet Union

54.1 Introduction

A great deal of research has been conducted around the world about the role of the Internet in nondemocratic contexts. Some scholars now subscribe to the belief that the Internet has a positive relationship with democratization processes in authoritarian contexts and elsewhere. They argue that the Internet is associated with regime changes in places like Egypt, Tunisia, Jordan, Algeria, Ukraine, and elsewhere, where rulers of several decades were forced from power. In other places, new communication technology has been used extensively to achieve smaller-scale positive results, such as protest mobilization and collectively speaking up against the government in Tunisia (Breuer et al. 2014), awareness campaigns of electoral fraud in parliamentary elections in Russia (Reuter and Szakonyi 2015), and coordinating and organizing uprisings after 2009 elections in Iran (Wojcieszak and Smith 2014). Supporters of positive influence of the Internet argue that it would not be possible to accomplish such successful and fundamental changes in abovementioned restrictive and authoritarian locations without the Internet. What is striking about these waves of uprisings and mass protests is that the Internet, including YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, and bloggers, played an important role in communicating, coordinating, and channeling this rising tide of opposition and variously managed to bypass state-controlled national media as they propelled images and ideas of resistance and mass defiance (Cottle 2011) (Table 1).

Others have argued that the Internet has a limited influence and even negative relationship with democratization process. For example, Vanderhill (2015) argues that much of the existing literature that is critical of the democratization process relies on how authoritarian governments can control and manipulate the Internet to prevent challenges and maintain their rule (p. 32). Vanderhill (2015) offers three arguments why the Internet has limited influence on democratization in nondemocratic and authoritarian countries. First, information communication technology does not always succeed in organizing activities and protests against the regime because of the strength of the regime. Second, some authoritarians have coercive

Table 1 Internet Penetration Rate in Central Asian Countries

Country	Internet penetration rate (percentage of population)	Facebook users (June 30, 2017)
Kazakhstan	76.8%	1,500,000
Kyrgyzstan	34.5%	360,000
Tajikistan	20.5	84,000

Note: Internet penetration rate and number of Facebook users as of June 30, 2017. Source: Internet World Stats (2017)

capacity to resist democratization demands. Third, even if information and communication technology (ICT) helps facilitate mass mobilization, such recruitment is insufficient for full democratization in the long-term changes. Furthermore, there is a growing literature to suggest that governments may use social media for carefully coordinated messages, including for the spread of misinformation (Howard and Bradshaw 2017; Marwick and Lewis 2017).

Despite the plethora of studies around the world about the role of the Internet in democratization process, almost no research has been conducted in Central Asia. This is a region, according to Freedman and Shafer (2012), that scholars have barely touched the surface from an academic perspective: "There is no shortage of potential research topics pertaining to the press, journalism and mass communication in the region, given globalization and the rapid changes in communications technologies, such efforts would be particularly timely" (p. 124). So, this chapter reviews the extent to which the Internet has the potential to play a role in facilitating democratization process in former Soviet Union Central Asia, specifically in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. This chapter also reviews recent events and developments related to the Internet and social media in these abovementioned countries.

54.2 Context of Central Asia

To understand the relevance of this chapter, it is important to understand wider socioeconomic and political context of Central Asia. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan are former Soviet Union countries. All three gained their independence in 1991 when the Soviet Union formally collapsed. Since independence, these countries have seen few changes in leadership. For example, Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev has been in power since 1991. Tajikistan President Emomali Rahmon has been president of the country since 1992. The only exception in the region is Kyrgyzstan. The new constitution adopted in 2010 in this country bars the same individual from serving as president more than one term, with a term lasting 6 years. However, the first two presidents of the country, Askar Akayev (in 2005) and Kurmanbek Bakiyev (in 2010), both were ousted from office by people's revolutions. Overall, since independence, these countries have achieved various levels of political and economic successes.

Mass media outlets in all of these three countries are under government control. "News website blocking and Russian-inspired laws to curtail free expression are spreading, while journalists are often subject to torture and unlawful imprisonment" (Reporters Without Borders 2017) in reference to all Central Asian countries. Reporters Without Borders said authoritarian tendencies in Central Asia are on the rise because there is a growing fearful environment for independent journalists to work in the region. Bowe et al. (2012) argue that Central Asian republics remain bastions of official and extralegal censorship, self-censorship, constraints on journalists and news organizations, and insufficient financial resources to support independent, and sustainable, market-based press systems (p. 145). Respect to human rights in the region remains disregarded. Human Rights Watch

documents various incidences of violations of basic human rights in the region. The organization's latest report from 2017 outlines some of them. For example, Kazakhstan restricts peace protests and jail those who dare to do so. Tajikistan has imprisoned more than 150 activists on politically motivated charges since the middle of 2015. "Under the pretext of protecting national security, Tajikistan's state telecommunications agency regularly blocks websites that carry information potentially critical of the government, including Facebook, Gmail, Radio Ozodi, the website of Radio Free Europe's Tajik service, news and opposition websites" (Human Rights Watch 2017). The Kyrgyz Republic is one of Central Asia's poorest countries. According to the Heritage Foundation's 2017 report of Index of Economic Freedom, corruption is pervasive in the country, and this is why judges are reported to pay bribes to attain their positions. Despite some anticorruption efforts, the country is trapped in a cycle in which predatory political elites use government resources to reward clients, including organized crime figures, and punish opponents (Freedom House 2017).

In this restrictive region of Central Asia, Kulikova and Perlmutter (2007) argue that the Internet seems to be the only way to be read and heard in Kyrgyzstan, but their argument can be applied to wider Central Asia where free expression is curtailed and all mass media outlets are under government control. Given this context, understanding how the Internet and wider social media may have played a role in the recent changes of the region takes on great urgency.

54.3 More Government Control over the Internet and Social Media

Kazakhstan is the 9th largest country by land mass in the world and the largest one in Central Asia. The country has a population of 18 million and is the largest economy in the region. Nursultan Nazarbayev has been the leader of the county since its independence in 1991 from the Soviet Union, and since then he has been elected multiple times. However, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) reports that none of the presidential elections held in the country were noted fair and free in compliance with democratic standards. Human Rights Watch reports Kazakh authorities tolerate little public criticism of the government or its record. While the government of Kazakhstan has long restricted the right to freedom of association and the right to carry out peaceful dissent, in recent years the government has further tightened controls over trade unions and civil society groups (Human Rights Watch 2017). According to Reporters Without Borders, Kazakhstan ranks 157th out of 180 countries in the world in terms of press freedom. In Freedom House ranking, Kazakhstan is ranked among "not free" countries in *Freedom in the World 2017*, among "not free" countries in *Freedom of the Press 2016*. The same can be said for Kazakhstan's position in *Freedom on the Net 2016*. Kazakhstan receives a democracy score of 6.61, on a scale of 1 to 7, with 7 as the worst possible score, in *Nations in Transit 2016*. In other international organizations' evaluations, Kazakhstan is ranked among the countries of authoritarian regime (Economist's Democracy

Index 2017), earning 3.06 out of 10. The higher the score a country earns, the more democratic it is. In terms of government accountability, this Central Asian nation is ranked 134th among 176 countries in Transparency International Index in its latest report.

Kazakhstan does has some features to appear that it is moving toward democratization, such as multiparty parliament and the fact that almost 80 percent of all media outlets in the country are private (IREX 2017), but in reality most of these media outlets are affiliated with the government or officials. Kazakhstan has in recent years moved further in the direction of restricting press freedom by repressive methods of limiting access to information in the country, and such methods are continuing (IREX 2017; Emrich et al. 2013). The IREX report describes some limitations for journalists, including significantly delayed responses, irrelevant answers, and statements that a question is within the competence of the responder. Some independent news outlets continue operating in the country, but they routinely face political pressure and state interference (Emrich et al. 2013). Emrich and his colleagues note that the country is characterized by lack of pluralism and prevalence of pro-government outlets, especially among the broadcast media, which often are either directly owned by the state or by highly loyal government officials or businesses affiliated with them. In this context, journalists and editors self-censor themselves, fearing administrative, civil, and criminal prosecutions, and IREX (2017) reports that media outlets have blacklists of persons unsuitable for airing and a list of forbidden subjects and names. Those who try to do independent journalism face many troubles. For example, Kazakh journalism and press freedom defender Ramazan Yesergepov was stabbed in May 2017 (Committee to Protect Journalists 2017a). Yesergepov had scarcely begun the journey of roughly 1200 kilometers (745 miles) north from Almaty to Astana to discuss threats to media freedom with foreign diplomats when he was stabbed. Zhanbolat Mamay, editor of the independent newspaper *Sayasi kalam/Tribuna*, was arrested in 2017 after allegedly receiving illegal funds. Overall, Freedom House noted that authorities in Kazakhstan continued to arrest and prosecute journalists and social media users on a range of criminal charges in 2017 restrict freedom of speech freedom of speech.

Niyazbekov (2017) notes that Arab Spring protests in 2011–2012 and similar developments elsewhere signaled to post-communist dictators to treat social media networks with caution. He cites the case of Uzbekistan when former President Islam Karimov banned social media in early 2010. He also noted that Kazakhstan did not pay much attention to controlling social media, assuming developments like the Arab Spring would never reach Kazakhstan's border. Niyazbekov also notes that the Kazakh government was wrong. An example he and many other scholars discussed is the mass protests in the city of Zhanaozen. This is reported to be the worst civic conflict in the post-Soviet history in Kazakhstan and social media played a role in it. In December 2011 during the celebration of the country's 20th anniversary of Kazakhstan's independence, oil workers clashed with the state police. These oil workers were on strike since May 2011 following disputes over pay and working conditions (Beisembayeva et al. 2013; Achilov 2016). These oil workers demanded higher salaries and better working conditions. Beishembayeva and her colleagues

wrote that 16 people were killed and 100 were injured during the uprising. These authors note that YouTube videos demonstrated that police fired directly into the large crowd, prompting President Nursultan Nazarbayev to impose a state of emergency in Zhanaozen. International outlets placed casualties at 73 (Niyazbekov 2017), and all forms of communication with the rest of the country were cut off, including mobile phone and Internet services. The government cut all forms of communication with the outside with the intention of preventing the uprising from spreading elsewhere in the country. While authorities claimed that police were there to defend themselves, eyewitnesses reportedly observed the security forces opening fire indiscriminately at unarmed protestors (BBC, December 16 2011). The significance of this case is that protesters used social media (Facebook, Twitter, etc.) to mobilize resources, attract popular support, and appeal to foreign governments and international organizations (Niyazbekov 2017). Niyazbekov also notes that the Zhanaozen massacre resulted in the government curbing press freedom and heightening control over the public. In September 2011, Kazakhstan's general prosecutor was quoted as saying "the question of control over social networks, over the internet, is a question of time. . .countries must join efforts to counter this evil" (Freedom on the Net 2012). The Zhanaozen crisis marks the major challenge to the government of Kazakhstan with the use of social media.

It is important to understand the context of Kazakhstan's wider Internet usage. Specifically, Kazakhstan's government made the development of digital information technologies a national priority (Emrich et al. 2013) and aims to give 100 percent of households the opportunity to access to information communication technologies by 2020. Kazakhstan is still pushing hard to digitize the nation but only for economic growth. Most people access the Internet from their mobile devices and at home in Kazakhstan. Free access is available in many public areas. According to Internet World Stats website as of June 30, 2017, almost 77% of Kazakhstan's population has access to the Internet. Mostly, Internet connection fees range from as little as KZT 3830 ($12) to the fastest available at KZT 19,900 (roughly $57). Overall, Kazakhstan is listed among Internet "not free" countries, according to the latest 2017 Freedom House report on Internet freedom around the world. The report highlights some of the developments in the country. It said authorities imprisoned activists attempting to organize protests using social media. It also said that overall environment remains oppressive to ICT users, with continued online censorship and arrests of social media users.

"Imposing systematic censorship under the rubric of national security allows the regime to limit even further the freedom of Kazakhstan's new media: in a move that is reminiscent of China's large-scale blocking strategy" (Anceschi 2015, p. 294). Kazakhstan authorities used criminal charges against social media users in an effort to silence dissent and punish online mobilization, issuing prison sentences of up to 5 years. Opposition activists and dissidents were targeted with malware attacks likely originated from the government (Freedom House 2017). At the time of writing this chapter, Kazakhstan's government has reportedly accepted new amendments to existing law that Kazakh Internet users will no longer be able to post comments online anonymously (Zakon.kg 2017). Details about this new law are yet to be

revealed. But social media users are already in trouble for their "behavior" online. Facebook user Alexander Babanov faced a libelous lawsuit for a social media post about accidents that allegedly happened in a local plant in the city of Pavlodar. The former head of the local plant filed a libel lawsuit against Babanov seeking 10 million Kazakh tenge ($30,000). Another example is when a woman was financially fined for using her Facebook to allege that criminal activity was taking place in neighboring apartments (Toleukhanova 2016). Criminal charges were brought to some social media users in the country for allegedly inciting religious and ethnic discord (IREX 2017).

Turning to the situation in Kyrgyzstan, the country has suffered from political instability and widespread corruption. Two revolutions occurred since 1991 in the country, with the deadliest ethnic clashes between Kyrgyz and minority Uzbeks occurring in 2010 when almost a half of million people were displaced, with thousands of fleeing to neighboring Uzbekistan (BBC 2010). Overall, the country is the most dynamic in terms of the frequency of collective protests among the countries in Central Asia (Achilov 2016) because the country's politics are largely shaped by clan-based loyalties, weak institutions, fragmented independent elites, and regional differences with the country. This can explain why Kyrgyzstan is one of the poorest countries among the former Soviet Union countries. Almost 1 million out of the 6 million population are abroad in search of jobs, primarily in Russia, Turkey, Kazakhstan, and elsewhere. This can be further noted by the fact that a Kyrgyz lawmaker initiated a draft law in 2016 to seek humanitarian aid.

But the country's post-independence history is frequently cited among academics who support the view that the Internet facilitates the democratization process. This is because the Internet and wider social media sites played an instrumental role in the people's first revolution in 2005 that ousted President Askar Akayev from power (McGlinchey and Johnson 2007; Kulikova and Perlmutter 2007). Specifically, on March 24, 2005, about 20,000 people demanded President Akayev's resignation (Hiro 2009; Kulikova and Perlmutter 2007) because of the manipulation of the parliamentary election held in February 2005 and because of growing public discontent toward rampant corruption, widespread poverty in the country, and failed economic policies (Achilov 2016). Specifically, Radnitz (2012) noted that election manipulation included paying cash to buy votes. This is why thousands of people showed up in the capital city of Bishkek to demand invalidation of the parliamentary election held in the previous month, February 2005. In response to public protest, the Kyrgyz government blocked all traditional media outlets but the Internet. Access to the Internet was relatively low level, and it is possible that the Kyrgyz government did not consider the Internet to be a serious threat. "Most of the domestic media were in a difficult position when reporting about the events, as no one knew whether the president was still in the country" (Kulikova and Perlmutter 2007, p. 30). In such context, domestic media outlets were providing unreliable accounts, leading people to search for alternative sources of information on the Internet (Kulikova and Perlmutter 2007). In their work, Kulikova and Perlmutter (2007) extensively discussed how the website Akaevu.net played an important role to keep people informed about what was happening in the country. Kulikova and Perlmutter argued

that the Internet is the only venue for people to express themselves because mass media outlets in the country are under government control. Even though Kyrgyzstan's media freedom ranking is higher than other countries in the region, journalists are threatened, harassed, violently attacked, prosecuted, and imprisoned (Freedman and Shafer 2012; Pitts 2011; Kurambayev 2016). Journalists in Kyrgyzstan work in a fearful environment (Toralieva 2014) not only for physical threats but also large financial lawsuits. Also, journalists earn so little that they commonly sell the "news" (Mould and Schuster 1999), and some journalists have "extortion" practices while government agencies and even international organizations operating in the country bribe journalists (Kurambayev 2017). At the time of writing this chapter, a British journalist working for the French news agency AFP was denied entry to Kyrgyzstan upon arrival in December 2017 and told he was banned from the ex-Soviet republic in Central Asia (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, December 9, 2017). Also, local journalist Elnura Alkanova was facing a legal threat for her independent investigative work. Specifically, a local bank urged local authorities to open a criminal case for her investigative report allegedly sharing classified information about the bank's clients. In such context and specifically during the 2005 revolution, Kulikova and Perlmutter (2007) argued the Internet encouraged people to share information, post comments, ask questions, and mobilize like-minded groups of people to group together for collective actions against the government via Akaevu.net website and some other blogging platforms. This Akaevu.net website was used to share information about planned gatherings for people to join forces to stand up against the government's election manipulation. Eventually, then-President Askar Akayev fled the country and sought asylum elsewhere. This marked the first time in the region a state leader was forced to step down and seek asylum in a foreign country.

Melvin and Umaraliev (2011) argued that this 2005 revolution contributed to the development of new media in the country. This is because international organizations felt that the Internet could facilitate positive change in the country, and therefore international organizations supplied the country with the software and extensive computer and network equipment in return for cooperation from the Kyrgyz government to keep the Internet deregulated (McGlinchey and Johnson 2007). For example, Transitions Online along with Open Society Institute (previously known as Soros Foundation) funded projects developing citizen journalism by offering free of charge training on how to use computers and the Internet to anyone who wanted to learn. Five years later, people extensively used social media sites for exchange of information during people's second revolution in Kyrgyzstan in 2010 (Melvin and Umaraliev 2011). This marked the second people's popular revolution in the country since its independence in 1991. The reasons for the second people's revolution are similar to the previous revolution, including wide-scale corruption, growing living expenses, and a deteriorating economy. On April 6, 2010, a group of people protested against the government's decision to increase tariffs significantly. Specifically, the Kyrgyz government had increased heating costs up to 400% and electricity up to 170% in February of 2010. So, on April 6, 2010, the protest turned violent in a clash with state police. Such protests spread to other cities, gradually

moving more toward violent demonstrations, including taking hostages of certain high-ranking government officials. President Bakiyev declared a state of emergency and took total control of media outlets, but social media users were tweeting about the protests using the hashtag #freekg to disseminate information (Melvin and Umaraliev 2011). Social media platforms were key places to obtain and share information. As a result of this revolution, another president, Kurmanbek Bakiyev, had to flee to a foreign country to seek asylum.

Overall, almost 35% of Kyrgyzstan's population has access to the Internet (International Telecommunications Union 2016; Freedom House 2017). But the government of Kyrgyzstan is also attempting to digitize the nation like neighboring Kazakhstan by bringing Internet connections to all educational institutions, including secondary schools, with the help of international organizations and foreign governments. As of December 5, 2017, 55% of all secondary schools have been connected to the Internet (Bengard 2017, 24.kg website), and more than 4000 computers were purchased to distribute among schools. The average cost of an Internet connection can be around $15 per month in major cities of the country, while rural areas might be slightly higher. More and more Wi-Fi public locations are appearing in major cities. Private and state transportation companies have recently begun offering free Wi-Fi on public transportation.

There are some other examples where the power of the Internet and wider social media played a positive role in the context of Kyrgyzstan at a small scale where people collectively chose to speak up against Kyrgyz government's wrongdoings via the Internet, leading authorities to respond and/or take actions. For example, locally well-known singer Dilshat Kangeldieva shared her frustration about the authority's reported refusal to accept a report about stolen items from her car on December 17, 2017. She wanted the police officers to investigate the theft. The Kyrgyz singer said in her post that Kyrgyz officers on duty suggested her "forgive those thieves and move on" and that those officers on duty even accused her that because of her, they [officers] could not have a dinner and that they were hungry. As a result of social media users' collective frustration about police handling this case, an investigation was launched. This is one of thousands of cases where people are now using social media to express their frustration about government incompetence. Another recent case involved a schoolteacher beating students in class while students secretly recorded the teachers. Once shared via YouTube, the Ministry of Education fired the teacher in question and issued a statement to all teachers in the country to honor the professional code of conduct. A very notable example included when social media users in the country collectively spoke up about government's wrongdoing that led Kyrgyz authorities to focus more about controlling social media users so social media users do not challenge Kyrgyz authorities in any format. The incident began in 2015 when lawmakers announced that they wanted to buy new furniture, such as chairs, to replace old ones. Parliament announced that that it had ordered 120 new chairs at a cost of 2.6 million soms, or over US $38,000 (BBC 2015). The BBC reported that each planned chair would cost $310 apiece. Social media users inundated social media platforms with their frustration about the purchases coming during a time when government officials regularly spoke about the need to cut

government spending. As a result of massive frustration, parliament dropped the plan to purchase new furniture.

This may have led the Kyrgyz government to realize that social media users in the country are having tremendous influence on government decision-making. In this context, the Kyrgyz government has been strengthening its control over the Internet and social media platforms and suppressing online criticism of the Kyrgyz government and government officials. For example, Kyrgyz lawmaker Irina Karamushkina said that Internet users often criticize the president and officials and urged authorities to pursue online critics. The deputy chief of National Security suggested in one parliamentary meeting that Internet users critical of president and officials are being identified (Mamytova 2016). Also, Privacy International reported that the Kyrgyz government purchased sophisticated Western technology to spy on the entire country's Internet communication (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty 2014). Since then, a foreign citizen was deported from the country for his social media post about Kyrgyzstan, and numerous locals were detained for social media behavior such as liking or sharing certain content, etc. Some Facebook users were taken to court for damaging comments about officials, while some lost their jobs as a result of their social media posts. While the Kyrgyz government may justify such control with the justification of fighting terrorism and online radicalization, they may have a chilling effect on freedom of speech and expression online. Kyrgyz lawmakers have recently proposed a law that would demand that social media users use their real name, make their contact information visible to all, and verify any information before posting online.

While Tajikistan formally boasts many features of democracy, such as multiple political parties, elections, and laws that protect civil liberties, the country has struggled with poverty and instability since its independence. Tajikistan, with a population of about 8 million people, is the smallest country in the region and one of the poorest countries of Eurasia. Upon its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, the country faced civil war during the 1992–1997 years, disrupting economic production facilities. Since then, the country seems to have achieved some political stability. However, currently, 33% of the economically active population has left the country (like citizens of neighboring Kyrgyzstan) in search of employment opportunities abroad, primarily in Russia, Turkey, Kazakhstan, and elsewhere. The remittance from these labor migrants consists of 50% of Tajikistan's GDP (UNDP 2017). The current rate of unemployment is at 33%, according to the World Bank.

Tajikistan is an authoritarian state dominated politically by President Emomali Rahmon and his supporters, says the 2017 report of US Department of State. The report also noted that the most significant human rights problems included citizens' inability to change their government through free and fair elections, repression, increased harassment of civil society and political activists, and restrictions on freedoms of expression, media, and the free flow of information, including through the repeated blockage of several independent news and social networking websites. President Rahmon's family members hold many prominent government positions. For example, his daughter Ozoda Rahmonva served as a deputy foreign minister. She was later appointed as the president's chief of staff. Another daughter is the head

of Foreign Ministry's international relations department (Putz 2017). His son is the mayor of the capital city of Dushanbe. Tajikistan's human rights record continues to deteriorate amid an ongoing crackdown on freedom of expression and the political opposition, as well as the targeting of independent lawyers, journalists, and even the family members of opposition activists abroad (Human Rights Watch 2017). The authorities persecute and arrest journalists and political opposition leaders and curtail the free flow of information (Shafiev and Miles 2015, p. 301).

Like other countries in the region, corruption in Tajikistan is widespread and at all levels of society. Rule of law is weak and most institutions lack transparency and integrity structures (Transparency International 2017). Criminal groups have considerable influence on judicial functions, while bribery of judges, who are poorly paid and poorly trained, is commonplace (Library of Congress). The 2017 Media Sustainability Index (MSI) report for Tajikistan says that more than 40% of the population lives in poverty. Freedom House reported that recent constitutional changes in 2016 formally removed presidential term limits and lowered the minimum age for presidential candidates from 35 to 30. The changes effectively allow Rahmon to rule indefinitely and also render his 29-year-old son eligible for candidacy in the 2020 presidential election.

In terms of freedom of speech and expression and the media, Tajikistan has an atmosphere of intimidation for journalists (IREX 2017). The IREX report notes that many sources in the country do not talk to journalists partly because of fear of the authorities. This is why most news outlets focus more on social issues and culture to avoid harassment, intimidation, firing, or worse (Gross and Kenny 2011). Gross and Kenny argue that censorship and self-censorship are among the paralyzing problems faced by the Tajik media and society. The media avoid covering the president's family and private life, corruption in the top ranks of government, and activities of the special services, tax services, and their business partners. The report also noted that hacking of the email and social accounts of journalists and civil society activists, phone tapping, and others forms of cyber-crime are becoming routine in the country. Citing national security in fighting terrorism, Tajikistan government requires all subscriber identity module (SIM) cards reregister in the country. Since 2012, Tajikistan has begun to repress its opposition and others through pro-active online measures (Shafiev and Miles 2015). A group of volunteers monitored websites and social media, informing relevant state authorities when national interests and the state image were in danger or when the country was being humiliated (Shafiev and Miles 2015).

Approximately 20 percent of the population has regular access to the Internet, and monthly Internet connection fees seem to range from $50 to $200, which is out of reach for many people. Daily wintertime power outages can be another obstacle for public use of the Internet. Overall, Tajikistan regularly blocks access to social media sites including YouTube, Facebook, Google Services, etc. Once, Tajikistan State Communications Service Mr. Bek Zuhurov said that hundreds of citizens requested he shut down social media access, including Facebook (Shafiev and Miles 2015), and the government's blocking of access to social media is to follow the people's request. Because of the irregularity of Internet access and the government's steps to

block some of the popular social media and news websites, journalists say these sites can be unreliable in reaching out to people. There are certain moments when Tajikistan's government seems to restrict flow of information. First, blocking systematically follows an event, such as military action, which the government did not want publicized, or when articles, audio, or video leaks or discussions that made the government uncomfortable appear online (Shafiev and Miles 2015, p. 307). Second, it happens during times when groups (including political groups) are created on Facebook, the social media site Odnoklassniki, or any other social media sites where opposition political leaders use platforms to criticize the Tajik government. However, every time, the state denies that any state orders for censorship exist. For example, Shafiev and Miles discussed one case that occurred in 2013 involving Gruppa 24, a political opposition group founded in Moscow by Tajik government critic Umarali Quvvatov. He propagated on the social media site Odnoklassniki about planned a protest in Dushanbe, the capital city of Tajikistan. While online, the protest attracted the attention of hundreds of supporters. News website EurasiaNet.org reported that Quvvatov was shot and killed in 2015 in Istanbul. Shafiev and Miles also discuss a similar case when a bid in social media about gathering a protest at the High Court of Tajikistan. The purpose of this protest was to protest against the detention of new political party Zaid Saidov. However, Tajik police became aware of this planned protest ahead of the actual protest date and were well prepared for it. But the major wave of calls for protest generated via social media against President Emomali Rahmon's government occurred in 2014. Tajik diaspora from Russian cities, including Moscow, Ekaterinburg, and other cities, called for massive protests in Tajikistan. It is important to note that almost 90% of all Tajik migrants who left the country in search of employment abroad are in Russia. Such social media calls led Tajikistan government to block dozens of websites countrywide and led to a complete Internet shutdown (Shafiev and Miles 2015), all while sending armed vehicles to Dushanbe. At the time of this writing, Tajikistan's Taxation Department argued that social media platforms should be blocked because of a declining state budget and that Tajik people are using other social media (Skype, WeChat, IMO, Viber) more to communicate with each other rather than making a traditional phone call (Asia Plus, December 21 2017). Yet, government officials frequently appeal to the collective memory and fears of civil war, warning that views on the Internet could cause a resurgence in violence (Shafiev and Miles 2015, p. 308). "Authorities began to ride the Internet wave; beyond volunteers reporting slanders, a large number of users with fake names and pictures now defend state positions" (Shafiev and Miles 2015, p. 315). Tajikistan, along with other countries in Central Asia, reportedly purchased a sophisticated Western technology to spy on its citizens inside and abroad. The Privacy International report noted that:

> some [Central Asian] countries are equipped with sophisticated surveillance capabilities that allow the monitoring of communications on a mass scale. . . . These surveillance capabilities are centralized and accessed by security agencies in monitoring centers, located across the region, allowing agents to intercept, decode and analyze the private communications of thousands of people simultaneously.

In such context, social media users often self-censored their views while posting on the Internet.

54.4 Conclusions

Although this work may seem of concern to only a small group of readers of Central Asia, it should in fact concern anyone who cares about the Internet and its potential power to democratize authoritarian countries and how governments can use repression technology to undermine freedom of information online (Tucker et al. 2017). While it is true that existing literature offers mixed conclusions about whether the Internet opens previously closed societies – for example, "much of the present excitement about the internet, particularly the high hopes that are pinned on it in terms of opening up closed societies, stems from selective and, at times, incorrect readings of history" (Morozov 2012, p. xi) – others argue that the Internet facilitates democratization process by giving access to information even among those who previously paid little attention (Gil de Zúñiga et al. 2012; Hamilton and Tolbert 2012). Some other scholars regularly cite the "Arab Spring" as an example of their view that the Internet can promote democracy regardless of contexts. This chapter demonstrates from recent examples of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan that social media democratizes access to information, promotes and coordinates political planning, and pursues collective activism and a group of like-minded people together, while social media can be used simultaneously to censor and manipulate information to try to silence others' voices, including through hindering access to information or threatening or employing trolls to change the conversation online (Tucker et al. 2017).

54.5 Cross-References

- ▶ Asian Contributions to Communication for Development and Social Change
- ▶ Communicative Analysis of a Failed Coup Attempt in Turkey
- ▶ How Social Media Mashups Enable and Constrain Online Activism of Civil Society Organizations
- ▶ Media and Participation
- ▶ Multidimensional Model for Change: Understanding Multiple Realities to Plan and Promote Social and Behavior Change
- ▶ Online Social Media and Crisis Communication in China: A Review and Critique

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New Media: The Changing Dynamics in Mobile Phone Application in Accelerating Health Care Among the Rural Populations in Kenya

55

Alfred Okoth Akwala

Contents

55.1 Introduction 978
55.2 Securing Lives Through Mobile Phones 979
55.2.1 Totohealth 979
55.2.2 mHMtaani 980
55.2.3 Baby Monitor 980
55.2.4 ChildCount+ 981
55.3 Setting of the Study 981
55.4 Methods 981
55.5 Results 982
55.6 Dissemination of Maternal-Child Health Knowledge to Patients (Antenatal Patients) in Busia County 982
55.7 Methods of Disseminating Maternal-Child Knowledge (Antenatal and Postnatal Patients) 983
55.8 Discussions 983
55.9 Strategic Communication 984
55.10 Client-Service Provider Communication 985
55.11 Conclusion 986
References 987

Abstract

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) had health-care improvement as one of the pillars; however, a majority of the African countries were not able to achieve these goals and have now embarked on Sustainable Development Goals. The third objective of SDG aims to ensuring healthy lives and promotion of the well-being of all ages.

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Kenya has implemented two strategies aimed at influencing skilled facility care utilization: the provision of free maternity health services and the Beyond Zero Campaign. However, these strategies may not have achieved much due to lack of adequate and relevant information for the populations. Therefore, utilization of new media in disseminating health knowledge to populations may be an alternative to the traditional media and other channels of health knowledge dissemination which may not be in tandem with the ever-changing socioeconomic realities in the rural communities. To this end, this chapter seeks to assess the appropriation of mobile phone technology in accelerating the access to skilled facility health care, investigate the different types of health knowledge that can be accessed through the mobile phone, and assess the efficiency of the mobile phone in disseminating maternal health knowledge. The study will review available literature using a case study of Kenya.

Keywords

Maternal health · Knowledge · Communication · Skilled facility care · Mobile technology · Dissemination

55.1 Introduction

Mobile phone interventions have been found to improve utilization of antenatal and postnatal care services, which are essential for maternal and newborn health.

World Health Organization (WHO) report (2011) states that the unprecedented spread of mobile technologies as well as advancements in their innovative application to address health priorities has evolved into a new field of eHealth, known as mHealth. The report further states that the use of mobile devices to send appointment reminders is becoming more common in many countries.

Advances in technology can enable patients to receive a diagnosis and treatment plans without leaving their homes. Application of mobile phones in dissemination of maternal health knowledge can strengthen health-care systems in developing countries.

The challenges of access and utilization create disparities in the availability of health facilities and skilled maternal health professionals in the rural areas. Therefore mobile technologies can be used to deliver health behavior interventions. A report by WHO (2011) indicates that if use of mobile technology in health messages provision is implemented strategically and systematically, mHealth can revolutionize health outcomes, providing virtually anyone with a mobile phone with medical expertise and knowledge in real time.

mHealth applications can assist in achieving the SDG especially goal three which targets to ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages. Mobile phone text message reminders for appointment attendance and further high-quality research are required to draw more robust interventions in facilitation of accessing skilled health-care uptake.

55.2 Securing Lives Through Mobile Phones

Technology has enhanced the way maternal health care is being conducted in sub-Saharan Africa. Zurovac et al. (2012) maintain that poor health indicators, restricted resources, poor infrastructure, and weak health systems in many African countries have overcome communication problems with the widespread use of mobile phone technology.

Geographically isolated communities can now have access to vital information on health in the comfort of their sitting rooms. Facility health providers can track the progress of their patients from their offices. As such, mobile phone applications have generated hope for the maternal health patients and the service providers.

UN et al. (2011) document that hundreds of thousands of women are still dying due to complications of pregnancy and/or childbirth each year. Many of these deaths occur due to haemorrhage, infection, and obstructed labor during child birth. Health providers can make an important contribution to improving maternal and newborn health of communities especially if they can have a means to disseminate health knowledge to the patients. Mobile phones have become more accessible than ever before in today's contemporary society. They are no longer tools of calling, texting, and sending or receiving money, but they are tools for access of critical information. One of the critical information is behavior change information. mHealth is proving to be part of the solution to the maternal health information, from text messages educating mothers on what to expect when they're expecting to information that assist medical professionals to provide comprehensive care. Zurovac et al. (2012) say the application of mobile technologies to health behavior interventions is an exciting and rapidly growing field as it has the ability to provide frequent and time-intensive interventions to maternal health patients. They maintain that mobile phone technology used in Kenya showed that text message communication between health workers and patients substantially improved patients' adherence to antiretroviral treatment and HIV treatment outcomes.

In Kenya, there are various mobile phone applications available to both the antenatal and postnatal mothers. The following are some of those applications:

55.2.1 Totohealth

Totohealth is a mobile technology platform in Kenya used to detect a mother's pregnancy stages and child development after birth. The aim of this mobile application is to improve the maternal and child health status of marginalized communities. Patients subscribe to the platform, and then text messages about schedules, reminders for clinic visits, and vaccinations are sent to them periodically. The application also detects development abnormalities of a child and pregnancy, maps out mothers due to deliver and avails resources to ensure safe deliveries, and analyzes data collected from patients to enhance decision and policymaking. This application has motivated both the antenatal and the postnatal patients to get relevant maternal health information without wasting time and spending much money on transport costs.

Irena et al. (2016) document that health-care provision has reduced costs by offering an alternative to costly travel to clinics or hospitals. Instead of face-to-face appointments, mHealth ventures offer patient care through doctor hotlines.

55.2.2 mHMtaani

mHMtaani mobile application is a community-based platform that is aimed to promote healthy living among the antenatal and postnatal patients in the coastal communities of Kenya. The app monitors and tracks the health of pregnant women. The rural women are assisted in knowing the pregnancy danger signs, delivery date, use of family planning, breastfeeding, and the general well-being of pregnant mothers without necessarily visiting the facility/doctor. This service has improved the quality of care for pregnant women and increased the number of hospital deliveries. Irena et al. (2016) maintain that mHealth projects educate individuals on various aspects of health-care benefits to increase the appropriate utilization of resources. The communication methods used include SMS messages, smartphone apps, website videos, Facebook pages, hotlines, online messaging, and online learning modules. The services offered include information on affordable drugs, childcare, nutrition, diseases, sexual and reproductive health, and referrals to local care centers.

Fotso et al. (2008) observe that the mere availability of health services to a population may not translate into increased utilization. This is due to many other socioeconomic factors that affect the utilization of health services. Therefore, there is a need to set up and strengthen maternal-child health promotion campaigns geared toward the marginalized population groups (ibid.).

Ransom and Nancy (2002, pp. 19–29), in discussing maternal-child health utilization, identified four obstacles that limit women from accessing and utilizing maternal-child health services, thereby leading to maternal-child deaths: delay in recognizing danger signs, deciding to seek care, reaching the appropriate health facility, and delay in receiving health care at a health facility. mHMtaani platform has created a conducive atmosphere for mothers to be able to undergo their deliveries in a facility under the supervision of a facility health staff as they able to be promptly updated on their pregnancy status via mobile phone messages. Linda (2006) documents that maternal-child health patients should be given adequate information in regard to maternal health issues. Effort should be made to ensure that all women have access to a skilled birth attendant (physician, midwife, or nurse professionally prepared for the provision of prenatal care) in order to decrease the high number of preventable deaths.

55.2.3 Baby Monitor

Baby Monitor is another mobile phone application in Kenya used for linking pregnant women with health clinics through interactive voice response technology. WHO (2011) report indicates that in Bangladesh, awareness of health campaigns is created by broadcasting SMS text messages to all mobile telephone numbers in the

country, irrespective of their service providers to mobilize citizens to bring their children to get vaccinated. In Kenya, patients use Baby Monitor mobile application to receive information through SMS and voice messages once they call the hotline. The messages are disseminated in a language the patient can understand.

55.2.4 ChildCount+

ChildCount+ is yet another mHealth platform which relies on SMS data entry to create a centralized database whose aim is to register every pregnant woman and every child under the age of five in rural areas. Subramaniam (2011) documents that in Tanzania a mother who has TB and HIV and seeks antenatal care will have three identification numbers, her information residing in three different registers. This makes patient tracking and follow-up burdensome. It also makes compiling monthly reports tedious. However health-care providers can load all cluster patient data into the ChildCount+ database which can be used to track patients' progress for all the three ailments.

Fotso et al. (2008) observe that women should be encouraged to attend antenatal care where they can be given advice on delivery care and other pregnancy-related issues targeting the poorest, less educated, and high-parity rural women groups. These innovative technologies can provide better information to mothers to ensure that they have a safe delivery.

55.3 Setting of the Study

This study was conducted in Western Province, Busia County, a rural setting in Western Kenya and an area confronted with a myriad of health-related problems. The study was conducted between April and August 2012. Thirty antenatal health patients and 28 postnatal health patients were drawn from the region to participate in the study.

55.4 Methods

The study adopted the mixed method approach. The use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches enhanced the credibility of the research findings as the findings were triangulated to elicit superior evidence. The two data strands were generated concurrently but analyzed differently through thematic analysis and descriptive and inferential statistics analysis. The interpretations are mixed to establish the relationship between the variables.

In addition the use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems as qualitative data which is mostly a narration backed up with statistical scores from quantitative data, hence assisting the researcher to compare and contrast both qualitative and quantitative data.

55.5 Results

This study sought to identify communication strategies used in promoting skilled maternal health-care utilization in rural Busia County among antenatal and postnatal health patients. Therefore, a question on the channels of accessing maternal health knowledge was asked. Similarly, a question on the frequency of mobile phone use in accessing maternal health knowledge was also asked.

This question was intended to find out the average number of people who use mobile phones to access maternal health information and the kinds of knowledge they are able to access.

55.6 Dissemination of Maternal-Child Health Knowledge to Patients (Antenatal Patients) in Busia County

The dissemination of information on maternal-child health is a key factor to the utilization of maternal-child health services. A total of 30 antenatal patients filled the questionnaires and 8 of them were interviewed. A majority of the respondents acknowledged that chief's *barazas* (43.3%) could be utilized as key avenues for dissemination of information, especially in rural areas. One of the respondents said that:

> messages from the chief's *Baraza* or a 'community worker' can be clarified and substantiated as opposed to those we 'hear' from radios.

According to her, community outreach programs offer an opportunity for patients to ask for clarification and questions on issues that are not clear. She further said that chief's *barazas* are communal media since they act as a forum where one meets masses of people and disseminates information to them. The mobile phone was also singled out as one avenue to access maternal-child health information. Mobile phone was approved by 16.7% as an appropriate source of maternal health information.

Tables 1 and 2 show the breakdown of the methods used for information access, the number of respondents, and the percentages for each method for both antenatal and postnatal patients.

Table 1 Channels used to disseminate maternal-child health information (antenatal patients)

Method	Frequency	Percent
Mobile phone	5	16.7
Relative/friend	2	6.7
Chief's barazas	13	43.3
CHWs	6	20.0
Information at facility/interactive posters	1	3.3
Mass media	3	10.0
Total	**30**	**100.0**

Source: Research data (2018)

Table 2 Methods of disseminating maternal-child knowledge (postnatal patients)

Means	Frequency	Percent
Mobile phone	6	21.4
Mass media	7	25.1
Door to door (CHWs)	9	32.1
Chief's *barazas*	3	10.7
Churches	2	7.1
FHS	1	3.6
Total	**28**	**100.0**

Source: Research data (2018)

55.7 Methods of Disseminating Maternal-Child Knowledge (Antenatal and Postnatal Patients)

For both antenatal and postnatal patients, mass media (a channel known to inform, educate, entertain, persuade, socialize, and market health products) did not score highly. For antenatal patients, only 10% preferred the use of mass media, while among the postnatal patients, only 25.1% preferred it to any other as a channel most suitable to disseminate maternal-child health knowledge. CHWs, chief's *barazas*, relatives, and friends are seen as a means that can achieve better results in maternal-child health campaigns, especially when it relates to immunization than any other means.

One of the respondents said that the health facilities are too far away and there are a lot of tests before one is enrolled into the program; "we" would be better if all maternal health information was easily available.

This shows that women would prefer to get this information on a mobile platform so that they only visit facilities for critical issues.

The methods of knowledge dissemination that were recommended as the most preferred by the respondents included mobile phone, mass media, door-to-door campaigns, community health workers' campaigns, chief's *barazas*, churches, and facility health staffs.

For postnatal patients, door-to-door campaigns, which preferred by 32.1% of the sample population, are to be steered by community health workers who mobilize maternal health patients by informing them on the need to visit maternal health clinics. Though most patients claimed that they only used their mobile phone to call, text, and receive or send money, 21.4% of the postnatal patients acknowledged using their mobile phones to access maternal health information.

55.8 Discussions

Most maternal health patients both in the pre- and postnatal stages claimed that they got information about maternal health-care services from chief's barazas and community health workers. However, patients said that mobile phone applications could

be of assistance as other patients turned to family, friends, co-workers, women who had been pregnant before, and older women in the community.

Communication about the benefits of utilizing skilled maternal-child health services is necessary. The findings corresponded with Ivanov and Flynn (1999) observation that point out that entry or early access into the health-care system is an indicator of health-care utilization (p. 374). They further say that negative experiences with health providers decrease women's satisfaction with prenatal care services (ibid., p. 383).

55.9 Strategic Communication

The source of information determines the level of trust placed on the message. Patients may trust the message from the mobile phone as opposed to one from a community volunteer worker or one from a TBA as opposed to a message from a community health volunteer/worker. Accordingly, communities need to be educated on the need to access and utilize skilled maternal-child health care, and this can only be possible if appropriate strategies of disseminating this knowledge are used.

It also emerged from the study that mass media is not the most appropriate means to disseminate maternal-child health knowledge as it is not interactive and participatory. Most mothers can rely on mobile phone text messages to access meaningful pre- and postnatal care information in SMS format that can be easily consumed according to the findings. Therefore, mass media is more effective when backed by complementary activities on the ground such as door-to-door campaigns. Oronje et al. (2009) note that the mass media has the ability to disseminate information in a broad, timely, and accessible manner; it constitutes an important source of information for the general public and policymakers. They further say that as information providers, the mass media informs, educates, entertains, persuades, socializes, and markets commercial products, among other roles (p. 2). However, most of the maternal health information disseminated through radio has been termed as a nonparticipatory. Participatory communication is usually relevant in achieving rural development according to the findings.

In view of the findings, communication strategies that embrace new technology and are illustrative and participatory, such as the use of mobile phones, should be used. Therefore, health providers can use technology to enhance maternal health knowledge dissemination. Oluwaseun et al. (2015) say that e-health interventions for MCH can improve access to health information, influence pregnant women to adopt safe MCH practices, encourage prompt patient diagnosis, and increase the utilization of health facilities.

However, Fotso et al. (2008) acknowledge that to ensure wider reach, health education programs should be channelled through a mix of avenues including the mass media, organizations working in the communities such as chiefs, community outreach activities, posters, and leaflets. In addition, Winskell and Enger (2005, p. 412) document that it is generally agreed that health communication through the mass media has great impact when it is reinforced through interpersonal channels.

These channels include discussions, educational sessions, local theaters and songs, and debates to generate emotional engagement, thereby influencing behavior change. The mass media messages cannot singly influence behavior change as Adam (2005, p. 363) documents that Bandura proposes that "social persuasion" by itself will not succeed in bringing about adoptive behavior and that the mass media is more effective when backed by complementary activities on the ground.

Infrastructural support on maternal health is necessary as some of the cases relate to access to maternal-child health facilities. In line with the findings, Pade-Khene et al. (2010), quoting McNamara (2003), point out that health infrastructure hampers the ability of rural communities to preserve good health and treat illnesses. They further note that facility health workers have to have appropriate communication channels to receive and disseminate current and new health or medical information (ibid.). Health infrastructure in terms of accessibility to the health facilities in the area under study is an issue that needs to be addressed for the realization of appropriate maternal-child health service utilization. Fotso et al. (2009) findings support the view that in developing countries patients face significant obstacles in accessing health care. Therefore, those who live nearby hospitals are most likely to access health services than those who live far away. There are those patients who prior to giving birth always felt sick and hence had to visit the clinic regularly for checkups and, even the birth of their child, had to end up in a health facility. Magadi (2000, p. 188) also observes the same that the issue of physical access to health services is a critical problem in many rural parts of Kenya, where long distance to hospitals and poor road conditions are actual obstacles to reaching health facilities and often a disincentive to even trying to seek care. However, Magadi et al (2000) aver that even though more than half of the births take place in a health facility, of the women who manage to get to the health facilities, their chances of dying from maternal-related causes are still high. According to their household survey, 46% of maternal deaths were observed to occur in a health facility (p. 6). Generally, communication strategies in rural areas have to be participatory and illustrative and have to make use of new technology and the opinion leaders. Pade-Khene et al. (2010), quoting McNamara (2003), point out that health infrastructure hampers the ability of rural communities to preserve good health and treat illness. They further observe that facility health workers have to have appropriate communication channels to receive and disseminate current and new health or medical information (ibid.).

55.10 Client-Service Provider Communication

Client-service provider communication enhances dissemination of maternal-child health knowledge and facilitates appropriate decision-making so that through participatory communication, patients can share and exchange knowledge. Once done, appropriate rating of the facility health staff could be given. Thomas (2006, p. 53) says that health-care audiences are hampered by lack of knowledge on the cost of

care and other issues as well. Mobile phone health messages are likely to encourage utilization of skilled facility services.

Consumers must make judgments based on the provider's reputation or on superficial factors such as the appearance of the facilities, the available amenities, or the tastiness of the hospital's food. Consequently, education could play a major role in influencing the behavior of the maternal-child health patients. TBAs are assumed to be more hospitable and loving than the FHSs who have been branded by some patients as cruel and arrogant; as such, patients avoid utilizing skilled facility health care and resorting to using the TBAs. Oronje (2009) documents that about 10% of births in the slums are handled by traditional birth attendants (TBAs). These attendants, however, lack skills to handle delivery. Women prefer TBAs to nurses in public health facilities because the nurses are more often reported to have a bad attitude and are abusive toward them. The more negative experiences women have with health care providers, the less satisfied they become with the doctor's midwife's behavior at the health facility. Through strategic communication, this mind-set and attitude can be eradicated. Mobile phone technology could be of importance in dealing with such situations. Pade-Khene et al. (2010) observe that facility health workers have to have appropriate communication channels to receive and disseminate current and new health or medical information, whereas Fotso et al. (2008) observe that women should be encouraged to attend antenatal care where they can be given advice on delivery care and other pregnancy-related issues targeting the poor, less educated, and high-parity rural women groups.

55.11 Conclusion

Communication is very essential in health as health-related information disseminated as it enables the patients to understand the importance of accessing and utilizing skilled facility maternal-child health services. Information dissemination and behavior change strategies should be embraced in promoting the utilization of skilled maternal-child health services in rural areas. Servaes (2007) says communication should influence attitudes, disseminate knowledge, and bring about a desired and voluntary behavior change. This clearly indicates that the information reaching maternal-child health patients should be informative.

Information dissemination of maternal-child health knowledge is a key factor in the utilization of maternal-child health services. The interview with maternal-child patients revealed that the empathy in communication of the caregiver at the health facility was an indicator for facility health-care utilization by the patient. Thomas (2006) reports that communication experts indicate that "effective communications must be meaningful, relevant, understandable to the receiver, relevant to the lives of 'real' people, and stimulate the receiver emotionally" (p. 99).

Service provider-client communication is very essential in the realization of positive maternal-child health. Fotso et al. (2008) document that lack of or poor transportation facilities and poverty are also key contributing factors to non-institutional deliveries, especially those deliveries that take place en route to health

facilities. Lack of equipment and personnel in health facilities hinders also some patients to access and utilize skilled maternal-child health services. Participatory communication is very vital here, and these messages could be passed through mobile phone technology.

Unfriendly health facility staff and long procedures at the facility centers that force patients to make very long queues make the patients not to utilize skilled maternal-child health services and hence opt for other services which are instant and unfortunately may not be skilled. Negligence by maternal-child patients and lack of information are also other challenges that lead to non-utilization of skilled maternal-child health services. Mobile phone applications may be a solution to all these.

Education on maternal-child health issues should be geared toward behavior change among the maternal-child health patients. Health communication is concerned with a shift from previous visions of health care and prevention which is largely dominated by high technology and hospital-based concepts of health care to searching for innovative and flexible approaches that pay greater attention to knowledge dissemination already possessed by local people.

The use of mobile technology in solving health-related matters does not imply that health-care professionals have to ignore their respective role. Rather, the goal of technology is to uncover alternative solutions that will better service for the pre- and postnatal women. It should also foster local microenterprise, creating upgraded platforms and new functionalities that will generate ongoing economic opportunities for communities. He further says that the conveyance of information can increase or decrease people's anxiety, depending on their information preferences and the amount and kind of information they are given (ibid.). Therefore, maternal health messages must be developed with knowledge of the cultural characteristics of the audience. Culture has been known to be a major determinant of maternal-child health services in many African communities. Magadi (2000) notes that the poor health outcomes (e.g., high infant and child mortality) consistently observed in Nyanza Province, for instance, may be more of a factor of cultural practices, rather than availability and accessibility of health services.

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ICTs for Development: Building the Information Society by Understanding the Consumer Market

56

Shahla Adnan

Contents

56.1 Introduction 990
56.1.1 Information Society 991
56.1.2 Understanding Consumer Rights in the Information Society 992
56.2 Contextual Factors: ICT Penetration in Underserved Areas 993
56.2.1 Role of ICT Industry in Faster Penetration 995
56.3 Strategies to Address ICTs Consumers' Right in Underserved Areas 996
56.3.1 Open Regulatory Framework 996
56.3.2 Use of Universal Service (US) and Universal Access (UA) 997
56.3.3 Emphasis on Content Industries 997
56.3.4 Interconnects Between Government and Private Organizations 999
56.3.5 Role of Social Change Agents 999
56.3.6 Use of Community Media in Connection with ICTs 1000
56.3.7 Gauging Consumer Community in the Developing Countries 1001
56.3.8 Ease of ICT Platforms Usage 1001
56.3.9 Presence and Solutions of the Digital Divide 1002
56.3.10 Consumer Involvement in Policy and Decision Making 1003
56.4 ICT-Based Services 1003
56.4.1 mHealth Services 1003
56.4.2 E-Rate Program 1004
56.4.3 IoT Using ICT Devices 1004
56.5 WLL Usage in Pakistan: A Case Study 1005
56.5.1 ICT Alternative Avenues in Underserved Areas of Pakistan 1007
56.6 Conclusions and Recommendations 1008
References 1009

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Abstract

Ensuring that consumers have a right to choose from the innovative technological facilities, at the most cost-effective affordable price, is the main objective for building the information society. Mechanisms involving comprehensive strategies, concerned with the buildup of information societies, have been addressed in this chapter. The particular focus is on the digitally divided underserved areas where consumer market needs have to be identified in their peculiar diverse culture, technology consumption ability, as well as practically applicable mechanisms for increasing the teledensity. Technological landscapes appear on the brink of radical transformations. Consumer patterns and technological advancements are going through a consolidation and adaptation phase for devising new structures. The ICT convergent era is offering a vibrant discourse to the dynamically changing consumer needs in their native and global scenarios. In addition, the potential of the alternative avenues for addressing the consumer market needs have also been analyzed.

Keywords

Information Society · Understanding consumer rights · Use of ICT · Networked media · Bridging ICT challenges and solutions · ICT solutions · Developing countries · WLL · Increasing teledensity

56.1 Introduction

The encouragement for the use of Information Communication Technologies, or commonly referred to as ICTs, for developing an information society has grown on a global scale due to an increase in its demand. ICTs have long been in use for multi-dimensional purposes ranging from a personal palm-size gadget to extremely sophisticated equipment in space. The usage of ICT is directly linked with the consumers for whom it is created. The consumers of ICT reside in an information society that is characterized by its properties to manufacture, distribute, and even manipulate the information. Technology-based needs are first introduced in the societies. If they get diffused and accepted in the society, its influences can be seen on the lives of the people that build up an information society ultimately. Now, if this ICT is to be used for the development of the underserved areas of the world, the consumer rights need to be understood and served in their true sense. Section 56.1 of this chapter identifies the characteristics of the information society where ICT can flourish for bringing development. Certain identified analytical yardsticks have been discussed in the information society along with a focus on the understanding of the consumer rights in the information society. Section 56.2 illustrates the concept of ICT penetration in the underserved areas where role of the ICT industry has been also discussed for its

fast penetration. Section 56.3 contains the strategies required to address the consumer rights in the underserved areas, in which further expression has been given from multiple dimensions to support consumer's development. Section 56.4 exemplifies the ICT-based services by mentioning the applied benefits of ICTs particularly in developing areas scenarios. Section 56.5 puts up a detailed case study for the usage of wireless local loop ICT (WLL) in Pakistan as a developing country where certain ICT alternative avenues have also been represented. Section 56.6 contains the conclusion along with recommendations to increase the opportunities for usage of ICT that can raise the teledensity of the underserved areas along with certain fruitful results for development of these areas. It also recommends on widening the freedom of the choices for the ICT consumers of the underserved areas that can enable them to benefit from the subsided rates and enhanced connectivity among the competitors in government and private companies. This can ultimately satisfy the true needs of these areas where ICTs get an actual requirement-based spread-out, while addressing the consumers' rights.

56.1.1 Information Society

Information Society is a society where the manufacturing, dissemination, and manipulation of information exist as the most significant activities. Ultimate purpose of this information is consumption by the society. Such activities are linked with the economic paradigm, access usage paradigm, and cultural paradigms. In the converging yet networked societies, the use of information and communication technologies has emerged out as a note-worthy tool. The usage of Information and Communication Technology (ICT)-based platforms and techniques has invaded the face-to-face interactions of the existing consumer societies.

In case of economic paradigm, the manufacturing of information involves the making of new information by considering human minds as apparatuses (Herman and Chomsky 2006). Consumers of social media are exposed to the social and political news content through status updates and shared links on their online social connections (Mitchell 2015; Mitchell et al. 2013). Consumers exhibit their behaviors while performing certain online or other technology-based activities. The ICT techniques help for the content curation by monitoring behavior patterns of the consumers exhibited in their expressions while using respective platforms. For example, the patterns of liking in the online space are curated by different advertising companies for future information manufacture by suggesting information for the same consumer. This manufactured information is then disseminated via various platforms of ICT such as mobile phones and online platforms. According to the attentive response patterns of the consumers during their online activities, the format of manufactured information is packaged for dissemination based on consumer choice. This is the case when the consumer has opted for Really Simple Syndication (RSS) feeds on mobile platforms Facebook or over a twitter account, etc. The manipulation of the manufactured information occurs by behavior targeting: via

analyzing the browsing history of the consumers or the semantics of the web pages, as well as by keyword stuffing for the search engines. Thus, these three activities of manufacturing, dissemination, and manipulation of information play a vital role in establishing an Information Society.

In case of access and usage paradigm related with the ICT, the basic units of society are those individuals who are consuming units of ICTs. In case of underdeveloped areas, the consumers are provided access to the ICTs yet they are unable to utilize it for their personal empowerment (Alderete 2017). Consumers of developing areas do not have the appropriate skill set for the usage of the ICTs with them. Hence, as Morawczynski and Ngwenyama (2007) have suggested that corresponding investment in ICTs, healthcare and education could have major influences on the human development, in underserved areas the access to ICTs can merely have a rise in their teledensities of the population yet actual benefits of the ICTs remain missing because of the lacking skills for ICTs usage. Alderete (2017) has endorsed as confirmed by Brynjolfsson and McAfee (2015), Hargittai (2008), Spiezia (2010), and Sunkel andTrucco (2011) that ICT access has a positive and significant effect on the ICT use and skills. A suitable ICT access is a prerequisite for the beneficial usage of the ICT in developing areas. If ICT access conditions are poorer like unavailability of connections, lack of devices at convenient places, or outdated devices, it steps back the usage of ICTs at the very initial step. The situation gets declined when adequate skills to use ICTs are not with the consumers.

The third cultural paradigm related with ICT is linked with the fear of technology found in the consumers of the underdeveloped areas. The consumers are not only underserved in terms of basic infrastructure, health facilities but also are unprivileged in terms of their behavior devolvement and attitude towards ICT. The use of latest tech-based gadgets even if adopted by the youngsters is discouraged by the elders as a curse that spoils their important time. Elders of underdeveloped societies, e.g., Pakistan, tend to exhibit reluctance towards ICT as they do have a fear of ICT usage that can only detach their descendants from them by destroying their social sittings on the daily basis with their families. This psychological barrier ultimately becomes a major road blocker in the usage of the ICT especially by the seniors. A digital divide exists even within the same society in the form of rural and urban segmentation.

If issues of ICT access, usage skills and fear to use ICT are addressed properly the consumers will be enabled to generate huge amounts of information. Such consumption can not only empower ICT consumers rather generate and disseminate their content on a massive scale.

56.1.2 Understanding Consumer Rights in the Information Society

Ensuring consumer's rights in scenario of underserved areas of world is still a challenge as consumers in this scenario are served with the ultimate-manipulated information. They are forced to use the provided lenses already chosen by the

manufacturer of the information. Here the agenda setting theory of communication works into play where it directs the minds of the consumers not only what to think about but also how to think about it by influencing their opinions and attitudes. The salience of the consumer pertaining issues is raised with a pre-designed frame and primed out in the minds of the consumers (McCombs and Guo 2014). This process of manufacturing, dissemination, and manipulation of information is underpinned with an economic activity where information is the prime commodity. The consumers of ICT ultimately make financial transactions that generate profits. With the flourishing use of information in societies, the need for understanding the rights of the information consumers has also emerged. Some significant rights of the consumers in the information society include the *Right to safety* where consumers of underserved areas should be protected from potential physical and mental health hazards. Moreover, the *right to be informed* applied on consumers of ICTs can be ensured by the availability of alternative weighing information which can be implemented by safeguarding protection from false and misleading advertised claims and labeled practices. In direct relation, the strategy for consumer's *right to choose* should focus on the balanced accessibility of the competing ICTs and their services along with their alternatives in terms of price, quality, and service. It further follows with the strategies for the *consumers right to be heard* where need of mechanisms, such as the forces of demand and supply, is a real challenge to administrate for consumers in underserved areas. By doing as such, a deeper analysis regarding the demands and concerns of consumers of ICTs can be carried out and obtained by the government as well as involved structures. Rights of underserved consumers to safety, to information, to exercise choices, and ultimately to be heard need a collaborative mechanism for ICTs penetration.

56.2 Contextual Factors: ICT Penetration in Underserved Areas

A precise need-based road-map is required for ICT penetration. In rural areas, understanding the consumers for conveying information to them by the means of modern technology is of great importance. Certain contextual factors need to be addressed by adopting a strong consumer gratification mechanism for imparting the technology. The term "*Technology just for the sake of technology"* never works and cannot sustain in any domain, until and unless an objective is focused. Until the usage of technology is aimed towards the actual problems of the target consumers, the real benefits of consumers at certain affordable prices cannot be achieved. Some of the impacting *contextual factors* for creating effective collaborations in this domain are as follows:

Connectedness comes first and encircles the domain of how native people are connected to each other in their social circles. Potential consumers of the specific area may face several possible limitations. Connectivity of the consumers with the ICTs with respect to their category and niche requirements needs to be established. For example, farmers need agriculture-based guidelines and solutions for their crops, women with limited logistic needs easy access for doing daily grocery or clothes

shopping within their proximity. Certain telecenters can be established at the local community health centers where women usually visit or e-commerce facility can be introduced at local market shops. Recently, in 2018 in Karachi, population wise largest city in Pakistan, an online as well as mobile app facility for grocery shopping is available through a private company. Moreover, in past such successful implementation of ICTs at underserved areas in form of "E-Choupal" project in India, via establishment of specific telecenters in the rural areas, addressed farmer needs. Furthermore, such e-commerce facilities can be provided at railway stations, bus stations, schools, etc. Initial revenues may be very less in this scenario or even to nil in certain cases but can be enhanced with proper usage along with the passage of time.

The second contextual factor focuses on the relationship of the ICT industry with its potential consumers. ICT has an important role in the customer-organization relationship, where customer satisfaction, commitment and loyalty are the influencing variables (Bauer et al. 2002). In the technology-deprived areas, in initial adaptation of customers to certain technology, customer satisfaction is closely dependent on the eradication of their fears regarding usage of ICT. Meanwhile, the respective industry can be provided with certain help from Universal Service Fund (USF) for its financial soundness. When the consumers get used to the provided technology and start getting certain benefits from it, they would be happy to pay for certain advanced services and devices for their benefits in life routines.

Third contextual factor is the community, i.e., whether the consumers work cooperatively or competitively. It also influences the collaborations among the consumers of the ICT particularly in those areas where urban and rural segmentation exists. Communities with collectivist culture, where cohesion among consumers exists, have a good collaboration among its consumers. Zegers (2017), while mentioning the influencing factors for possibilities and limits of urban and rural collaboration, considers ahead mentioned factors like mutual respect, understanding, and Trust; appropriate cross-section of members for learning and complementing each other through knowledge sharing, experiences, and ideas; ability to compromise; shared vision; and open and frequent communication at the base of collaboration. Although Zegers (2017) has mainly focused on collaborations in tourism and leisure, yet they appropriately focus on the factors that influence community collaborations in urban and rural consumer segments.

The diversity existing in the community members can act as a welcoming resource for the penetration of the ICT that can enhance creative solutions for the end consumers. The consumers as well as service providers exercise the choice of the services. This choice mechanism hinges upon income status of the consumers versus their needs and cost of service by the service providers. In rural areas of the developing countries, the agricultural economy exists and is quite a cumbersome job to induce technology-based needs as preferred requirements in the people's mind where customer's decision is vital. Servon (2002) mentions factors of cost, infrastructure, discrimination, policy, and culture as interacting ones to keep certain groups from being able to participate fully in the information society. The power structures existing in consumer's communities were one land lord owns the complete

resources of land and man power. The benefits of the rest of the community may get compromised. Therefore consumer's needs, income status, and behaviors directly affect the penetration of the newly disseminated technology in such power central communities. Lovink (2016) sets out a vision of an alternative pathway using "collective awareness platforms" to resist unequal power structures. While implementing ICT-based solutions, the principal interest should not be attainment of market dominance. Fostering alternatives to the commercial market such as collaborative sharing in ICT-based relationships should be encouraged.

There is a close relationship between social change and ICT that it has both positive and negative effects. ICT deployment in developing consumer markets follow a sequence where ICT advances create a new opportunity to achieve some desired goals. It is followed by an increase in demand for alterations in the existing social structure of the organizations for availing the new ICT opportunities. The real issue faced by the ICT penetration is the gradual decline of the older or existing social structures which have helped the society to feel connected on a more personal basis. However, the preceding statement doesn't intend to deny the use of ICT for building an information society, rather lays emphasis towards the emerging need for inter-disciplinary researches specially between the ICT-based subjects, economics, communications, as well as digital humanities.

56.2.1 Role of ICT Industry in Faster Penetration

Industry acts as the center of gravity for ICT penetration. Service implementation and its timely delivery that is compatible to the needs of the consumer market is the main concern particularly in rural areas. In order to win certain laurels in the underserved areas of the world, ***technology infrastructure*** needs to be cost effective for deployment as well as in terms of maintenance. For example, where the issue to provide connectivity to a larger area arises, broadband mobile connectivity such as cellular and Wireless Local Loop (WLL) services can provide the unparalleled large coverage in the wireless realm. The limitless mobility as well as the restricted mobility options provided by wireless service provider allows networks to be built with far fewer optimized cell sites. Fewer cell sites covering a larger diameter of an area can ensure reduced operating expenses, which results in savings to both operators and consumers and hence allow faster penetration. Technical support industries can also play a crucial role to produce, distribute, and maintain PCs, software, manage E-financing facilities, and administrate networking. Certain solution-oriented industries that aptly address the consumer needs in order to survive well with easiness in their lives are essential for the digital revolution that can gradually architect the information society. The mobile industry is one of those industries that are fully committed to achievement of sustainable development goals, as a universal plan has been unanimously adopted by 193 countries under United Nations (GSM 2017). Better networks of the mobile operators support disaster communication and broadcast services. This makes them to provide accurate and timely information to the affected communities. Rolling

out in remote areas by making mobile services more affordable to the poorest individuals along with efforts to accelerate the digital inclusion for the women are some of the steps in progress by mobile operators. Hence, the ICT industries require appropriate human and technological resources that help in the rapid development of ICT in the society.

56.3 Strategies to Address ICTs Consumers' Right in Underserved Areas

The empathetic need for the consumer-based solutions through simple and prompt mechanisms is required in underserved areas. In the backdrop of the above parameters, certain strategies to address the ICTs consumers' rights particularly in the underserved areas have been suggested as follows.

56.3.1 Open Regulatory Framework

It can catalyze the digital connectivity by allowing innovative communication technology to be used for providing connectivity between communities particularly in rural areas. Communication infrastructure, including telecommunications, internet connections, and broadcasting should reach not only urban high-income class but also connect semi-urban as well as rural areas. Servon (2008) states unequal investment in infrastructure between poor urban areas and rural regions as a source of market failure; where private companies will invest more likely in those areas where they can yield more return on investment. Such situations warrant government intervention. It is further mentioned that "same places that are characterized by economic poverty also tend to suffer from information poverty." In developing countries, the main infrastructures are usually owned by their respective Governments. This government ownership is of an authoritative style where provision of technology-based solutions provided by private ownership is monopolized by Govt.-owned stakeholders of the ICT domain. Open regulatory frameworks can ease the invasion of the private sector for provision of services along with providing healthy competition for the govt. sector. The technological interconnects between the govt. and private stakeholders of the ICT can simplify the access of the technology-based services to the society. For example, in case of Pakistan, the biggest terrestrial network for the media broadcast, i.e., Pakistan Television, is owned by Govt. Private Operators have to go through a rigorous procedure despite de-regularization of media. At times, certain exclusive categories like govt. exclusive areas and content that may vary from the live coverage of a parliament session to the cricket match remain exclusively of govt.-owned operators. The interconnection of government and private sector producers can establish giant networks of ICT and ensure maximum utilization. Hence, the operating costs for the stakeholders, as well as the access costs for the end consumers can be lessened to a most affordable cost that maintains a considerable amount of profit.

56.3.2 Use of Universal Service (US) and Universal Access (UA)

This is a generous mechanism for addressing the consumer rights. GSM (2012) explains the difference between, though closely related yet very different terms of, Universal Service (US) and Universal Access (UA) as: "US refers to the provision of telecom's services to all households within a country. UA refers to the provision of services on a shared basis. UA programs typically promote the installation of public payphones or public access businesses in rural villages or low-income urban areas with the aim of providing basic telecoms services." The provision of US and UA ensures accessibility and usability of the ICT services that leads towards acceptability of Information Society Technologies by anyone, anywhere, at any time, and through any media and device, ensuring an ease of access. Mobile operators are providing UA at an unimaginable pace in the majority of developing markets. The ICT penetration rates of US have increased due to lower costs and high speed of ICT services deployment, thereby meeting demands for basic voice services in a rapid and flexible way. It has eliminated barriers for low-income communities to obtain subscription and usage of communication services. GSM (2012) further elaborates that the mobile operators have overcome the barriers in their services for the developing marketers like removal of virtually all bureaucratic formalities, non-monetary entry barriers to service access via simple pre pay model, low-cost initial access, and budget control concerns of low-income people. According to GSM (2018), "To support customer migration and further drive consumer engagement in the digital era, mobile operators will invest $0.5 trillion in mobile capex worldwide between 2018 and 2020." In this upcoming scenario, underserved communities have the potential to become a skilled consumer market, as their consumer interests vary largely and vividly from the high income communities. UA safeguards that all people have practical means of access to a publicly available telephone and emergency services in their communities. For US and UA, the mobile network operators enjoy dominated de facto status in ICT services because of their economical reach, as well as flexible mobility and affordable mobile handsets with an affordable tariff package for niche communities. The rapid transition of GSM has enabled technology to reach an appealing domain with very less barriers for example transition of ICT service networks in developing countries to contemporary technologies like GPRS, EDGE, 3G, and HSPA. In this way, mobile operators can also offer enhanced data, facsimile, Video Conferences, Internet, and various advance ICT services.

56.3.3 Emphasis on Content Industries

Emphasis on the content industries is the most powerful mechanism that should be flourished. Its implementation can provide relevant information that addresses the local people's need. Developing countries do access foreign content via cost-effective methods (e.g., in certain developing countries like South Asian countries cable TV operators access foreign transmission via dish head ends and then use cables for distribution to the local community at their affordable prices). All of the

content produced from foreign countries is in foreign languages such as English and is further dubbed to Hindi/Urdu language, especially in case of cartoons and drama genre of the media content. Though access of the international market products to local markets can be provided by the innovative usage of technology, availability of good and culturally relevant content, a prerequisite for the development of the Information Society, is missed out. As the local people cannot develop any relevance and actual understanding of the disseminated information; hence they remain deprived from the main essence of information that can help them in developing a true information society. This ultimately creates a gap between the society and the information being provided to them. For instance, if in an area clay pottery is done, in other local area stone carving and stone decorative items are made, and in another small community the local habitants have the skill of local food-making. In all such diverse scenarios, the different usage of technology in the form of addressing the pure local needs in their native languages with a customizable, user-friendly technology is required. Once this issue of putting up technology in their native language is addressed, the technology can provide enhancement of such under developed areas. In this way, the consumers can start owning the ICT at an affordable and suitably customized way according to their specific requirements. This can ultimately bring a level of most efficient and effective way for usage of ICTs.

The following exemplary cases from Pakistan depict the worth of manufacturing and thus disseminating the information in local language indigenous content via ICT in underserved areas.

The options for local language content in the native understandable context are missed out especially in the media. This creates a hollow zone for the underserved developing areas which are already creeping with the deprivation of adequate quality of education and awareness. The usage of the local language content in the dissemination of the provided ICT-based solutions can ease their proper implementation and usage by the local community. For example, in Karachi, a city with the largest population of Pakistan, existing slums at least know about their consumer rights due to the efforts of NGOs. They have started to use basic technology gadgets like cell phones and now use them for conveying their complaints to the govt. officials for the access of clean water and basic sanitation rights in their area; they have obtained some success to information by using ICTs in this regard. In KPK province of Pakistan, the provincial govt. has initiated a smart phone-based service to promote the citizen participatory journalism, where residents of the society can put up their problems (e.g., area cleanliness, traffic issues, and health issues, etc.). This can be done via smart phone technology by capturing videos, pictures, or even texting to bring the issues in government's notice for providing solutions. This strategy can be more productive if is deployed using native language of the consumers.

The Pplice department in Punjab (the most populated province of Pakistan) has launched a traffic regulation smart technology-based system for the masses to assist them. Recently, the Govt. of Pakistan has launched a smart phone app named, "Roshan Pakistan" for creating awareness to the masses of the society about the dissemination of information relating daily utilities, e.g., load shedding schedule, billing info, net metering, and bill calculation, etc. In 2018, under active citizenship

program by British Council in Pakistan, kitchen gardening mobile apps have been created for giving an awareness and training to grow and consume organic foods. Such creation of the local content in native language and delivery via ICT-based devices and services enjoys a welcoming response from the consumers. This ultimately leads towards the strong buildup of an information society.

56.3.4 Interconnects Between Government and Private Organizations

Largely self-sustainable business model for the backward rural areas is crucially required. Because by having an increase in the rural teledensity, there would be an increase in the GDP per capita. This may result in the form of the index of prosperity in these developing countries, where about 70% of the population resides in rural areas.

More project initiatives with the collaboration of private organizations and governments need to be taken that eventually result in the access of modern digital technology-based facilities with lower cost of production for producers, such as by subsidizing projects, which would resultantly be more effective and viable for the local habitants. Kshetri (2014) points towards a crucial aspect about collaboration and cooperation among ICT stakeholders for fostering a data ecosystem required for development. He further says that "creation of appropriate databases may stand out as particularly appealing and promising for some entrepreneurial firms. Governments, businesses, and individuals are willing to pay for data when they perceive the value of such data in terms of helping them make better decisions. In the meantime, policymakers, academics, and other stakeholders should make the most of what is available."

Rather than constructing new infrastructure to facilitate for such services, already established infrastructure can be leased in terms of lower inter connect costs. Several countries in Europe are using infrastructure sharing model to reduce the cost of offering telecom services. Some of the examples are white-zone concept in France and sharing of infrastructure between two mobile operators in Australia to offer 3G services. Such scenarios need to be addressed with easy terms and conditions between the Significant Market Players (SMPs) and the newly emerging service providers, particularly in the developing countries.

56.3.5 Role of Social Change Agents

To build an Information society and to utilize ICT for socially beneficial purposes, social change agents' roles are essential. In order to fuse the two ends of the rope, where technology-based solutions reside at one end and consumers of the underserved areas on the other, consumers need to go through a systematic process of changed yet beneficial and productive life styles. Humans intrinsically fear change, so social change agents can act as a suitable aid in this regard. Certain technology-based U-turns can be induced according to the needs of the local community that

could lead to enhance connectivity with the rest of world at massive scales. For that sake, change agents may even be chosen from the local community. They should be trained well with ability to use and implement innovative models to bring about a change in the social process. Education, health, environment, governance, and community social problems are the typical areas where ICT will help create real change. In rural and underdeveloped areas, first of all the living customs need to be explored and analyzed to determine the ground reality. For instance, a wide gap in women empowerment can be filled using ICT. In these underserved areas of the world, uneducated housewives/ladies do embroidery over dresses, caps, bedsheets, etc. as a primary source of income or in some instances as a hobby. Moreover, some women have skills of intertwining wooden beds, chairs, making baskets, and various decorative materials. Women do make hand-woven clothes, shawls, carpets, and rugs with spun into yarn on a spinning wheel called charkha and hand-woven khadi. Such women can be provided with digital assistance such as an online educational course in textile and trained accordingly to develop a knowledge-base in modern embroidery and cloth-making leading to an increased productivity. A social change agent provided by the supplying ICT agency can be initially trained to run a digital telecenter for such women. Such a working scenario can be enhanced by gradually networking via a Wireless Local Loop (WLL) service in accordance with other areas, resulting in a financially beneficial connectivity through various ICT platforms on a national or even a global scale.

56.3.6 Use of Community Media in Connection with ICTs

In certain cases, the needs of a local community may conflict with that of its subcommunities. Such conflicts may lead towards ICT producers for diversifying their product and service range to meet consumer-specific demands. Hence local community radio stations (that played an influential role in both world wars), TV stations, and smart phone apps can be precisely programmed to provide and address the intrinsic local demand of consumers in communities of the developing world. INFOdev (2003) explains the technical challenges faced by online community radio stations as; "implementing Streaming online community radio sessions for addressing the community issues need adequate bandwidth that is required to obtain a good quality stream, streaming compatibility with media players running on all operating platforms and obtaining open source workstations (Linux, etc.)." However, in underserved areas, the community radio has to pave through an uncertain trajectory due to a lack of existing resources that can sustain an always-on internet connection with good bandwidths. Mobile service providers can link this gap by providing certain value-added services for community radio service, as mobile economy is the most committed one with the sustainable development goals.

Certain other obstacles need yet to be resolved for the optimum implementation of the ICT solutions in the neglected areas of the world. The upcoming chapter further discusses the solutions for bridging challenges faced for initiating ICT solutions in developing countries.

56.3.7 Gauging Consumer Community in the Developing Countries

Developing countries experience a lack of connectivity via broadband connections that require digital and expensive satellite equipment. To begin with, developing countries are lagging behind where technology-based industries either do not exist or if found, they function on a small scale. For example, the absence of an industry's satellite systems used for overlying the information broadcasts within the country or for the foreign exchange of information. In either scenario, real-time broadcast or buffered data in form of recorded broadcast is required. It is expensive hence much beyond viable for the masses of developing communities to opt for such options without prior knowledge.

Enabling the common people, especially the illiterate women, which are in sheer need of advocacy, may prosper by using ICTs to gauge the intensity of their problems. In this backdrop, particular strategies for influencing disseminated information and communication policies need to be worked out from a gender perspective for creating gender sensitive ICT guides, in order to prevent possible chances of discrimination. This could integrate ICT into their poverty-related issues, common conflict avenues and local governance issues. From various case studies round the globe, it became evident that an individual does not have to be fully literate to utilize ICT. This discovery has increased the impact of ICT within low-income societies, where education is not considered a necessity for existence.

Funding for ICT-based projects is another challenge, to be proactively managed in a timely and relevant way, which would cover education and technology costs. Personal/convenient and synchronous/asynchronous communication can be enabled by mobile phones. However, Chipchase (2008) has identified problems of limited formal education and lower levels of literacy in emerging markets. He further considers, "literacy is often a result of lack of opportunity rather than ability" and has thus coined the term "Textual literacy." Addressing needs of those who can afford but are textually illiterate in developing countries should also be the target of ICT-based solutions.

56.3.8 Ease of ICT Platforms Usage

ICT-based solutions are effective only if the consumers can access them with ease. Wiendenbeck (1999) explains that the perceptions of ease of use were consistently better for the icon-labeled interface. Whereas by conducting field researches with relevant participants from common masses, Chipchase (2008) describes an icon-based mobile interface is more effective for developing communities that are textually illiterate like cooks, cleaners, fuel station attendants, sweepers, uneducated yet skilled women, etc. Illiterate user's willingness to explore features on the mobile phone demands more proactive and solution-based research. Cardiac (2013) while addressing the area of accessible and assistive ICT mentions "Icons used for ICT interfaces must be easy to understand." The market for illiterate users is vast with potentially growing margins. Therefore, a minimal feature mobile set is the most

adequate for such illiterate developing communities where audio feedbacks, spoken menus in local languages with native dialect support can bring very personal, easy-to-use, and meaningful ICT solutions. Effective serving for this potential market can not only improve the lives of illiterates massively but also act as a springboard for enhancing literacy. Maximizing the extent of the ICT-based solutions is a demanding task where societies dwell on the basis of the networked and converged mechanisms.

As national ICT strategy of Egypt focuses on four main goals as "Supporting democratic transformations, fostering digital citizenship, supporting sustainable social developments and fostering knowledge based national economy" (Egypt MOCIT 2012–2017). After meeting these goals in an underserved area it can lead towards the making of a smart city as defined by Kayat and Fashal (2019) as "that is able to efficiently mobilize technological innovations so as to anticipate, understand, openly discuss, act and serve many actors with a wide range of profiles."

ICT enables connectivity within and among cities (Kayat and Fashal 2019). A standalone computer can offer only minimal utility. Therefore, networking is essential to maximize gains. As interactions go digital, these can be coordinated over greater distances, creating new communities of interest and new challenges for governance. While dealing with networking, speed and security would be the prime concerns. In addition to these challenges, a skilled human resource is required as Phani (2006) concludes that "Technology works only if people have the right training to execute it effectively."

56.3.9 Presence and Solutions of the Digital Divide

Worldwide digital divide is a big challenge for developing information societies. Krizanovic Cik et al. (2017) explains about the improvement of universal access to digital information sources. The inequalities related to the levels of deployment and adoption of broadband solutions between rural and urban areas lead towards the digital divide. For lessening the digital divide, it requires an emphasized focus towards the needs and abilities required for improving the digital skills. Moreover, access to knowledge base and awareness about the underserved population also matters. Using techno-economic methodology, this digital divide can be covered. It involves finding the business strategies of ICT operators along with the relevant case studies that may also greatly help in reducing the digital divide.

Additionally, for some developing and even developed communities, all this change in the name of technological innovation pathway is singular and it is often depicted as being inevitable even if "there will be heartbreak, conflict, and confusion in addition to incredible benefits" (Kelly 2016, p. 267). However, Mansell (2017) debates that "these outcomes depend on multiple technical and nontechnical factors, and it does not follow that these developments will improve the overall quality of life or contribute to reduced social and economic inequality."

While (Park 2017) has proposed for lessening the digital divide existing between rural and urban Australia that for implementation of digital inclusion strategies, "both supply (infrastructure) and demand (education levels, industry sector,

employment opportunities, socio-demographics) factors must be considered." Within the same society there exists segmentation of "haves and have nots" that ultimately widens the technology gaps. Although, such inadequacy creates, at times, certain difficult situations for both the "haves and have nots," as both have to go through the process of change, but lack alternative solutions that aptly address the differing needs.

56.3.10 Consumer Involvement in Policy and Decision Making

The non-involvement of consumers in the process of policy-making and decisionmaking in developing countries is another challenge in this domain. Siddiqui (2005), while discussing the reasons of under development, contemplates that a natural repercussion to planning and a development paradigm is that consumer needs are distantly identified and implemented by the administrative departments. She further considers Pakistan's planning and developing process as "flawed" because it excludes people from the decision-making process where the whole system is quantity oriented where targets and numbers are more important than quality or satisfaction of the beneficiaries. Involvement of the communities in the whole process of planning and development should start from identifying the needs and locations, to designing projects, and their implementation and maintenance.

56.4 ICT-Based Services

ICT can be beneficial in providing facilities that can enhance the human living experiences via usage of corresponding devices and services. Some of them are mentioned as below.

56.4.1 mHealth Services

Around the globe, the use of wireless and mobile communication technologies has a unique potential to transform the delivery of mobile health services (mHealth). There are now over five billion wireless subscribers and over 70% of them reside in low- and middle-income countries. The GSM Association reports that commercial wireless signals cover over 85% of the world's population, extending far beyond the reach of the electrical grid. For determining the status of mHealth in 114 member states, 14 categories of mHealth services were surveyed. The 14 surveyed categories of mHealth services were: health call centers, emergency toll-free telephone services, managing emergencies and disasters, mobile telemedicine, appointment reminders, community mobilization and health promotion, treatment compliance, mobile patient records, information access, patient monitoring, health surveys and data collection, surveillance, health awareness raising, and decision support systems. Successful implementation of ICTs in these above-mentioned categories particularly

in case of emergencies and mobile telemedicine can be substantially beneficial for the underserved areas. Regarding barriers to implementation of mHealth services, the conflicting priorities resides at top with 52% whereas the lack of knowledge concerning the possible applications of mHealth and public health outcomes comes at second barrier with 47%.

Mechael (2008) considers usage of mobile phones within general population and among health professionals as creating new paradigms. Access to emergency and general health services can be improved by the coordination and collaboration amongst users. The increased efficiency and effectiveness of health service delivery by using ICT-trained health workers from the developing community can bring prospective results. Yet certain areas for remote patient monitoring, consultation, and infectious disease prevention with control and telemedicine are a target that can be achieved by using the ICT trained local health workers from both gents and ladies, along with participatory connections with the health professionals for consultations. This needs first to bridge up the gap between the conflicting priorities regarding mHealth as well as the knowledge required for using mHealth services.

56.4.2 E-Rate Program

The use of an E-Rate universal funding mechanism as employed in developed countries can address the technology gap by defraying the connection costs at public educational institutions. This E-Rate program can provide 20–90% discounts on the telecom services, internet net access, and internal wireless connections for schools and libraries that serve poor and rural communities.

Servon (2004) considers not only the innovative work under way by the local ICT sector but also the active engagement of the public sector for bridging the technology gap. The policy makers in favor of E-Rate program also believe in the creation of a skilled workforce that can improve educational opportunities by its usage. This can vitally bridge up the existing digital divide.

56.4.3 IoT Using ICT Devices

ICT-based devices, services, and apps in Internet of Things (IoT) do vary over a wide range as ITU (2017b) report mentions: “objects in connected homes (e.g., appliances such as refrigerators, washers, dryers; kitchen and cooking tools; and applications that manage home security) to devices supporting better energy management, heating and cooling, health monitoring devices and lifestyle devices.” Networking of these ICT-based devices for wider data collections can be ultimately mined. It can create enhanced value services as mentioned above. This ultimately leads towards the better decision-making by consumers who can potentially gain access to more accurate and detailed information. ITU (2017b) report also explains the usage of ICT-based apps for smart homes, in health domain, energy management, precision agriculture, environment, transportation, and security and emergency avenues. It

further describes that "Internet of Things (IoT)," cloud computing, big data analytics, and artificial intelligence all have useful applications on a standalone basis. Hence, potentially much higher benefits can be realized if they are used jointly. Lastly, ITU (2017b) mentions that previously mentioned four technologies form a highly complementary Innovation system if IoT is combined with data analytical capability.

56.5 WLL Usage in Pakistan: A Case Study

A case study where Wireless local loop (WLL), a specific genre of ICT, has been used in Pakistan with a particular focus on increasing the teledensity in the converging era of mobile ICTs, specially. The writer, however, tends to emphasize the usage of the same WLL ICT in the digitally divided underserved areas where consumer market needs to be identified in their peculiar diverse cultures.

The consumer's ability to consume technology-based solutions for their needs can increase the teledensity in an area. WLL technology was launched in Pakistan with the vision to increase teledensity with the availability of the telecom facilities at affordable prices to the larger population stream in the country, living in rural areas. As teledensity is referred as to the ratio of telephone connections to the population. WLL is mostly making use of CDMA technology that consistently provides better capacity for voice and data communications than other technologies. Being the common platform for 3G technologies, it has outstanding voice and call quality as it filters out background noise and cross-talk. CDMA's spread spectrum signal provides an unparalleled large coverage in the wireless domain of ICT. It allows networks to be built with far fewer cell sites than is possible with other wireless technologies. Fewer cell sites covering larger areas ensure reduced operating expenses, which results in savings to both operators and consumers. These are the factors which allow fast penetration levels along with expeditious network deployments as intrinsic advantages of the WLL.

Regarding the cellular mobile industry, Pakistan has performed excellently as the most progressive economy in establishing a thriving mobile communications sector in the past years and has been recognized by the achievement of the GSM award. To win similar laurels in the field of WLL industry, certain policy matters are required to be addressed and recognized globally. There is a need of reviving regulations and licensing practices by waiving off the vague restrictions in the WLL industry that may pose to the industry groom. For example, the spectrum offered to the candidates must be cleared from the current occupants before the auction takes place. Hence, the same spectrum should not be allocated to more than one operator in the parameter regions to avoid service degradation, such as low voice quality for subscribers.

Currently, PTA (2017) conveys that there are a total of 14 WLL operators in the whole of Pakistan, operational in all 14 telecom regions or in certain selected licensed areas. Bhatti (2007) mentions the greatest share is of the state owned company PTCLV with 59% share and the rest main market share is held by the three private operators. Gradually a total of six WLL operators terminated their

operation as inferred from the PTA report of WLL status of operators in Pakistan. If we have close quarters look on the WLL industry, it is under a threefold pressure. These pressures include:

(a) ***Regulatory institutions*** *which* implement policies legislated by the government, monitor performance for ensuring standards and quality of services, and enforce compliance of the industry with the licensing conditions.
(b) The second corner is ***Government*** which issues directions on the matters of general policy and procedures by imposing license conditions as well as conferring regulatory rights to the industry, for self-regulations.
(c) The third corner is of ***Consumers*** who exercise the choice of the services as well as service providers. Their choices definitely confine them with respect to their living area being either urban or rural, hinging upon then their income status as well as their need for a particular service. This service may particularly be the invasion of technologies arrayed against one another through competing services in rural areas of developing countries where agriculture holds the economy. Thus, it becomes quite a cumbersome job to induce technology-based needs as preferred requirements in the peoples' mind. Here customer's decision is vital. Therefore consumer's needs and behaviors directly impact the ICT industry.

Huysman and Wulf (2004) considers ICT nurtures knowledge sharing by those who are mainly eager to share. ICT enhances the *efficiency of the consumers* with which they can communicate their knowledge to the other group members, regardless of time and geographic location. ICT's efficiency route gives consumers the greater enhanced efficiency for communicating and sharing their knowledge with others. They further elaborate that ICT facilitates a communication style that fits the consumers' attitude towards knowledge sharing, primarily oriented towards just sending rather than aiming to create a common view. Thus the contribution of ICT towards a more collectivist climate is much less clear, as it is expected to be dependent on the degree to which the other richer means of communication are used. If no common bounds are developed, no group feel emerges that leads towards a mismatch between communication needs and the medium characteristics. But those consumers for whom efficiency to communicate matters less rather than creating a mutual understanding and common view, ICT offers the collectivist route. For its usage, the group consumers of ICT should have a common social identity or collectivist norm that is based on a common identity. PTA (2017) mentions the state of the fastest growing teledensity in Pakistan has increased from 13.7% to 71% in last decade. Whereas the WLL-based teledensity has declined visibly. This is because if the inappropriate treatment to the WLL technology, though it has the best inexpensive potential to serve the consumers of the underserved areas.

In this backdrop, by developing an understanding about the undeserved consumer market can guide for creating alternative avenues for ICT usage. This can help in ensuring the consumer rights in the underserved areas in current contemporary convergent era of ICTs.

56.5.1 ICT Alternative Avenues in Underserved Areas of Pakistan

The current ICT era is offering a vibrant discourse to the dynamically changing consumer needs in their native and global scenarios. The potential of the alternative avenues for addressing the consumer market needs is analyzed here in scenario of Pakistan's underdeveloped areas. Pakistan is very fortunate as it is currently experiencing an increase in telecom growth at a time when various technological developments are taking place. This development is set in a direction that encourages low-cost telecom technologies in access devices, access networks, switching networks, and transmission technologies. The challenge today is that the regulatory system should be such that the growth and deployment of all these technologies should receive a stimulus. According to Pakistan's Telecom Regulatory body (PTA), its annual report of 2017 with major populations living in rural areas have only a very small percentage of WLL teledensity. Therefore, there is a big market for the introduction of latest technologies in these rural areas. For ensuring the increase in the teledensity of the country, bold and prudent steps are required to be taken both generally by the ICT industry and particularly by the WLL Industry along with ICT regulators.

These steps are enumerated as follows:

- The aforementioned empirical data from PTA (2017) closely reveals the fact that the WLL industry in Pakistan (although being the most efficient, and of high quality as well as cost effective) is still deprived of the environment required for its flourishing phases. The regulatory body has limited WLL's mobility to one BTS cell site, i.e., about 60 km of its service area. Yet industry operators might intend to expand their services to establish more access areas for increasing their return on investment (ROI). Mobile sets with limited mobility options can best serve the needs of consumers in rural areas where initially, info services can be disseminated to the local community such as; educational audios, health training audio manuals, awareness about citizens' basic rights at very affordable prices. These can be categorized in the form of value-added services, besides basic audio telephony service to build small-scale info communities depending on the niche areas. To conclude, industries in this neglected region can never groom up until and unless their outputs are made easily available to the common man at affordable costs. Hence govt. and private partnership mergers to initiate and launch such ICT-based projects can be proactively used in this scenario.
- In Pakistan, teledensity ratios are low, especially amongst the provinces. These provinces may possess a lesser market potential due to low literacy rates and a lack of government interest required for its development. Moreover, regions in the vicinity of rural areas have an emerging potential for increasing teledensity. In recent events, Catco International has undergone an agreement with Telecard to start a project in order to enhance the efficiency and performance level of Govt. schools in Sindh, the second largest province of Pakistan. With the collaboration of Sindh educational ministry, a wireless network will be established using WLL connectivity. In this scenario, more project initiatives need to be taken which

would ultimately result in the access of WLL facilities at cost-effective rates to producers that are also affordable to the local habitants.

- In the scenario of women empowerment, a thorough, suitable use of ICT in developing rural areas of Pakistan, a case study of District "Umerkout" was carried out. Here the local women of "kunri" village have the potential for making "Rali," a specific style of dress-making for women using applique work. But the local shopkeepers pay them a lesser amount for their hard work. Using ICT, an E-business initiative can provide a brand name to the local women that can bring adequate wages to match their hard work. This innovation needs to be diffused into their immediate community. Women can be empowered either by training them for certain applications over user friendly gadgets in their respective native languages; i.e., applications specifically designed for their needs or even establishing certain telecenters with a few properly trained native females. This would also lead to the empowerment of the rest of the networked women in that area.

56.6 Conclusions and Recommendations

Area of ICT is very dynamic where connectivity leaps on progressive pace. The emerging trends in ICT are interrelated, leading towards a networked convergent avenue. For complete coupling of the economic and social benefits of these ICT developments, efficient and affordable physical infrastructures, services, and more advanced (yet consumer needs' specific skills along with public supportive) policies are required in developing areas. The presence of digital divides and inequalities affects the extent to which information societies can contribute towards the economic and social development of different regions, countries, communities, households, and individuals. Recent widespread and dominant growth in broadband networks and services, particularly mobile broadband, has started to intensify the economic support development as well as individual empowerment. Yet digital gender gaps as well as digital age gaps have emerged as new forms of digital divides in the developing societies where ICT development Index (IDI) needs monitoring in order to bring improvement.

Interventions in developing societies are at times crucial so that scrutiny by policy makers, for enabling of the commercial solutions to be groomed as well to avoid time and resource wastage. In certain areas, bottom to up approach (Consumers to ICT) is required whereas in other areas top to bottom approach (ICT to consumers) for invasion of ICT solutions is effective. It may involve the technology-first or the consumer-first approaches or vice versa.

Prices of ICT-based services as well as communication hardware that are the actual needs of the consumers need to be more affordable, especially in the digitally divided communities. Focused mediations on such areas definitely need assistance using appropriate predictive programs. Best practice, time-bound evaluation and adjustment USFs may be best executed during a limited period in a country's development sector. Afterwards levies should be phased out as they will no longer

serve the purpose. If addressed appropriately using the strategies discussed in this chapter, the developing, low-income communities will be able to create a multilayered information society with multiple audiences of the ICT services who consume as per their niche interests. Consultation between the industry and government along with involvement of local consumers who have to actually use the ICT-based solutions should be a routine process of consultation in public policy-making. For strengthening the functioning of the consumer market working collaborations between the government and industry can lessen the access gaps especially in the geographically largest and least developed regions.

ICT developments can lead towards a new ICT-based ecosystem for the proliferation of ICT by improvement in their performance, decreased costs along with networked connectivity for commercial user generated contents. The roll out and continuous addressing of the consumer needs while ensuring their rights along with upgradation of the infrastructures and joint interconnect ventures between giant and small entrepreneurship can allow co-investments with sufficient licensed and unlicensed spectrums. This allows for new smart cities that can safe guard the information provision to consumers with innovative services and solutions. Technology just for the sake of technology never works and cannot sustain in any domain, until and unless its objective is focused towards benefits and ensures rights of consumers at certain affordable prices.

The manufacturing of consumer-specific information derived from their relevant cultural origins can empathize the consumer's actual needs. Foreign impositions of ICTs can inculcate only the superficial usage of the gadgets but what and how to go with these ICT gadgets can be only obtained with the detailed analysis and understanding of the indigenous individual constituting the society. Ultimately such scenarios can build up the trust of the consumers and can prepare individuals who make better use of the opportunities of a digital future, where human mind frame of feelings do exist as well.

Building information societies demand equitable access and active participation of potentially all the citizens in the society. This requires theoretical, methodological, as well as empirical research from both technological as well as nontechnological perspectives where empirical results, reviews, case studies, and best result-oriented practices can be fruitful.

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Part IX

Health Communication

Health Communication: Approaches, Strategies, and Ways to Sustainability on Health or Health for All

57

Patchanee Malikhao

Contents

57.1 What Constitutes and Has Impact on Health 1017
57.1.1 Constitution of the World Health Organization: Principles 1020
57.2 Health Communication Perspectives 1021
57.3 Sustainability in Health and Health Communication 1024
57.4 Media Literacy and the Media to Assist Health Communicators for Sustainable Development 1026
57.5 Health Communication Strategies for Sustainability 1028
57.5.1 Communication Strategies to Improve Health Through a Life Course of Empowering People 1028
57.5.2 Communication Strategies to Tackle Local Major Health Challenges of Noncommunicable Diseases, Injuries, and Violence 1030
57.5.3 To Tackle Vaccine-Preventable Communicable Diseases 1031
57.5.4 Communication Strategies to Tackle Non-vaccine-Preventable or Not-Yet-Vaccine-Available Communicable Diseases Such as Malaria, Dengue Fever, Tuberculosis (TB), and HIV/AIDS and Respiratory Diseases Such as SARS, MERS, H1N1, and H5N1 1032
57.5.5 Communication Strategies to Strengthen People-Centered Health Systems, Public Health Capacity, and Emergency Preparedness, Surveillance, and Response 1033
57.5.6 Communication Strategies to Create Resilient Communities and Supportive Environments, Including a Healthy Physical Environment 1034
57.6 Conclusion and Recommendations 1035
References 1036

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Abstract

This chapter starts from a holistic perspective on health in the society. It makes a statement that, in order to become effective and sustainable, health communication needs to be studied, assessed, and practiced from a rights- or social justice-based position. Such an approach implies the use and integration of multi-disciplinary perspectives that try to grasp the complexity of health issues from both global and local, individual, interpersonal, group, and community levels.

Keywords

Health for all · Wellness · Well-being · Health behavior · Communication strategies · Health literacy · Intercultural communication · Media literacy · Participatory media · Community media · New media

> Health is a core element in people's well-being and happiness. Health is an important enabler and a prerequisite for a person's ability to reach his/her goals and aspirations, and for society to reach many of the societal goals (Minister of Social Affairs and Health, Finland, 2013: 3).

Health communication has been a part of development communication or communication for development for the past five decades. Royal Colle (2003: 44–51) explains that health communication has been one of the threads of development communication together with population information, education, and communication (IEC) since 1969. Then, it was concerned with population and family planning programs, with an emphasis on reproductive health that includes family planning, maternal and infant death and disability prevention, sexually transmitted diseases (STD) and HIV/AIDS prevention, harmful cultural practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM), violence against females, human trafficking, and female health (Colle 2003: 46).In her book, *Effective Health Communication for Sustainable Development*, Patchanee Malikhao (2016: 6–7) explains how the history of health communication, as a separate field of study, has emerged from being only a part of health education and training in medical and public health to the integration of health-related aspects of individuals, communities, and organizations or their environment, with appropriate communication and mass communication theories. These communication theories borrow models and frameworks from (1) social science fields such as psychology, social psychology, anthropology, and sociology; (2) humanities subjects such as culture, linguistics, and languages; (3) ecological and environmental science; and (4) medical science fields.

Today health communication has expanded its scope from biomedical interventions at a personal level to more context-based communication about health, which includes the socials and the environment that have impacts on an individual's health. Robert Rattle (2010: 130–141) affirms that these are the social determinants of health, apart from the physical determinants, and above all the health policies that impact health behaviors.

57.1 What Constitutes and Has Impact on Health

Let's try to understand what constitutes health before we discuss what determines good health. Some scholars think that health means only the absence of disease or infirmity. That is not enough, because, during our life course, we all experience discomfort, disabilities, and pains along the way, such as child teething, babies being unable to act as adults do, women having menstruation pain or having labor pain, and certain conditions such as pregnancy (Janzen 2002: 69). These kinds of pain do not indicate that we are not healthy. Janzen (2002: 69) also includes aging, fatigue, birth impairs, and growth disorders as diseases. Our individual health is indeed hardwired with intrinsic diseases, pains, and discomforts. It is a fact of life! Each individual is subject to different healthy degrees, depending upon the physical determinants of health – the physical environment, biology and genetic endowment, and medical service (Rattle 2013: 181). A twin, who lives in a good and clean environment where medical service is well-organized, would be healthier than the other twin who lives in a polluted environment with poor medical service. New medicines and vaccines could save lives, but some people can get access to these innovations easier than others.

Some people are born with birth defects and that makes them less advantageous than others. Some people inherited genes from their ancestors which makes them prone to high blood pressure, diabetes, anemia, etc.

How we think, feel, cope with issues, and manage our life should not be neglected. That is how we differentiate the terms "well-being" from "wellness." Wellness is more related to the physical abilities of a person to perform tasks up to the full potential (Dunn 1977: 9–16), but well-being indicates that there are intangible elements that we cannot miss out. We therefore need to look at other dimensions of health apart from focusing on only our physical health: fitness, agility, body mass index, etc. That's why Hunter, Marshall, Corcoran, and Leeder (2013) categorize four aspects of health: (a) psychological/emotional, which includes positive attitudes, awareness, resilience, etc.; (b) intellectual/cognitive, which constitutes the ability to learn and to be creative and critical; (c) spiritual, which includes one's values and beliefs, a sense of meaning and purpose in life, inner peace, and an ability to transcend one's own self, and occupational, which means the satisfaction from working unpaid or paid and recreational activities; and (d) environmental.

Rattle (2010: 190) explains that there are eight factors in the socials that have impacts on our health. They are relative income and socioeconomic status, education, employment and working conditions, social support networks, health practices and coping skills, healthy child development, culture, and gender. All of these are socially constructed, which means that it is shaped by our interactions with others within the context we live.

People with higher incomes seem to have a higher education, and those with higher socioeconomic status can afford private health insurance and have regular health checkups. People with a higher income tend to live in a safer neighborhood and do not face depression that is often the result of living in unsafe public spaces. Those with better incomes can enjoy better outdoor life with access to more sports facilities and

recreation. Better income guarantees hygienic sanitation and healthier living conditions that could prevent respiratory diseases, health hazards, and epidemics.

Better education would result in better personal hygiene and better access to knowledge on diseases and their prevention. Better education is closely related to meaningful job opportunities which in turn brings in satisfaction/self-contentment, inner peace, self-esteem, and self-control/self-power/self-autonomy among other life qualities (Mirowsky et al. 2000: 50–56). Moreover, good working conditions will prevent employees from hazards and bad physical conditions caused by a nonsafe environment.

People with good social networks can get more access to self-help medical knowledge, health practices, and have a better basic knowledge of hygiene and sanitation, first aid, vaccinations, etc. With social supports, an individual benefits from inner peace and is better able to cope with traumatic experiences and loss.

Healthy childhood development depends upon the socioeconomic status of the parents and the health-care services within the community. One can notice a higher mortality at birth, poorer overall health, and the development of chronic illnesses in adulthood among individuals from a lower socioeconomic status (Sarafino 2006: 158).

Culture is socially constructed and dynamic. It is what we pass on from generation to generation. It influences the way we interact and how we experience the world, including suffering, pain and its articulation, healing, mental health, and self-help. According to Brown (1995: 8–9), the tangible aspects of culture can be seen as artifacts, norms and behaviors, heroes and symbols, the media, languages and expressions, stories, myths, jokes, rites and rituals, ceremonies, and celebrations. Its intangible aspects are beliefs, values, attitudes, and the worldviews of people. The worldviews of people in different cultures are influenced mostly by their religion and beliefs (Malikhao 2016: 78). In *Caring for Patients from Different Cultures*, Galanti (2008) explains at length how different cultures, influenced by different belief systems and religions, affect the way people express pain and suffering, perceive and discuss mental health, perform healing practices, develop culturally bound syndromes, and organize support networks.

Now it comes to the last social determinant: gender. Gender is socially constructed as well. Males seem to have more social burdens than females, as more males are still expected to be the breadwinners. They tend to be more stressed than females and use more drugs, tobacco, and alcohol to cope with stress (Malikhao 2016: 72).

It is worth noting that the physical and social determinants can be intertwined, and induce cross-link effects, and that can be messed up with biological determinants such as age, sex, and more importantly the genes or our DNAs and the lifestyle of the people in this postmodern era. All of that makes an individual's health different from one another. Pollard (2008) explains in her book, *Western Diseases: An Evolutionary Perspective*, how our genes adjusted themselves when people changed their lifestyle and dietary pattern from the East to the West, and that caused the so-called Western diseases or noncommunicable diseases such as type 2 diabetes and colon and breast cancer among other diseases mostly found as the cause of death among people in the Western world – North America, Western Europe, Australia, and New Zealand. Pollard states clearly in her book that the Western diseases are also found among the rich populations in the Third World as a result of imitating the lifestyle of those living in the West. This can be

explained with the term "aberrant epigenetics." It means that a change in the environment and/or change of dietary patterns in an early stage of life could have an impact on the DNA of our cells, not as much to alter the genetic makeup of our body but enough to cause certain diseases such as Alzheimer, schizophrenia, asthma, and autism (Marchlewicz et al. 2015:4). Western diseases are one of many indicators of how globalization affects the health of the world population. Postcolonial or contemporary globalization has been speeded up in both degree and kind by advances of information and communication technologies (ICT). The moving of labor, goods, production sources, technology, etc., with driving forces such as the marketing and advertising industry across the globe, results in unequal affluence and instigates new patterns of consumption and lifestyle and new diseases and the comeback of almost eradicated diseases (Lee 2005: 14; The College of Physicians of Philadelphia 2018; CDC 2010, 2014; Emedicinehealth.com 2018). To elaborate, some parts of the world or sectors within the same country benefit from globalization more than others, which causes unequal opportunities in accessing basic needs for city dwellers: clean water supply, proper sanitation, waste disposal, proper housing, clean air, public playgrounds, good schools, good working conditions, adequate primary health-care services, or a good marketplace that provides fresh, clean, and nutritious foods. Respiratory diseases; dysentery diseases; tuberculosis; plague; depression; mental health and health issues due to tobacco, drugs, and alcohol use; and other epidemics happen more in less developed, mainly crowded areas. As more and more people migrate in pursuit of better opportunities, communicable diseases could spread far and wide. Patchanee Malikhao explains at length in her 2012 book, *Sex in the Village: Culture, Religion and HIV/AIDS in Thailand*, how the pandemic HIV/AIDS occurred due to a complex factors including migration of labor, unsafe sex practices, the change of sexual norms due to globalization, discourses on safe sex education, HIV/AIDS prevention public health policies, the localization of the global HIV/AIDS prevention, discourses on the religious HIV/AIDS interventions, gender inequality, and poverty to name a few (Malikhao 2012).

As people have more sedentary lifestyles, triggered by using automations and performing white-collar work, together with eating fast food and processed food that contains too much sugar, salt, and fat, they are prone to develop noncommunicable diseases (obesity, cardiovascular diseases, diabetes, among others) (Lee 2005: 14).

Globalization brings in advantages and disadvantages in disease prevention and eradication. Malikhao (2016: 51–52) reports the resurgence of diseases that broke out because either the bacteria have become antibiotic-resistant (such as avian influenza, cholera, influenza, and chikungunya) or there have been cross-links between the virus that used to cause diseases in animals in previous days with that used to cause diseases in humans resulting in new hybrid diseases such as mad cow disease, bird flu, or swine flu. At the same time, thanks to vaccinations, certain diseases such as small pox and rinderpest have been wiped out, and some diseases such as polio, measles, and mumps are on the way to die out.

Malikhao (2016: 51, 52, 55, 112) reports that, in a developed world, the haves are not much healthier than the have-nots; some people face health problems such as stress, anxiety, depression, burn out, sleep deprivation, obesity, or risk-taking behaviors such as

smoking, alcohol abuse, and drug addictions due to unemployment and underemployment. The developed world can impose more health threats to the less developed world by exporting, in the name of advertising and marketing, unhealthy products such as tobacco, alcohol, fast food, chemical waste, etc. While, in the developing world, some people face starvation due to poverty, some in the developed world develop eating disorders such as anorexia nervosa and bulimia as a result of the change in perception of one's self-image, partly due to the complexity of mediatization (change of social interactions modulated by the media – Hjarvard 2013: 17), mediation, and new forms of individualization with symptoms of depression, anguish, apprehension, and anxiety found among the haves (affluenza) in the contemporary globalization period (Lemert and Elliot 2006; Twenge and Campbell 2010; James 2007).

Above all health policies of each state or country do influence the health behaviors of a population in major ways (Rattle 2010: 141). That includes the food-producing and food-marketing industry which has strong relations with the politico-economic and legal systems and the public health policy of a country. Pesticides, insecticides, hormones, antibiotics, and controls in the agriculture and food industries would benefit the health of the consumers a great deal. Moreover, the systems of health-care services are also determined by the public health policy of a country. Malikhao (2016: 80–81) uncovered four basic health-care systems in the world, as presented on the PBS Frontline documentary in 2015:

1. The Beveridge model. It is a government model that supports the health system totally with the tax payers' money. It is used in Great Britain, Hong Kong, Spain, most of Scandinavia, and New Zealand.
2. The Bismarck model. It is a nonprofit model in which health care is privately funded by payroll deduction of employees and funded by the employers. It is used in Germany, Japan, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Switzerland, and somewhat in Latin America.
3. The National Health Insurance model. It is a model funded by a government-administered insurance program through private providers. It is used in Taiwan and South Korea.
4. The out-of-pocket model. This is used in the USA. It is the nonmedical care for the have-nots and medical care for the haves.

Having said all of that about health, one could not agree more with the definition of health principles in the constitution of the World Health Organization (WHO 2018a).

57.1.1 Constitution of the World Health Organization: Principles

Health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.

The enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, and economic or social condition.

The health of all people is fundamental to the attainment of peace and security and is dependent on the fullest cooperation of individuals and states.

The achievement of any state in the promotion and protection of health is of value to all.

Unequal development in different countries in the promotion of health and control of diseases, especially communicable disease, is a common danger.

Healthy development of the child is of basic importance; the ability to live harmoniously in a changing total environment is essential to such development.

The extension to all people of the benefits of medical, psychological, and related knowledge is essential to the fullest attainment of health.

Informed opinion and active cooperation on the part of the public are of the utmost importance in the improvement of the health of the people.

Governments have a responsibility for the health of their people which can be fulfilled only by the provision of adequate health and social measures.

The Constitution was adopted by the International Health Conference held in New York from June 19 to July 22, 1946, signed on July 22, 1946, by the representatives of 61 states and entered into force on April 07, 1948. Later amendments are incorporated into this text."

The WHO acknowledges the multidimensional nature of health, that health involves complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not just the absence of disease. Moreover, everyone has the right to maintain and enjoy the benefits of being healthy regardless of their socioeconomic-politico and religious status. That means everyone has the right to medical, psychological, and related knowledge necessary to attain health to the fullest capacity. The health inequality caused by unequal development should be attended to by each government. Each government should be responsible for the health of their population by providing appropriate health and social measures.

We can draw three important notions from the constitution of the WHO: that "rights to health care," "health inequality reduction," and "health for all" are essential to devise good communication strategies to achieve the health goal. This leads to the next topic.

57.2 Health Communication Perspectives

In the 1980s and early 1990s, health communication was known as a form of health education and health promotion and preventive medicine and focused on communication at many levels (interpersonal and organizational communication) in health-care settings. Mainly in the USA, but also in the UK, the focus was even more down to communication among the patients and the health-care provider (Lupton 1994: 56; Irwin 1989: 32, 40).

Health communication theories that originated in the USA have focused on mainstream quantitative research perspectives for about four decades. Malikhao (2016: 19–26) reports that these theories are borrowed from the fields of psychology and social psychology, which emphasize cognitive and behavioral changes at the

intrapersonal, interpersonal, and group/organizational level. Popular models for intrapersonal communication are, for instance, the health belief model, theory of reasoned action (TRA), theory of planned behavior (TPB), the integrated behavioral model (IBM), the transtheoretical model and stages of change (TTM), and the precaution adoption process model (PAPM). Models used for interpersonal communication are social cognitive theory (SCT) or social learning theory (SLT). Models used for organizational communication are stage theory of organizational change, diffusion of innovation, and social marketing and edutainment.

Malikhao (2016: 16–17) reports that the signature of these kinds of models is that they rely heavily on positivism which is based on natural science models of cause and effect. They flatten the well-rounded facts of life into a linear line for prediction with inferential statistics. The models used for intrapersonal communication seem to assume direct relationships between knowledge, attitude, and behavior regardless of the context within which people live. The models used for interpersonal communication pay attention to the simplicity of the stimulus-response formula and the modifications of it, such as Laswell (1948) formula, "Who? Says what? Through which channel? To whom? With what effect?" and Katz and Lazarfeld (1955) two-step flow of communication, which relays on the spreading of messages from opinion leaders received via the mass communication to other people. Moreover, at the societal level, these models focus on the ability of humans to act in stages from being laggards to people who adopt innovation completely. However, they pay less attention to the socio-politico-cultural context that impinges on the ability to change those individuals. The organizational models assume the one-fit-all models and technology transfer from a more developed country to a less developed country.

These American-based models are built under the modernization paradigm which assumes that the Western way of living is a desirable goal for development everywhere. It is a positivist perspective that emphasizes empirical observations and statistics. Health communication within the modernization paradigm involves a high-tech, top-down, and unilinear approach from health professionals either directly or through the mass media to the receivers aiming to educate, upgrade, or train them to be informed in public health, have good attitude toward biomedical interventions or health-related advice/information, and have self-efficacy to change health-risk behaviors to a healthy lifestyle and health behaviors.

The modernization paradigm has been challenged since the 1990s in the multiplicity paradigm proposed by Servaes (1999). This paradigm is more than a many-roads-lead-to-Rome approach as one can go by foot, by plane, or by boat and one can mobilize others to join them to Rome without having to listen to the commands from Rome. Health communication within this paradigm emphasizes human rights: freedom from exploitation, the right to access adequate health care and health insurance, equity, community efficacy to come up with one's own solutions to manage resources and health4 issues, participatory democracy, and sustainability in health or health for all in a given socioeconomic and cultural system at all geopolitical levels. With the help of the new media (which is going to be elaborated in the next section), the dream of managing community health and disease prevention by the people and for the people has come true.

Malikhao (2016: 31–40) researches communication perspectives within the framework of the multiplicity paradigm at the individual level, interpersonal level, and group or community level:

At the individual level, the Self Determination Theory of SDT by Ryan and Deci (2002:5) is preferred. This theory focuses on the context where an individual lives or the extrinsic factors that motivate that person to motivate oneself to engage in behavioral change. The internalization process of a person comes from having opportunities to make a choice that is meaningful to oneself in the socialization process and receive a positive feedback to encourage the change of behavior. That means one cannot change his/her behavior by just receiving messages, one has to have an enabling environment to foster desirable health behaviors.

At the interpersonal level, life skill training and education are essential to build up intrinsic factors of an individual to prevent health risk behaviors and health hazards. Intercultural competency training is important for health care professionals to empathize patients and people in the community.

At a group/community level, some social capitals such as support groups and peers together with positive rewards can help reinforce the change of habits into desirable ones. Theories of social network and social support, community organization and community building theories as well as the PRECEDE/PROCEED Model and the Ecological Models of Health Behavior are having common characteristics of enabling environment, including advocacy communication, participatory communication, communication for structural and sustainable social change. Advocacy communication for health is about using the mass media to empower the voiceless to be heard regarding health hazards, issues on environment, and health-related issues. Participatory communication for health enables the locals, regardless of sociocultural and politico-economic status, to act and have dialogues in a democratic way to discuss and prevent diseases, hazards, and pollutions, and promote healthy life style, safety and clean environment. Participatory-based advocacy diversifies advocacy communication by adding the idea that the locals could get together and manage the content of the mass media used to advocate solutions on health issues, pollution, hazards, and clean environment. Health communication for structural and sustainable social change uses mix and match approaches, to advocate change and participation according to the situation, felt-needs of the locals, the budget, and available resources. A health communicator in the Multiplicity Paradigm can be called a social mobilizer who cultivates his/her attitude to empathize with others to achieve capacity building and empowerment and be able to mobilize the community to research, plan, and execute projects that are useful for the sustainability on health of the community (Malikhao 2016: 99).

All of these models in both paradigms have been used by many scholars for research. According to Babrow and Mattson (2003: 47–53), based on Craig (1999), historic traditions of research on health communication can be summarized under seven categories:

- The rhetoric tradition focuses on how the health communicators persuade the policymakers to act upon health projects.
- The semiotic tradition pays attention on how health communicators are mediated in intersubjectivity fashions by signs and sign systems.

- The phenomenological tradition studies an individual's and others' health experiences in the process of the patient and health-care provider communication.
- The cybernetic tradition looks at the process of health communication in linearity, which implies the encoding of a message, the transmission of the data, decoding of the data, feedback, and the impact on the environment.
- The sociopsychological tradition is about what affects the cognition, emotion, and behaviors of an individual when she/he interacts with the socials.
- The sociocultural tradition studies how health communication produces new sociocultural patterns which have been shared.
- The critical tradition relies on the critical theory used to study discursive reflection of health and illness.

The interdisciplinary research on health communication encourages to gain rich, insightful, and meaningful data to accompany the empirical observations.

57.3 Sustainability in Health and Health Communication

Sustainability is what many people talk about in this postmodern era. It seems as if one realizes that, within the limited resources on Mother Earth, we should manage, conserve, and nurture our own habitat in line with an ecological balance, so that new generations to come can enjoy it as well. That is only one part to reach sustainability. Apart from having a healthy environment, we should consider a healthy social (social justice) and healthy economy as sustainability as a whole (Cox and Pezzullo 2016: 264). Sustainable development implies five different areas that we need to pay attention to: water and sanitation, energy, human health, agricultural productivity, and biodiversity and ecosystem management (Wallington 2014: 170).

Sustainability on health is to uplift equality of the quality of life for everyone. Poverty, discrimination, less opportunities to get education and employment, living in substandard housing and environment, and less opportunity to access primary health care are the underlying assumptions of inequality in health. According to Malikhao (2016: 99), sustainability on health is a process of social mobilization empowered by both stakeholders, some of whom can be health communicators, and health communicators from outside who have empathy toward the stakeholders, to achieve two goals: first, to engage the people in the community in upgrading the health and media literacy status so that they can make an informed choice on their body and health and health care and, second, to build up community capacity and networking with other communities so that the people can solve problems related to community health, achieve social justice in health, prevent diseases, maintain well-being, and cultivate health knowledge, good attitude, ethical values, cosmopolitan worldview, and health behaviors, including advocating for structural change for a local healthy lifestyle and accommodating environment. In addition, we should call for a rights-based health communication which means everyone should have the equal right to access primary health care regardless of his/her socioeconomic status. We should cultivate intrinsic values, such as self-contentment to instill inner peace that is opposite to short-term pleasure from mindless consumption triggered by the advertisement and marketing industry. Moreover, we should economize

on natural resources and energy consumption, including the reduction of carbon footprints to prevent the acceleration of global warming. Extrinsic factors are those that enable people to think, rethink, assess own and community values, empower themselves to improve one's own health, and participate to improve community health. They are families; schools; communities; the governmental sectors related to public health, energy, and the environment; the NGOs related to health and environment; the mass media and new media; man-made environment; and natural habitats.

Health communication advocating for sustainability ought to be operating under the framework of the multiplicity paradigm mentioned above. To achieve the status of "health for all," "rights to health care," and "health inequality reduction," the integration of five different approaches is needed: behavioral change communication, mass communication, advocacy communication, participatory communication, and communication for structural and communication change. The recipes for each case vary according to each setting, but we can summarize what Patchanee Malikhao suggests in the section of Communicating for/about Health for Sustainable Development in her book, *Effective Health Communication for Sustainable Development* (Malikhao 2016):

Behavioral Change Communication for Health for All is about interpersonal communication on health literacy, health control and management, disease prevention, food and nutrition, wellness and well-being, etc. The main aim is to engage the stakeholder to become a health agency who has an autonomy of own health and can make informed decision. The media used can be both the mass media of the new media that encourage social supports.

Mass Communication for Health for All is about using the mass media convergence to empower the stakeholders and ease the participation process in addressing a health problem in a community. The mass media convergence is the ability of the modern mass media, thanks to the new media, to have more platforms that can interact among one another. For instance, a newspaper can have a digital TV channel, a Facebook page, an Instagram page, a Twitter channel, and a website which allows the audience to follow life video/audio clips or stock audio files for podcast or stock video clips to be watch on a laptop, smartphones, or digital TV screen. Media literacy should be as important as health literacy for health communicators.

Participatory-Based Advocacy Communication for Health for All means empowering the grassroots to interact with key decision-makers on health issues aiming at influencing them to support policy changes at all levels (and also international) and to sustain accountability and commitment from governmental and international actors (WHO 2018b; Servaes and Malikhao 2010: 43).

Participatory Communication for Health for All employs both interpersonal communication and multi-community media as well as social media to cultivate community interests and participation, by taking diversity and pluralism into account, in health-related areas. Participatory social marketing on health is the added values on the traditional social marketing to communicate about/on health. That can be both online and offline campaigns using the social interconnectedness online and face-to-face dialogues to buzz news, information, events, and other social media entries. Self-management and production of the media and access of both media producers and stakeholders are emphasized (Berrigan 1979: 8).

Communication for Structural and Sustainable Social Change for Health for All is a combination of all of the above approaches to empower the stakeholders to upgrade and advocate for their own and community health on correct information on health, health and media literacy, disease prevention, environmental health, health behavior, and access to affordable and quality health-care system.

In order to achieve sustainability, health communicators should possess essential knowledge and skills of intercultural communication. Malikhao (2016: 102-105), adapting from the framework of Martin and Nakayama (2010: 50–52), elaborates on intercultural competency in health in five aspects: First, understanding personal and contextual way of communication. Health communicators should be able to discern personal health behavior (such as brushing teeth two times daily) from the behaviors that are results of social construction (such as sharing syringes among prisoners).

Second, understanding the differences and similarities between cultures. People from different cultures may have different ways in verbal and nonverbal communication. Pain expression, treatment option, or healing rituals can be different from culture to culture. The similarities are obvious that everyone needs respect, kindness, and a nonjudgmental attitude.

Third, understand the local cultural context in which we are operating. If the health communicators can speak the local language, it would be a plus to create rapport between them and the stakeholders. Understanding one's own culture and biases in one's own culture, but at the same time having sensitivity to other cultures and appreciation for the differences, should be the characteristics of health communicators (Galanti 2008: 2).

Fourth, understanding the privilege and disadvantage in the socials. Health communicators have advantages in the sense that they may have good connections with the community leaders and policymakers and they may already know the strengths and weaknesses of the community. But they may face resistance from the stakeholders. They may need to step back and assess the situation.

Fifth, history and past understanding. Knowing the history of the health situation of the unit of analysis is important to assess the present situation and plan ahead. The unit of analysis varies from small to large: individual, family, ethnic group, group, community, institution, or a country.

Next, we need to understand the media, especially the new media, to assist health communicators to do the right job.

57.4 Media Literacy and the Media to Assist Health Communicators for Sustainable Development

As summarized from Malikhao (2016: 109-123), it should be clarified here that the media is not the message, but the type, format, and limitation of each medium shape the content of the messages. In our mediated world, fueled by digitization, no matter whether we like it or not, we are in the process of mass self-communication, a term coined by Castells (2013: 55), as we are parts of a digital network. We are using the new media every day. According to Fuchs and Sandoval (2015: 165), new media are the media that are based on the World Wide Web, which includes social networking sites such as Line, WhatsApp,

Facebook, etc., or video-sharing sites such as YouTube, Vimeo, etc. They can be wikis or a website on which users are allowed to modify the text from the web browser in collaboration with others such as Wikipedia. They can be blogs such as Blogspot, WordPress, etc. or microblogs such as Twitter and Sina Weibo. They can be online pinboards such as Tumblr and Pinterest. They can be a photo-sharing site such as Instagram. While sending texts that we create and sharing images and motion images we create ourselves or repost from someone else, with friends and our circles or networks of contacts, we are acting as both an interpersonal and a mass communicator.

Hence, the term mass self-communication is quite handy to describe our way of communication. Mediation was the old term, that we are mediated by mostly traditional media (newspaper, radio, television, or the classic media) as well as the new media or alternative media such as Indy media (or independent media – which are the media that do not aim for commercial profits and tend to stand up for the underdogs). However, there is another term coined by Hjarvard (2013: 17): mediatization, that is, the long-term influence of mediation creates changes in the culture and institution. Mediatization makes contacts across the globe a reality, makes people think about their identity, and creates digital divides, meaning the gap between those who can access the new media and those who cannot is wider (Martin and Nakayama 2004: 6).

Let's discuss the concept of "media literacy," which any health communicator should understand apart from being a health literate. As summarized from Turow (2014: 20-21), a health communicator should know that, first of all, media are not the reflection of a reality. Media are constructed, constrained, and influenced by those who produce them and the media business owners. Second, media are related to power and profits. The larger the company, the more power it has to media convergence, more power to control the entire process of media making, and more chances to dominate other cultures with the media products as cultural products: that is called the "soft power." Third, the media contents are shaped by a political ideology, worldview, and values of the creators. Fourth, the format of the media shapes the characteristics of the media. Fifth, different audiences interpret the same media message in different ways due to their own worldview, background, and education. Sixth, each medium is unique aesthetically. Seventh, the media are the mirror of the visions in society.

Media literacy can be categorized further into four different subgroups, explains Share (2015: 192-197): visual, aural, multimedia, and alternative literacy. Do keep in mind that different lighting, lenses used, types of cameras, camera angles, distances between objects and cameras, and so forth create a different visual image. Aural literacy makes us aware that the same sentence that was spoken and heard in a different context will convey different messages. Multimedia literacy calls for the understanding and capability in the process of making multimedia from the beginning to the end. Alternative literacy calls for the ability to analyze the mainstream media how they create hegemony, how the main stream media represent the power from the dominant ideology, and how to represent underserved perspectives.

The alternative to the mainstream media is community media (Carpentier et al. 2012). They can assist health communicators to become health mobilizers. They can help raise awareness, amplify, and engage the stakeholders and solicit solutions or immediate response from the community. These media can be community radio, community television, community video, community-based telematics systems, or just a community

folk media, or the same old print media that can be displayed at the places where people gather together temporarily, such as a fair, or permanently, such as in a railway station.

Community new media offer interactive responses. They can be various media, such as telemedicine technology, e-health, Internet radio, Internet television, geographic information system (GIS), and Webs 2.0, 3.0, and 4.0, which allow a community website or community social media platform where everyone can exchange information and voice his/her concerns on health-related areas, environment, and well-being of the community. This author would like to call them participatory new media.

57.5 Health Communication Strategies for Sustainability

Stakeholder analysis, recognizing and defining the public health problem, setting goals and objectives, identifying resources, and maintaining control of the problem are steps useful for participatory action research on health-related issues (Malikhao 2016: 127).

According to the WHO Europe (2013), to achieve sustainability in health, these strategies can be categorized fourfold:

1. To improve health through a life course of empowering people.
2. To tackle local major health challenges of noncommunicable diseases, injuries and violence, and communicable diseases.
3. To strengthen people-centered health systems, public health capacity, and emergency preparedness, surveillance, and response.
4. Communication strategies to create resilient communities and supportive environments, including a healthy physical environment.

Malikhao (2016: 143–164) Modifies the abovementioned strategies by introducing the integration of five different approaches: Behavioral change communication, mass communication, advocacy communication, participatory communication, and communication for structural and communication change health communication but with a stress on the last three approaches. The integration of traditional media, new media, and/or alternative media is possible depending on cases. In order to come up with tangible strategies, we should keep in mind that women development must come first in order that they can bring up their children (WHO Europe 2013: 73–74). Then, we can focus on children and adolescent, adult, and elderly health.

57.5.1 Communication Strategies to Improve Health Through a Life Course of Empowering People

In all of these age groups there are similar strategies aiming at an individual level, a group level, and structural level. The following communication strategies are summarized from Malikhao (2016: 144–153), aiming to improve on health quality at an individual level:

- Inviting stakeholders to a training program on health and media literacy via a community website or letter, emails, tweeting, phone calls, leaflet distribution, posters, and messages on social media applications and on cell phones.
- Promoting health education on sex education, communicable and non-communicable diseases, and rights and justice, for the female group and each age group in public institutions, and by using folk media and community media.
- Promoting information on female health and each age group's health on social media, community media, and the mass media. The community website can be created with built-in podcasts, vodcasts, links to YouTube videos, and links to urls that give information on gender equality, reproductive health, healthy lifestyle, parental skills, preventive information on diseases, clean environment and sanitation, dementia and mental health, etc.
- Raising awareness for routine immunization program for each age group by using emails, letters, posters, blogs, websites, twitter, and community folk media.
- Promoting the inclusion of females, people from each age group, and people from other ethnic groups in any community event.
- Promoting values for healthy lifestyles and advocating for an alcohol-, smoke-, and drug-free life on new community media such as blogs, websites, podcast, digital storytelling, and community media such as theater plays, posters, banners, walls, community radio and TV, social media, and the mass media.
- Promoting nonviolent and nondiscriminating ways to solve problems by using digital storytelling, theater plays, podcast, community radio, and TV.
- Using personal contacts can help unlearn undesirable health behavior like eating fast food and consuming sugary drinks and replace old habits with new habits of eating fresh vegetables, whole grains, and fruit, exercising, and diet control. A workshop and a follow-up program can be designed to accommodate offline discussions.
- Promoting benefits of living in good and clean housing, settings, and environment by using video clips shared in the social media as well as mobile exhibitions with videos and digital storytelling.

The following are communication strategies that aim at improving health quality at a group level:

- Advocating for a school-based curriculum on media and health literacy and courses on media and health literacy in college.
- Advocating for a school-based sex education which includes respect for female rights, gender equality, sexual debut, contraception, and STD and HIV/AIDS prevention.
- Training health-care and medical personnel and interested stakeholders media literacy, communication, and digital media skills. Promoting the training courses can be done by using traditional media as well as the new media.
- Using participatory community media to air information on many topics such as maternal health, teens and adolescent forums, family planning, parenting skills, etc.
- Facilitating collaborating among families, age groups, and members in a community by producing participatory video clips or vodcasts on healthy lifestyle for teens, tweens, adults, the elderly, pregnant women, etc.

- Forming a peer-to-peer online and offline group to exchange views and information on maternal health, mental health, adolescent health, elderly health, etc. brainstorming sessions are recommended to come up with cue, routine, and reward for building up healthy lifestyle such as eating fresh vegetable and fruit, exercising, etc. filming the sessions and upload video clips on the community website or air them on the community media.
- Organizing an online or offline group on preventing alcohol and substance abuse among women and other age groups.
- Participating in the evaluation of all programs and coming up with recommendations and plans for improvement.

The following are communication strategies that aim at improving health quality at a structural level:

- Advocating for rights of the women, children, and the elderly. Video clips made by the collaboration of community members are encouraged to tackle on a particular issue. Sending those clips to the public health authorities and writing articles about these rights on websites, social networking pages, and blogs are recommended.
- Advocating for improving of women and men education. This includes anti-domestic violence and rapes. Digital storytelling or interview clips of women in the community can be displayed on diverse social media platforms.
- Advocating for the equality of men and women in employment and organizing media campaigns to raise awareness to policymakers and business owners.
- Advocating for the inclusion of the marginalized groups. Promoting video clips participatory made by the members of the marginalized groups on websites, social media platforms, and community media.
- Advocating for intercultural communication sessions on community media programs.
- Advocating for a clean and safe environment to work and to live by producing video clips or writing articles in both traditional and new media.
- Advocating for recreation spaces in workplaces and community. Video clips can be shown and uploaded on websites.

57.5.2 Communication Strategies to Tackle Local Major Health Challenges of Noncommunicable Diseases, Injuries, and Violence

Communication strategies aiming at an individual level are the following:

- Promoting eating right and exercising right by using video clips, messages, interpersonal contacts, and social networking sites.

- Raising the awareness of monitoring weight, blood pressure, blood sugar, and blood cholesterol by a concert of campaigns and social marketing by using the new media.
- Promoting nonviolent solutions and gender respect with interpersonal communication and new media communication.
- Promoting the knowledge of noncommunicable diseases such as type 2 diabetes mellitus, heart infarct, coronary diseases, etc. by using print media, electronic media, new media, and interpersonal media.
- Engaging the stakeholders in a community to obey the traffic rules by encouraging them to report the violators in a social media site of the community.

Communication strategies aiming at a group level are as follows:

- Empowering the stakeholders to form peer-to-peer and support groups on any noncommunicable disease triggers such as smoking, lacking exercise, etc.
- Advocating for primary health-care units to monitor noncommunicable diseases with the collaboration of public health officials, the private sectors, and the civil society.
- Empowering for first aid courses at workplace, schools, and community.
- Advocating for a school-based training/education on noncommunicable diseases.

Communication strategies aiming at a structural level are the following:

- Advocating for poverty reduction to reduce mental health problems among multiple sectors. Personal media together with video clips or digital storytelling are to solicit support from policymakers.
- Advocating for the reduction of salt, sugar, trans fat, and saturated fat in processed food. This can be done with MPs, authorities, civil groups, and consumer groups.
- Advocating for monitoring, control, and penalties of pesticides and insecticides in fresh produce; and hormones, antibiotics, heavy metals, and other chemicals in meat, poultry, fresh water fish, and seafood.
- Advocating for stronger penalties for gender-based violence, including sexual harassment, and traffic rule violators.

57.5.3 To Tackle Vaccine-Preventable Communicable Diseases

In order to tackle vaccine-preventable communication diseases at an individual level, mass communication and various forms of community media can be employed to raise awareness. URL links to online information can be provided to share information on new vaccines and vaccines that bridge communicable and noncommunicable diseases such as Hepatitis B and human papillomavirus.

At a group level, advocating on any collaboration among risk groups and authorities by using participatory videos. Develop a surveillance and early-warning

system in a community and monitor the outbreaks of diseases and keep the stakeholders informed by new media, traditional media, and interpersonal media.

At a structural level, advocating contacts with international organizations on sharing vaccine-preventable epidemiological data, laboratory data, evidence-based and cost-effective interventions, etc. Mobilizing for social support across the board. This includes lobbying for law enforcement on every childhood vaccination, subsidies for vaccination, food and water safety, etc.

57.5.4 Communication Strategies to Tackle Non-vaccine-Preventable or Not-Yet-Vaccine-Available Communicable Diseases Such as Malaria, Dengue Fever, Tuberculosis (TB), and HIV/AIDS and Respiratory Diseases Such as SARS, MERS, H1N1, and H5N1

Communication strategies aiming at an individual level are as follows:

- Advocating via the social and community media to emphasize the cause of the disease, the transmission, symptoms, and prevention of the disease.
- Empowering the stakeholders via personal media and community media campaigns, complemented by training courses of how important the sanitary and hygienic environment is in preventing some vector-borne diseases such as malaria and dengue fever and airborne diseases such as SARS.
- Participatory videos, digital storytelling, podcasts, and vodcasts can be uploaded to promote better education. Better education implies better occupation and thus better HIV prevention as HIV prevalence is partly related to poverty and low socioeconomic status.
- Using participatory community media to promote HIV counseling and testing, especially to mothers to be.

Communication strategies aiming at a group level are as follows:

- Advocating for an early warning and surveillance system for vector- and airborne diseases via the community media, new media, and traditional media.
- Use participatory short film of video to advocate the government for multisectoral collaboration, and raise funds to provide budget for bed nets in case of vector-borne diseases and budgets for helping dwellers in crowded and substandard housing to prevent airborne diseases.
- Empowering the stakeholders to support outreach and peer education activities by community and personal media.
- Social marketing by using the mass media, social media, and community media on anti-discrimination against people living with HIV/AIDS. Use personal media to include the people living with HIV/AIDS in community forums and activities.
- Advocating school-based interventions to teach students about hygiene, respiratory diseases, HIV/AIDS, TB, malaria, and dengue fever.

- Empowering the stakeholders to take the mosquito-free environment and clean environment in their own hands.

Communication strategies aiming at a structural level are as follows:

- Using the mass media to gain social support on HIV/AIDS prevention in sex education curricula. Gender education should be done in a way of role plays and brainstorming to emphasize gender respect and learn that violence toward females can lead to HIV transmission.
- Mobilize social supports for alcohol control, improving housing standard, etc. by using participatory films, clips, photos, or audio files.
- Using participatory new media to promote a political environment that supports access to antiretroviral therapy for people living with HIV and employment for them and promote a well-informed civil society and nongovernmental bodies.
- Using integrated media to promote the linkage and integration of national programs on HIV/AIDS prevention and malaria, TB, dengue fever, and airborne epidemic prevention with broader health and development agendas.

57.5.5 Communication Strategies to Strengthen People-Centered Health Systems, Public Health Capacity, and Emergency Preparedness, Surveillance, and Response

Communication strategies aiming at an individual level are as follows:

- Empowering the health-care professionals to produce participatory video or audio files to advocate better working conditions, social supports, and recognition.
- Engaging health-care professionals in dialogues and skill training to increase competencies in intercultural communication, fiscal and budget, decision-making, etc.
- Empowering the stakeholders with participatory media to let them take part in designing, implementing, and evaluating health policies and services.
- Integrated media can be used to empower patients to make informed decisions and/or shared decisions between health-care providers and the patients.
- Empowering the disables, the elderly, and people with chronic diseases with integrated media to advocate access and services for them.

Communication strategies aiming at a group level are as follows:

- Using community media and new media to advocate for quality in primary health care.
- Using integrated media to call for good governance and collaborating with other health-care services. The media can be used to engage the stakeholders in helping forming ideas for a people-centered health care.

- Contacting all actors and stakeholders to discuss indicators for success of such a health care service.

Communication strategies aiming at a structural level are as follows:

- Using integrating participatory new media and mass media to advocate national strategies for developing public health services; assessing present public health laws; revising the laws, if needed; and evaluating partnerships for their effectiveness.
- Using participatory new media to mobilize public health workers, health-care providers, patients, and the public at large to solicit more funding to pay off the operating costs of the health-care services.
- Using participatory media to promote social support for capacity building and assess good governance and efficiency in sharing data and networking with accredited public health organizations abroad.

57.5.6 Communication Strategies to Create Resilient Communities and Supportive Environments, Including a Healthy Physical Environment

Communication strategies aiming at an individual level are as follows:

- Setting up forums to discuss online on participatory media or offline to engage stakeholders in the environmental management of their community.
- Empowering each person in the community to act as a citizen journalist on outbreaks of diseases and natural disasters by engaging them in the activities of sharing video clips and audio files discussions online and offline.
- Empowering individuals by integrated media to monitor climate change and conserving the natural habitats, including reporting on pollutions.
- Engaging the entire community by integrated mass media, community media, and new media to promote garbage management and recycles within the community.
- Empowering individuals to use bicycles instead of motor vehicles by using traditional social marketing and new media social marketing.

Communication strategies aiming at a group level are as follows:

- Offering new media platforms in a community operated by peers to discuss ways to help improve the environment.
- Advocating for safe water, standard sanitation, and clean energy by integrating the mass media, community media, and new media.
- Using new media social marketing to promote the surveillance and preparedness systems for extreme weather events and disease outbreaks.
- Using traditional and new community media to promote events and engage the community dwellers to see the importance of recycling and garbage separation.

Communication strategies aiming at a structural level are as follows:

- Gaining social support on measures, policies, and strategies to monitor and mitigate climate change by using participatory media.
- Mobilizing social support on educational and awareness programs on biodiversity, ecology, and climate change by using participatory media.
- Mobilizing support for research and development on conservation of natural habitats by using integrating mass communication, community media, and new media.

All of these tangible strategies are just examples of how to reach sustainability in health. People can be empowered to take health- and environmental-related issues in their own hands to ensure capacity building and networking.

57.6 Conclusion and Recommendations

By now the reader should be familiar with health communication for sustainability. Thanks to the advances in information and communication technologies or ICT, we can engage the community by media convergence and multimodal digital communication. As the media are not the messages, health communicators should research the strengths and weaknesses in communities regarding health and environment and get to know the stakeholders in order to devise the right communication strategies to suit the needs of the community.

The World Health Organization (WHO) acknowledges the multidimensional nature of health, that health involves complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not just the absence of disease. Moreover, everyone has the right to maintain and enjoy the benefits of being healthy regardless of their socioeconomic-politico and religious status. That means everyone has the right to medical, psychological, and related knowledge necessary to attain health to the fullest capacity. The health inequality caused by unequal development should be attended to by each government. Each government should be responsible for the health of their population by providing appropriate health and social measures.

Three important notions can be drawn from the constitution of the WHO: that "rights to health care," "health inequality reduction," and "health for all" are essential to devise good communication strategies to achieve the health goal.

Health communication is no longer a top-down fashion commanding the public to listen and act. We need to consider the enabling environment that would influence the decision-making process, attitude, and health behavior of an individual. Empowerment and advocating are the two terms health communicators as social mobilizers should be acquainted to. In order to do that, a health communicator should possess empathy and intercultural communication skills, apart from being media literate and health literate. This requires training and work experience. Apart from knowing public health, journalism, and communication, a health communicator should also have good knowledge of sociology, anthropology, environmental science, and management. Thus, interdisciplinary training would be a plus for a health communicator.

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Health Communication: A Discussion of North American and European Views on Sustainable Health in the Digital Age

58

Isabell Koinig, Sandra Diehl, and Franzisca Weder

Contents

58.1 Introduction 1041
58.2 Core Terminology 1041
58.2.1 Health 1041
58.2.2 Health Communication 1042
58.2.3 Health Promotion 1042
58.2.4 Sustainable Development 1043
58.3 The Health Communication Environment 1043
58.4 Current Trends and Developments 1045
58.4.1 Multidisciplinary Approach 1045
58.4.2 Digital Health and Health Monitoring Systems 1045
58.4.3 Gender-Specific Health Issues 1049
58.4.4 Pharmaceutical Advertising as Health Communication 1051
58.4.5 Health Empowerment 1051
58.5 Working Toward Sustainable Health and Sustainable Health Communication 1052
58.6 Limitations and Directions for Future Research 1053
References 1054

Abstract

Following the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals, the UN's third goal is meant to "ensure health lives and promote well-being for all at all ages" (UN 2017). Thus health is closely linked to sustainability. While progress has been made over the past decades, which have seen an increase in life expectancy and a success in combatting several diseases (e.g., children's diseases such as measles or adult diseases such as HIV and malaria), new health issues have emerged and need

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to be addressed. In this context, communication is of uttermost relevance. Broadly speaking, health communication refers to "any type of human communication whose content is concerned with health" (Rogers, J Health Commun 1:15–23, 1996) and can be directed at both individuals and organizations with the goal of preventing illness and fostering health (Thompson et al., The Routledge handbook of health communication, 2nd edn. Routledge, New York, 2011).

As a multifaceted and multidisciplinary approach, health communication draws from and combines influences from different theoretical backgrounds and disciplines, such as education, sociology, (mass) communication, anthropology, psychology, and social sciences (WHO, Health and sustainable development. Key health trends. Available via WHO. http://www.who.int/mediacentre/events/HSD_Plaq_02.2_Gb_def1.pdf. Accessed 20 Dec 2017, 2003; Institute of Medicine, Health literacy: a prescription to end confusion. Available via The National Academies of Sciences Engineering Medicine. http://www.nap.edu/openbook.php?record_id=10883. Accessed 11 Apr 2016, 2003; Bernhardt, Am J Public Health 94:2051–2053, 2004). Health communication – regardless of the form it takes (e.g., policies, patient-provider interactions, community projects, public service announcements, or advertising) – is concerned with "influencing, engaging and supporting individuals, communities, health professionals, special groups, policy makers and the public to champion, introduce, adopt, or sustain a behavior, practice or policy that will ultimately improve health outcomes" (Schiavo, Health communication: from theory to practice. Wiley, San Francisco, 2007). As such, it needs to be perceived as "a part of everyday life" (du Pré, Communicating about health: current issues and perspectives. Mayfield Publishing Company, Mountain View, 2000).

Since health communication occurs in the health communication environment (Schiavo, Health communication: from theory to practice, 2nd edn. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 2014), which is composed of four main domains, namely: (1) health audience; (2) recommended health behavior, service, or product; (3) social environment; and (4) political environment, it takes place on various levels (societal, institutional, and individual) which need to be studied in order to provide a comprehensible and complete picture of the subject area. The present contribution seeks to highlight the contribution of the different disciplines to effective health communication, outline changes in the health communication environment, as well as carve out future challenges that are brought about by changes in demographics, disease treatment, and communication patterns. A special focus will be put on gender-specific and digital health communication. In conclusion, limitations and directions for future research are addressed.

Keywords

Digital health technologies · eHealth · *Every Woman Every Child* project · Health communication · Health information technology · Men's health · mHealth · Pharmaceutical advertising · Pragmatism · Universal Health Coverage (UHC) · Women's health

58.1 Introduction

As part of its Sustainable Development Goals, the United Nations strive to transform the world as it is known. Its third goal emphasizes the need to improve the overall health and well-being of global citizens regardless of age (UN 2017a). Recent developments within the health environment, which took place over the last years, respectively, decades, have resulted in a broader conceptualization of health (Schiavo 2014). In consequence, the topic of health has conquered a variety of related academic disciplines, becoming multifaceted in its approach (Earle 2007a).

The present chapter will start out by defining the core terms before discussing the particularities of the health communication environment. Afterward, current trends will be examined, such as digital health offerings, gender-specific health issues, and empowerment, among others. The paper will also address ways of achieving sustainable health and will be concluded by limitations and directions for future research.

58.2 Core Terminology

To guarantee that the terms used throughout the chapter are understood as intended by the authors, they will be briefly defined beforehand.

58.2.1 Health

Listed as a fundamental human right by the World Health Organization (2013), health has become a matter of global relevance. Yet, in terms of definitions, consensus is hardly achieved on grounds of health abstract character (Earle 2007). A rather utopian and idealistic view is put forward by the WHO (2006), which conceptualizes health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being" and thus the absence of disease or infirmity (Balog 1978; Boruchovitch and Mednick 2002; WHO 2006). Parsons (1951) regards health as the "state of optimum capacity of an individual for the effective performance of the roles and tasks for which s/he has been socialized." Similarly, Dubos (1972) posits that health is a "physical and mental state relatively free of discomfort and suffering that allows the individual to function as long as possible in the environment where chance or the choice have placed him or her." The latter notions are expressive of health being embedded in everyday life, rendering it a "functional capacity" (Blaxter and Paterson 1982), also taking environmental and cultural parameters into account (Ewles and Simnett 2003); it also corresponds more with the United Nations' take on health. The influence of lifestyle factors and social aspects is emphasized by a variety of other authors as well (Berry 2007; Schiavo 2007; Tones and Tilford 2001), who see it as an important determinant of individual success: "Health is the essential foundation that supports and nurtures growth, learning, personal well being, social fulfillment, enrichment of others, economic production, and constructive citizenship" (Jenkins 2003). According to a contemporary view,

health – if maintained properly – makes for a good quality of life (Rod and Saunders 2004; Buchanan 2000) and is claimed to consist of three essential qualities: (1) wholeness, as it is linked to a person's immediate environment and subjective experiences, and (2) pragmatism, which pays tribute to health's relative nature in terms of experience and is closely linked to the third quality, namely, (3) individualism, according to which health is highly personal (Svalastog et al. 2017), especially in the digital age, which challenges academia to take a more individualized look at health.

58.2.2 Health Communication

Communication is a viable asset to the health domain. If conceptualized very broadly, health communication is concerned with the practice of communicating and disseminating information on health-related topics to a dispersed mass audience (US Department of Health and Human Services 2014) as well as communication encounters in the healthcare setting (Thompson 2000; Dutta 2008). In practitioners' eyes, health communication is understood as "the study and use of communication strategies to inform and influence individual and community decisions that enhance health" (Center for Disease Control and Prevention; CDC 2001; US Department of Health and Human Services 2005). Health messages can take numerous forms, such as public health campaigns, health education materials, as well as doctor-patient interactions (Schiavo 2007), and are concerned with "informing, influencing, and motivating individual, institutional, and public audiences about important health issues" (US Department of Health and Human Services 2000). Thus, it also includes public service announcements (PSAs) or advertising for both prescription/direct-to-consumer (DTC) and non-prescription/over-the-counter (OTC) drugs (for more details, see Koinig et al. 2017). As such, health communication's goal is to achieve "disease prevention through behavior modification" (Freimuth et al. 2000), encouraging them to unlearn health-compromising behaviors and rather adapt and maintain health-enhancing behaviors (Bernhardt 2004; US Department of Health and Human Services 2005; Schiavo 2007).

58.2.3 Health Promotion

Health promotion alludes to "any combination of health education and related organizational, economic, and environmental supports for behavior of individuals, groups, or communities conducive to health" (Green and Kreuter 1991). Ideally, health promotion will convince individuals to learn how to activate their personal skills in order to improve their health, respectively, well-being, triggering them to seek advice from medical experts and their peers after being exposed to useful and enabling health information (McLaurin 1995). In consulting and utilizing individual, social, and structural resources, the determinants of health are changed through communication (Nutbeam 2000), e.g., invoking recipients to take up recommended actions to improve their current health situations. Thus, health promotion "recognizes the fundamental importance of environmental influences on health and the complex interplay between these factors and health-related behavior" (Green and Tones 2010) while empowering

individuals and communities to take more control over their health and well-being (WHO 1996). Therefore, health promotion efforts "are essential and ubiquitous parts of the delivery of health care and the promotion of public health" (Kreps 2014).

58.2.4 Sustainable Development

"Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (IISD 2016). In its 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as well as the accompanying 17 Sustainable Development Goals, the United Nations emphasizes the need to "promote well-being for all ages," which it perceives as a precondition for a "prosperous society" (UN 2017b). In spite of the rather general formulation, the UN puts a focus on women and children, who are especially affected by health issues.

"Human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development. They are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature" (WHO 2003). Hence, the WHO's priority is to grant all individuals access to health. Proclaimed to be a "human right" (WHO 2013), health made it to the Sustainable Development Agenda to ensure that all populations, regardless of age, ethnicity, income, and geographic are enabled to live a life free from disease. (UN 2017a, b). While progress has been made in numerous areas, including maternal health, child health, HIV/AIDS, and malaria, other aspects still remain to be addressed. These include universal health coverage, vaccine and medicine access, affordable health care, and child morbidity (UN 2017). Special emphasis is put on universal health coverage (UHC) and the global action plans for prevention and control of noncommunicable diseases (NCDs; Takian and Akbari-Sari 2016).

Several initiatives have already been launched, among them the *Every Woman Every Child* project – "an unprecedented global movement that mobilizes and intensifies international and national action by governments, multilaterals, the private sector and civil society to address the major health challenges facing women and children around the world" (Sustainable Development 2015). Significant progress has already been made, as maternal deaths have dropped by 47% between 1990 and 2012 (SDSN 2014). Still, challenges remain to be tackled, among them national and socioeconomic inequalities, putting especially vulnerable groups at disadvantage (Buse and Hawkes 2015). For instance, The Elders (2016) suggest to improve health-care systems altogether instead of focusing on individuals or particular diseases. Likewise, pharmaceutical companies (e.g., Novartis) have also started to take this issue at heart to "create long-lasting solutions for global health" by combining "philanthropy, zero profit, and Social Ventures" (Novartis 2013).

58.3 The Health Communication Environment

While Dahlgreen and Whitehead (1991) base their notion of the health environment on a social ecological theory and center on the individual and its health-enhancing behavior, this theory is rather limited in its view. Hence, an alternative

health communication model will be consulted. In her revised edition of *Health Communication*, Schiavo (2014) outlines the four environmental factors that constitute the so-called Health Communication Environment (see Fig. 1). Drawing from socio-ecological, behavioral, or marketing influences (Morris 1975), the author perceives health communication to be nourished by political, social, community, and service, respectively, product influences. With regard to the *political environment*, policies and laws as well as a country's or an organization's political agenda need to be borne in mind. In terms of *community*, individual health variables, such as health beliefs, attitudes, literacy rates, or behaviors together with gender and lifestyle attributes and demographic factors, play a crucial role in how people manage and communicate about health. On the *product or service level*, health products are under close scrutiny in terms of benefits and risks as well as availability and access. Finally, *social environment* aspects concern social norms, social support systems, existing projects, plus established practices (Schiavo 2014).

Fig. 1 The Health Communication Environment (Schiavo 2014: 22)

58.4 Current Trends and Developments

58.4.1 Multidisciplinary Approach

In their 2015 article, Hannawa and colleagues attempted to map out the health communication field, focusing on the different forms of communication utilized within the health field. A more discipline-focused approach was taken by Bernhardt (2004) and the WHO (2003), who regard health as multi- or transdisciplinary in its very nature, drawing from and influencing multiple (academic) disciplines. As such, it pays tribute to the diverse and complex parameters involved in shaping, respectively, attaining individual health (Schiavo 2014). In the area of *behavioral and social science theories*, health communication seeks to explain how and why individuals do (not) engage in or take up health-enhancing measures, as in the case of the Health Belief Model (Becker et al. 1977) and the social cognitive theory (Bandura 1977). *Mass media and new media theories* are not only concerned with how health messages are communicated but also intend to unravel both how media is used by and influences individuals with regard to their health. A mass media concept commonly employed in this context is McQuail's (1994) media effectiveness. *(Social) marketing theories* are applied to both commercial and nonprofit health-care settings and scrutinize how marketing is used to make consumers use a certain kind of (health) product (Schiavo 2014). Increasingly, these theories are also linked to social change due to a growing people-centeredness (Lefebvre 2013; see also *A threefold approach for social change* by Diago, *Community Media for Social Change in South India* by Pavarala, *Films for Social Change in Hong Kong and China* by Li, *Role of Participatory Communication in Strengthening Solidarity and Social Cohesion in Afghanistan* by Ahmed, and *Institutionalization and implosion of Communication for Development and Social Change in Spain* by Saez in this volume). Medical models are, first and foremost, used for explaining patient-provider interactions (Schiavo 2014). The biomedical model regards poor health as a physical phenomenon, and health can only be restored through physical means (du Pré 2000). While it blends out selected components (e.g., individual beliefs, norms, and attitudes), this shortcoming is explicitly addressed by the biopsycho-social model of health, which integrates "people's feelings, their ideas about health, and the events of their lives" (du Pré 2000: 9). Finally, s*ociological* aspects of health are discussed as part of health policy, population health, and health services (Bourgeault et al. 2013), while, by contrast, *anthropological* notions of health look at health in the context of a particular culture, respectively, social group (Langdon and Wiik 2010) (Fig. 2).

58.4.2 Digital Health and Health Monitoring Systems

Due to the convergence of technologies, digital and genomic content is increasingly digitized, leading to the development of digital health, which is meant to not only enhance the accessibility of health information but also make health delivery more

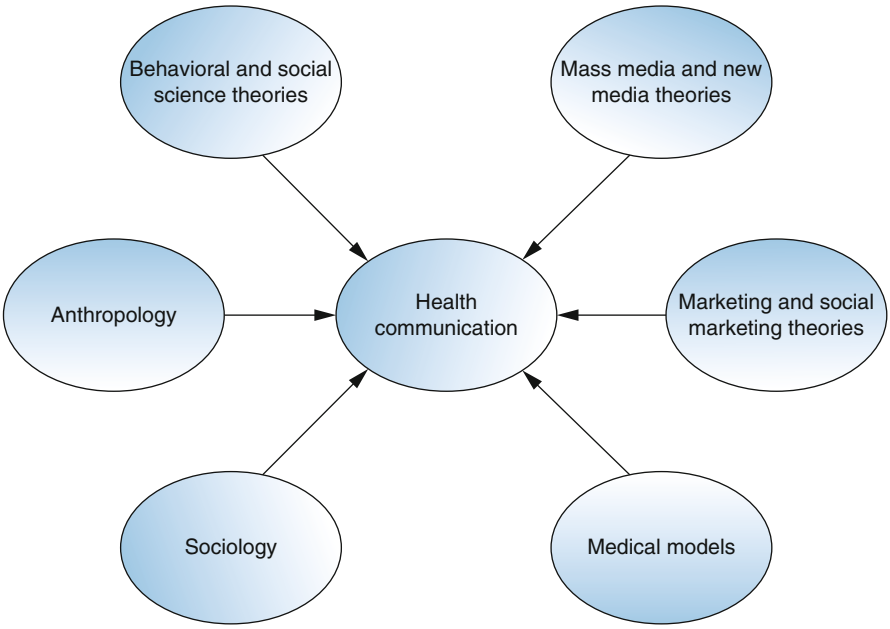

Fig. 2 Health communication influences (Schiavo 2014: 22)

efficient and precise (Bhavnani et al. 2016). Digital health technologies are driving change toward a more individually centered, self-responsible, and empowered health care (Banos et al. 2016). In addition, the last two decades have witnessed a dramatic increase in health monitoring systems (Baig and Gholamhosseini 2013). Thereby, services range from software to hardware solutions, encompassing email, text messages, and apps just to name the most prominent ones (Widmer et al. 2015). Even though digital health has not explicitly been integrated into the UN's Sustainable Development Goals, this area warrants further discussion, since it holds enormous potential to revolutionize health care. In the following, eHealth, mHealth, as well as digital health information and communication will be discussed in more detail.

eHealth: eHealth is used to refer to the integration and use of new information technologies in health-related matters (WHO 2017). "eHealth refers to the use of modern information and communication technologies to meet the needs of citizens, patients, health care professionals, health care providers as well as policy makers" (EU Ministerial Declaration of eHealth 2003; also see Eysenbach 2001). As such, eHealth promotes the use of interactive communication tools in the health context while also holding the potential to change health beliefs, policies, and outcomes lastingly (Schiavo 2014). In the advent of the Internet revolution and new technologies, eHealth is available on-demand, on-the-go, and is no longer a push, but a pull, service, also broadening its community boundaries (Abroms et al. 2011). At the same time, it allows for a new, advanced form of health literacy – defined as "the degree to which individuals have the capacity to obtain, process, and understand

basic health information and services needed to make appropriate health decisions" (Selden et al. 2000). Consequently, eHealth is concerned with promoting health globally and in disadvantaged communities (Schiavo 2014), taking changed health behaviors and patterns into account (Fischer et al. 2016).

eHealth services among US physicians are constantly gaining popularity and have risen from 68% in 2012 to 84% in 2015 (Statista 2017h). Thereby, practitioners have started to rely on these electronic devices for specific/clinical content and pharmaceutical information to the largest extent (61% and 53%, respectively; Statista 2017i). Nonetheless, Americans seem to be only somewhat familiar with eHealth, as more than half of them claim not to have heard of the concept in 2017 (Statista 2017j). Among those US consumers who use eHealth, services – more precisely, medical video visits – were most frequently used to get prescription refills (78%) or for chronic care management (60%; Statista 2017k). Besides video chats, emails are the preferred form of communication with physicians (66%) and are followed by online web portals (36%), text messages (34%), and mobile apps (31%; Statista 2017l) (see also mHealth). The willingness to pay for these services is, nonetheless, only moderately pronounced (Statista 2017m). However, the potential these offerings hold is huge, as eHealth services have also become popular in outpatient care and are, for instance, employed for early-stage breast cancer patients (Ventura 2016).

mHealth: mHealth can be considered as a part of eHealth. Albeit it is often conceptualized as a part of telemedicine – a term used to describe the potential of new information technologies to bridge geographical distances and barriers to deliver and grant individual access to health-related services (WHO 2010) – mobile health (mHealth) has become used in its own right. Following the WHO, mHealth refers to "the use of mobile and wireless technologies to support the achievement of health objectives" (WHO 2011) and was already employed by more than one third of Americans in 2014 (39%; Statista 2017a). Yet, the tremendous growth of mobile devices does not only affect health in the developed world but also offers hope to vulnerable populations in resource-poor environments (United Nations Foundation 2011).

With a mHealth market share of only 6.7 billion in 2012, the value is expected to almost reach 60 billion by 2020 (58.8%; Statista 2017b), presenting a compound annual growth rate of more than 40% (Statista 2017c). Drivers of mHealth popularity are multiple and concern its potential for cost reductions (Statista 2017d) and its vast array of applicability, ranging from remote monitoring, diagnosing symptoms, consulting doctors, and complying with treatment or dietary regimes (Statista 2017e). mHealth, however, does not only benefit individuals; there are also benefits for the health-care system, as mHealth holds the potential to reduce doctor consultations, examinations, as well as the length of hospital stays (Statista 2017f). The area of application is expected to be broadened in the near future, with 71% of US Americans expressing a willingness to use mHealth services for health emergencies (Statista 2017g).

The applicability of mHealth services is constantly growing. Academia has repeatedly pointed out the applicability of social networking sites to grant individuals (online) social support, offering both informational and emotional support to both patients, survivors, and family members (Hether et al. 2016; Murthy and Eldredge

2016). In addition, health apps and mobile tracking devices are also very helpful in and often used for monitoring, detecting, and managing medical conditions, such as pulse, heart rate, or breast cancer risk assessment (Goth 2015, see also a more detailed description below). On the other hand health symptoms brought about by (excessive) (mobile) social media use might also be worth investigating (Nasirudeen et al. 2017).

Digital/Online Health Information: Health information technology (HIT, Buntin et al. 2010) has led digital health information to be available in abundance. The variety of online and mobile services, such as wireless and mobile services, online doctor review portals, self-diagnosing websites, or rating sites, among others, are not only of advantage to practitioners but can also involve individuals more strongly in their health care (Martin 2012). Thus, digital health information is also increasingly requested by consumers and was already of interest in the early 2000s (Rice and Katz 2001). For example, in Great Britain, the number of individuals consulting the Internet for health information has increased from 18% in 2007 to 43% in 2013 (Statista 2017n).

Surveys from all over the world report that consumers' education levels influence their search habits for health information; for instance, Finnish consumers with secondary and tertiary education go more frequently online to research health, nutrition, or diseases (62% and 72%, respectively) than those with primary education (43%; Statista 2017o). US college graduates were also almost twice as often looking for information on health than high school graduates (81% vs. 45%; Statista 2017p). Similar results are reported for US cell phone users (38% vs. 17%; Statista 2017q). Findings from France support the influence of gender, with women looking for health information more frequently than men (45% vs. 37%; Statista 2017r). This was also found by Osma et al. (2016), who discovered that women do not only turn to the Internet more often than men for health information but also use their smartphones more frequently to do so.

Digitized health information has empowered consumers, allowing them to get more involved in their health care. In 2015, US consumers claimed to be very interested in online medical records (29%), online cost estimators (27%), online appointment setting (24%), email access to their doctors (23%), as well as the ability to pay their medical bills online (21%; Statista 2017s). The same year, UK residents turned to the Internet for self-diagnosing purposes (73%) and health-condition management (63%) or when in need for health-enhancing information, respectively, treatment options (both 39%), while 38% researched the risks associated with a specific medical condition (Statista 2017t).

Wearables: Mobile technology has also become attached to bodies, where devices provide personalized health information and are increasingly used to identify and discuss health symptoms (Piwek et al. 2016). As such, these gadgets have become part of the "quantified self" movement, in the course of which the reporting and tracking of data can be used to improve individual health (Patel et al. 2015). Further advantages are connected information, the creation of health-care communities, and participation due to gamification (Huffington Post 2017).

While social networking sites (33%) and mobile apps (30%) have been commonly used by US consumers in 2017, wearables already come in 3rd place (28%; Statista 2017u). In an age of automated physical activity monitoring technology,

which is often linked to social networking sites like Facebook, etc., some recipients meet these devices and services with reservation. Numbers are a bit inconclusive, ranging from claiming only 1% of US consumers to use wearables (Wang 2014) to even every 6th US consumer relying on wearables (Juniper Research 2013). Based on the apps' monthly users, Fitbit is the leading health and fitness app in the United States with 23.6 million users (Statista 2017v). Given the vast array of applicability by users themselves, but also by health-care organizations, employers, insurance companies, and practitioners (Patel et al. 2015), sales are predicted to increase significantly in the years to come (Wang 2014). Rising user numbers also correspond with increasing shipments, which were expected to reach 5.3 million units by 2017 (Statista 2017w); smart wristbands alone are predicted to reach sales of 63.86 million units in 2021 (Statista 2017x), while connected wearable devices are expected to achieve sales of 325 million in 2021 (Statista 2017y).

Increasingly, patients demand doctors to base health recommendations on the results produced by wearables (Cello Health Insight 2014), and they are called upon the leverage the power of wireless devices to their advantage, which include tracking, analyzing, and optimizing individual health (Waracle 2016). At the same time, these devices are expected to not only reduce health-care costs but also increase efficiency, accessibility, and quality (Waracle 2016). Moreover, they are claimed to foster health empowerment and improve individual quality of life (Waracle 2016). Nonetheless, these devices predominantly appeal to a younger generation but fail to engage people above 40 (Statista 2017z). The major reasons as to why these devices are used concern tracking purposes (30%), awareness raising (28%), and individual motivation (27%; Statista 2017aa).

Currently, the biggest challenge lies in providing smart health-care solutions and devices that do not invade individuals' health, trying to overcome established conceptualizations of u-health (ubiquitous health) and p-health (pervasive health; Custodio et al. 2012). In addition, reservations need to be tackled, which are most prominently held by women (Arigo et al. 2015).

58.4.3 Gender-Specific Health Issues

When it comes to health, men and women differ significantly in their attitudes. Men define health in rather functionalist terms of "efficiency" and "absence of disease"; they prefer offers that help them to overcome specific health problems (Tempel et al. 2013). Women, on the other hand, are assumed to proactively and publicly address their health issues (Broom and Tovey 2009). Thus, gender-specific health issues and their impact on health communication present a challenge that needs to be addressed.

Women's Health: Already in 1992, research recognized that women's health is "a patchwork quilt with gaps" (Clansy 1992). As part of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals, the necessity to address women's health issues is prioritized. Overall, women's health is defined as all issues that are particulate to women. According to the WHO (2017), women's health deserves specific attention because of the following

reasons: an unequal distribution of power, social norms limiting women's educational and professional choices, and their reproductive roles together with an increased likelihood of women to fall victim to violence of any kind (WHO 2017).

However, in the academic context, women's health has received significant attention. Women are generally more interested in health issues than men (75% vs. 63%; Bonfadelli 2002) and are more engaged in their health, whereby more than 80% of women visit a doctor at least once a year, while only slightly more than 70% of men do (The Austrian Health Survey 2007). Women also participate more often in prevention programs. In addition, they visit their primary care provider to a significantly greater extent than men who are still underrepresented in primary care (Thompson et al. 2016). Recent research by Rowley et al. (2015) also confirmed that women are more proactive in health information seeking and check a wider range of health information sources. In addition, women are more likely to go to the Internet for health information (Tennant et al. 2015) and are more likely to consult health professionals and family and friends than men. Moreover, women are also the primary recipients of health messages: "Health promotion messages often target women in their assigned role as caregivers in the family" (Östlin et al. 2006: 27).

Despite progress has been made since then (Charney 2000), there are also numerous diseases that are unique to women and warrant further research. Present-day research has already taken up some issues, dedicating more research toward breast cancer risk assessment (Goth 2015), perinatal depression (Osma et al. 2016), preconception care, and prenatal health issues (Nwolise et al. 2017).

Men's Health: One area of research that received very limited academic attention is men's health (Weder 2014). As experts worldwide express their concern with this issue – even talking about a men's health crisis – this issue is slowly gaining recognition. In general, men's health is something that can and needs to be differentiated from both general health and women's health, since it is concerned with "the prevention and diagnosis of illnesses that afflict the male population. Men's health should also include the personal well-being and quality of life of men" (Hoon 2005: 172). From a clinical point of view, common male-specific diseases are prostate cancer, erectile dysfunction, and testicular cancer (MacDonald 2016), while mental health issues like depression receive limited attention (Branney and White 2008). Yet, there are some obstacles to overcome first: while women address their health issues openly and proactively, men feel rather indifferent toward their health and are thus reluctant to become engaged (Broom and Tovey 2009). Due to men's rather functionalist perspective on health, they prefer offers that help them to overcome specific health problems (Tempel et al. 2013). Since they often tend to underestimate physical and psychological symptoms, they wait longer to seek help from a doctor; at times, it even takes their wives to urge them to go and make an appointment or seek treatment (Raml et al. 2011). This concerning trend can be explained by the fact that masculine traits – strength and independence – "are seen as injurious to [men's] health" (MacDonald 2016: 285).

And even though there are studies in the area of strategic communication and health promotion focusing on gender-specific issues (Galdas et al. 2005), there is a clear scarcity of research on specifically male health issues like prostate cancer, baldness, cancer, diabetes, cardiovascular diseases, etc. (Hoebel et al. 2013). As

such, men's health is conceptualized "as the prevention and diagnoses of illnesses that afflict the male population. Men's health should also include the personal well-being and quality of life of men" (Hoon 2005: 172).

Men's health issues and concerns have also increasingly moved online and concern safer sex, respectively, condom use (Bailey et al. 2017), as well as prostate cancer interventions.

58.4.4 Pharmaceutical Advertising as Health Communication

Also, commercial messages qualify as health communication, the most prominent one being pharmaceutical advertising. It is "defined as [paid] messages created by marketers of pharma products that attempt to inform, persuade and even entertain the target audience with the goal of influencing recipients' attitudes—and ultimately behavior—in a favorable manner" (Diehl et al. 2008: 100). Pharmaceutical advertisements are utilized to promote both prescription and non-prescription drugs. The former comprise drugs used to treat more serious diseases and are subject to a doctor's prescription since their use is associated with significant risks and adverse effects; consequently, they are only allowed to be promoted to physicians (with the exception of the United States and New Zealand, where these preparations can also be advertised to the general public; Diehl et al. 2008). The latter, on the other hand, are commonly labeled self-medication preparations, home remedies, or over-the-counter (OTC) medications, which can be promoted to the general public in almost every country throughout the world, since they hold comparatively minor risks and are only intended to treat minor medical symptoms.

Koinig's (2016) field study, which was conducted on three continents, highlighted that among four different ad appeal types (informative, emotional, mixed, and CSR), the mixed pharmaceutical promotional message was most effective with regard to ad evaluation and empowerment. Another study by Koinig et al. (2017) showed that pharmaceutical advertising can indeed empower consumers on three distinct levels, namely, message empowerment, self-medication empowerment, and health empowerment. In terms of ad appeal, findings suggest that the mixed appeal ad led to the highest degree of empowerment in all of the three empowerment categories and was followed by the informative ad. The emotional and the CSR appeal ads failed to appeal to consumers and empowered them to a lesser degree. Results thus suggest that mixed appeals were not only consumers' favorites in terms of ad liking but were also the most suitable way to aid consumers in making qualified and reasonable decisions, educating and "empowering" them by strengthening their beliefs in the product, their own self-medication capabilities, and their health.

58.4.5 Health Empowerment

The major goals associated with health promotion are equity and empowerment (Green and Tones 2010), the latter having also been taken up by the Ottawa Charter (WHO 1996). Following Tones and Tilford (2001), empowerment could "be even

seen as a worthwhile health goal in its own right" which is brought about by significant changes that do not leave the health sector unaffected: "Empowered by better access to higher education, information sources like the Internet, and greater personal wealth, consumers expect to have a much greater say in their own medical treatment" (David 2001: 1). As such, empowerment is concerned with including lay perspectives – perspectives by non-expert or ordinary people – in health-related decisions (Earle 2007). Lately, the concept of empowerment has also been linked to advertising messages (Koinig 2016; Koinig et al. 2017).

Through mobile and interactive health technologies, consumers are given the opportunity to become more involved in and empowered regarding their own health care (see also ▶ Chap. 55, "New Media: The Changing Dynamics in Mobile Phone Application in Accelerating Health Care Among the Rural Populations in Kenya" by Okoth in this volume); increasingly, they also agree to disclose their online health records to receive more tailored treatments (Makovsky 2015). Furthermore, the availability of online services does not only allow for increased consumer participation but also for a faster delivery of care (see also ▶ Chap.64, Participatory Development Communication and Natural Resources Management by Bessette and ▶ 9, "Media and Participation" by Carpentier in this volume). Even against the background of already heightened health-care costs, Americans would nevertheless leverage technology, expressing a high willingness to pay for innovative services (Makovsky 2015) and the clear benefits they bring: they "have the potential to improve communication with clinicians, access to personal health information, and health education with the goal of preparing patients to take a more active role in their care" (Franklin et al. 2009: 169f.).

58.5 Working Toward Sustainable Health and Sustainable Health Communication

Sustainable health comprises initiatives taken on the individual, community, public/national, and international level (UN 2017; Buse and Hawkes 2015).

On the individual level, preventive care is the number one priority and concerns vaccinating children, as well as engaging in safe sex only – the latter being a movement that is also increasingly featured on social media (Bailey et al. 2017). Also, the necessity of involving partners in their spouse's fitness activities has been found to benefit women, specifically in the digital context (Arigo et al. 2015). Weder (2014) discovered this necessity also for men and discussed this against the background of "crabwise campaigns" – promotional campaigns that addressed women to encourage their men to get a preventive examination.

On a community level, inequalities between urban and rural or wealthier and poorer groups need to be balanced, guaranteeing that all groups are educated with regard to nutrition, health affecting risky behavior, etc. (Maeda et al. 2014; Schmidt et al. 2015). Practicing and promoting health lifestyles in groups is recommended as well, whereby schools are listed as prime examples. Moreover, the issue of tailoring information to communities of different academic and ethnic backgrounds is

emphasized (Noar et al. 2007) even though the success of these tailored approaches is ambiguous (Saywell et al. 2004). Yet, tailored information holds one advantage: the topic's personal relevance is stressed, and centralized information processing is encouraged (Hawkins et al. 2008). Moreover, tailored content is also of interest to the wearables' industry (Kim et al. 2017).

Nationally, ensuring high-quality workforce training, especially in low-income or middle-income countries, has to be made a core focus (Maeda et al. 2014). Special focus should also be put on health professionals' communication competencies (Ruben 2016), following the example of the Health Professions Core Communication Curriculum (HPCCC; Bachmann et al. 2016). Where shortfalls exist, apps and eHealth services might be used, as it is the case in outpatient care (Ventura 2016). These gadgets are specifically useful in emphasizing, respectively, highlighting, patient needs and preferences (tailoring, customization; Nwolise et al. 2017): "Person-centered e-supportive systems may bridge the communication gap between the hospital setting and patients' homes by fostering a reciprocal partnership in care that acknowledges and reinforces patients' expertise and agency" (Ventura 2016).

Some countries even publish a health report to make their efforts more binding and achieve a clearly set goal, as it is the case with the Healthy People 2020 (Hesse et al. 2014), or even implement specifically designed laws, such as the Health Information Technology for Economic and Clinical Health Act of 2009, which incorporates health technology into health care in the United States (Gold et al. 2012). Ojo (in this volume) sheds some light on how ICTs are used in Africa for development purposes.

The most prominent goal on the international level is the call for universal coverage, which means that "all people can use the promotive, preventive, curative, rehabilitative and palliative health services they need" (WHO 2017). It is considered to be "the single most powerful concept that public health has to offer. It is our ticket to greater efficiency and better quality. It is our savior from the crushing weight of chronic noncommunicable diseases that now engulf the globe" (Chan 2012). If accompanied by a sustainable financing plan, this move is expected to reduce health-care costs (Schmidt et al. 2015).

Another international goal aims at fostering health education and health literacy (Cappelletti et al. 2015), also through interactive offers with appealing designs (see also ▶ Chap.29, Visual Communication and Social Change by Loes in this volume). In the area of digital health, calls to improve the knowledge about usability, design, and acceptance of mHealth and eHealth services as well as wearables should be taken seriously (Hether et al. 2016; Nwolise et al. 2017), which cannot only increase individual involvement but also foster empowerment in the long run.

58.6 Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The present paper sets out to outline some topics that are of high importance to the health-care sector and build upon the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals. Yet, due to the limited scope of the paper, only a few, selected aspects could be discussed. We pointed out the potentials of digital and tailored health

communication – based on their growing acceptability. Here, empirical research is still quite scarce, so it would be interesting to delve deeper in this topic, on a global, national, as well as glocal level (see also ▶ Chap.26, Glocal Development for Sustainable Social Change by Patel in this volume). The gender debate should be intensified as well, taking into account gender-specific health topics and usage patterns. Moreover, the term of empowerment should be examined in the context of communities, wearables, and (advertising) message reception (see also ▶ Chap. 10, "Empowerment as Development: An Outline of an Analytical Concept for the Study of ICTs in the Global South" by Svensson in this volume). While the previously discussed theories on models of health are hardly cross- or transdisciplinary in nature, more recent approaches set out to overcome these segregated notions (Schiavo 2014) and might require further elaboration. Thus, while the present research looked at the microlevel of health communication, further research should not neglect the broader, macro perspective. Especially the role of media advocacy and public health advocacy warrants future considerations, as the role of both the media and health practitioners in shaping health policy development must not be underestimated (Ingram et al. 2015).

The digitization of health information – starting with electronic health records (EHRs) – is expected to continue in the future, with countries (e.g., Austria) considering the introduction of electronic prescriptions, electronic pregnancy passports, and electronic immunization cards. It is worthwhile to investigate not only how these new digital offerings are perceived and used, but also inasmuch they are able to improve patient-provider interactions and reduce disparities in access to health care.

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Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Maternal Health in Africa

59

Alfred Okoth Akwala

Contents

59.1 Introduction 1064
59.2 Maternal-Child Health Care 1065
59.2.1 Maternal Health in Africa 1066
59.2.2 Maternal Health in Kenya 1067
59.3 Dissemination of Maternal Health Knowledge 1068
59.3.1 Maternal-Child Health and Maternal-Child Health Knowledge 1068
59.4 Maternal Health Communication 1069
59.4.1 Maternal Health Campaigns 1069
59.5 Results 1070
59.5.1 Levels of Maternal Health Knowledge Among the Patients 1070
59.5.2 Influence of Provider-Patient Communication on Maternal-Child Health Outcomes 1071
59.5.3 Communication Strategies in Disseminating Maternal-Child Health Knowledge 1071
59.6 Conclusion 1072
References 1073

Abstract

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were adopted at the 2000 Millennium Summit. Improving maternal health was one of the eight goals; Millennium Development Goals four (MDG 4) and five (MDG 5) are related to maternal and child health. The fourth goal (MDG 4) aimed at reducing child mortality by two thirds between 1990 and 2015, while the fifth goal (MDG 5) aimed to improve maternal health by reducing the maternal mortality ratio (MMR) by three quarters between the same years (WHO, Trends in maternal mortality

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(1990–2008). WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA, and World Bank, Geneva, 2010, p. 3). However, they did not meet these promises because the essential role of information and communication was given an afterthought. The United Nations has now embarked on Sustainable Development Goals in which goal 3 aims to ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages, while goal 5 aims to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. To this end, the objectives of the chapter were investigation of the maternal-child health patients' knowledge, influence of provider-patient communication, and maternal health communication strategies. The study used the setting of Busia County in Kenya and a review of available literature. Data was analyzed thematically. Findings indicate that lack of maternal-child health knowledge leads to non-utilization of skilled facility health. From the study, we conclude that appropriate communication strategies if mainstreamed in maternal health campaigns can enhance utilization of skilled facility health care, thus accelerating the achievement of MDGs 4 and 5. The study recommends that communication strategies in Africa should foster participation and strengthening of community structures to enhance attaining MDGs 4 and 5. The study was grounded in the social cognitive theory postulated by Albert Bandura. This theory posits that although environmental stimuli influence behavior, individual personal factors such as beliefs and expectations also influence behavior change.

Keywords

Millennium Development Goals · Sustainable Development Goals · Communication strategies · Maternal health campaigns

59.1 Introduction

It is estimated that each year, 529,000 maternal deaths occur globally and that the burden of maternal mortality is greatest in the sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia (WHO 2000). WHO et al. (2004) reports that the country with the highest estimated number of maternal deaths is India (136,000), followed by Nigeria (37,000), Pakistan (26,000), Democratic Republic of Congo and Ethiopia (24,000 each), the United Republic of Tanzania (21,000), Afghanistan (20,000), Bangladesh (16,000), Angola, China, Kenya (11,000 each), Indonesia and Uganda (10,000 each). These 13 countries account for 67 per cent of all maternal deaths. Improving maternal health was one of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted at the 2000 Millennium Summit. Millennium Development Goals four (MDG 4) and five (MDG 5) are related to maternal and child health. The fourth goal (MDG 4) aimed at reducing child mortality by two thirds between 1990 and 2015, while the fifth goal (MDG 5) aimed in improving maternal health by reducing the maternal mortality ratio (MMR) by three quarters between the same years (WHO 2010, p. 3). These goals were not met by most developing countries. The World Health Organization (WHO) has now embarked on achieving the 11 Sustainable

Development Goals (SDGs), in which goal 3 aims at ensuring healthy lives and promoting well-being for all at all ages. A report by the UN et al. (2012) gives estimates of maternal mortality across the world indicating countries that have made progress, those with insufficient progress and those with no progress in meeting MDG 4, to reduce the under-5 mortality by two-thirds between 1990 and 2015.

Maternal-child health is one of the biggest problems as lack of access to health facilities especially in the sub-Saharan Africa contributes to as high as 1000 deaths in 100,000 live births in some countries. Therefore information of different kinds needs to be used to raise health awareness which in turn would lead to skilled health service utilization and thus realization of MDGs 4 and 5. The information should entail health education to convey messages about preserving health care. A majority of developing countries have poor health outcomes as a result of long distances to facilities, the cost, and lack of knowledge. A report by WHO (2010) indicates that more than 800 women globally die each day from preventable causes related to childbirth and pregnancy. Of these 99% live in developing countries.

59.2 Maternal-Child Health Care

According to WHO et al. (2005), maternal death is the death of a woman while pregnant or within 42 days of termination of pregnancy, from any cause related to or aggravated by the pregnancy or its management but not from accidental or incidental causes. A significant number of women face life-threatening complications during pregnancy, childbirth, and in the period after birth, and, therefore, it is highly important that they seek skilled maternal-child health care during these periods. This is only possible if essential elements of communication for social change are identified. These may range from the use of interpersonal communication to the use of community forums such as churches. Pandey et al. (2011), quoting the United Nations (2000, 2010), report that in 1987, international organizations sponsored a global conference and adopted the Safe Motherhood Initiative to reduce the high rate of women dying during pregnancy and childbirth. The initiative recommended that all countries provide three types of maternity care services for all pregnant women: prenatal care, delivery care, and postnatal care (p. 556). Effective participatory and advocacy communication if used can enhance the utilization of skilled maternal-child health services and thus reduce the maternal and infant deaths.

Complications at pregnancy and childbirth are among the leading causes of morbidity and mortality. Medical experts point out that the direct causes of maternal death include hemorrhage, infection, and obstructed labor and unsafe abortion, while child mortality is caused by infections, baby asphyxia, birth injuries, complications of prematurity, low birth weight, and birth defects. These could be controlled if detected early enough as some of the infections are immunizable. Figure 1 shows the distribution of the causes of child mortality across the sub-Saharan Africa (see file on Figures and Tables).

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, and Nigeria account for more than 43% of the total under-five deaths in all of Africa, and of the 46 countries

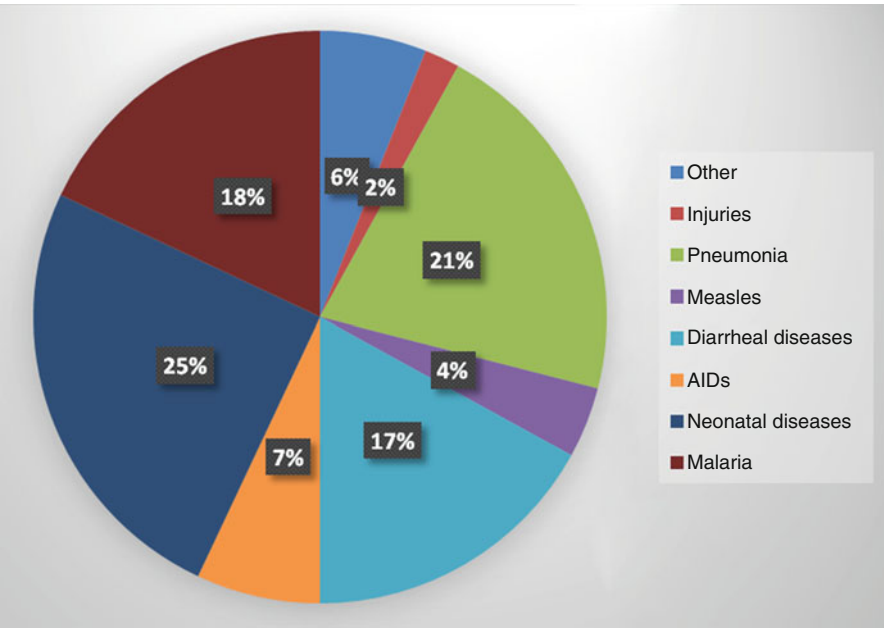

Fig. 1 Major causes of deaths among children under 5 years in the sub-Saharan Africa as rated by WHO. (Source: UNICEF 2008)

in the sub-Saharan Africa, only Cape Verde, Eritrea, Mauritius, and the Seychelles are on track to attain MDG 4 (UNICEF 2008, p. 7). In the ratings of countries according to those which were making progress toward improving maternal health between the years 1990 and 2008, Kenya was among the seven countries marked as having made no progress in improving maternal health, the other countries being Zimbabwe, Zambia, Swaziland, Somalia, South Africa, and Congo. According to UNICEF (ibid.), nearly 100 children die every day from preventable diseases, and at least 8 women die every day due to pregnancy-related complications in Zimbabwe; a majority of these women are residing in rural areas where health facilities are not easily accessible. The report further indicates that the issue of user fees charged by facilities giving maternal health services is one of the biggest barriers to poor women and children's accessing life-saving and critical health care in Zimbabwe.

59.2.1 Maternal Health in Africa

Africa has been among the highest worldwide, representing about 50% of all maternal deaths. For African countries to achieve the target of Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 5, concerted effort is needed in maternal and newborn health (MNH) interventions. Most African countries developed their national maternal and newborn health (MNH) road map. This included developing strategies to tackle maternal, newborn, and

child health issues. However, the challenges of inadequate access to quality MNH health care; inequitable distribution of quality MNH services; inadequate financial and human resources; huge burden of HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other infections; and weak community involvement and participation are stumbling blocks to these efforts. Oronje (2009) says that Kenya needs to prioritize in national planning because failing to reach this rapidly growing sub-population with health services may result in lack of progress towards the health-related Millennium Development Goals. Africa has other determinants such as poverty, gender inequity, and poor communication systems that contribute to delays in timely accessing MNH services.

59.2.2 Maternal Health in Kenya

In Kenya, maternal health has been a critical issue with due reference to the vision 2030 goal of reducing infant mortality rate and accelerating skilled birth attendance (KPSA 2011, p. 111). Of concern is the fact that a number of expectant mothers still lose their lives due to maternity and childbirth complications. For instance, it is estimated that Kenya loses 488 mothers out of 100,000 births per year mainly because women do not give birth under the care of skilled health providers. A report by NCAPD (2010) indicates that infant mortality rate (IMR) in Kenya is high with Western Province recording comparatively higher percentages. These high rates are attributed to well-known and preventable (both direct and indirect) causes. These causes would easily be managed when a woman delivers in a health facility under the care of a trained facility health staff who ensure that mothers have access to a facility that is equipped and staffed with personnel who could assist in case of an emergency such as cesarean. A report by (UNESCO 1990) indicates that education is linked to child health through its influence on the ability of women being autonomous in decision making within their families; it determines how much power a woman wields in the marital relationship. Usually, women are the primary caregivers in households, and in most cases, the first person in the home to recognize that a child is sick is usually the mother.

Dissemination of information and utilization of health-care services in rural areas is thus very important for the preservation of good health among the rural population. Magadi (2000) points out that apart from mere attendance of antenatal care, the quality of care received (in terms of the timing and frequency of visits as well as the content of the care) plays a key role for outcomes (p. 96). Lack of maternal-child knowledge leading to failure in seeking and utilizing skilled maternal-child health services has been the major cause of infant and child mortality, especially in rural areas. There is a need to empower maternal health patients in Kenya and specifically in rural areas to gain information on how to improve their health status and meet this Sustainable Development Goal. This is only possible if appropriate communication systems are developed to transmit information among the patients. Berry (2007) confirms that good communication contributes virtually to all aspects of healthcare. Berry further argues that a substantial body of evidence shows that patients who are attended to by health providers with good communication skills have better health outcomes (p. x).

Mefalopulos (2005, p. 248) says that achieving sustainability in rural development depends largely on the way stakeholders perceive the proposed change and the way they are involved in assessing and deciding about how that change should be achieved. Implementing strategic communication approaches to the rural communities could be one of the essential ways to change the status of a rural community. There are different ways in which maternal-child health patients receive appropriate health knowledge, thereby influencing their perception and reaction to maternal-child health utilization. Acquisition of maternal-child health knowledge influences a great deal of the decision a patient makes and hence pregnancy outcome and the survival of the newborn. Bandura (1986) states that human learning can occur through observation. He says that much of the human learning takes place through other people modeling various behavior that they are able to encounter in their day to day life.

59.3 Dissemination of Maternal Health Knowledge

Information about maternal health is crucial to a patient as it can either hamper or influence the usage of skilled health services depending on how the patients interpret, discuss, and make sense of the maternal health messages received. Communication and education is very important, especially to the rural women seeking maternal health care, given that it is a population with the greatest disparities in pregnancy outcomes. Campaigns in Kenya about maternal-child health have had little effect in reducing maternal and child mortality. This may be because most of these campaigns have been through the mass media which may not be accessible to the rural population. This corroborates Kamali's documentation that for communication to be improved successfully in rural areas, participatory communication must be embraced (Kamali 2007); this involves the consumers of communication also being the designers of that communication. Williams (2006) also acknowledges that in poor communities, informal communication strategies such as street theater can serve to inform the marginalized about community health issues.

59.3.1 Maternal-Child Health and Maternal-Child Health Knowledge

Information about maternal-child health is crucial to a patient as it can either hamper or influence the usage of skilled health services depending on how they interpret, discuss, and make sense of the maternal-child health messages received. In a report by the Kenya Demographic Health Survey (KDHS) (2009), rural women are less likely than their urban counterparts to get antenatal care from a doctor, and they are more likely to get no care at all. The report further points out that the proportion of babies delivered in health facilities reduce the health risks to both the mother and the baby. This is because proper medical attention and hygienic conditions during delivery reduce the risk of complications and infection that cause morbidity and mortality either to the mother or child.

59.4 Maternal Health Communication

Maternal health communication is aimed at changing knowledge, attitudes, and behavior of maternal-child health patients, and this communication's success depends largely on the partnership between the caregiver and the client. The strategy should be able to meet the needs of the patients so that it is economically, socially, and culturally sensitive to the needs of the patients. The caregivers should involve the patients and the community in developing behavior and social change communication strategies. Rosato et al. (2009) document that Malawi has a neonatal mortality rate of 27 per 1,000 live births, an infant mortality rate of 76 per 1,000 live births, and an under-five mortality rate of 111 per 1,000 live births. They further point out that to scale up the progress toward achieving the millennium goal 4, behavior change communication should play a central position in efforts to improve health in rural areas by disseminating health education messages to the local communities. Kenya Demographic Health Survey (2009), maintains that rural women in Kenya are less likely than their urban counterparts to get antenatal care from a doctor, and they are more likely to get no care at all.

There has been a growing focus on communication as a vehicle that can ensure good health among populations as opposed to the treatment of illnesses. Thomas (2006) confirms that the process of communication is critical in the implementation of health communication since it is often through the process that the right influence can be attained to improve health behavior.

Heavy investment in health may not be a prerequisite for success in maternal health; however, appropriate communication between the service provider and the client plays an important role. Communication as a tool should be developed to bring about meaningful behavior changes through interpersonal communications between the maternal-child health patients and health providers.

The health communication strategy used should attempt to increase women's power to choose and access quality maternal-child health services. It should ensure that critical understandable health information is disseminated from the relevant sources to the audiences. The communication process involves dialogue and exchange of information so that the participants build a platform of understanding, negotiation, and decision-making. Dagron (2001) acknowledges that establishing dialogue with beneficiaries of maternal health care during a health campaign builds up a sense of "ownership" by the community, hence contributing to behavior change among the users.

An appropriate communication must therefore make sure that the focus shifts from mere information-giving approach to an information-sharing approach so that there is a continuous exchange of ideas, feelings, or information between health providers and clients.

59.4.1 Maternal Health Campaigns

Effective health promotion and communication initiatives should often adopt an audience-centered approach so that the patients' needs are taken care of. This further

ensures that patients are not just passive recipients of information but that they are also active contributors to health information through dialogue. Dialogue creates an opportunity for the patients to share their ideas, perceptions, and attitudes during meetings. The traditional forms of communication have not served well in disseminating maternal-child health, and there is a need to adopt new approaches in maternal health campaigns. According to Snyder (2007), campaigns may use a variety of communication strategies to try to change the behavior of the target populations, including strategies that attempt to change the political and economic context in which people are making decisions, those aimed directly at the populations and those aimed at people who may have influence with the target population. Behavior change communication (BCC) strategies used in health campaigns endeavor to break the societal barriers to behavior change; they use communication activities to help change the community's perceptions and beliefs about childbirth.

59.5 Results

The section presents results of an investigation that we did in one of the counties in Kenya to assess level of maternal-child health knowledge among the rural population, establish the extent to which health provider-patient communication influences the outcome, and find out the different strategies that can be used to promote maternal-child health-care utilization.

59.5.1 Levels of Maternal Health Knowledge Among the Patients

Empowering women by removing barriers to accessing skilled facility services would call for improvement of maternal-child health knowledge among the patients. This knowledge can be disseminated through appropriate communication which would function as a catalyst for behavior change. Health education campaigns should be aimed at creating public awareness. The communication strategies need to stress and consider social, economic, and cultural factors that inhibit utilization of skilled facility care.

The respondents were asked to state why they felt it was important to access and utilize facility maternal-child health services. Various reasons were given in regard to this. Table 1 shows some of the reasons given by the respondents.

It is evident that community health workers (CHWs) play a vital role in terms of maternal-child health service utilization. It was established that 23.3% of the respondents visited the clinic simply because of the advice from a CHW. The findings revealed that while mass media has been one of the ways of disseminating maternal information through mobilizing pregnant women to access and utilize maternal-child health services, it is not the best method as it was more likely to be utilized by the urban population than the rural population afflicted by issues of poverty, ignorance, and lack of infrastructure.

Table 1 Reasons for attending antenatal clinic, respective frequencies, and percentages

Reason for attending clinic	Frequency	Percent
Advice from CHW	7	23.3
Advice from FHS	3	10.0
Know HIV status	2	6.7
Know status of child	9	30.0
Mandatory	1	3.3
Seeing other women going	1	3.3
Sickness feeling	7	23.3
Total	**30**	**100.0**

Source: Research data. This is the data that was generated by the researcher during the field study. The researcher is the author of the article.

59.5.2 Influence of Provider-Patient Communication on Maternal-Child Health Outcomes

Communication between the health provider and the patient enhances dissemination of important maternal-child health knowledge. This facilitates appropriate decision-making so that the health provider and the patient can share and exchange views. The health provider needs to be knowledgeable about the patient's community and understand their cultural context in order to make communication successful. Table 2 shows a summary of the methods respondents used to receive maternal-child health information.

According to the survey, information at the facility through the facility health staff and posters which are placed at the waiting bays of the various health facilities scored highly with 50% of the respondents approving them as appropriate channels to receive information.

59.5.3 Communication Strategies in Disseminating Maternal-Child Health Knowledge

According to the findings, improving maternal health in rural areas may not be achievable unless appropriate communication strategies are mainstreamed in maternal health campaigns. This could be through community-based health education, local media, chiefs'*mabaraza*, or door-to-door campaigns. The dissemination of information on maternal-child health is a key factor to the utilization of maternal-child health services. A total of 30 antenatal patients filled the questionnaires and 8 of them were interviewed. A majority of the respondents acknowledged that chiefs'*mabaraza* (50%) could be utilized as key avenues for dissemination of information, especially in rural areas. This was followed by CHWs constituting 23.3%. These two strategies were more accessible to the rural women. One of the respondents said that:

Table 2 Channels used to disseminate maternal-child health information

Method	Frequency	Percent
Relative/friend	3	10.0
Chief barazas	1	3.3
CHWs	7	23.3
Information at facility/interactive posters	15	50.0
Mass media	4	13.3
Total	**30**	**100.0**

Source: Research data. This is the data that was generated by the researcher during the field study. The researcher is the author of the article.

Table 3 Channels used to disseminate maternal-child health information

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Source: Research data. This is the data that was generated by the researcher during the field study. The researcher is the author of the article.

> Messages from the chief baraza or a "community worker" can be clarified and substantiated as opposed to those we "hear" from radios.

According to her, community outreach programs offer an opportunity for patients to ask for clarification and questions on issues that are not clear. She further said that chiefs'*mabaraza* are communal media since they act as a forum where one meets masses of people and disseminates information to them.

The church was also singled out as one avenue to disseminate maternal-child health messages. In churches, clinics, schools and at funerals or traditional ceremonies, people often get information on the current affairs in the community, providing them with a platform to communicate and discuss their views, hence shaping the sociocultural and economic status of the community.

Table 3 shows a summary of the methods respondents preferred for disseminating maternal-child health information.

59.6 Conclusion

The quantity and quality of information that a maternal-child patient can access greatly influence the decision taken in terms of accessing and utilizing maternal-child health services. It is evident from the data analysis in this chapter that various

communication strategies influence the utilization of skilled facility health care. It is only upon embracing appropriate communication strategies that both maternal and child mortality in Africa can be reduced. These strategies have to be interactive and participatory. Communication between the health provider and the patient enhances dissemination of important maternal-child health knowledge. Patients, if given appropriate maternal-child health service information, tend to access and utilize the health facilities. Education on maternal-child health issues should be geared toward behavior change among the maternal-child health patients. The social cognitive theory is instrumental here as it dictates the behavior change strategy. Communication messages should therefore be generated from the maternal-child health patients themselves or those they can identify with. Messages from Community Health Volunteers previously referred to as community health workers are likely to be believed than the ones from the media. Mainstreaming strategic communication could ensure dissemination of significant maternal-child health knowledge which will in turn influence behavior change. This hence means that communication interventions are responsible for individual and communal behavior change as they help people acquire the knowledge and skills they need to improve their condition and that of society and to improve the effectiveness of institutions.

Lack of information, ignorance, poor attitudes toward utilization of skilled maternal-child health services, and poor infrastructure contribute to non-utilization of skilled maternal-child health services including defaulting on immunization. These impact on preservation of health and thus failure to achieve MDG 4.

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Impact of the Dominant Discourses in Global Policymaking on Commercial Sex Work on HIV/STI Intervention Projects Among Commercial Sex Workers

60

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Contents

60.1 Introduction 1076
60.2 The Global Discourse on Sex Work 1077
60.2.1 Impact on HIV/AIDS Policy Formulation and Legislation: The Global Conflation of Trafficking and Sex Work 1077
60.2.2 A Pejorative Framing of Sex Work 1079
60.2.3 The Discourse of "Rescue" and "Rehabilitation" 1079
60.3 A Study of Sex Workers' Voices 1080
60.3.1 Sonagachi Women: Disarticulating Trafficking and Sex Work 1081
60.3.2 Re-articulation of Sex Work: Demanding Legitimacy 1083
60.3.3 Rescue and Rehabilitation of Sex Workers 1086
60.4 Commercial Sex Work and Ground Realities 1088
References 1089

Abstract

This chapter examines how dominant discourses in policymaking in the realm of commercial sex work and international aid affect health communication practices in HIV/STI intervention among commercial sex workers. The policy documents of global HIV/STI research and aid organizations often actively conflate commercial sex work and trafficking. The choice of the profession of sex work is depicted as an outcome of coercion facilitated by trafficking. Sex workers are portrayed as victims of abuse as well as sexual servitude. Volition on part of sex workers in executing their profession is not acknowledged by many US and global donor organizations. Delegitimization and eradication of sex work, and rescue and rehabilitation of the sex workers, are propositions supported by some

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of the international donor organizations. The conflation of trafficking and sex work can problematize health promotion among sex workers and jeopardize HIV/STI intervention projects. The chapter explores how the delegitimization of sex work, rescue, and rehabilitation propositions offered to sex workers and conflating trafficking with sex work affect HIV/AIDS intervention programs among commercial sex workers. The chapter also looks at a case study conducted among commercial female sex workers in a red light district in India and takes into account the voices of commercial female sex workers on the proposed equation of trafficking and sex work and how it affects HIV/STI intervention project in that population.

Keywords

Commercial sex work · Trafficking · Global policymaking · HIV/AIDS intervention programs · Coercion · Sexual servitude · Rescue and rehabilitation · Delegitimization · Criminalization

60.1 Introduction

This chapter examines how dominant discourses in policymaking in the realm of commercial sex work and international aid affect health communication practices in HIV/STI intervention among commercial sex workers. The policy documents of global HIV/STI research and aid organizations often actively conflate commercial sex work and trafficking. The choice of the profession of sex work is depicted as an outcome of coercion facilitated by trafficking. Sex workers are portrayed as victims of abuse as well as sexual servitude. Volition on part of sex workers in executing their profession is not acknowledged by many US and global donor organizations. Delegitimization and eradication of sex work, and rescue and rehabilitation of the sex workers, are propositions supported by some of the international donor organizations. The conflation of trafficking and sex work can problematize health promotion among sex workers and jeopardize HIV/STI intervention initiatives. The chapter explores how the delegitimization of sex work, rescue, and rehabilitation propositions offered to sex workers and conflating trafficking with sex work affect HIV/AIDS intervention programs among commercial sex workers. The chapter also looks at a case study conducted among commercial female sex workers in a red light district in India and takes into account the voices of commercial female sex workers on the proposed equation of trafficking and sex work and how it affects HIV/STI intervention in that population.

The conflation of trafficking and sex work has been a recurrent phenomenon observable in national and global HIV/AIDS intervention and policy formulation circuits. Whether it is the Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report (2009) brought out by the United States government or the HIV/AIDS intervention documentation published by United Nations development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), trafficking is equated with sex work (termed prostitution in the aforesaid documents) and

recognized as one of the socio-behavioral factors that exacerbate health conditions by facilitating transmission of sexual diseases and HIV/AIDS. The sex workers are portrayed in the policy documents of international donor agencies as victims who are coerced into their profession by trafficking and have little agency on their own fates. The result is the proposition of eradication of sex work and rehabilitation of sex workers by most international donor agencies. The Global AIDS Program's "prostitution pledge" which specifically aims to purge trafficking and sex work imposes a restriction on organizations that strive for legalization, unionization, or organization of sex workers. Consequently, health intervention projects among commercial sex workers that also strive for the legalization of sex work are deprived from major global funding.

60.2 The Global Discourse on Sex Work

60.2.1 Impact on HIV/AIDS Policy Formulation and Legislation: The Global Conflation of Trafficking and Sex Work

The distinction between sex work and trafficking is not a well-defined one in the arena of global HIV/AIDS healthcare. "By some definitions, trafficking can be understood to involve coercion and forced labor, while prostitution infers the voluntary sale of sex. However, there is still not an agreed taxonomy of terms which renders discussion amongst different stakeholders concerned with HIV/AIDS, and the health and rights of people engaged in sex work, difficult" (UNAIDS issue paper, 2003, p. 2). Although the term trafficking in persons can refer to both genders and children, the emphasis put by policymakers on HIV/AIDS communication intervention lies on the trafficking of women and children for sexual purposes.

The United States Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act. Section 103 (8), defines several forms of trafficking in persons such as "sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud and coercion" and "the recruitment harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage or slavery" (TIP report 2009, p. 1). The TIP report (2009, pp. 21–22) further notes that:

> Sex trafficking comprises a significant portion of overall human trafficking. When a person is coerced, forced, or deceived into prostitution, or maintained in prostitution through coercion, that person is a victim of trafficking. All of those involved in recruiting, transporting, harboring, receiving, or obtaining the person for that purpose have committed a trafficking crime.

The TIP report does not make a strong distinction between sex work and trafficking. The articulation of sex work as intrinsically related to be an offshoot of trafficking is a process undertaken by several global HIV/AIDS donor agencies. Sex

workers are portrayed as victims of abuse who are duped or coerced into their profession by the menace of trafficking. The conflation of trafficking and sex work can problematize development and healthcare activism among sex workers and jeopardize HIV/AIDS intervention initiatives (Ditmore 2003). Such an equation of trafficking with sex work is promoted vigorously by anti-trafficking organizations active in the United States and globally.

A UNAIDS issue paper (2003) on HIV/AIDS and human rights notes that there has been an "alarming shift" in policy formulation and programmatic support for HIV/AIDS intervention geared toward sex workers (p. 1). The issue paper says that the distinction between trafficking and sex work has become increasingly blurred as a consequence of which protection of the rights and health of the sex workers are being jeopardized. Restrictive policies by governments, such as stringent immigration laws, manage to keep the sex workers underground, especially those who have been trafficked or else living as illegal migrants:

> The vulnerability of women in prostitution and sex work is heightened because they are often subjected to sexual abuse at the hands of authorities, petty political leaders, immigration and police officials, as well as local criminal gangs. Forcible detention, lack of access to redress, police corruption, and the invisibility of women engaged in sex work only compound vulnerability to HIV infection, and once infected, hinder the ability to access needed care and support. (UNAIDS issue paper 2003, p. 1)

The UNAIDS issue paper (2003) emphasizes how the repressive nature of most strategies intended to combat trafficking neglects to address the issue of vulnerability of the trafficked people, some of whom may engage in prostitution. Policy formulation and programmatic responses to HIV/AIDS among sex workers are often motivated by a moralistic standing on sex work itself and a lack of consideration of the socioeconomic compulsions of the trafficking victims (Butcher 2003; Wolffers and Beelan 2003). Sex workers are routinely pathologized as conduits of virus transmission rather than as being vulnerable to the virus.

An example is the moralistic stance adopted by the United States on HIV/AIDS policymaking. In January 2003, the then United States President George W. Bush announced the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). It comprised $15 billion dollars for programs to combat the global HIV/AIDS epidemic. Within the detailed plan, Congress noted its concern about the sociocultural, economic, and behavioral causes of HIV/AIDS. Prostitution and sex trafficking were specifically named as being the behavioral forces behind the spread of the virus (Masenior and Beyrer 2007). "This legislation advanced a new policy goal for the US: the global eradication of prostitution" (Masenior and Beyrer 2007, p. 1158).

The conditions for receiving grants for countering HIV/AIDS were based on an explicit relationship between HIV/AIDS prevention and the abolition of prostitution. The requirement for receiving AIDS funds from the United States needed the intended recipient to have "a policy explicitly opposing prostitution and sex trafficking and certification of compliance with the 'Prohibition on the Promotion and Advocacy of the Legalization or Practice of Prostitution or Sex Trafficking,' which applies to all organization activities, including those with funding from private

grants" (Masenior and Beyrer 2007, p. 1158). Hence one of the requirements of the Global AIDS Program – "the prostitution pledge" – rendered organizations that strive for legalization, unionization, and organization of sex workers ineligible for obtaining much needed funds from USAID.

60.2.2 A Pejorative Framing of Sex Work

The Global AIDS Program's usage of the term prostitution, as Masenior and Beyrer (2007) observe, is in itself controversial as people associated with the profession generally tend to refer to themselves as sex workers rather than prostitutes. The latter term is widely considered as stigma-inducing and derogatory. "The core debate is that for many stakeholders, the category of sex workers includes consenting adults who sell sex of their own volition, who are not trafficking victims, and who have called for recognition of their rights as worker" (Masenior and Beyrer 2007, p. 1159).

However such a volition on part of sex workers in executing their profession is not acknowledged by many US and global donor organizations. The articulation of sex workers as passive victims of trafficking, abuse, and slavery-like practices has been a mainstay of global health policymakers especially those pertaining to HIV/AIDS prevention and intervention. The TIP report (2009) which equates sex work with trafficking refers to both activities as exploitation and servitude. The TIP report (2009) notes that "there can be no exceptions and no cultural or socioeconomic rationalizations that prevent the rescue ..from sexual servitude" (p. 22). UNIFEM which explicitly portrays sex workers as victims of trafficking and coercion vocalizes the need for "control and suppression of prostitution through the legal system," "rescue and rehabilitation for women and girl victims of trafficking," and "supply reduction through the provision of alternative employment and income-earning opportunities for women and girls" (UNIFEM Factsheet 2009, p. 5).

Sex work can be exploitative and remains illegal in many countries. The population of sex workers remains a heavily deprived sector in dire need of services and support from health sectors to reduce their risk of venereal diseases and HIV/AIDS infection (Masenior and Beyrer 2007, p. 1159). But the propositions of global aid organizations like the Global AIDS Program has laid a funding freeze on those initiatives that strive for decriminalization or legalization of sex work. Thus, successful HIV/AIDS intervention projects that strive to vocalize the rights of the much maligned sex workers can lose out on funds from USAID for advocating legalization of prostitution.

60.2.3 The Discourse of "Rescue" and "Rehabilitation"

Combating sex work through "rescue" and "rehabilitation" of the women involved is a complex proposition. As Cohen (2005, p. 12) notes in a report published by Guttmacher report:

> The moral imperative to rescue women from brothels is compelling when young girls are involved or there is clear evidence of duress, but 'rescuing' adult women from brothels against their will can mean an end to their health care and economic survival. In countries and situations in which basic survival is a daily struggle, the distinction between free agency and oppression may be more a gray area than a bright line.

Cohen (2005) notes that sex workers may resist rehabilitation not because there may not be viable economic alternatives to sustain themselves and their families. Proposed rehabilitation of sex workers or coercive measures such as mandatory examination for HIV/AIDS and venereal diseases are often not feasible as shown by previous research. "Mandatory HIV testing of people who are or are assumed to be engaged in sex work, detention and specialized health and 'rehabilitation' services all may be understood to push the people engaged in this work further underground" (UNAIDS issue paper 2003, p. 2).

60.3 A Study of Sex Workers' Voices

The researcher sought the opinions of commercial sex workers themselves concerning the relationship of trafficking and sex work and volition in the trade. Interviews were conducted with 37 commercial female sex workers in a red light district called *Sonagachi* in Calcutta, India. With a population of more than 50,000 commercial sex workers, *Sonagachi* is one of the largest red light districts in South and Southeast Asia. The sex workers of *Sonagachi* are unionized and conducting a health intervention project by carrying out peer outreach-based campaigns to increase condom usage compliance and reduce rates of HIV and sexually transmitted infections (STI) among their colleagues.

The HIV/STI intervention project was originally started by the sex workers themselves to disseminate awareness information about STIs including HIV and arrest the infection incidence. A HIV infection incidence of 10% has been achieved which is significantly lower than 50% to 90% among similar red light areas in India. The usage of condoms among sex workers also improved from 3% to 90% during implementation of the project. Few of the additional outcomes of the project include the attainment of healthcare facilities for the sex workers and their children, creation of literacy programs and vocational training centers for the latter, and unionizing of the sex workers. The sex workers' union is called the *Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee* (DMSC), and it has offices in the heart of *Sonagachi* itself.

Structured and semi-structured interviews were conducted with the subjects at the DMSC offices and at their places of work. In *Sonagachi*, there are concentrated pockets of sex work zones amid regular neighborhoods. At the entrance of each neighborhood, the sex workers, who wear colorful garb and makeup, solicit for clients. This practice is colloquially referred to as "standing at the gates" and signifies the presence of sex work sites within the neighborhood. It needs to be noted that all of the interviewees were active members of the DMSC and were also peer outreach workers in the HIV/STI intervention project conducted by the union.

Most of the interviewees were heavily involved in the daily operations of the DMSC and various other projects. The subjects interviewed cannot be said to be representative of all the sex workers plying their trade within the borders of the red light district of Calcutta. However, their voices offer glimpses of the opinions of sex workers which traditionally go unheard and unrecognized in the public sphere.

Prior permission was obtained from the DMSC central governing committee before the commencement of any research and interviews. This permission was obtained by sending an application letter drafted in Bengali and addressed to the Central Management Committee of the DMSC headed by its president. Institutional Review Board (IRB) research approval was also received (Protocol # 13456). The narratives of the sex workers as gathered from the interviews will be discussed in the following sections.

60.3.1 Sonagachi Women: Disarticulating Trafficking and Sex Work

The interviews with the women at *Sonagachi* raise a question on the conflation of trafficking and sex work in global policy documents and the underlying assumption of coercion and sexual servitude in sex work. The USAID policy of refusing funding to organizations which try to legalize sex work is also rendered questionable by the interviewees' statements.

All of the 37 interviewees at the *Sonagachi* emphasized the distinction between trafficking and sex work. Eight of the interviewees noted the conflation between sex work and trafficking in general discourse about sex work. Three of the interviewees also pointed out how sex work is perceived as trafficking and hence considered a punishable criminal offence by the media and the intelligentsia in India. Sapna excitedly noted, "We are considered to be sex slaves and sold or trafficked into this profession by the media, by all the important people and by the entire society. Why doesn't anybody ask us?"

When questioned whether women are coerced or trafficked into this profession, 36 of the 37 interviewees noted that they had entered the profession of their own accord and have not been trafficked or sold or coerced into sex work. One of the interviewees however stated that she was introduced to sex work against her will by a close family member. She noted that after initial abuse, she managed to break ties with an exploitative brothel-owner and conducted the profession independently by renting rooms within the red light area. She continued in the profession since, according to her, it provided her a steady source of income. She added that her forced introduction into the profession occurred almost 40 years ago, and the current mechanism of self-regulatory boards, which DMSC had installed, prevented cases like hers today.

The reason for the *Sonagachi* women engaging in sex work appeared to be primarily economic. 19 of the interviewees, which is 54.2% of the sample size, mentioned financial exigencies as a reason for entering the profession. Twelve of the interviewees noted that they could afford a comfortable standard of living by sex work. Nine of the interviewees observed being subjected to violence by spouse or a

family member prior to entering sex work. Sapna said, "My partner beat me up to the point of breaking my limbs. I had nobody in this world. The red light area was my refuge for it gave me the income to survive and escape my partner."

Thirteen of the interviewees reported sexual assault in prior professions which included domestic sector work, construction work, brick kiln labor, and secretarial jobs. Krishna who had previously worked a secretarial job recalled how she had been sexually harassed by her employer during her tenure. "I was compelled to offer sexual favors to my boss. Yet my salary was a pittance. I was finding it really hard to make ends meet. Well, then I decided I might as well get paid for sex."

Interviewees also noted the mechanism of sexual harassment in place in construction and menial labor industries in India. "To get a job and maintain it in bricklaying, masonry and construction, you have to sleep with the *rajmistri* (*Rajmistri* refers to head mason in Bengali), his assistant and respective subordinates. You need to keep them happy and also do back-breaking physical work to earn your meager salary," noted Purnima. Her views echoed that of Krishna: "You see after being exploited by a string of supervisors I decided if I give my sex I might as well get paid for it." Sapna recounts being raped by her employer while working as a domestic helper. "No more free and forced sex," she quipped.

All of the 37 interviewees emphasized the harmful effects of trafficking and the emergent need to curb trafficking. Seventeen of the interviewees acquiesced that women are often trafficked into sex work. The porous border between Bangladesh and India was noted to be a reason for easy trafficking of women for sex trade in the Indian side. The interviewees also noted that women from Nepal are trafficked into India to work in red light areas in and around Eastern India. Sadhana notes:

> I will not say that sex workers are not trafficked, yes sometimes they are. But many times they are not trafficked against their will. It often happens that they will pay an agent for trafficking them across the border for work. Many girls come in from across the (Indian) border to work in *Sonagachi*. Why do you think they come? It is because they have heard of this place. They know they can earn some money from sex work and feed their family. What is a girl who is extremely poor and has no education and has five or ten mouths to feed work in? She knows sex work can provide her a steady source of income. She needs sex work to survive, to provide for herself and for her family. When it comes to hunger there is no good profession or bad profession.

According to the interviewees, a mechanism for paying traffickers and sneaking across the Indian border appear to be in place in many places of Bangladesh and Nepal. But it is noted that these women aid in their own trafficking and come voluntarily – their motivation is earning money through sex work in India and sustaining their families in the neighboring countries. The Indian government's attempt to curb trafficking across borders and stem the flow of potential sex work seekers has been futile so far according to Rama:

> The government has tried to seal the borders before and it is still trying to do so now. What is the result of that? Has it succeeded in reducing trafficking? No, it has not. Thousands have crossed the border seeking to work in *Sonagachi* in spite of government efforts. Trafficking will not stop and the entry of women into this profession will not stop. Do you know why? It

> is because there is a huge demand for this profession. And then there is hunger. Who will feed them and their children? The government does not provide food, it only provides laws and bans.

The sex workers' entry into this profession is thus noted to be voluntary and sometimes a result of their own collusion with traffickers. This is in direct disagreement with current policy research documents on sex work and HIV/AIDS intervention most of which characterize sex workers as victims of trafficking, coercion, and sexual servitude.

The single interviewee who said she was forced into this profession noted that she did not leave sex work even when she got a chance as it gave her a steady and secured source of income. Seven of the interviewees stated that sex work was not the primary source of income and they had additional means of sustenance such as small businesses. Eight of the interviewees did not live within the perimeters of the red light district and were daily and weekly commuters to *Sonagachi*. The presupposition of coercion into sex work and sexual servitude in the profession as advocated by HIV/AIDS global policy documents appears to be in direct contradiction to the testimonies of the interviewed women of *Sonagachi*. The interviewed sex workers enter the profession of their own volition – this is emphasized by Bisakha:

> I am here working in this profession out of my own free will. Nobody has forced me into this profession. If I go to work as a domestic help in somebody's house I am going there voluntarily, right? Similarly when I come here to work as a sex worker I come voluntarily. I am not compelled by anyone. Why do people think that sex workers are sex slaves? I think it is because they make their own ideas, they do not care to ask the opinion of sex workers.

60.3.2 Re-articulation of Sex Work: Demanding Legitimacy

One of the important findings from the interviews was the sex workers' re-articulation of issues related to sex work – including the status of sex work itself – and demanding for legitimization. Sex work was asserted to be a valid form of employment whose legalization and decriminalization were demanded. The rights of the sex workers to demand benefits such as healthcare for themselves and educational opportunities for their children were emphasized by the interviewees.

The interviewees also laid importance on the rights for self-determination which included the right to choose the occupation of a sex worker as a livelihood without interference from legal, social, and moral authorities. As the manifesto produced by DMSC (2009) asserted, "Sex work needs to be seen as a contractual service, negotiated between consenting adults. In such a service contract there ought to be no coercion or deception. DMSC is against any force exercised against sex workers, be it by the client, labor contractors of the sex sector, room owners, pimps, local goons, the police or the traffickers" (p. 1). Legalization of the profession was noted to be a necessary step for protecting the health and securing the rights of the sex workers.

The initiatives of the *Sonagachi* women to promote sex work as a legitimate form of labor are in direct opposition to the agenda of many global HIV/AIDS policymakers and international legal resolutions that intend to curb trafficking. The latter portray sex work as a profession interrelated to and produced by trafficking itself. Hence sex work is often articulated by these agencies as a profession incompatible to human dignity and welfare and which needed to be delegitimized on an urgent basis.

The USAID grant policy explicitly stresses the need to eradicate sex work to counter the impact of HIV/AIDS and ensure global health. Some feminist scholars supported policies seeking a legal ban on sex work and endeavoring to rehabilitate the sex workers and eliminate the profession all together. An example may be cited in the words of Hughes (2000):

> Prostitution and trafficking are extreme forms of gender discrimination and exist as a result of the powerlessness of women as a class. Sexual exploitation is more than an act; it is a systematic way to abuse and control women that socializes and coerces women and girls until they comply, take ownership of their own subordinate status, and say, "I choose this." Legalization of this violence to women restricts women's freedom and citizenship rights. If women are allowed to become a legitimate commodity, they are consigned to a second-class citizenship. No state can be a true democracy, if half of its citizens can potentially be treated as commodities

The interviews obtained by the researcher make it apparent that the women of *Sonagachi* might disagree with Hughes and many international policymakers. All of the 37 interviewees noted sex work to be a valid form of labor. Two of the interviewees admitted that their profession was morally questionable according to social norms but added that sex work should be considered to be a legitimate vocation. All of the interviewees wanted their profession to be given legal status. Decriminalization of sex work was noted to be an emergent need to protect the rights of the sex workers and to establish and maintain the reduction of HIV/AIDS and STI infection incidence.

All of the 37 interviewees emphasized sex work to be like any other job. Santana noted:

> Our profession helps us to sustain our families, our children. We work hard, use our bodies to make our clients happy and earn money to survive. How are we different from workers who use manual labor to make an income? How are we different from government workers who work hard in their offices to feed and educate their children? At least we do not engage in corruption like some of the government officials do. The money we make comes in exchange of hard physical labor to make our clients happy. If that is not a valid form of labor, then tell me what labor is?

Bishakha added:

> Our job involves its own sort of physical and mental exertion. Tell me which job does not create exertion? You are an interviewer, you have come here to interview me, for that you have woken up early in the morning. Haven't you undergone some exertion for your job of interviewing? But your work serves your interest for doing your study. Similarly my work

> also has its stresses but it looks after my interest—my interest of keeping myself and my family in comfort. Plus you like what you do, right? I also like what I do. So how is my work any less valid than yours or anybody else's? The people who want to ban sex work.. they are rich people. They sit high up, in air-conditioned rooms. They need to climb down a bit, to our level, to think like us.

Criminalization of sex work was questioned and strongly castigated by the interviewees. The latter noted the propensity among media and sections of society in general to equate sex work with criminal activity in an endeavor to ban it. Krishna observed:

> Sometimes people tell us sex work is criminal, it is akin to stealing, robbing and murder. They say if sex work is to be legalized then one should legalize stealing, robbing and murder too. I would like to remind them that stealing, robbing and murder cause fear, anxiety and grief. But the clients of sex workers come to them to get sexual service, and pleasure. Nobody can say that the sex workers cause fear, anxiety and grief to the clients. If they had, the clients would not have been coming back again and again. Well somebody from the media once asked me that one may get happiness by taking heroin and marijuana, in that case should the seller of these drugs be given legal status? I would like to add here that heroin and marijuana ruin a person's health. It is a proven fact, is it not? But show me one study which says a client having sex with a sex worker using condoms is ruining his health.

One of the primary demands of DMSC was reiterated in the words of the interviewees – "*gautore khatiye khai, taai sromiker adhikar chaai*" which translates as "we use our bodies to work hard, so we need to get legitimate worker rights." Eight of the interviewees noted their work to be a part of service industry. "We provide service to our clients" and "we are part of the service industry" were reiterated by a number of interviewees.

Of the 37 interviewees, 15 noted sex work to be akin to entertainment work. Kalavati said, "We entertain our clients. We provide them happiness. Our job is similar to that of actors, singers, artists and other entertainment professionals." Bishakha noted, "We give pleasure and we take money for it, that is our job. Our profession is similar to that of entertainment workers."

All of the 37 interviewees emphasized the drawbacks of delegitimization of sex work. Fourteen noted how rendering sex work illegal created an unsafe environment for the sex workers and hindered the implementation of safe sex practices. Kalavati said:

> See when our profession is illegal what will the women do? They will have to earn a living after all. Else who will feed the kids? So they go in hiding. They do their trade in hidden and dark lanes and allies. The chances of violence against them in such hidden locations increase. The anti-socials will target these women. Rape the women, and no money paid. And safe sex, condoms. . .there is no safe sex in rape.

Kajal adds:

> Our profession is illegal. We are criminals according to law. So if we get raped what justice can we get? The police can tell us, in fact the police had told us in the past that a criminal

> cannot get raped. And sex workers who live on their sex cannot get raped. And yes, the police has raped us in the past. But now with *Durbar* we have learnt how to live with our heads high. The police is wary of us because of our union, they register our complains, treat us with respect. But what happens to the sex workers in other states of India? They are raped regularly, by clients, pimps, police. There is no justice, for where is the crime? The sex workers are criminals, their profession is illegal. Do you think rapists use condoms? I tell the government that if they want to stop HIV then make sex work legal. Give these women a solid ground to stand on, to protest and make their demands known.

From the interviews it becomes apparent that delegitimization and criminalization compel sex workers to operate in subterfuge, such as in dark and isolated geographical spots. Their attempt at concealment in order to escape from detection and prosecution by law enforcement agencies exacerbated their vulnerability to rape and assault. Such sexual violence rarely includes safe sex measures, and hence the chances of HIV/AIDS and STI infection transmission are greatly increased. Legalization and decriminalization of sex work are noted by the interviewees to be a step in the right direction for HIV/AIDS harm reduction and securing the rights and health of the average sex worker.

The interviewees stressed that unionization enabled them to fight the violence and stigmatization imposed by their illegal and criminal status. A stronger sense of self-belief and confidence in their chosen profession reinforced the demand for formal legalization. The futility of the logic that upheld banning sex work for moral and health reason was also discussed by the interviewees. Sapna said:

> We believe that banning sex work is not the answer. Banning sex work will not be a solution to any problem. Tell me why there is sex work? It is because sex work has always been in demand through the ages. It is in demand now and it will be in demand in the future. More so in the future perhaps. Whenever there is a demand there is a supply. Sex work cannot be banned and it cannot be wished away. We are here to stay. Sooner people understand this, the better.

The emphasis is thus on the welfare of the women who are "here to stay" by legalizing and decriminalizing them. As Sadhana observed, "Our clients are not criminals and neither are we. They come in pursuit of physical pleasure and happiness which we give to them. We are adults and there is no crime in that."

60.3.3 Rescue and Rehabilitation of Sex Workers

The TIP report of 2009 which equated sex work with trafficking and sexual servitude noted that there can be no exception to rescue of sex workers and rehabilitation from sex work. The USAID funding policy guided by the Global AIDS Act propounds rescue and rehabilitation of sex workers to be one of the targeted goals in HIV/AIDS intervention projects. In order to achieve this objective, the Global AIDS Act deprives organizations that do not strive for the rescue and rehabilitation of sex workers from receiving any funding.

Indian legislation on sex work criminalizes sex workers, their clients, pimps, and brothel owners subjecting them to a fine and imprisonment of 3 to 5 years on prosecution. The clause 2(f) of the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act (ITA) of India defines sex work as prostitution which is "sexual exploitation or abuse of persons for commercial purposes or for consideration of money or in any other kind" (Government of India publication 2009, p. 1). The clause 4(a) of the ITA also criminalizes sustenance of a sex worker's earnings which creates a precarious situation for the offspring and family members of the sex workers. The articulation of sex work as an unlawful and oppressive vocation leaves the sex workers as illegal beings themselves with little rights or opportunities.

However the interviews with the sex workers of *Sonagachi* showed that propositions of rescue and rehabilitation were not considered to be feasible options. Rather the interviewees considered the rehabilitation approach impracticable for several reasons. One of the reasons voiced against the rescue and rehabilitation option was that such a proposition violated the rights of the sex workers as a legitimate labor group. Fourteen of the interviewees subscribed to this notion that rescue and rehabilitation entailed the violation of the rights and dignity of a sex worker. The interviewees noted that rehabilitation is applicable for the poor and destitute, the homeless, and the dispossessed. The sex workers were noted to belong to none of the aforesaid categories. The interviewees also noted that individuals in dangerous or coercive situation have to be rescued. The sex workers were pursuing their vocation voluntarily and were not in distressed circumstances. Hence the proposition of rescuing the sex workers was questionable. Santana noted:

> Well, if they have to rehabilitate, why don't they rehabilitate the homeless people, the people displaced by floods, the street dwellers who are starving? We are not starving, we have a job. Why don't they rehabilitate the poor beggars? Does the government classify us as beggars. We are not beggars. We have a job. We can look after ourselves and our families. We don't need rehabilitation.

The rescue proposition was also repudiated by the interviewees. Rama remarked:

> What are they rescuing us from? From our professions? We are adult women who have engaged in this profession willingly. Nobody has sold us into this, nobody is forcibly keeping us in this. Why do we need to be rescued then? Is it because the government or the outside agencies cannot accept the fact that we follow our profession voluntarily? Does it pain them to accept that we sell sex willingly?

Most of the interviewees seemed to hold the assumption that the rescue and rehabilitation proposition for sex workers had moralistic undertones. Such schemes framed by moralistic motives were noted to be in violation of the dignity of the sex worker and her profession.

Another reason for repudiating the rescue/rehabilitation proposition was economic. It was noted by 16 interviewees that rehabilitation was not feasible for financial reasons, for the income generated by sex work was often greater than that gained from suggested alternate professions. These women noted that sex

workers were mostly illiterate and lacked educational skills that would enable them to be placed in anything other than minimum wage jobs. The alternative professions suggested to the sex workers by government agencies were generally domestic help jobs and menial labor work. Alternative vocations like handicrafts and domestic labor which were considered "honorable" rehabilitation options for sex workers by aid agencies, government, and NGOs were not financially viable to be considered feasible. The interviewees were also extremely wary about the chances of sexual violation in the suggested alternative professions and hence questioned the moral ground of such rehabilitation proposition.

Another reason for dismissing the rehabilitation proposition was the prospect of sexual violation and exploitation in the process of rehabilitation itself. Eleven of the sex workers noted that such rehabilitation projects had failed previously because rehabilitated sex workers were often sexually harassed by the concerned officials engaged in the process.

No data could be obtained on sex workers who were rehabilitated by government or NGO initiatives to judge the success or the lack of it of such rehabilitation projects. It appeared from the interviewee's statements that such rescue and rehabilitation endeavors were often motivated by ulterior factors and were futile. However no relevant data on the subject could be found to verify or nullify these observations. The interviewees may be motivated by a sense of skepticism against external intervention that prompted them to view any such rescue and rehabilitation endeavor with skepticism. Logistical realities such as stigmatization, ostracization, and sexual harassment of rehabilitated sex workers might render such efforts futile. And sexual exploitation of sex workers by rehabilitation workers might be a reality in red light areas that unravel the impact of such external interventions.

60.4 Commercial Sex Work and Ground Realities

The study conducted with the sex workers in *Sonagachi* show that the interviewees' statements are in direct contradiction to some of the policies of global HIV/AIDS aid organizations. All of the interviewees noted the distinction between trafficking and sex work. Thirty-six of the thirty-seven interviewees had entered their vocation of their own accord. They have not been duped or coerced into sex work, neither were they kept in a state of servitude. The primary motivation of engaging in sex work was found to be economic. Trafficking was noted to be a present and persistent problem by the interviewees. But the latter also noted it to be a process aided and abated by desperately poor individuals striving to get into a vocation like sex work to sustain their family members.

The chapter does not purport to conclude that sex workers are not trafficked or coerced into their profession, but the study shows that not all sex workers are victims of trafficking and sexual servitude. In such a case, the application of policies and legislatures that uniformly treat them as victims of trafficking and sexual slavery might be impracticable. The interviews with the *Sonagachi* women indicate that they chose this profession under financial exigencies. Yet the interviewees asked their

choice of livelihood to be respected and not subjected to moralistic evaluation. They demand legalization and decriminalization of their vocation and acquisition of labor rights guided by international labor regulations.

Previous research shows that delegitimization and criminalization of sex work can jeopardize the health and safety of sex workers and increase unsafe sex practices and consequently HIV/AIDS infection rates. Heeding the cries for legalization and being granted labor rights can therefore ensure the sustainability of an already successful health outreach initiative among the sex workers. The rescue and rehabilitation propositions for sex workers are often not feasible options as shown by previous research. The interviews with the sex workers of *Sonagachi* show that the women emphasize the impracticability of these propositions and repudiate them vigorously. The ground realities of the trade, as indicated by the interviews, ensure that such rescue and rehabilitation schemes continue to fail. The interviewees also expressed serious reservations about the moral compunctions that precipitated such rescue and rehabilitation schemes. Evidently rescue and rehabilitation propositions are not always the appropriate objectives in health intervention projects among sex workers.

It appears that the population of *Sonagachi* would not be the suitable target population for rescue and rehabilitation schemes. Similarly there might be comparable groups of sex workers in India and globally among whom the application of rescue and rehabilitation options would not succeed. In such a situation, one is led to question the policies of the Global AIDS Act which deprives sex workers groups from funding if rescue and rehabilitation propositions are not implemented. A change in the policy of the Global AIDS Act and the USAID funding policy appears to be essential for the sake of many sex workers' groups across the globe.

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Designing and Distribution of Dementia Resource Book to Augment the Capacities of Their Caretakers

61

Avani Maniar and Khyati Deesawala

Contents

61.1 Introduction 1092
61.1.1 What Is Dementia? 1093
61.1.2 Which Dementia Care Services Are Available in India? 1099
61.1.3 How Can Designing a Resource Book on Dementia Be Helpful? 1104
61.2 How Was the Resource Book Designed, Distributed, and Checked for Its Effectiveness? 1105
61.2.1 Approach Used in Designing the Resource Book 1105
61.2.2 The Resource Book Distribution Approach 1107
61.2.3 Reactions to the Resource Book from Its Readers 1108
61.3 Conclusion 1115
61.4 Cross-References 1116
References 1116

Abstract

As per the estimates of the WHO, aging population is increasing in developing countries, and dementia is going to be epidemic among elderly in the coming decades. This demands early action to prevent the disease and treatment of the affected persons, which is poorly existed in middle- and low-income countries.

The need of the hour to tackle dementia in India is to estimate the disease burden in the community, search for risk and protective factors, and undertake measures to provide social benefits to the sufferers and those who are at risk. Raising awareness among the civil society is an important task ahead. Apart from that, family members and caregivers of dementia sufferers have to be very sensitive and resourceful while

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handling them. If they are well equipped to deal with the issue, positive results can be seen in their efforts.

Without proper information about dementia, the person and the family may respond in different ways which may aggravate the problems in dealing with dementia patients. Hence, to prepare family members and caregivers of dementia sufferers, a resource book in simple, nonmedical language with a lot of illustrations and variety of information is designed to help them and gain support for various issues while dealing with the patients.

The book chapter discusses the need for designing the resource book, the approach adopted while selecting and designing the book, and also the communication strategies used in distributing the resource book among its caretakers.

Keywords

Dementia · Resource book · Caretakers · Leaflet · Awareness · Old age · Capacity building

61.1 Introduction

The World Health Organization (1999) recognized that the developing world often defines an old age not by years but by new roles, loss of previous roles, or inability to make an active contribution to society. The age of 60 or 65, roughly equivalent to retirement ages in most developed countries, is said to be the beginning of old age. The WHO predicts that by the year 2025, about 75% of the estimated 1.2 billion people aged 60 years and older will reside in developing countries.

https://www.scribd.com/document/190077600/WHO-Definition-of-an-Older-or-Elderly-Person

The aging of the society comes along with several specific problems, i.e., physical and mental problems. The top five causes of death among older adults are heart disease, cancer, osteoporosis, cerebrovascular disease (relating to the blood vessels that supply the brain), pneumonia and flu, and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease. Hearing impairment among older adults is often moderate or mild, yet it is widespread; 48 percent of men and 37 percent of women over age 75 experience hearing difficulties. Visual changes among aging adults include problems with reading speed, seeing in dim light, reading the small print, and locating objects. By age 80, it's common to have lost as much as 2 inches (5 cm) in height. This is often related to normal changes in posture and compression of joints, spinal bones, and spinal discs. With age, the skin becomes less elastic and more lined and wrinkled (Brock 2014).

(http://hemispherespublishing.com/social-security-qualitative/)

He further mentioned that for most of the older adults, good health ensures independence, security, and productivity as they age. Yet millions struggle everyday with emotional and psychological stress closely related to loneliness, isolation, or loss of a loved one, along with emotional problems. Elderly also go through health and safety challenges such as chronic disease, dementia/Alzheimer's disease, diabetes, Parkinson's disease, and much more, and at times these dilemmas are not taken into account by the medical or healthcare system.

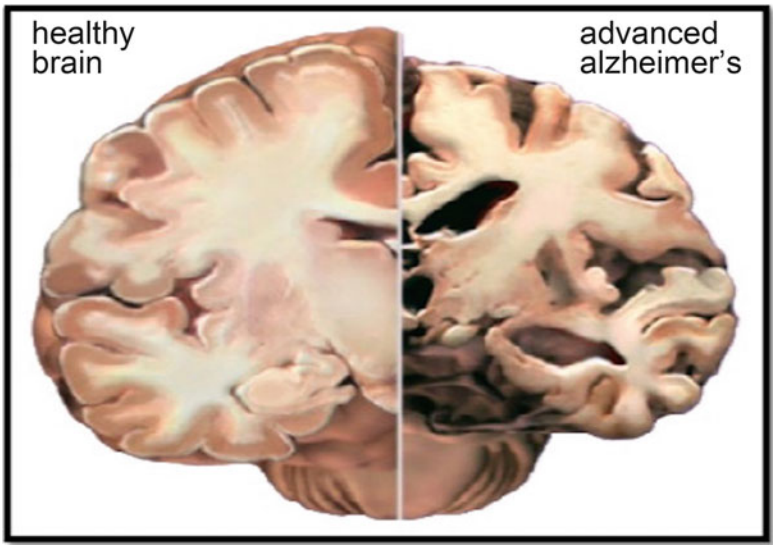
Das et al. (2012) while analyzing dementia scenario in India described about the number of people who may be affected by it. It is estimated that the number of people living with dementia will almost double every 20 years to 42.3 million in the year 2020 and 81.1 million in the year 2040. The rate of growth will be the highest around 336% in India, China, South Asia, and Western Pacific regions and 235–393% in Latin America and Africa and the lowest (100%) in developed regions. Based on the year 2001 global population, about 24.3 million have dementia, and 4.6 million incidents or new cases are added yearly.

As per global burden of disease study by WHO and World Bank, dementia contributes 4.1% of all disability-adjusted life years (DALYs). According to the Alzheimer's and Related Disorders Society of India (2010), in India, the number of people with the AD and other dementias is increasing every year because of the steady growth in the older population and stable increment in life expectancy. Thus, an estimated twofold increase by 2030 and threefold by 2050 can be expected. According to the Neurological Society of India, It is expected that the burden of dementia will be increasing in developing countries due to increase in longevity and increasing prevalence of risk factors such as hypertension and stroke and lifestyle changes.

http://www.neurologyindia.com/article.asp?issn=0028-3886;year=2012;volume=60;issue=6;spage=618;epage=624;aulast=Das

61.1.1 What Is Dementia?

According to ***Alzheimer's society***, the word dementia is defined as a set of symptoms that may include memory loss and difficulties with thinking, problem-solving, or language. These changes are often small to start with, but for someone with dementia, they become severe enough to affect their daily life. A person with dementia may also experience changes in their mood or behavior.



Source: https://goo.gl/329PY1

The people affected by dementia become easily confused and restless and perform repetitive actions. The patients can become irritable, agitated, and tearful. This scenario is stressing for both the patient and their family. Because of the frustration the patients feel about their condition, they can also develop depression and aggression and show improper sexual behavior and incontinence at times.

There is 1 out of 20 people over the age of 65 who can develop dementia. When the elderly are over the age of 85, there is a higher risk of developing dementia: one out of four elderly can develop the disorder. People who have been diagnosed with dementia before the age of 65 are very rare cases. This type of dementia is called presenile or early onset dementia as mentioned on a mental health information website of Hamlet Trust, UK (www.hamlet-trust.org.uk/articles/dementia.html).

61.1.1.1 What Are Signs and Symptoms of Dementia?

WHO factsheet (2017) highlighted that problems linked to dementia can be best understood in three stages:

- Early stage – in first year or 2 years of its onset
- Middle stage – during second to fourth or fifth year of its suffering
- Late stage – in its fifth year and after

Early Stage

The early stage is often overlooked. Relatives and friends (and sometimes professionals as well) see it as "old age," just a normal part of the aging process.

The onset of the disease is gradual and difficult to recognize.

- Have problems in talking properly (language problems)
- Have some memory loss, particularly of recent events
- Have difficulty in making decisions
- Become inactive and unmotivated; show mood changes, depression, or anxiety; and may react angrily or aggressively
- Show a loss of interest in hobbies and activities

Middle Stage

As the disease progresses, limitations become pronounced and more restricting.

The person with dementia has difficulty with day-to-day living.

- May become very forgetful – especially of recent events and people's names
- May become extremely dependent on their family and caretaker; unable to cook, clean, or shop; needs help with personal hygiene

(continued)

- Have wandering and other behavior problems such as repeated questioning and calling out, clinging, and disturbed sleep
- Unable to recognize familiar and unfamiliar places at home or outside
- May have hallucinations (seeing or hearing things which are not really there)

Late Stage
This stage is one of near-total dependence (confined to a wheelchair or bed). Memory disturbances are very serious with more physical complications. The person may:

- Have difficulty eating and walking and be incapable of communicating
- Not recognize relatives, friends, and familiar objects
- Have bladder and bowel incontinence, breathing difficulties, and respiratory infections.

http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs362/en/#Factsheets

Below snapshots (Figs. 1 and 2) are from the Reference Book depicting the signs and symptoms of dementia and also what the affected patient feels like.

61.1.1.2 What Are Causes of Dementia?

Alzheimer's Society (2007) elaborated about the causes of dementia. It is caused by damage to brain cells. When the brain cells are damaged and become nonfunctional, thinking, behavior, and feelings get affected. The human brain is divided into regions, and each region is responsible for different functions associated with the body. For example, one region controls memory; another is responsible for psychomotor controls and still another for judgement.

Different types of dementia causes are associated with particular type of brain cell damage in particular regions of the brain; some of the causes are simpler to understand in terms of how they affect the brain and lead to dementia:

A. **Alzheimer's disease** – This is the most common cause of dementia. High level of certain proteins inside and outside brain cells makes it hard for brain cells to stay healthy and to communicate with each other in the brain region called the hippocampus. This region is concerned with memory and learning; hence, the problems with day-to-day memory are often noticed first, but other symptoms may include difficulties with finding the right words, solving problems, making decisions, or perceiving things.
B. **Vascular dementia** – If the oxygen supply to the brain is reduced because of narrowing or blockage of blood vessels, some brain cells become damaged or die. This causes vascular dementia. The symptoms of vascular dementia vary and

Signs and Symptoms of Dementia

The signs of dementia are different for different people. These signs can also be the signs of other illnesses or of getting older. The most common signs of dementia are:

Forgetfulness: This is usually the earliest and most noticeable symptom. For example, trouble recalling recent events or recognizing people and places.

Finding it hard to plan or do things that you used to be able to do. Difficulties making decisions, solving problems or carrying out a sequence of tasks (eg cooking a meal)

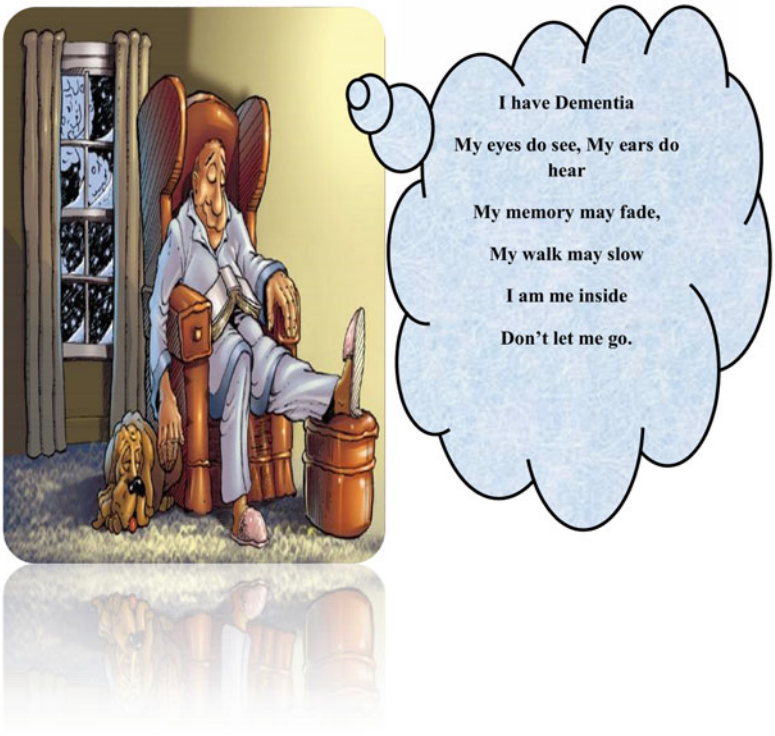
Not feeling sure of things, even when you are somewhere you know and difficulty recalling events that happened recently. For eg: Losing track of the day or date, or becoming confused about where they are.

Being moody or depressed. For example, they may become frustrated or irritable, withdrawn, anxious, easily upset or unusually sad.

3

Fig. 1 Signs and symptoms of dementia

- If the person becomes upset or embarrassed by their declining abilities, give them plenty of reassurance. If things do go wrong, be tactful and encouraging. Keeping a sense of humour and having a laugh together can often help.



Age is not how old you are, but how many years of fun you have had.

- Matt Maldre

34

Fig. 2 How does a dementia patient feel?

may overlap with those of Alzheimer's disease. Many people have difficulties with problem-solving or planning, thinking quickly, and concentrating.

C. **Mixed dementia** – This is when someone has more than one type of dementia and a mixture of symptoms. It is common for someone to have Alzheimer's disease and vascular dementia together.
D. **Dementia with the Lewy bodies** – This type of dementia involves tiny abnormal structures (Lewy bodies) developing inside brain cells. They disrupt the brain's chemistry and lead to the death of brain cells. Early symptoms can include fluctuating alertness, difficulties with judging distances, and hallucinations.
E. **Frontotemporal dementia (including Pick's disease)** – In frontotemporal dementia, the front and side parts of the brain are damaged. Clumps of abnormal proteins form inside brain cells, causing them to die. At first, changes in personality and behavior may be the most obvious signs. Depending on which areas of the brain are damaged, the person may have difficulties with fluent speech or forget the meaning of words (Fig. 3).

https://www.alzheimers.org.uk/info/20007/types_of_dementia/1/what_is_dementia/3

61.1.1.3 How Can Dementia Be Treated?

According to Alzheimer's Society (2007), the vast majority of causes of dementia cannot be cured, although research is continuing into developing drugs, vaccines, and other medical treatments. There is also a lot that can be done to enable someone with dementia to live well with the condition. Care and support should be "person-centered," valuing the person as a unique individual. Therefore, the two types of treatments are:

Non-drug Treatments and Support

A range of support, therapies, and activities that do not require medication can help someone to live well with dementia. Talking therapies such as counseling can help someone come to terms with their diagnosis. Another treatment called cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) may be offered to help with depression or anxiety. There is also a lot that can be done at home to help someone with dementia, remain independent, and live well with the memory loss. Support ranges from devices such as pill boxes or calendar clocks to practical tips on how to develop routines or break tasks into simpler steps.

Activities that help to keep the mind active, such as cognitive stimulation, are popular. As the condition progresses, many people with dementia enjoy life story work (in which the person is encouraged to share their life experiences and memories). Such activities may help improve someone's mental abilities, mood, and well-being.

It is vital that people with dementia stay as active as they can – physically, mentally, and socially. Everyone needs meaningful activities that they enjoy doing and which can develop confidence and self-esteem.

Drug Treatments

There are drugs that can help to improve the symptoms of dementia or that, in some cases, may stop them progressing for a while. A person with mild to moderate

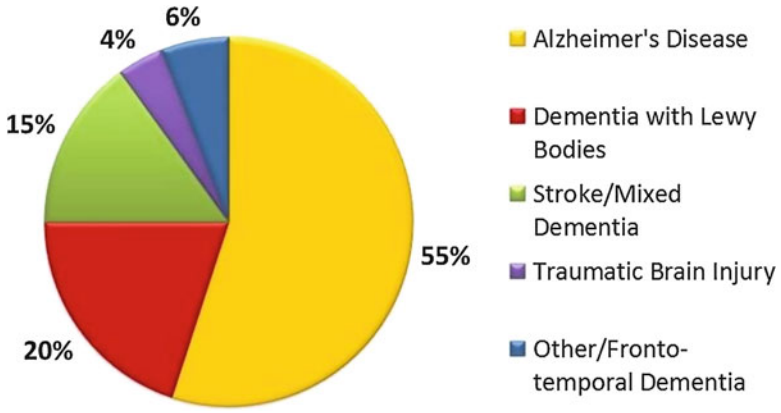


Fig. 3 Estimated figure showing causes of dementia

Alzheimer's disease or mixed dementia may be prescribed donepezil (often known by the brand name Aricept), rivastigmine (e.g., Exelon), or galantamine (e.g., Reminyl). These may temporarily relieve memory problems and improve alertness. Donepezil, rivastigmine, and galantamine can be helpful for someone with dementia with Lewy bodies who has distressing hallucinations or delusions or who has behaviors that challenge. For a person with vascular dementia, drugs will be offered to treat the underlying conditions. These conditions often include high blood pressure, high cholesterol, diabetes, or heart problems. Controlling these may help slow the progression of dementia.

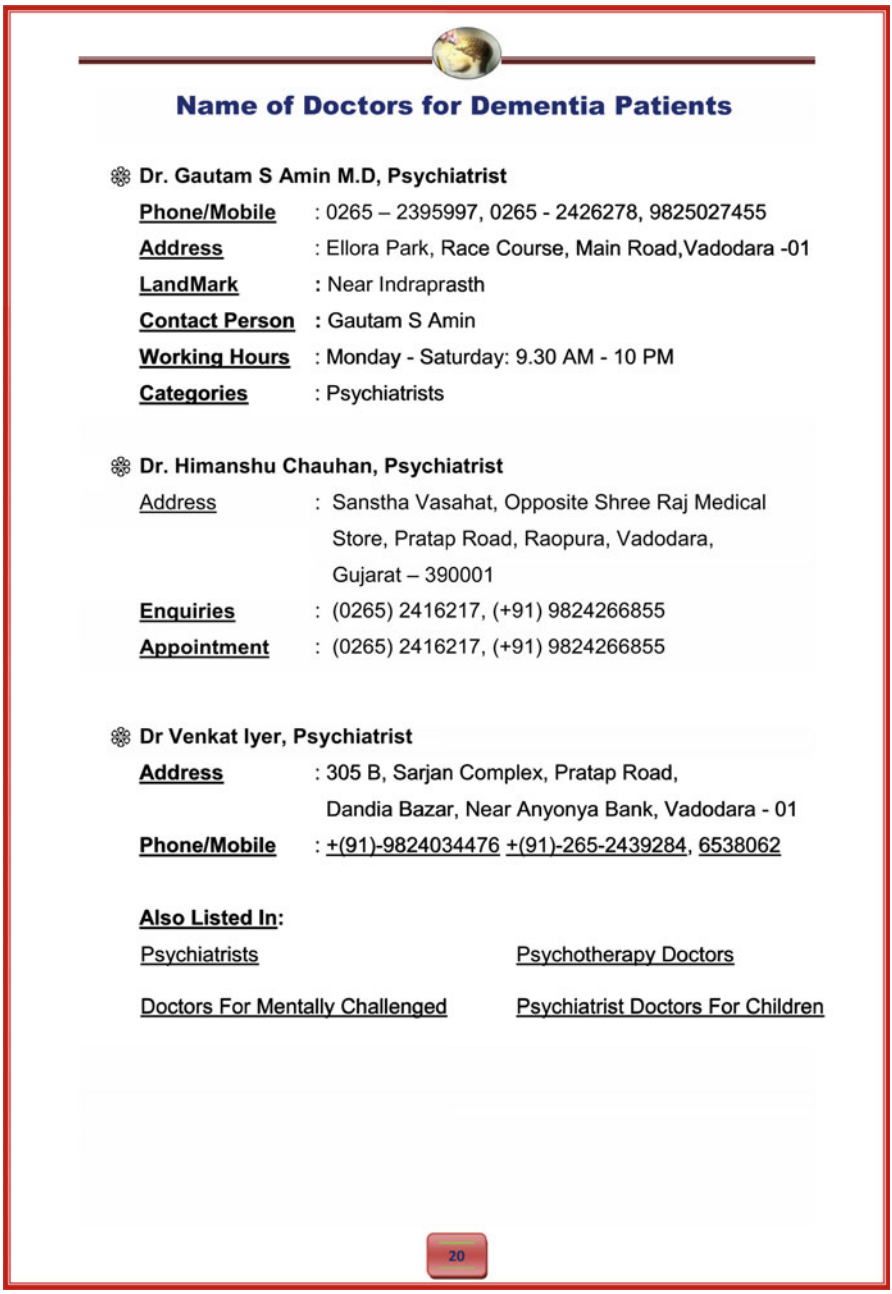
A person suffering from dementia needs a lot of care to deal with the disease, as the person suffers from many problems and that leads to person's deteriorating stage physically and mentally, so to help the person struggling from physical and mental problems, the patient needs the care to be provided by the caregivers and families and to avail of the available services and awareness provided to them. Thus, there are certain caretaking services in India which can serve the patients to live a better life.

https://www.alzheimers.org.uk/info/20007/types_of_dementia/1/what_is_dementia/7

The following snapshots (Figs. 4, 5, and 6) from the resource book talk about the details of the doctors available for dementia patients and also some tips on nutrition needed for dementia patients along with the prevention measures.

61.1.2 Which Dementia Care Services Are Available in India?

Alzheimer's and Related Disorders Society of India (ARDSI) is actively involved in developing services for dementia across the country. Healthcare organizations like HelpAge India, Dignity Foundation, Nightingales Trust, the Dementia Society of Goa, Sangath, Silver Innings Foundation, Christian Medical College, Vellore,



Name of Doctors for Dementia Patients

Dr. Gautam S Amin M.D, Psychiatrist

Phone/Mobile : 0265 – 2395997, 0265 - 2426278, 9825027455
Address : Ellora Park, Race Course, Main Road,Vadodara -01
LandMark : Near Indraprasth
Contact Person : Gautam S Amin
Working Hours : Monday - Saturday: 9.30 AM - 10 PM
Categories : Psychiatrists

Dr. Himanshu Chauhan, Psychiatrist

Address : Sanstha Vasahat, Opposite Shree Raj Medical Store, Pratap Road, Raopura, Vadodara, Gujarat – 390001
Enquiries : (0265) 2416217, (+91) 9824266855
Appointment : (0265) 2416217, (+91) 9824266855

Dr Venkat Iyer, Psychiatrist

Address : 305 B, Sarjan Complex, Pratap Road, Dandia Bazar, Near Anyonya Bank, Vadodara - 01
Phone/Mobile : +(91)-9824034476 +(91)-265-2439284, 6538062

Also Listed In:

Psychiatrists
Psychotherapy Doctors
Doctors For Mentally Challenged
Psychiatrist Doctors For Children

20

Fig. 4 Names of doctors for dementia patients

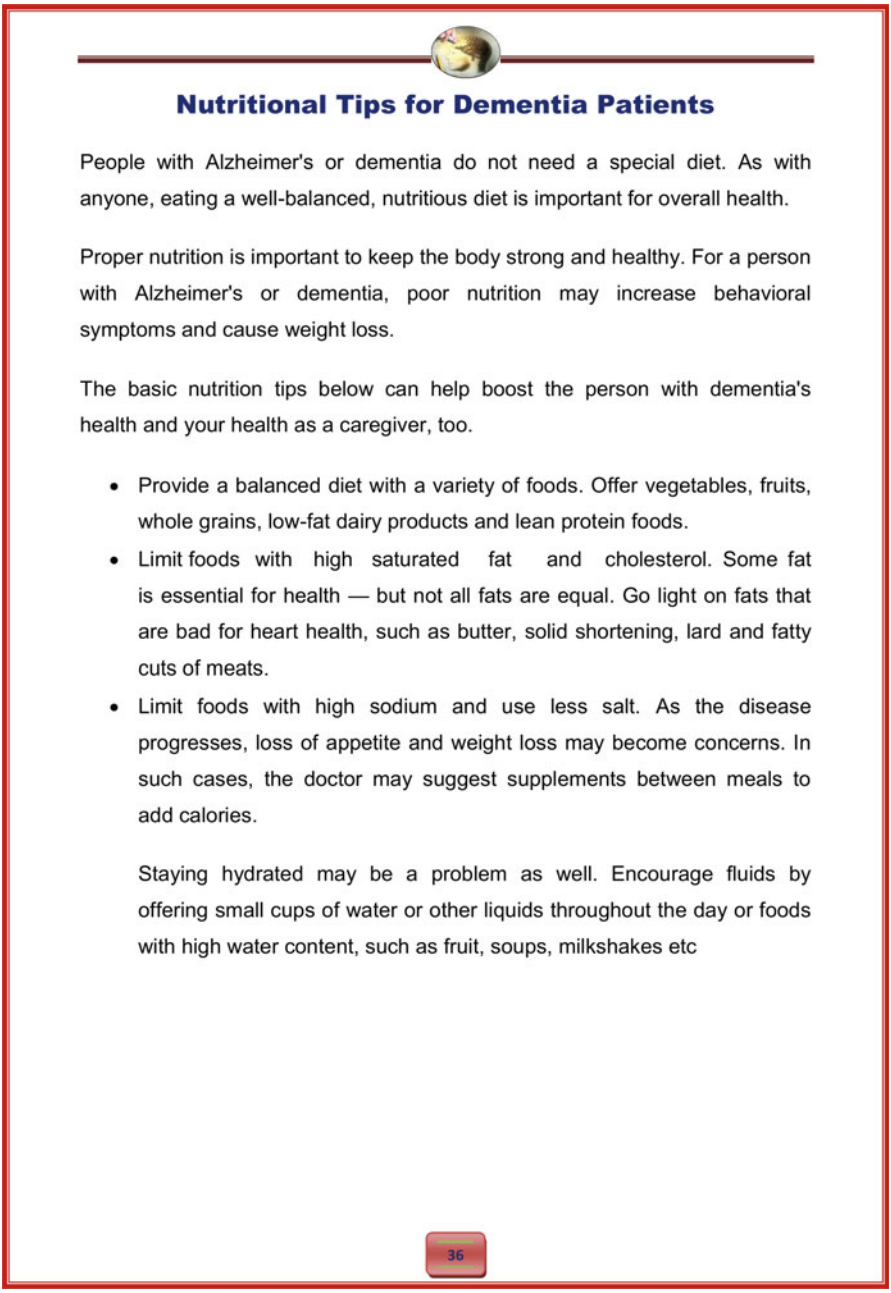


Fig. 5 Nutritional tips for dementia patients

Prevention of Dementia

Stay with a Healthy Weight

Most of us are eating too much and not being active enough. The result is often weight gain. Regular physical exercise (e.g. cycling, brisk walking), maintains healthy weight.

Take a Balanced Diet

Try to stay active and eat a healthy diet. A balanced diet is one which is low in saturated fat, does not have too much salt, dairy or meat, and includes plenty of fish and fresh fruit and vegetables

Keep fit and active

Regularly doing something active that you enjoy, like walking or gardening will help you stay fit and well. While being socially active could include visiting friends or going to a place of worship, while being mentally active could include doing puzzles or reading

Have an NHS(National Health Service) Health Check

An NHS Health Check can help spot problems before you can tell that something is wrong, for example, having high blood pressure or high cholesterol.

8

Fig. 6 Prevention of dementia

St. John's Medical College, Bangalore, and Voluntary Health Services, Chennai are also providing care services either alone or in collaboration.

To overcome the limited information about dementia services in the country, ARDSI made an effort to map the dementia services available in India by contacting all chapters and other partners in the country. The services available in the country that cater exclusively to the people with dementia are provided in Table 1. There are half a dozen residential care facilities exclusively for people with dementia. The available services are grossly inadequate to meet the needs of the over 3.7 million PwD (people with dementia) in India.

Dementia remains a largely hidden problem in India, especially in those parts of India where poverty and illiteracy levels are high. There is a growing realization that the care of older people with disabilities makes enormous demands on their caregivers. Seeing the increased prevalence of dementia in India among elderly and lack of facilities for the treatment of the diseases, terms like dementia and Alzheimer's

Table 1 Services exclusively for people with dementia in India

Name	Type of service	Approximate number of such facilities in India
Residential care facilities	This facility is suited for those families who find it difficult to manage the basic day-to-day activities of the PwD. They could opt for long-term care in a nursing home facility. This also includes respite services where the PwD is looked after for a short period to give the caretaker a break	6
Day care Centers	Dementia day care facilities are designed for those PwD who have a need for medical attention and supervision but who do not require institutionalization in a nursing home. In these facilities, the PwD are looked after during the day after which they return home	10
Domiciliary care services	The services are provided to the PwD at their residence. Services could range from education to providing tips on caregiving to actual formal care. Could be provided by geriatric home nurses or other trained personnel. There is evidence that nonspecialist community workers can also be engaged in providing this service	
Support groups	Support groups are groups of people who have lived through the same difficult experiences and try to help themselves and others by sharing coping strategies. Recommended for caretakers of PwD	Exact data not available
Memory clinics	Memory clinics are specialized clinics that offer assessment, support, information, and advice to those with memory problems and their caretakers	100
Dementia help lines	These are special phone numbers dedicated to addressing queries on dementia. The calls are handled by trained personnel	10

Alzheimer's and Related Disorders Society of India 2010 report

should be more emphasized by creating awareness among the families, caregivers, policymakers, and civil society in general. It is forecasted that in years to come, there will be a number of seniors who will be affected and hence the society should be aware of dealing with such issues. Level of awareness varies enormously across countries and even within countries. The public awareness about dementia in India is low. Primary care doctors do not encounter many cases in their practice, and there is no special emphasis on dementia diagnosis and management in the training of healthcare professionals.

61.1.3 How Can Designing a Resource Book on Dementia Be Helpful?

Lack of awareness has serious consequences for PwD (people with dementia). Their families do not understand dementia as a health problem. Hence, dementia is not recognized at its onset, and the diagnosis is often delayed due to lack of awareness of the disease. There is no structured training on the recognition and management of dementia at any level of health service. Healthcare services remain insensitive too and do not provide the much-needed information and support for caretakers and family members. While family members are the main caretakers, they must do so with little support or understanding from other individuals/agencies or information sources available at their doorstep.

Media interest in dementia and related healthcare issues also remain low. The information covered by mass media is not enough quantity- or quality-wise. For example, an article in the newspaper may not cover the type of information a reader is looking for or one may not read the newspaper on the day article/news is published or the reader may not understand the language used in the article. Similarly, TV or radio ads are being played in few seconds and social messages are telecasted/broadcasted, which may not be enough to cover the important information on the subject. Interviews or other formats are covered rarely in such electronic media. Online free resources are available in abundance for its users. They are in variety of formats which helps the Internet users to be aware of updated information through its web sources. WHO and other professional agencies and organizations working in this area keep sharing and uploading information on dementia. Majority of these websites are hosted by the developed countries which is not completely adoptable by Indian citizens. India is a country of diversity, and people in India are in a transition phase, moving from traditionalism to modernization. Therefore, their thinking, actions, and behaviors are a mixed of traditionalism and modernism; likewise their media accessibility and usage pattern include both traditionalism and modernism and are not transformed completely to modernism yet. The researches in media studies, Media Yearbook, and other reports on communication for social change reveal about multimedia strategy as an effective form of imparting and disseminating information to masses. Hence, looking to the advantages of a printed book, availability of the updated online resources, and the intended target group (mainly adults/elderly), a resource book will be of great help which includes a number of links to the online sources.

For augmenting the capacities of caretakers/family members of people with dementia, this resource book is brought into light. It helped the targeted users to get the updated information which is there on videos, podcasts, films, books, and mobile apps. From this one resource book, they were given all the details about doctors whom they can consult with and list of helpline numbers and care centers and also organizations for dementia patients.

61.2 How Was the Resource Book Designed, Distributed, and Checked for Its Effectiveness?

The designed resource book is targeted to create awareness regarding dementia (which included causes, symptoms, treatment, food, daily activities, etc.), among dementia patients, caregivers, and their family members. The language used in the book to explain about this complex disease is simple and with lots of illustrations. It has colorful visuals to sustain reader's interest in the subject and information provided. When family members of the person with dementia refer and consult medical doctors/general practitioners for issues they face in caring and handling, medical doctors/general practitioners often fail to make them understand their level of comprehension. They often fail to give effective guidance related to the type of food the patients should be receiving. The families of people with dementia are often with half/incomplete or less information about the disease which results in providing improper care services. The condition of the patient in such cases turns bad to worse, which is a cause of great concern for all in the health profession.

61.2.1 Approach Used in Designing the Resource Book

After an extensive reference work to interpolate all the details about dementia which a caretaker/family members would look forward to a resource book, the team referred books, viewed videos, read real stories of dementia sufferers, and surfed games and mobile apps useful for them and their caretakers. The interactions with the affected families revealed that the families with dementia patients look for organizations, doctors, and helpline numbers to deal in emergency situations. The team collected a number of such need-based information for compiling it in a systematic manner. Informative cartoons, quotes, and poems on dementia were also collected to make the resource book attractive, interesting, and informative for a reader from nonmedical background to understand the complexities which dementia patient faces. This approach is a big hit as it is always a challenge for health communicators to explain the medical issues to nonmedical personnel in a way which is comprehensible.

Discussions with practicing doctors, Medical College professors, social workers, researchers, and development/extension communicators helped immensely in gathering the details about dementia and the topics to be covered for the resource book. The team referred other resource books on dementia compiled in other countries

other than India. The following topics were selected after few months of brainstorming with experts, families with dementia patients, and observations by team:

1. **Introduction about dementia** – About dementia, signs and symptoms, prevention, treatment, and causes
2. **Self-check test for dementia**
3. **Facilities and services for dementia patients –** List of doctors treating dementia patients, organizations working for dementia patients, and helpline numbers for emergencies
4. **Role of a caretaker –** Roles and responsibilities while taking care of dementia patients
5. **Tips for family members and caretaker –** includes the type of behavior they should maintain with the patient and the type of activities which can be given to dementia patient for cognitive stimulation
6. **Nutritional tips** highlighting the importance of nutrition in the resource book to make the readers aware of the kind of food to be given to dementia patients
7. **Gears for dementia patients** talks about the variety of equipment's which can be used for patients with dementia
8. **Other resources** which can be very useful for dementia patients like games, mobile apps, books, films, videos, and a podcast which may be helpful to cope with symptoms of dementia and how to deal with it in a correct way. The team identified the most relevant videos available on YouTube and other web portals, and their web links were shared in the resource book. Likewise, similar approach was adopted for podcasts, films, and mobile apps.

The team progressed to the next level to organize the collected/identified details under the relevant topic heads as separate chapters by creating an index. The textual material went hand-in-hand with an illustration for better visual learning. The content in its simplest form with creative animated pictures and quotes on old age mentioned at the bottom of the page gave additional information to its readers to learn about the old age and dementia, thereby making the resource book interesting and attractive.

61.2.1.1 Designing of a Leaflet

With a purpose to publicize the resource book, a leaflet was designed. The text of the leaflet highlighted the resource book and its objective behind designing. It also mentioned briefly about the content of the resource book and the email IDs of team members who can be approached for availing the copy of it.

61.2.1.2 Validation of the Resource Book

The designed resource book underwent a thorough review with five experts to check the content, designing aspects, the color of the fonts, suitability of subtitles, and coordination of pictures along with the text, also the logical validity of the content and clarity of the language. The experts were professors in Medical College, practicing doctors, philanthropist working for elderly, and development communicators/media designers.

The team incorporated the suggestions received from the experts for improving the content of the resource book. The resource book received high appreciations with very positive and supportive words as this is a much-needed work in this field. The style/approach of presenting the content, compiling the information and the usage of visuals and images in the resource book, impressed the reviewers highly. Post validation, the resource book was all set for printing and distribution.

61.2.1.3 Budget for Printing the Resource Book

The budget/sponsorship basically was needed for the cost that incurs in designing, printing, and binding of the 50 hard copies of the resource book. The team approached a few philanthropists from Vadodara City, CSR-based NGOs working in the health sector, with the resource book as a project proposal for sponsorship. "Bhumi Procon Private Ltd" Vadodara sponsored for the printing budget of this project with an amount of Rs. 35,000. The team planned to distribute 50 hard copies to those who have genuine issues in accessing it in the form of soft copies; otherwise soft copies through email would be distributed. This strategy worked well with a limited budget; however, if more copies are printed, then a large number of the population who is more comfortable reading the print form would be benefitted.

61.2.2 The Resource Book Distribution Approach

Once the resource book is compiled, the intended target group should be made aware about its availability and the benefits. To achieve this, the team publicized it in one of the regional newspapers *Gujarat Samachar* which has wide circulation in the city of Vadodara as well as in the State of Gujarat, India. When the editor of the newspaper was approached, he showed interest in publishing about the resource book. The article described the widespread prevalence of dementia, the problems the dementia patients go through, and how to cope and deal with such patients. The article mentioned that the resource book is designed for such sufferers and their care-takers/family members. Topics covered in the resource book were mentioned in the article, and those interested and in need of the book will be given the resource book free of charge. The email IDs of the team members were mentioned in the article to avail the soft copies.

Leaflet was an another source for publicizing about the resource book, which was distributed to the members of senior citizen clubs – as it houses a large number of senior citizens as life members. The team conducted a presentation to create awareness about dementia in those clubs by announcing the dates of the presentation well in advance. It was to ensure that all the members participate and benefit from the presentation. A large number of members were addressed, and at the end of the session, leaflets were distributed to each one of them.

The published article in the newspaper had a surprising impact; in other words, an overwhelming response was received on the email IDs of the team members mentioned in the newspaper and the leaflet. Also, some really interesting incidents happened as follows. On the day the article was published in the newspaper, a person

visited the office of the team members to get the resource book telling how keen he was to own a copy. Fifteen phone calls were received demanding for the copy, though phone contact details were not shared either in the newspaper article or in the leaflet. A letter demanding for a copy was received for the same. It revealed their keenness to read the book. The team announced a cutoff date for sending in the requests for the copies, and they received 146 emails till the cutoff date, out of which large number had asked for hard copies. Reply to 50 of them was sent mentioning the dates, time, and venue to collect their copy. Others were sent with the soft copy. Along with copies (hard and soft), the team also distributed feedback form. A record of the people who came to collect the resource book was maintained wherein their name, address, contact number, email ID, numbers of copies taken by them, and reason for taking the resource book were jotted down for future reference.

61.2.3 Reactions to the Resource Book from Its Readers

There are a number of models used in designing a communication strategy for the development projects and programs to achieve the objective of advocacy, social mobilization, or behavior change among the target group. The three commonly used models are ACADA (Assessment, Communication Analysis, Design, and Action) which uses systematically gathered data to link a communication strategy to the development problem, the P-Process for planning strategic, evidence-based communication programs, and COMBI model that emphasizes on ten steps which may not be followed in a linear fashion; steps are often repeated. All three models considered evaluation, evaluation and replanting, and impact assessment as an integral components of the model.

(https://www.unicef.org/cbsc/files/Writing_a_Comm_Strategy_for_Dev_Progs.pdf)

It is indeed very important to know if the objective of designing this resource book was achieved or not, was it interesting for the readers, did it give them enough information about dementia, and did the content help them in dealing with the issues. To achieve this, the team members conducted evaluation to get the reaction/feedback from the target group on the resource book.

61.2.3.1 Tool for Collecting Reactions

The reaction scale had series of questions with multiple-choice response system, few are open-ended, and few are checklist types. It consists of three sections, and questions are asked as per the title of the sections which is as follows:

Section 1: Personal Details – This section consists of questions related to personal details of the respondents like their age; contact details; type of respondent they were like patient, caretaker, or a family member; sources of information about dementia; sources to know about the present resource book; type of problems faced by the respondents; and few other questions to get the basic information about the respondents. The section includes open-ended and multiple-choice questions.

Section 2: Feedback About the Resource Book – This section housed questions related to the feedback for the resource book to understand the usefulness of the content in the situation they are in. Did they change their diet pattern and view videos and films to know further details about dementia? Was the presentation of the information with visuals and colors interesting and easy to comprehend? All the questions were to know the worthiness of designing such a resource book. The section included both checklist and multiple-choice questions.

Section 3: Suggestions – This section contains questions to gather their suggestions for creating awareness about dementia, suggestions of adding more information to the resource book, and whether the information provided was latest and updated. Open-ended- and multiple-choice-based questions were framed to seek the responses.

61.2.3.2 Procedure of Data Collection

The team distributed the reaction scale along with the hard and soft copy, and the returning date of the reaction scale was mentioned on the covering letter. Beneficiaries were given enough time to read the book and follow the links for videos and films to watch. Twenty of them sent the filled-in reaction scale on the date mentioned. The team analyzed the data based on the responses provided by them. The contents of the emails received made it very clear that the resource book was referred by dementia patients, family members/caregivers, senior citizens, and young people who wanted to be aware of the disease. The senior citizen clubs went ahead one step and requested for a copy to keep it in their library for its members for future reference.

61.2.3.3 Reactions/Responses of the Readers

The team noted that the 20 respondents who filled in the reaction scale were among these three: the family members of the patients, the dementia patients themselves, and their caretakers; however, majority of them were the family members of the dementia patients. The team went through the reactions/feedbacks thoroughly and charted out the below observations.

- Majority (60%) of the patients were suffering from dementia since last 1–2 years, little more than one-tenth percent (13.3%) of the patients were suffering from dementia since last 3–4 years, whereas, very less (6.6%) of the patients were suffering from dementia since last 10 years
- Little less than a half percent of the respondents got to know about the disease dementia through newspaper/magazine, while 35% of the respondents got the information from doctors and one-tenth (10%) of the respondents got the information through neighbors and friends.
- A very high majority (90%) of the respondents got to know about the "resource book on dementia" through the newspaper and one-tenth of the respondents by word of mouth.
- The majority (65%) of the respondents were interested in having the resource book for their own self/family member/friend/relative who had the symptoms of

forgetfulness, and also they were interested in acquiring additional knowledge to whatever they already knew about dementia. While many of them were interested in having the resource book since they were aging and felt the necessity to self-educate themselves about it, 40% of the respondents were interested in having the resource book because they can be more skilled and effective in treating the patient. Few reported that the cause is widespread; hence, they want to help the society by being a well-informed citizen.

- The following are what the respondents say about the type of problems they face while dealing with the dementia patients:
  - Unable to understand what she is going through and does not express anything.
  - Does not want to talk, sulks down when walking, forgets taking medicine, and forgets that he had meals.
  - Trying to make the patient remember one thing with many trials and lots of efforts and then still when the result is not fruitful, it is the main problem
  - Forgets road directions at night, date, days, names, things, the name of people, childhood events, etc.
  - She keeps on repeating same sentences again and again and forgets what she spoke for 5 min.
  - She does not understand the daily routine.
  - She remains absent-minded, doesn't do any work (we force her to eat), does not remember most of the things from past, keeps crying, cannot control her urine, etc. She was missing from home for 24 h; we had to find her through the newspaper.
  - I have trouble in remembering events that happened in the past.
  - My mother is very hyper at times, to the event that she hits the caretaker.
- A high majority (70%) of the respondents found that the information about dementia (signs and symptoms, causes, prevention, treatment), the chapter on the role of caretaker, were the most useful details for them in the resource book.
- A very high majority (75%) of the respondents found the list of books and poem useful, while 70% of the respondents found information related to podcast useful.
- The majority (65%) of the respondents found self-check test most useful, and equal percentage found information about organizations useful, whereas 60% of the respondents found games for dementia patients and mobile apps useful. More than half percent (55%) of the respondents found the name of doctors and helpline numbers most useful, whereas the same percentage of the respondents found nutritional tips useful.
- Less than half percent (45%) of the respondents made a change in the diet of patient's food, whereas thirty percent (30%) didn't make any change in the diet of patient's food after reading the resource book.
- Half of the respondents had viewed the video (suggested links in the resource book).

- A high majority (80%) of the respondents could relate their own experiences with real-life stories and experiences mentioned in the resource book
- A very high majority (90%) of the respondents liked the language used (simple to understand for amateur); high majority (80%) of the respondents liked the colorful presentation and list (doctors, organizations, helpline numbers) provided in the resource book, whereas majority (75%) of the respondents liked the written matter.
- All the respondents agreed that the pictures were relevant to the content and size of the fonts was appropriate. And all the respondents were interested in reading the resource book on dementia
- A high majority of the respondents felt that the training program should be organized for caretakers and family members of dementia patients. More than half percent of the respondents felt that lectures should be organized, helpline number on 24-h basis should be started, and 35% of the respondents felt that special geriatric wards should be opened.
- All the respondents felt updated about dementia-related information after going through this resource book.

Details on some of the topics which were highly appreciated by the readers such as tips for family members and the caretakers, videos for better understanding and caretaking, and podcasts for the engagement of dementia patients are depicted in the below snapshots (Figs. 7, 8, and 9) from the resource book.

61.2.3.4 What Did the Readers Suggest?

- Interviews with the patients' relatives should be recorded.
- The resource book should be put on a website (If no website exists, create one).
- Finding out primary causes of dementia, e.g., due to tension, and how can it be detected and cured at an early stage.
- A separate chapter on yoga and light exercise for keeping fit physically should be added to the resource book.

61.2.3.5 Suggestions for Future Work in Promoting Awareness About Dementia

- Seminars should be conducted on dementia for family members, caregivers, and patients suffering at an early stage.
- Helpline numbers of dementia care centers should be publicized through media.
- Lectures should be organized along with the resource book and other materials helpful in coping with different situations that occur in dealing with the patients.
- More resource books with different ideas or any other references related to dementia should be published to help the patients and their caretakers.
- The resource book or any other reference made should be shared on the website. If no website is available, then one should be created, and required details on dementia should be housed on that website.

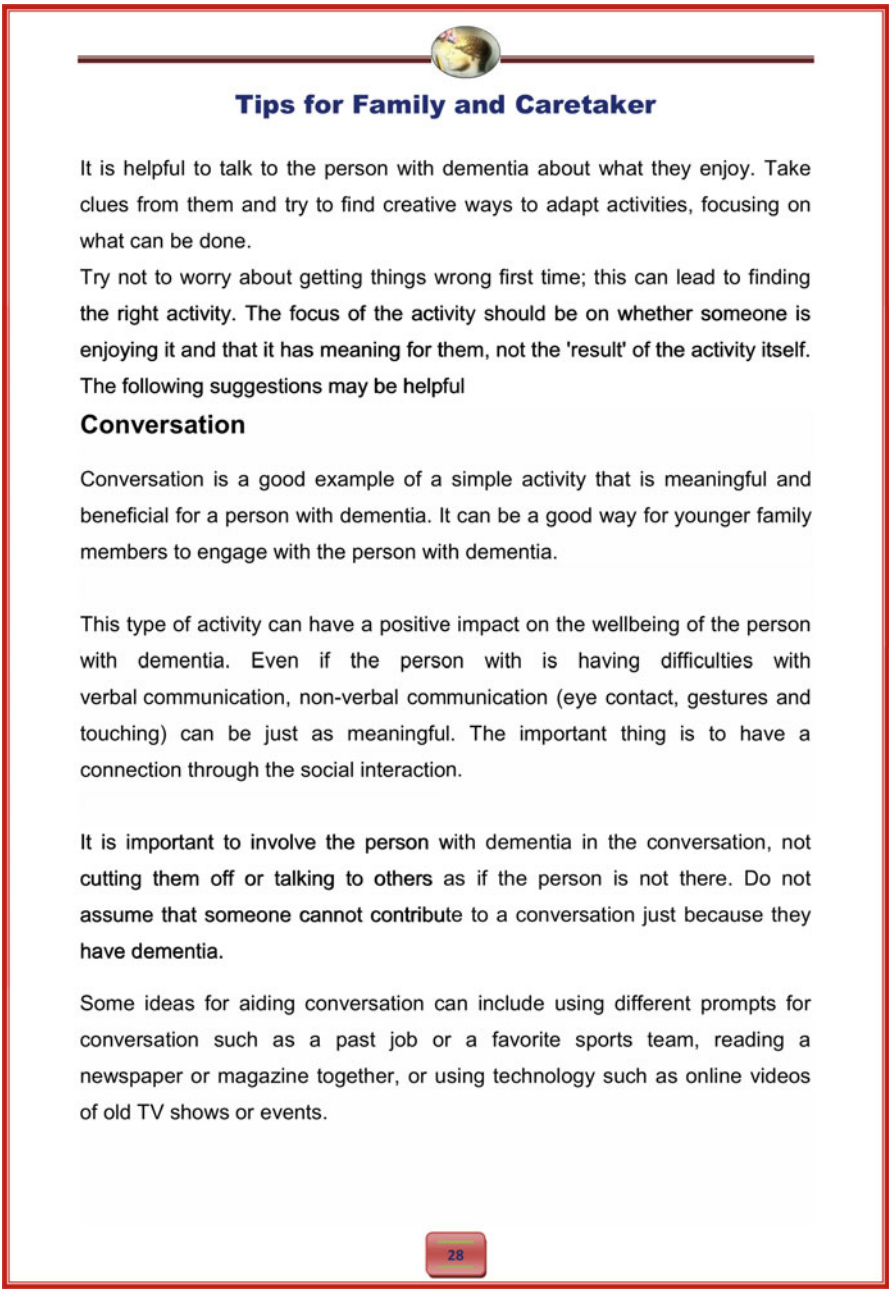
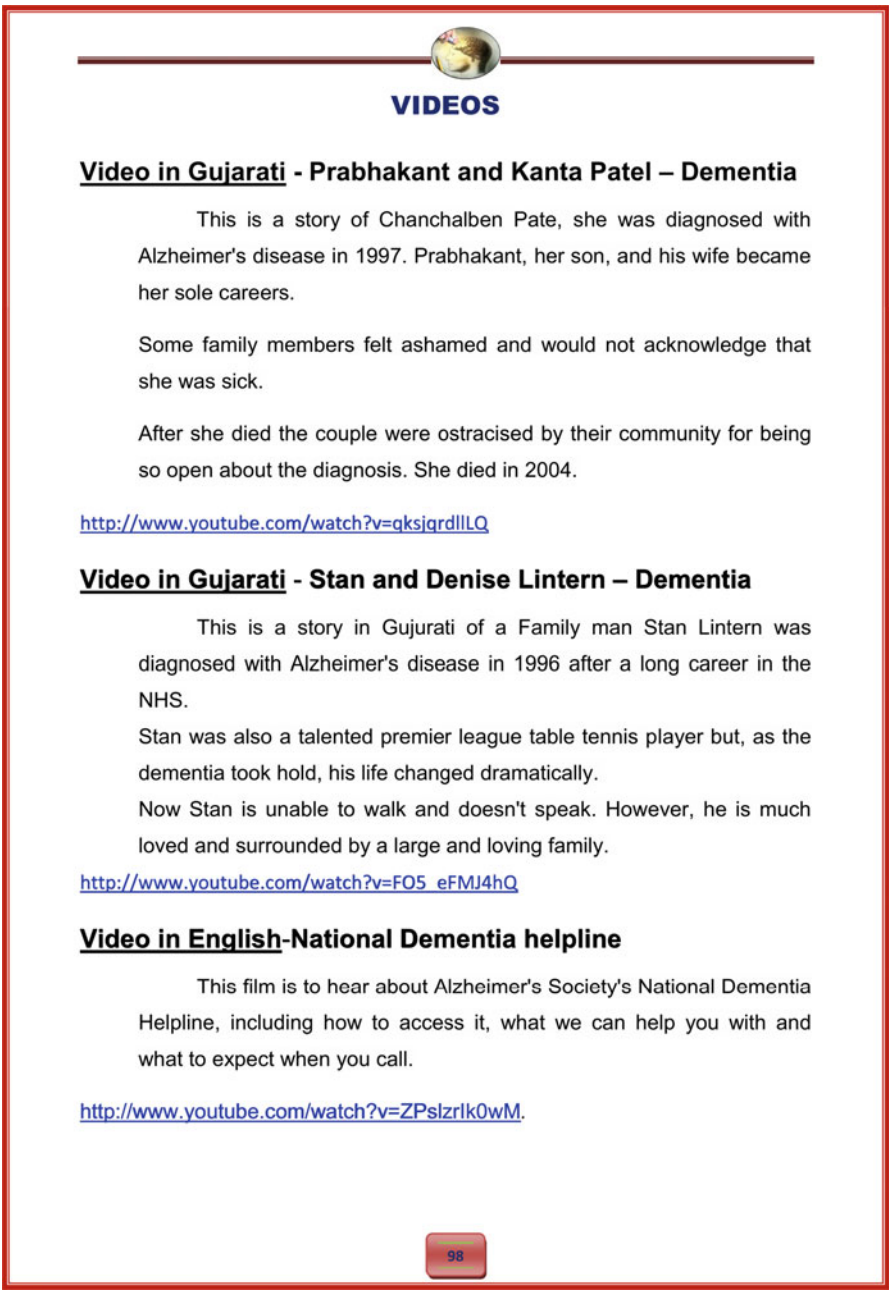


Fig. 7 Tips for family and caretaker



VIDEOS

Video in Gujarati - Prabhakant and Kanta Patel – Dementia

This is a story of Chanchalben Pate, she was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease in 1997. Prabhakant, her son, and his wife became her sole careers.

Some family members felt ashamed and would not acknowledge that she was sick.

After she died the couple were ostracised by their community for being so open about the diagnosis. She died in 2004.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qksjqrdllLQ

Video in Gujarati - Stan and Denise Lintern – Dementia

This is a story in Gujurati of a Family man Stan Lintern was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease in 1996 after a long career in the NHS.

Stan was also a talented premier league table tennis player but, as the dementia took hold, his life changed dramatically.

Now Stan is unable to walk and doesn't speak. However, he is much loved and surrounded by a large and loving family.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FO5_eFMJ4hQ

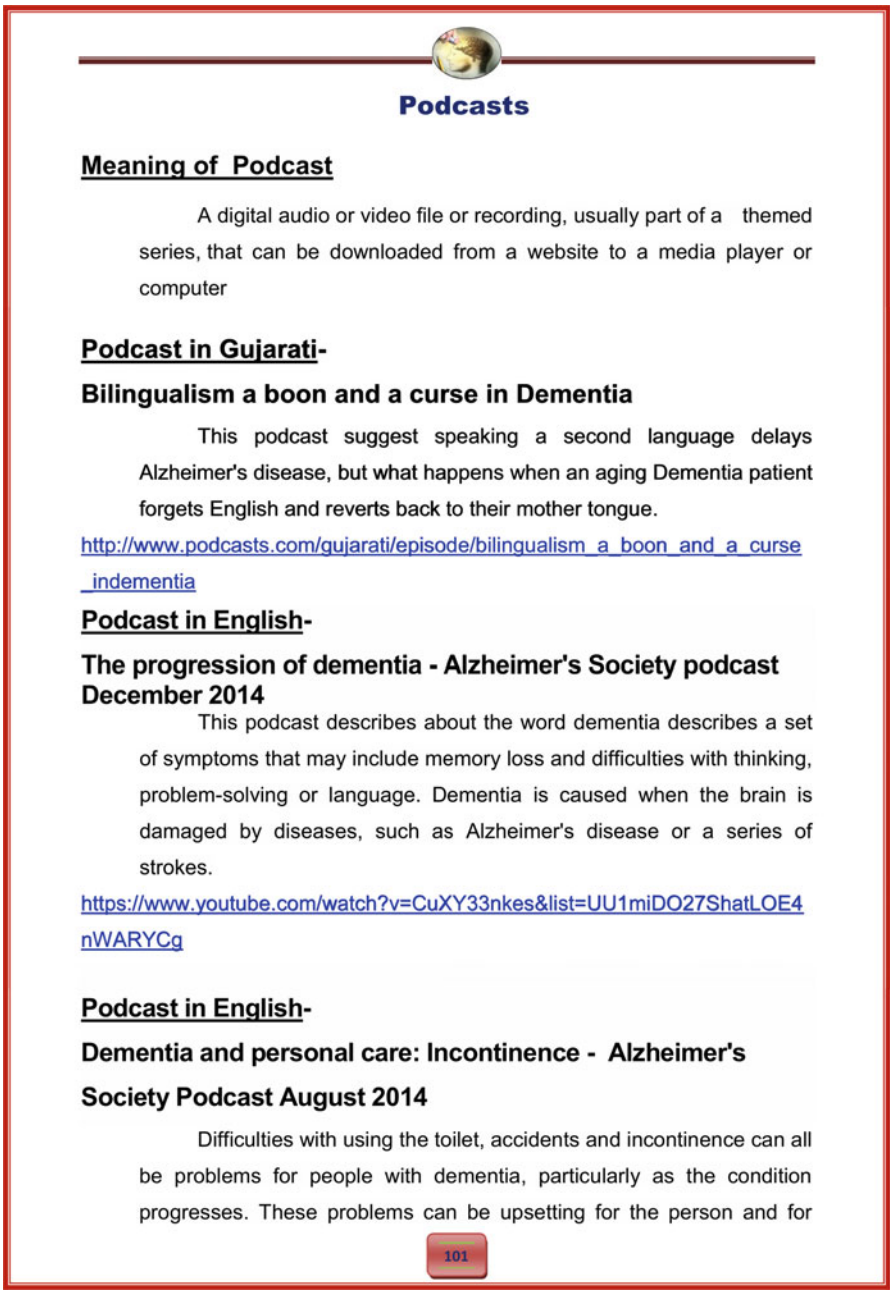
Video in English-National Dementia helpline

This film is to hear about Alzheimer's Society's National Dementia Helpline, including how to access it, what we can help you with and what to expect when you call.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZPslzrlk0wM.

98

Fig. 8 Videos



Podcasts

Meaning of Podcast

A digital audio or video file or recording, usually part of a themed series, that can be downloaded from a website to a media player or computer

Podcast in Gujarati-

Bilingualism a boon and a curse in Dementia

This podcast suggest speaking a second language delays Alzheimer's disease, but what happens when an aging Dementia patient forgets English and reverts back to their mother tongue.

http://www.podcasts.com/gujarati/episode/bilingualism_a_boon_and_a_curse_indementia

Podcast in English-

The progression of dementia - Alzheimer's Society podcast December 2014

This podcast describes about the word dementia describes a set of symptoms that may include memory loss and difficulties with thinking, problem-solving or language. Dementia is caused when the brain is damaged by diseases, such as Alzheimer's disease or a series of strokes.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CuXY33nkes&list=UU1miDO27ShatLOE4nWARYCg

Podcast in English-

Dementia and personal care: Incontinence - Alzheimer's Society Podcast August 2014

Difficulties with using the toilet, accidents and incontinence can all be problems for people with dementia, particularly as the condition progresses. These problems can be upsetting for the person and for

101

Fig. 9 Podcast

61.3 Conclusion

The idea of this kind of initiatives is to augment the capacities of caretakers/family members of dementia patients by designing and distributing the resource book among them so that they understand the patients better with utmost care and concern. The resource book covers a large amount of information on dementia as a disease, facilities and services available for them in the city as well as at the national level for accessing it during critical situations, list of games for cognitive stimulation, and mobile apps for ease in accessing information and help anytime. Details such as list of books, films, videos, podcasts, and real stories and experiences of dementia patients were also covered in this book for its readers. As the team adopted the strategy of analyzing the needs and characteristics of the targeted group, it turned out in designing the content appealing to the nonmedical readers. Simple and effective messages through quotes and informative cartoons helped in passing on the thoughts effectively.

While designing the resource material for a targeted group, it is always a best idea to give personal visits to the families and the caretakers to observe and understand what they really need and how can they be helped and guided accordingly with the much needed information through the resource material and the team working on the above-discussed project followed the same strategy, this strategy helped tremendously to design an apt resource book for the family members and the caretakers.

The team used a varied set of communication media to achieve the objectives of reaching out to the intended target group and to pass on the information effectively. The newspaper article and the leaflets publicized the resource book among the residents of Vadodara City and the State of Gujarat. The medium of Internet delivered the soft copies of the resource book to the family members and the caretakers irrespective of how far they resided. The team shared the email IDs through the media for effective and easy reception of the soft copies or the reaction scale for the interested parties.

The sponsorship received from the philanthropists for printing of the resource book was of great help as it helped in reaching out to the targeted group with the desired content in the right form. The CSR-based NGOs or voluntary organizations working in the sector always financially support for these kinds of projects which involve creating of awareness among the masses for the larger benefit of the society.

To cover it in a nutshell, this resource book is a big win and is highly appreciated among the researchers from gerontology discipline and development communicators working for bringing social and behavioral change in the society – for the approach adopted in designing the content, the communication strategy for distribution of the book, and on the whole as the end product as it is very feasible and completely apt for the targeted group to refer to it anytime and anywhere with ease.

Apart from the researchers, the team also received high appreciations from the readers of the targeted group through emails (inbox was flooded) for designing such a tremendously informative book. The feedbacks clearly indicated the effectiveness and worthiness of the resource book. The resource book gave a broader picture to many needy senior citizens, family members, and also to the youngsters as they got to learn about the issues and problems faced by dementia-affected patients and their

family members/caretakers, which indeed is a positive sign for prevention of this disease in future. It would be really great to adopt such approaches and is highly recommended to design such communication strategies for disseminating information to masses about newly identified diseases like Ebola, swine flu, dengue, and chikungunya for creating awareness in them and capacity building among family members and caretakers for a healthy world.

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- Empowerment as Development: An Outline of an Analytical Concept for the Study of ICTs in the Global South
- Family and Communities in Guatemala Participate to Achieve Educational Quality
- Health Communication: A Discussion of North American and European Views on Sustainable Health in the Digital Age
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Strategic Communication to Counter Sexual Harassment in Bangladesh

62

Nova Ahmed

Contents

62.1 Introduction 1120
62.2 Related Work 1121
62.3 Context of Bangladesh 1123
62.4 Approaching Young Adults 1124
62.5 Experiences Regarding Communication Strategies 1124
62.6 Lessons Learned 1126
62.7 Conclusion 1127
References 1127

Abstract

Sexual harassment is a major problem that is not openly discussed in countries like Bangladesh. Women are the major victims of this problem who hesitate to share the problem. Strategies to discuss about sexual harassment are explored here. The initial conversation was over online survey where silence was observed. It followed a series of methods using focus group discussions, individual discussions, and sharing experience over writing or over phone calls. Indirection during the communication method helped the participants (female) to discuss with certain comfort level. Once there is a level of trust, indirection is no longer required. The journey of working on sexual harassment and how various communication modes helped in generating a productive conversation is presented in this chapter.

Keywords

Eve-teasing · Sexual harassment

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62.1 Introduction

Sexual harassment is a serious concern in Bangladesh (Ahmed et al. 2014; Ahmed 2016). The problem exists in regions across geographic and economic boundaries (The Financial Express 2012; Dimond et al. 2011; Lahsaeizadeh and Yousefinejad 2012; Li and Lee-Wong 2005; Wikipedia 2015; Action Aid 2015; United Nations Committee 2016). However, there is an ongoing *silence* when efforts are initiated to discuss about this problem (Ahmed 2016).

Currently, the third wave of feminism (Bardzell 2010) is ongoing, where gender inclusion is considered. Problems such as sexual harassment, where women are historically the major victims, take us decades back where basic rights are questioned. The problems exacerbate when it takes place in developing regions where gender disparities are widely visible.

Even in this modern world, there are victims like the medical student at Delhi (BBC 2015) who was brutally sexually abused which resulted in her death; there are girls like Sheemi, Fahima, Mahima, and Pinky (Wikipedia 2015) who committed suicide after being harassed and publicly insulted. It is a worldwide phenomenon as we can see it occurring in Iran (Lahsaeizadeh and Yousefinejad 2012), Singapore (Li and Lee-Wong 2005), the USA (Dimond et al. 2011), Canada (Macmillan et al. 2000), and many other countries. The problem takes a severe form in Indian subcontinent (Wikipedia 2015). The form of street harassment is referred as "eve teasing" which is banned currently after High Court ruling under the protest from aware citizen in Bangladesh.

The current discussion focuses on Bangladesh where females committed suicides, lost interest in going to school, and forced to early marriage in rural areas as well as in urban areas (Action Aid 2015) as a result of sexual harassment. Contemporary researchers and practitioners have addressed the problem of sexual harassment in physical domain along with cyber domain. There are global efforts to ensure social justice using local and global networks where social cultural context plays a role in adopting readily available solution approaches.

Communication regarding the existence, impact, and probable solution approach (e.g., using simple technology) was an initial goal of researchers of Bangladesh. However, the initial efforts to communicate about sexual harassment turned out to be extremely challenging as the researchers faced silence (Ahmed 2016) (Robertson et al. 2017) regarding this problem. There were series of communication patterns and strategies applied to reach out urban young adults to discuss about sexual harassment in physical world as well as cyberspace. A high-level look at the country gives us a positive picture on women empowerment and possible solution approaches. It is a developing country ruled by women since 1991. The country has major female work force in garment industry. However, women face challenges that come from patriarchal values and practices embedded in social cultural structure. On top of that, suppression is often practiced using the name of religion which is hardly contested by the Government or other authorities. Sexual harassment exists, getting more challenging over years as abusive contents are easily shared using platform of the internet. Weak law enforcement system in the country is another major problem that is prevalent. The current problem requires awareness, and discussion in the first place.

The ongoing journey of working on sexual harassment has opened up strategies, where user indirection and direction plays a role, and is explored. The entire process was based on the concept of trust which required time and patience to deal with. We share the findings from the communication strategies as follows: When the person is not visible, trust is an issue, considering online platform-based communication; in a group, certain voices dominate, Female-only focused group discussions, sharing is possible with certain level of indirection: Sharing experiences in writing and over phone call conversations; personal conversations did not work out in certain cases, one-to-one conversations or diary notes that did not turn out to have the desired outcome; and trust buildup the over years can bring one-to-one conversation, unexpected story sharing that takes place once the trust is built up on the researcher.

62.2 Related Work

The current work focuses on the complex relationship of urban girls in the context of a conservative setup. The question regarding revolves around how women perceive technology to handle sexual harassment. It is evident that this work needs to address the domain of work where our work is related to *feminist HCI*; within feminist HCI we talk about the perception of *fear* and *hope toward technology*, we discuss the *global and local status of sexual harassment* and *cross-cultural effects* in dealing with this topic from psychological perspective, and we justify our *methodology* used in this work. This discussion shows how our work relates and differs from existing research works.

Shaowen Bardzell (2010) lays down category of work referred to *Feminist HCI*, where economic, political, social, and psychological oppression of women is discussed. Currently the third wave of feminism (Bardzell 2010) is ongoing where inclusion is the main focus. However, there are primitive concerns regarding ensuring basic rights in economically backward countries. One example is presented in the works of Oyeronke Oyewumi (2002) in the context of Africa. Similarly Ishtiaque et al. (Ahmed et al. 2014) discusses issues in the context of Bangladesh.

The story of women and technology is not new which impacts the solution approach toward harassment indirectly; it has been present all along. Mary Wyer et al. (2013) look at how gender plays a role in the context of science and technology-related fields. Donna Haraway (2006) illustrates the presence of women in various work fields and its effect in the fast-changing world. Sherry Turkle (1988) goes back to possible reasons behind gender bias in technology-related fields, which is often caused by admonishment. We encounter this scenario when gender differences are coming from family as mentioned by Oyeronke Oyewumi (2002).

Recent work presented by Jill P. Dimond et al. (2011) illustrates other factors that create technology-divide among women caused by using technology to abuse vulnerability of women. Either this weakness comes from the existing differences of women spending less time with technology compared to their male counterparts or it comes from the emotional instability after some form of harassment. This

scenario is present in Bangladesh as well, where we find technology used to harass college going girls who are considered to be advanced technology users of their generation. It must be mentioned that the fear is present among elderly, women, and black community living alone, compared to others (Schweitzer et al. 1999), which refers back to the social impact and the feelings of being vulnerable.

The story of women and technology is not only about fear; that would be a misinterpretation of facts. There is the other side of the story where technology is providing hope and is being used to build up connectivity and increase confidence. Technology can be a great way to start a new beginning after a major incident of harassment as we can see in the work of Michael Massimi et al. where people are slowly going back to their normal life using technology as their subtle friend (Massimi et al. 2012). A similar tone of coming back story is presented by Rachel Clarke et al. using a photo sharing application which supports victims of domestic violence (Clarke et al. 2013, April). Hollaback! (Dimond et al. 2013) is used to create a sense of togetherness as mentioned by Jill P. Dimond et al., which is an ongoing international effort and has become integral part of feminist movement. The feeling of being connected provides a sense of safety, and technology fits right in its place – it can be a website, anonymous storytelling platform, or a simple device like a mobile phone to provide connectivity. Jan Blom et al. (2010) show this situation among urban users in India using mobile phones. A wearable technology is proposed to reduce fear of crime among elderly people in an English city as mentioned by Mark A. Blythe et al. (2004) to reduce the fear of crime. The role of technology can play a role in coping after women face harassment which can be of the form of advocacy seeking or social coping as mentioned by Lilia M. Cortina et al. (2005) in describing the scenario of coping over social cultural boundaries.

One of the major challenges faced was about the communication methodology as we were not able to find a particular way in which users were comfortable to discuss such a sensitive topic. Existing work was used as reference models to communicate including the work conducted in the USA by Jill P. Dimond et al. to get familiar with users and talk to them; a similarly work discussed by Macmillan et al. (Li and Lee-Wong 2005) in the context of Singapore, researchers utilize use interview-based methods. We have used mixed method research designs to meet the user's comfort level inspired by the work presented by William E. Hanson et al. (2005). There were cases found at the beginning where participants were trying to give us input to meet the research expectations, a phenomenon mentioned by Barry Brown et al. (2011, May). There was a requirement to accommodate great flexibility in current methodology which could be altered as the research demanded.

In the context of Bangladesh: Young male adults gathering around the tea stalls and chatting for a while has been socially accepted and is present in our literature and media (Wikipedia Humayun Ahmed 2015). It became a social issue since the group of boys started to make fun of girls passing by often referred to as "eve-teasing" (Wikipedia 2015). The problem remained unnoticed until several teenage school going girls committed suicide in recent years – as a result of humiliation. Pinky committed suicide after being publicly harassed where no one around her protested. In a study conducted by actionaid, it is observed that 73% of the parents believe that it is better to have their

children married rather than facing harassment problems, it is a major problem believed by 79.8% parents and they are scared of it 84.5% times, the fear factor is 97.4% for the girls themselves (Action Aid 2015). Often religious views are used to suppress and blame females as can be learned from Islamic talks by religious leaders (The Daily Star 2015b, c, d; UbConnect 2015; Daily Tribune 2015a).

The picture is similarly depressing in the Indian Subcontinent which includes girls from India and Pakistan. A medical student from Delhi was forced to brutal death after sexual harassment (BBC 2015; HRCBMDFW 2015). The global scenario is not better. Females from countries with higher economic growth like USA (Dimond et al. 2011), Canada (Macmillan et al. 2000), Singapore (Li and Lee-Wong 2005) or Iran (Lahsaeizadeh and Yousefinejad 2012) face harassment of similar magnitude.

It is surprising to find out the limited number of research work conducted on cross cultural issues regarding sexual harassment. Macmillan et al. shows cultural differences in Singapore (Li and Lee-Wong 2005) and Lengnick-Hall et al. consider various study methodologies in such cases. The current work shares discussion methods that worked in the context of urban female youth to discuss about sexual harassment of Bangladesh.

62.3 Context of Bangladesh

The existing scenario of Bangladesh regarding sexual harassment and corresponding law enforcement support will help the readers to understand the reason behind ongoing silence among urban young female adults. Urban females in various undergraduate and graduate institutes are enlightened, educated and aware about their rights. They are privileged in receiving exposure to information and support, compared to suburban or rural women.

An anonymous law enforcement officer, who is very active in the online community and connected to young adults, has shared the experience of getting many personal messages from women regarding their problems. He mentioned the system of enforcing a complaint to be placed in person is a major limitation why women do not actively seek support from law enforcement agency. It is often the case where a woman is harassed the second time when she is trying to file a complaint. In many cases our society blames the women as the cause of harassment.

A recent incident of women being harassed publicly during the Bengali New Year celebration (14 April 2015) in the premise of University of Dhaka revealed the vulnerability of women in festive celebrations. There was group of abusers who took advantage of the crowd and physically abused several women. The law enforcement officers were not around to handle the situation (Dhaka Tribune 2015b; The Daily Star 2015a; BDNews24 2015). There were evidences of the abusive behavior on CC-TV footage but not a single complaint was filed. There have been discussions on the media heavily regarding this subject where a group of people pointed fingers to the victims bringing in religion, and social cultural norms to indicate it was the responsibility of the women not the abusers.

The background illustrates that the roads are harsh even in urban Bangladesh for women and silence is used to avoid the turbulence. Our group discussion revealed that women are interested to seek help from friends rather than family members in the fear of losing their independence to move alone.

There must be major changes in the policy level to support women in all aspects in Bangladesh to break the silence.

62.4 Approaching Young Adults

The study was focused on young adults using qualitative studies where group or individuals shared detailed experiences with the researcher. Majority of our participants were students in various undergraduate and graduate institutes. Participants were contacted through emails, social media calls and poster setup on campus compounds. The author (female) was assigned as a contact person as preferred by some women who were reached out informally. Key points were drawn from various discussion forums that took place during the time period of 2012–2017. All the discussions took place in Bengali, and the participation was voluntary without any monetary incentive. The interviews were noted down, recorded only if participants agreed to audio recording. The interviews were conducted, noted, and transcribed by the researcher herself. This study considered various forms of discussion methods ranging from online survey to focus group discussions to personal interviews.

The study initiated with an *online survey*. The online interview was placed for a week receiving 121 responses (79 female).

There were *focus group discussions* in a semi structure format which took place in various locations suggested by participants. There were less than 10 participants in each focus group who were known to each other. It was often a circle of friends who scheduled the appointment with the researcher. We had total seven focus group discussions – four in the 2012 and the rest took place later in time.

The *one to one discussions* continued as individuals would set up schedule at their convenient time and place to meet the researcher. Individual discussions continued to be easier as the researcher initiated discussions, awareness campaigns regarding the problem of sexual harassment over time.

The variation in interview time frame requires clarification. Our work on sexual harassment was an incremental work initiated in 2012. There were two major sexual harassment events in the country within the specified timeframe. Each of the incidents initiated discussions and rethinking over the problem and probable solution approach.

62.5 Experiences Regarding Communication Strategies

Discussion about sexual harassment was challenging in the context of Bangladesh. There was various communication methods tried out to find out the actual picture of the problem in urban setup.

Missing Trust on Online Platform: The initial online survey was filled up fast by many participants (total 121) within a short time. However, many of the participants left the questions relating to sexual harassment *blank*. The questionnaire allowed partial responses considering the unconventional topic of sexual harassment. Majority of online participants mentioned about not facing sexual harassment at all in the survey responses. The researchers were convinced that sexual harassment was not a serious problem in urban setup from the survey data analysis.

Later, in informal conversations, participants, who followed up with the researcher, shared their fear of being exposed to the wrong set of people. It must be noted that the survey was anonymous. Some of the participants also suggested a female-only discussion group as a preferred way to communicate. This requirement shows how the audience is important, female personnel is preferred to discuss about sexual harassment.

Emotion in Focus Groups: The female-only focus group worked best in terms of sharing personal experiences, feelings and more. The focus group setup initiates with some reservation which takes spontaneous form as the conversation continues. The initial 1 h long focus group discussion (we conducted 4 of them), ended up having couple of hour long discussions. At the end of the discussion, participants offered the researcher food, snacks showing genuine feelings of bonding. Many of the participants are still connected with the researcher.

The group format and spontaneous discussion were a great strategy while there are two notable observations. *First*, the shy and introvert participants are often not addressed in a group setting. In many cases, these participants would agree or disagree with others without providing clear personal opinion. *Second*, emotional outburst of one or more can influence the entire group. A group of participants joined one discussion that had a close friend, sexually harassed by a male teacher in a girls school. The incident was notified to the school authority who denied all the allegations. It took the protest of students and parents which was strongly supported by media and general people to get rid of the teacher. The participants were actively involved in the protest against this teacher.

The discussion turned out to be negative as some of the participants were angry and emotional about the incident.

It was evident that the focus groups are greatly influenced by the personalities and emotional states of participants. It worked well when the participants were content and calm.

Limitations of Direct Communication: One-to-one communication appeared as a next possible way to reach out individuals. However, the reality was different. Participants met the researcher in person to mention that they were interested in a more indirect way of communication such as in written form. There was interest and eagerness to share the experiences regarding sexual harassment but there was a challenge of making a direct contact to share it.

Direct communication was not the preferred way of discussing about sexual harassment in the current context.

Comfort in Indirection: Indirect communication worked great as a way to share individual experiences. There were experiences sharing in written form as well as through phone calls. The indirect way of communication was not originally planned as a communication method during our study design.

It must be noted that, in most of the cases, the indirect method contained extremely personal experiences, personal abuse where the indirection helped. The write-ups were dropped at the researcher's office or personal space when she was away. Similarly, the phone calls were made at late nights in many cases. The timing also played an important role in the indirection.

Comfort in Direct Communication: There were voluntary participants who would come forward to share their experiences knowing about the author's work on sexual harassment. This group approached the researcher over time as they came to know about her work and had built trust in her.

The individual volunteers were from diverse backgrounds and age. In this case, one-to-one conversations regarding intimate abusive experiences were shared. This shows the importance and role of a trusted companion.

Bonding Through Online Platform: The incident of harassment during Bengali New Year was greatly discussed in media and generated public outrage. A secret Facebook group was formed to provide support for women in Bangladesh. The team contained male and female across the globe who are originally from Bangladesh. The team entire initiative to generate a tech solution along with generating awareness was conducted by the author; this group became dormant after the initial emotion subsided. The initiative showed how social media platform can play a positive role in contributing toward social justice.

Online Support Groups: An online platform was observed over a period of 2 months that provides support against crime. Interestingly, there are continuous open posts regarding online abuse of women. The posts are provided by male participants mentioning about the problem. The voluntary organization has successfully supported many cases and has received the trust of a certain community (that has access to online resources).

Diary Study that was Misunderstood: A diary study was conducted which was viewed as a viable approach intuitively. We asked individual female university students to keep a diary for 3 weeks and note down any experience she has faced during this time period. We asked three students initially who were contacted through other student volunteers. Two of the participants returned the diary before the scheduled time frame while one continued to use the diary. However, one particular participant wrote down imaginary harassment stories (probably inspired by movies) where a friend (male) came when 6/7 attackers were trying to harass her. She later mentioned, in a follow up discussion, that she was thinking of an imaginary scenario what could possibly take place. This study was not continued further considering the misunderstanding it initiated.

The exploration of different communication methods gave us insights on how various mechanisms are perceived and trusted to discuss a topic such as sexual harassment.

62.6 Lessons Learned

Current experiences of working on the problem of sexual harassment have revealed the fact that discussion is challenging in the context of Bangladesh considering the social, cultural and personal boundaries. Initially, silence was a major barrier in

reaching out to urban young adults; which slowly mitigated over time. The participants provided us with valuable insights regarding their preferred way and pace of communication. Trust is the key element in building up the conversation regardless of the communication mode.

*Indirectio*n during the communication played a vital role in initiating a conversation. *Absolute indirection*, noticed during online communication was not preferred among many participants. However, indirection where communication is taking place with a known person provides great ways for communication. Female-only focus group discussions were spontaneous where the group participants created a level of indirection where *individuals are identified as a group* rather than a person. Similar responses were received during written note sharing or phone calls where the participant is aware of whom the conversation is taking place with, avoiding a personal contact during sharing of experiences. Individual personal contacts and diary studies did not work at all or did not work as expected as the participants were not very comfortable of sharing the idea in a face-to-face setup.

The social-media based awareness along with generic online and print media has played a great role in opening up fluent communication and awareness regarding sexual harassment. Trust is built up through the sincere voluntary effort and in ways to reach out for further support. Silence is broken among the aware community.

62.7 Conclusion

There is no silver bullet communication method when it comes to the topic of sexual harassment in the context of Bangladesh. The notion of building up trust over years has been the key used to break the silence regarding this topic. The indirection during communication often helped to build up trust. Indirection came in the form of communication medium, time, presence of others and distance. Once the sense of trust was created, there was a spontaneous process in place.

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Multiplicity Approach in Participatory Communication: A Case Study of the Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Pakistan

63

Hina Ayaz

Contents

63.1 Introduction 1132
63.2 A Case Study of the Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Pakistan 1134
63.3 Conclusion 1137
References 1137

Abstract

This chapter explores the usefulness of the social mobilization and community engagement in participatory communication approach in a development program, i.e., the Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Pakistan for its UNICEF's communication strategy. The Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Pakistan was highly affected by negative perceptions about the polio vaccination. After the unfortunate incident of May 2011, a number of Islamic Ullema gave fatwa against the polio vaccination to ban polio vaccination campaigns in Pakistan during 2012–2013. In these extremely challenging circumstances, the UNICEF's broader shift for its communication strategy and the use of the "social mobilization and community-involvement" guided by the multiplicity model of participatory communication was highly useful. This study demonstrates the significance of the multiplicity approach ("social mobilization and community-involvement") to increase the effectiveness of the Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Pakistan.

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Keywords

Development · UNICEF · Communication for development · Modernization · Participation · Participatory communication approach · Community involvement · Social Mobilization · Multiplicity approach · The global polio eradication initiative

63.1 Introduction

If development can be seen as a fabric woven out of the activities of millions of people, communication represents the most essential thread that binds them together. (Colin Fraser and Jonathan Villet 1994)

Communication plays a significant role in promoting human development. Communication is central to development in many ways. Communication holds interesting possibilities to divulge traditional wisdom and people's underlying attitude. Communicating enables policy makers and practitioners to take into account peoples' views, attitudes, needs, and traditional knowledge, when identifying and formulating development programs. Communicating with people at all levels, on the one hand, empowers them to recognize important issues. On the other hand, it helps people to find common ground for action. In this way, communication builds a sense of participation and ownership in order to implement decisions. Communicating with people extensively at all stages of a development program invigorates the development program and helps to sustain the development process. In this way, communication is a powerful tool and the strategic use of communication can bring social change in a society.

The first and dominant paradigm of modernization during 1940s–1960s envisioned the strategic use of communication to bring a social change in a society through mass communication. The linear model of this paradigm was mainly based upon the Lasswell's model of communication: – "Who says What through Which channel to Whom with What effect?" This model was top-to-down in nature and believed in linear one-way flow of information. Guided by Lasswell's model of linear communication, the work of two communication theorists, Daniel Lerner and Evert Roger, was seminal in establishing the very powerful role of the mass communications in forming public opinion, as well as changing people's attitude and behaviors by putting communication at the heart of the modernization paradigm (Lerner 1958; Roger 1982). Wilbur Schramm (1964) further built on Lerner's theory. Wilbur Schramm's work was seminal in shaping and defining the role of the modernization paradigm at the heart of national development.

The assumption of this approach is that the causality (cause-and-effect) is a linear activity. The criteria of rationality can be determined externally. Moreover, the causality *(the cause-and effect)* can be understood and explained in *independent and isolated two factors.* In this way, the process of social change is assumed to be a linear activity (Servaes 1999, p. 28). Thus, in this reductionist approach the behavior and social change is predetermined and the future outcome is predicted accurately.

Over the subsequent years, the theoretical premises of the modernization approach has faced enormous criticism. For instance, it has been widely criticized for not taking into account the local context and culture in which communication process occurs (Servaes 1999, p. 29), perceiving the "complex systems into the linear one" (Joseph 2011), "associating with things rather than people" (Chambers and Pettit 2004) and ignoring the process and putting people into categories like things (Earle 2003).

Unlike the modernization approach, a participatory communication approach based upon the multiplicity model has quite a potential to stimulate people's awareness, their involvement, and capabilities regarding an issue. According to Servaes (1999), the central idea of the holistic approach of multiplicity paradigm is that *"there is no universal development model, that development is an integral, multidimensional, and dialectic process that can differ from society to society."* The multidimensional and dialectic nature of development calls for a delineate analysis of *the many faces of power* and the interrelationships of *local, national, and extern-national levels*, *social* groups, and *actors*. *"The power concerns the possible effectuated and asymmetrically divided ability of one actor (powerholder) to put into order, inside a specific interaction system, the alternatives of actions of one or more actors (power subjects). Power centers around the capability to regulate and structure the actions inside asymmetrical relations."* Hence, understanding the concept of power and its multiple faces is a crucial aspect of the development due to the fact that the power and its dynamics in a society are *essential in understanding the social reality* of development process (Servaes 1999, pp. 53–59). When it comes to how the power is exercised, the role of communication and participation is very important. Paolo Freire (1970), who is known to be the pioneer in the field of the participatory communication, argues that *"Communication must be dialogic. Dialogue is at the heart of participation, communication and empowerment."* Freire believes that the involving people in the dialogue and discussion as a communication process is the only way to liberate the mankind. The liberation is the only possible way to empower the oppressed and it is the only way to bring the real social change in a society. Freire further stresses that in the process of social change, we should focus on the process not on the outcome.

In a participatory communication activity, people are involved and engaged in dialogue and debate. It increases freedom of expression and provides people opportunities to share information and exchange of ideas in a more productive manner. The use of communication to bring social change in a society, based on the philosophy of "two-way communication process" leads to a productive outcome. In a communication activity, a blend of communication approaches, i.e., use of skilled interpersonal communication personal and the use of range of communication tools (such as audio-cassettes, videos) can be employed to enrich people's understanding of the social and moral repercussions of a variety of development issues such as illiteracy, gender discrimination, violence, the exploitation and abuse of children, undernourishment, HIV/AIDS, nonimmunization, adolescent fertility, poor sanitation, unhygienic way of living, drug abuse, and environmental degradation. On the one hand, people's participation in a meaningful discussion enables

them to identify their problems. On the other hand, it also helps them to recognize where their capabilities lie. Participation also opens up avenues for people to reach consensus. And their involvement in decision-making processes develops a sense of ownership.

Servaes and Malikhao (2005) argue that in the participatory communication approach *"the point of departure must be the community. It is at the community level that the problems of living conditions are discussed, and interactions with other communities are elicited. . .*. However, *participation doesn't imply that there is no longer a role for the development specialists, planners and institutional leaders."*

In a participatory communication process, involving the community is very important in order to know their concerns. Engaging the community at all levels of participation during all stages of a development program ensures the real behavior change in society. Below is a case study of the global polio eradication initiative in Pakistan which highlights the community-involvement into the participatory communication process and its usefulness in bringing the behavior and social change in the society.

63.2 A Case Study of the Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Pakistan

The Global Polio Eradication Initiative (GPEI) is one of the world's largest public and private health initiatives. This development program aims to eradicate poliomyelitis from the globe. Polio (poliomyelitis) is a disease caused by the poliovirus (mainly in children under 5 years). It leads to paralysis in the lower leg muscles (WHO 2017). The development program of the Global Polio Eradication Initiative (GPEI) is run under the national governments in collaboration with spearheading partners. The Global Polio Eradication Initiative has come a long way in its efforts to eliminate poliomyelitis (polio virus) from the various regions of the world. Since the launch of GPEI (the Global Polio Eradication Initiative) in 1988, there has been a significant decrease in the number of polio cases and subsequently of endemic countries. In 1988, there were an estimated 35,000 cases in 125 countries in the world. According to an estimate, during the period (1988–2013), the overall numbers of polio cases fell by over 99% and over 10 million people were saved from being paralyzed. The number of polio cases was reduced from 35,000 to 416 by 2013. By 2014, four out of a possible six WHO regions (of the world) were certified as polio-free (Americas in 1994, followed by the Western Pacific Region in 2000, the European Region in 2002, and the South-East Asian Region in March 2014). By 2014, there were only three red zones, which meant that the polio virus had already been eliminated from most of the world except for three countries: Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Nigeria. Today the polio virus only exists in two countries: Pakistan and Afghanistan (Matlin et al. 2017).

The Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Pakistan has made significant progress since its official start in 1994. And the Polio Program in Pakistan has come a long way in its efforts to accomplish the goal of eliminating polio from its territory. The program

continued to make progress from year to year. The number of polio cases decreased each year. According to a report of the Rotary International, it was estimated that Pakistan could achieve the status of being "*polio-free"* by the end of 2001 to 2002, when about 27 million children were vaccinated in March, 2001 (Silver 2001). The last follow-up polio round was supposed to be held and completed in October, 2001. However, the incident of the 9/11 (2001) happened. The incident of the 9/11 changed the destiny of the Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Pakistan. It made Pakistan a frontline ally in the war on terror. Thus, a country with a lack of resources had to shift its focus from various development activities to defense activities, diverting many funds from one department to the other. Pakistan has faced many challenges in achieving the goal of eliminating the polio virus from its territory since 2001. Along with the financial and institutional constraints, one of the major hurdles was misconceptions about the polio vaccination. The issue of addressing the misconceptions became especially challenging after the May, 2011 incident. In May 2011, the CIA launched a fake hepatitis-B door-to-door campaign to collect DNA samples from Osama bin Laden and his family in the city of Abbottabad in Pakistan (Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health 2014). This incident had serious repercussions for the Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Pakistan as parents started refusing to allow their children to be vaccinated with polio drops (GPEI 2013, 2014). There are, of course, also other countries where fractions of the population have refused to vaccination for polio due to sociocultural and religious reasons such as Nigeria and India (Obregón et al. 2009). However, in Pakistan, the May 2011 incident brought severe repercussions for the polio program because the CIA used the fake hepatitis-B door-to-door vaccination campaign and the polio vaccination campaign was/is done in the same way, i.e., going door-to-door to give children polio drops. The incident of this fake hepatitis-B door-to-door campaign created doubts in the population and mistrust towards the polio vaccination campaigns.

The parents' refusal to allow their children to be vaccinated with polio drops, consequently, started affecting the number of polio cases. There were 58 polio cases in 2012. The polio cases increased from 58 in 2012 to 93 in 2013 and 306 cases in 2014. These 306 cases in 2014 was the highest number of polio cases reported in the last 10 years (GPEI 2014). Furthermore, the misconceptions about the polio vaccination also made the position of frontline workers (who go door-to-door for the polio vaccine) very difficult. Indeed, there was a first attack on the staff of the Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Pakistan in July 2012 (GPEI 2013). Moreover, some religious scholars also gave fatwa against polio vaccination. In this critical situation, the Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Pakistan had to occasionally stop work. Therefore, it became extremely important to clear up these misconceptions about the polio vaccination.

In this complex situation, in order to clear up the misconceptions about the polio vaccination and to raise awareness about its importance for children, the UNICEF took a strategic shift for its large-scale mass communication campaign called "*communication and social mobilization interventions"* which was launched throughout the country in January 2012. The UNICEF broadened the focus of its communication strategy from national-level mass communication activities to

incorporating extensive efforts strongly focused on community-level involvements. The campaign utilizes various modes of mass communication, for instance, newspaper, radio, television, cable TV channels, wall paintings, billboards, banners, streamers, bus branding, and airport signage all over the country and in particularly in the high-risk areas. According to an estimate, this mass media campaign reached more than 100 million people throughout the country. Along with the use of mass mediums, many other social and cultural activities were also organized. Some of them were very unique in their approach. For instance, UNICEF organized a theater play named *"Rescuing Oppressed and Destitute (ROAD), the Nomad Children's Festival for Polio Awareness"* for Punjab's nomadic tribes in Allhamra Cultural Complex, in Lahore, in March 2012. It was a one-day event which included a variety of performances such as magic shows, songs, and dances along with other entertainment activities for the children such as rides, roving clowns, and cartoon characters. A polio awareness stage drama was also performed. During the entire event, polio vaccination teams were circulating with fix vaccination points. More than 1,000 children were present at the festival and received OPV (Oral Polio Vaccine). Other social and cultural activities include "Clean-up Gadap"135, "Punjab Polio Photo Exhibition and Awards Ceremony," a literary festival "*Touching sensitive souls: World Pashto Literary Convention supports polio eradication."* Under this large-scale mass communication campaign, various advocacy and social mobilization activities took place all over the country (UNICEF 2012).

Involving religious leaders was one of the main focuses of the UNICEF's social mobilization communication strategy for the Pakistan Polio Program. The program reached out to renowned religious scholars of the country and convinced them to support the polio campaign in Pakistan to eliminate polio from Pakistan. Engaging the religious scholars enabled the program to respond to negative perceptions about the polio vaccine based upon religion. Initially, the program reached out to individual religious scholars and gradually in order to scale up the support of religious leaders, a press conference was also organized (in the high-risk areas, i.e., KPK and FATA) in which more than 50 renowned Ullema participated from Pakistan (End polio Pakistan 2014, 2015a).

Moreover, regular coordination and communication among all stakeholders was ensured by developing an online (web-based) dashboard which was accessible to all stakeholders. This dashboard is a compilation of all support tools being used by Pakistan Polio Program for its implementation, including monitoring indicators. It would maintain the historical data and generate profiles of all districts and union councils. It would also generate comparative analysis, which would help adaptive planning for high-risk areas. Since dashboard is web-based, it is regularly updated and shares all information of on-going program. In this way, the dashboard helps evidence-based planning and facilitate EOCs (Emergency Operation Centers). Dashboard also sends feedback alerts through E-mails and SMS (End polio Pakistan 2015b).

Involving all stakeholders and the participatory communication strategy of involving the Ullema community in the dialogue and discussion proved to be highly successful. One of the biggest achievements of the participatory communication strategy of involving the community in dialogues and discussions was that those Islamic Ullema who had

given fatwa against polio vaccination after May 2011 incident were convinced that the polio vaccination was not part of the fake hepatitis-B vaccination campaign of the CIA. Eventually, at the end of 2014 and in 2015, these Islamic Ullema revoked their earlier fatwa and gave fatwa in favor of the polio vaccination for the health benefits of children. The fatwa in favor of the polio vaccination for the health benefits of children by a number of Islamic Ullema brought significant decrease in the number of refusals by parents to allow their children to be vaccinated by the polio drops. According to the End Polio Pakistan, the number of polio cases dropped from 306 in 2014 to 54 in January 2016 (End Polio Pakistan 2016a, b).

Therefore, it can be safely analyzed that the participatory communication approach has proven to be highly effective for the context-relevant communication in this highly context-dependent nature of the situation. Moreover, this major breakthrough, i.e., the success of convincing Islamic scholars' community is surely attributed to the persistent efforts of participatory communication activities for involving the community in dialogue and discussion at all levels and likely reveals the sincere intentions and the best efforts of all the hard-working and dedicated people involved in this noble cause of eliminating polio from Pakistan.

63.3 Conclusion

The above case study of the global polio eradication initiative in Pakistan for its UNICEF's communication strategy has demonstrated the strength of the participatory community-involvement approach underpinned by the multiplicity model of the participatory communication. This model has helped overcome barriers and moved the global polio eradication initiative in Pakistan forward.

There is no better conclusion to this story than what Servaes (1999, 89) has argued for the participatory communication approach in his multiplicity model:

> *In the participatory model, the focus moves from a "communicator" to a more "receiver-centric" orientation, with the resultant emphasis on meaning sought and ascribed rather than information transmitted. With this shift in focus, one is no longer attempting to create a need for the information one is disseminating, but one is rather disseminating information for what is a need. Experts and development workers respond rather than dictate; they choose what is relevant to the context in which they are working. The emphasis is on information exchange rather than on persuasion as in the diffusion model. Listening to what the other say, respecting the counterpart's attitude, and having mutual trust are needed. Participation supporters do not underestimate the ability of the masses to develop themselves and their environment.*

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Part X

Participatory Communication

Participatory Development Communication and Natural Resources Management

64

Community Participation and Communication in Managing Land and Water

Guy Bessette

Contents

64.1 Introduction 1142
64.2 Conceptual Models 1142
64.2.1 Building Relationships Between Farmers and Researchers 1144
64.2.2 Using a Participatory Communication Approach and Methodology 1145
64.2.3 Discussing the Issue of Costs 1146
64.3 Engaging with Government Stakeholders 1147
64.4 Community Participation and Innovation Adoption 1148
64.5 Learning About Participatory Development Communication 1148
64.6 Empowering Community Members in Taking an Active Part in Their Own Development 1149
64.7 Involving Communities in Their Own Development 1150
64.8 Managing Local Conflicts 1151
64.9 Conclusion 1152
References 1153

Abstract

Globally, governments, civil society, and the private sector now recognize that the meaningful participation of local people is essential for sustainable natural resource management, agricultural productivity, and food security. However, traditionally, in the context of agriculture, forestry, and natural resources management, many communication efforts have focused on the dissemination of technical packages toward end users who were expected to adopt them or on the promotion of behavioral change. Not only did these practices have had little impact, but they also ignored the need to involve local people in decision-making and to address conflicts or policy gaps. Other more participatory approaches such as innovation

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circles or farmer's research have also met with limited results, mostly because they have been driven from the outside. This chapter discusses this situation and presents different cases from Asia and Africa illustrating how participatory development communication can enable local communities to identify their development needs and the specific actions that could help to fulfil those needs, while establishing an ongoing dialogue with the other stakeholders involved.

Keywords

Agricultural practices · Burkina Faso · Community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) · Food security · Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa (FARA) · Integrated Agricultural Research for Development (IAR4D) · *Majlis* · Natural resource management · Top-down dissemination approach

64.1 Introduction

Somewhere in a Sahel country, a small group of researchers and visitors are visiting a demonstration plot showing how live fences – an innovation that seeks to protect fields from the encroachment of desert sand – can prevent soil degradation and increase agricultural productivity for smallholders. Two farmers, who maintain the plot, explain the technology: what is it about, why is it useful, and what kind of vegetation can be used. Researchers and visitors ask a few questions, then the visit ends, and the group, enthusiastic about the experimentation and its potential, goes back to the cars. Lagging behind, I ask the two farmers if they use this technology in their own plots. "Oh no! "says one, "this is too much work!".

Somewhere else, a group of researchers are on their way to one of their field experimental sites with the intention of visiting farmers that manage them and monitoring the performance of soil productivity-improving technologies that were introduced earlier in the year.

After having enjoyed the traditional hospitality of being offered some water during a visit to community elders, they were told: "Come with us now, we will lead you to your demonstration plots." Of course, outside of these plots, which were not *theirs*, none of the innovative technologies were being used.

What is the problem? What do we need to do to facilitate the sharing and adoption of knowledge that can make a difference? What can be the role of development communication?

64.2 Conceptual Models

One of the conceptual models that had a large influence on agricultural communication practices has been the innovation dissemination model. Formulated more than 50 years ago (Rogers 1962, 1976), and originating from the extension of agricultural practices exported from the North to developing countries, it involves the

transmission of information to farmers by a resource person (the researcher or extension agent) and rests on three main elements: the target population, the innovation to be transmitted, and the sources and communication channels. Of course, this model has been rightly criticized for its reductionism, but in spite of all the evidence, there are still practitioners today who regards innovation as coming from the outside and which is delivered through information and demonstration with the aim of convincing farmers to adopt it in order to increase their productivity.

One model that challenged this approach was formulated by the Brazilian adult educator Paolo Freire (Freire 1970). In his model, he insisted that the mere transfer of knowledge from an authority source to a passive receiver did nothing to help promote growth in the latter as a human being with an independent and critical conscience capable of influencing and changing society. For communication to be effective, it has to be linked not only to the process of acquiring technical knowledge and skills but also to awareness-raising, politicization, and organizational processes.

In the 1970s, another communication model, developed around the emergence of community media, and championed by UNESCO, insisted on community participation:

> Whenever carefully developed programs have failed, this approach, which consists in helping people to formulate their problems or to acquire an awareness on new options, instead of imposing on them a plan that was formulated elsewhere, makes it possible to intervene more effectively in the real space of the individual or the group. (Berrigan 1981)

Through the use of these conceptual models and the learning acquired through experience, we began developing new ways of looking at the adoption of agricultural innovation. Participation, by putting the emphasis on the needs, perspectives, and knowledge of farmers and on inclusive decision-making processes, became the key concept of communication for the adoption of innovations. Many scholars engaged in agricultural research and extension, such as Röling (2004), have recognized that it is not useful to consider innovation as purely the outcome of transfer or delivery of results of scientific research to "ultimate users" or farmers and that participation needs to play a major role.

Over the years, there have been many efforts in trying to articulate this participation into concrete models aiming to share agricultural knowledge. In Africa, the Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa (FARA) (Together with the West and Central Africa Council for Agricultural Research and Development (CORAF-WECARD), the Association for Strengthening Agricultural Research in Eastern and Central Africa (ASARECA), the Centre for Coordination of Agricultural Research and Development for Southern Africa (CCARDESA), and National Agricultural Research Systems (NARS)) has been championing Integrated Agricultural Research for Development (IAR4D) multi-stakeholder processes using innovation platform (IP) as a key tool to facilitate livelihood and development initiatives' impact. The principles of this approach integrate:

- The perspectives, knowledge, and actions of different stakeholders around a common theme
- The learning that stakeholders achieve through working together

- Analysis, action, and change across the economic, social, environmental, and livelihoods and welfare of end users and consumers
- Analysis, action, and change at different levels of spatial, economic, and social organization (CORAF-WECARD 2011)

IAR4D's conceptual framework involves all stakeholders (communities, R&D organizations, and private sector) in the different phases of the process aiming to the adoption and setting in place of innovations. This approach "seeks to transform the organizational architecture of R&D actors from a linear configuration (research➔dissemination➔adoption) to a network configuration, comprising all actors in the agricultural **Innovation Sphere**" (Adekunle et al. 2013, p. 8).

This model is encouraging and has been shown to deliver promising results (Id., p. 27 ss). However, there are still a number of issues linked to the adoption of improved agricultural technologies that deserve attention. The nature of the relationships between researchers and communities, the communication methodology, and the costs of technology adoption are some of the main ones.

64.2.1 Building Relationships Between Farmers and Researchers

First and foremost, relationships between farmers and researchers need to be built and nurtured, and this usually takes time. Some researchers have had to work for many years with the same communities before mutual trust developed.

In other situations, researchers work with the same community members for many years, without engaging with the community as a whole.

Recently, in the context of needs analysis with a farming community, farmers told us "You need to respect us, even if we are illiterate, and do not have nice clothes. You need also to listen to us. Often, you come here and discuss with our sons that have received some education, you don't come to us."

We can add to this that too often, women as well as the poorest farmers are not involved in the relationship a researcher establishes with a community. Gender and equity are essential to take into consideration.

Often, researchers are perceived by communities as very important and smart people who come from the city in big 4x4, do all the talking, and sometimes provide some sort of monetary or in-kind benefits. If this perception is not challenged, it may be difficult to see a collaborative relationship develop between researchers and farmers. Moreover, if farmers see researchers only as monetary and in-kind benefits providers, (regretfully, this has been one of the side effects of many development projects), the new relationship might start on a wrong footing.

Some work certainly has to be done to establish and nurture relationships with the communities before establishing new field sites, and the strategy used to approach community members is critical for success.

I once met a researcher who was working by himself in the desert. I asked him what was going on. He explained that he was studying rainfall pattern and that initially, he was part of a multidisciplinary team. Social scientists in the team started

off by asking what the community members perceived as intrusive questions to which they were reluctant to provide answers, such as "How many heads of cattle do you possess?", or "How many wives do you have?", They were therefore asked to leave. "And what about you?" I asked?

"Oh, me" he said, "*I'm just a specialist in natural sciences. I install my equipment to record data on rain and humidity and when someone would come and ask me what I was doing, I would explain. They would then invite me for tea and I would go. Then, once inside, I would look at the tea and at the food, and tell myself 'If I drink this water and eat this food, I'll be sick'. I would then drink the tea, eat the food, get sick, and do it again and again, and I've been working here now for ten years*."

64.2.2 Using a Participatory Communication Approach and Methodology

The concept of dissemination is a tricky one. It is a bit like traditional class teaching methods used in formal education. It is not because a teacher explains a subject in a clear and logical way that students will automatically understand. Teaching and learning are two different complementary processes. And it is not because a researcher presents and explains a given technology to farmers that they will adopt and experiment with it. Some farmers, often the one that are more successful and who have had some contact with researchers in the past (not unlike a few bright students in a class), will take advantage of the information and experiment with the improved technology. But in most cases, the majority will not, because it is an answer to a question they did not ask.

This is why it is useful to move from information dissemination, to engaging farmers and researchers in a joint dialogue. A discussion on how climate change is perceived and how it affects productivity in the field for example, can lead to a decision to test more resilient plants and adopt improved agricultural technologies.

Traditionally, researchers tend to identify a particular problem and try out different solutions (including improved technologies) with the collaboration of local farmers. Then they try to disseminate their findings and have other farmers to adopt these solutions. It seldom works. But when communities are engaged in looking for a solution to a problem that affects them, and after having jointly found the solution, farmers then share their own experiences with other farmers; the situation evolves in a very different manner.

This approach demands a change in attitude and practices. Many researchers still perceive community members as beneficiaries and end users of research results. Even though it has been well documented that the one-way delivery of technologies to end users has had little impact, the required attitudinal shift is apparently not easy.

One methodology that can support and accelerate this process of change in attitude and practice is participatory development communication (See Bessette 2004, 2006). It is usually represented as having four main interlinked phases, diagnosis, planning, intervention, and assessment, and comprises the following 18 steps:

Phase 1: Understanding, relating, researching

1. Clarifying the mandate and the intervention
2. Developing a prior understanding of the local setting (situational analysis or preliminary research)
3. Establishing a relationship and negotiating a mandate with a local community
4. Setting the goal: involving the community in the identification of a problem, its potential solutions, and the decision to carry out a concrete initiative;
5. Identifying the key stakeholders concerned by the identified problem and initiative and learning from them (participatory communication appraisal; stakeholder analysis; SAGA, social and gender analysis; KSAP, knowledge, skills, attitudes, practices analysis; analysis of communication resources; social network analysis)
6. Identifying other stakeholders and potential partners concerned by the identified problem and initiative

Phase 2: Formulating and developing the strategy

7. Identifying and formulating communication objectives
8. Identifying key messages, content, and topics
9. Selecting appropriate communication tools and media
10. Facilitating partnerships and establishing agreements
11. Identifying the communication materials and activities to develop
12. Planning the pretesting of communication content and materials
13. Planning participatory monitoring and evaluation
14. Planning documentation
15. Defining participation modalities at each step of implementation, monitoring, and evaluation
16. Planning the sharing and utilization of results

Phase 3: Validating and organizing

17. Validating the whole strategy with the community
18. Producing a communication plan to implement the strategy

Other methodologies (vg. Acunzo et al. 2014) suggest different variants of this process, but they all have one thing in common: the emphasis on a systematic planning process that enables and encourages the active participation of stakeholders and the implementation of two-way communication between farmers and researchers.

64.2.3 Discussing the Issue of Costs

As we saw earlier, in order to promote the adoption and use of an improved agricultural technology, the innovation must go hand in hand with the building of a two-way relationship between farmers and researchers and with using a systematic methodological approach to engage communities in a process of experimentation and adoption. There is also a third element at play: costs.

Any technology has costs associated with it. It could be extra labor costs or additional input costs. This complicates things for poor farmers who struggle to survive and who do not have the means to buy what is needed. Moreover, in many settings, labor-associated costs often have to be assumed by women, on top of their heavy responsibilities.

Usually, researchers will demonstrate an improved technology, but without considering the associated costs. This is why, in many rural areas, in spite of the improved yield related to the use of certified seeds of improved varieties, a majority of farmers still use traditional seeds. This is also why, in the example mentioned above, farmers did not practice the new technology of live fences, although they were highly efficient.

There is no easy solution. The issue of costs has to be discussed between researchers and communities. In some cases, solutions can be found, if farmers decide they want to adopt an innovation. In other cases, it would be necessary to discuss the issue with other stakeholders such as the state decentralized services and policy-makers.

64.3 Engaging with Government Stakeholders

Engaging with government stakeholders is not something researchers are usually trained to do. But in their new roles as facilitators of change, it is an important dimension of the work of promoting innovative technologies for improving food security.

Sometimes, solutions to the cost issue can be found through in-kind support from the state decentralized services, including extension services of the Ministry of Agriculture. Such in-kind support may come in the form of material or farm inputs, such as seeds or fertilizers, or advices. But this, of course, remains at a small scale and is sporadic.

What is often needed is to engage government actors and civil society organizations in policy dialogue, in order to advocate for in-kind loans to farmers, subsidies for farm inputs, certified seeds or for conserving traditional seeds, extension services for improving organic soil management techniques, access to microcredit, improved distribution network for seeds, secure land tenure, etc.

Researchers especially those working for the State could also play a role by sensitizing administrative authorities of their departments, who can then approach parliamentarians (especially those active in agriculture or environment commissions) to discuss the issue. They can also link up with and sensitize civil society organizations such as farmers' federations or NGOs who already support advocacy efforts on the matter or who can start work in this area.

Promoting the adoption of an improved technology that would enhance agricultural productivity cannot be done in a policy vacuum. The costs and conditions (such as tenure security for women or for migrant farmers, farmers' rights, distribution networks, etc.) linked to its use must be brought to the attention of civil society organizations and policy-makers, in order to open a policy dialogue on the subject.

Sometimes new laws and regulations may be required (e.g., for the implementation of the International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture); and such issues may require time and effective policy dialogue for a resolution.

64.4 Community Participation and Innovation Adoption

Salimata is sitting at a local radio station and is singing a few traditional and local songs. Then she reminisces about when she was trained to make organic fertilizers but had to stop doing it. This year she harvested only two bushels of peanuts. She had to stop using the technology because she was afraid that if her plot of land produced too much, her field, which was granted to her by her village chief, would be taken from her.

Not far from there, other women at a radio club are listening to the broadcast and start sharing their own experiences. The issue of land tenure and poor access to land and the consequences on food security are being addressed. Then back home at their village, they bring up the issue, and finally a community meeting with the village elders and men is organized. Pledges are made that women can now improve their plot of land and put more food on the table without fear of losing their field.

This is a real story. The outcome might not be so positive every time, but the participatory communication process, where farmers and community members take the lead, nurtures change.

Improved agricultural technologies, whether modern or traditional, need to be shared widely to increase agricultural productivity and food security. For this to happen, there is a need to move from practices of information dissemination and demonstration to engaging community participation, fostering the appropriation of development initiatives by the communities, and supporting dialogue between all stakeholders.

64.5 Learning About Participatory Development Communication

In Southeast Asia, a project led by a group of regional organizations (The College of Development Communication of the University of the Philippines Los Banos, (CDC-UPLB), the Regional Community Forestry Training Center for Asia and the Pacific (RECOFTC), the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR), the Community-based Natural Resource Management Learning Center (CBNRM LC) and the International Potato Center-Users' Perspectives With Agricultural Research and Development (CIP-UPWARD)) promoted an innovation in learning among multiple groups of learners, involved at different degrees in community-based natural resource management (CBNRM), as community organizations, NGOs, researchers, and government members and located in different countries of Southeast Asia. As a capacity-building and networking program, ALL in CBNRM (adaptive learning and linkages in CBNRM) focused on the social, communication, and collective problem-solving processes enabling communities to manage their environment (Adaptive learning and linkages in community-based natural resource management, CDC-UPLB 2007).

The program was a continuation and an evolution from the Isang Bagsak program, aiming to build capacities in participatory development communication in Southeast Asia and in East and Southern Africa. In Southeast Asia, Isang Bagsak involved more than 50 NRM researchers and practitioners in government, non-government, research and academic institutions, and community-based organizations in Cambodia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. The African program was active in Uganda, Malawi, and Zimbabwe. ALL in CBNRM built on this experience by integrating the participatory development communication approach more closely with knowledge related to community-based management in wetlands, forests, and coastal ecosystems.

The learning modalities were the following: (1) an introductory workshop; (2) face-to-face discussion of learning themes on participatory development; (3) exchange of experiences and reactions between the different learning groups through a regional online thematic discussion, with technical inputs form institutions and resource persons; (4) research support and field mentoring; (5) development of learning resources designed for community members and local stakeholders; and (6) two regional workshops at midterm and at the end of the learning cycle.

As for the learning themes, they integrated participatory development communication with the different approaches used in community-based natural resource management. There were 13 themes: (1) establishing a relationship with the local community; (2) involving the community in the identification of a problem, potential solutions, and the decision to carry out a concrete initiative; (3) identifying the different community groups and other stakeholders concerned with the identified problem(or goal) and initiative; (4) emerging understanding of roles and concepts in CBNRM; (5) arriving at a collective understanding of the local community and the CBNRM context; (6) enhancing the community's capacity for identifying problems and setting goals; (7) understanding stakeholders relationships in a CBNRM setting; (8) developing and implementing a participatory development communication plan; (9) enhancing processes for collective action; (10) developing partnerships; (11) monitoring, documenting, and evaluating CBNRM experiences; (12) encouraging CBNRM adaptation and innovation; and (13) participatory processes for policy change.

Such efforts enabled the sharing of knowledge and the building of networks of practitioners, community organizations, researchers, and government stakeholders during 8 years (2001–2009). The lessons from this initiative are still available. Successfully facilitated participatory approaches depend on the sharing of knowledge and the creation of networks between community organizations, practitioners, researchers, and other stakeholders.

64.6 Empowering Community Members in Taking an Active Part in Their Own Development

There are many examples demonstrating the use of participatory development communication approaches for empowering communities so that they can take action. Here are some recent examples (Moving from information dissemination to community participation in forest landscapes 2017).

A project from People and Nature Reconciliation in Vietnam (Nguyen 2017) worked with two women's unions in ethnic communities in order to enhance women's capacities and knowledge to enable them to influence and take a lead in exploring alternative livelihood opportunities for their families and communities. The PDC approach led the project team to begin with a self-needs assessment and consultation with the women before planning training and activities. Those were identified by the women. The training courses helped them to identify potential forest products for market development. The participants chose to focus and explore the potential of three products. Through the process, the women also expressed their desire to be more involved in forest management in order to negotiate their rights and access to forest resources. The project supported them in identifying all the stakeholders involved in the management of the forest, their needs, and situation so that women could negotiate with them. Cooking competitions and cultural performances helped them to gain attention and interest.

Another initiative, in the Philippines (Diaz 2017), incorporated participatory development communication approaches to build the capacities of indigenous youth in participating in the production of communication tools to enable the sharing and expression of their cultural heritage. In this case, two-way communication among indigenous youth was supported in order to discuss priorities in terms of community development. At the end of the process, a youth festival including communication workshops, a newsletter, a video, and a declamation piece about youth's aspirations and dreams were produced by the participants, and all contributed to the promotion of indigenous people's identity, rights, and culture.

Participatory development communication was also used in the Philippines in the context of promoting and preserving indigenous people's sustainable food systems (Dagli et al. 2017). The project was able to facilitate a process where indigenous people identified innovative ideas and practices that could be further developed into community innovation projects to address specific food systems-related problems.

In Fiji, a similar approach was used in the context of adapting to climate change and ensuring food security (Elder 2017). At the outset of the project, PDC was used to develop relationships and trust between the communities involved in the project, the project team, and the government. It then led stakeholders in identifying problems and initiatives to address them in the context of rising sea levels. They identified a set of actions that they, together with eternal specialists, would carry on to address the identified issue of food security. In Ghana, Radio Ada also used participatory development communication to facilitate consensus-building and decision-making at the community level in order to restore a waterway which used to be at the heart of the lifestyle of the communities bordering it (Larweh 2006).

64.7 Involving Communities in Their Own Development

In the context of natural resource management and agriculture, many practices of researchers and extension agents still rely on top-down dissemination methodologies. In such a context, farmers are not involved in the decision-making process regarding technologies and practices to use in their field. Despite the hardship and difficulties

associated with their traditional activities, they tend to overlook the technologies or practices shared by researchers or extension agents or use them only in the context of a given project that enlist and retribute them for a definite span of time.

Participatory development communication and its two-way communication model helps in improving the exchanges between researchers, extension agents, and farming communities, enhancing farmers' participation in experimenting different approaches and technologies, and fostering farmer to farmer training.

In Uganda, a project led by the Banana Program of the National Agricultural Research Organization used such an approach to foster active participation of local communities in identifying problems in their banana gardens, as well as their causes and possible solutions (Odoi 2006). The research team found that certain community members had extensive indigenous knowledge related to the concerns identified collectively, but it needed validation and complement of information, as well as a mechanism to share such knowledge among farmers and communities.

Farmers got involved not only in the experimentation of the techniques they had selected but also in producing and using communication tools to share their knowledge among their community and in a second step with neighboring communities. They made posters with photographs they took in their field before, during, and after experimentation and also produced a video with the help of the project team (This had not been planned. The team produced a video but the farmers were not happy with it and asked to be shown how to do one.) that they used during diversity fairs they organized or in which they participated. It is interesting to note that the community members involved in this project later organized themselves into a farmer association that became quite influent in the country.

In Vietnam, reversing the top-down dissemination approach to a participatory one helped engaging disadvantaged groups in local development. Following a policy change in the central mountains, new regulations aimed to protect the forest drove ethnic minorities used to a slash-and-burn model of agriculture in search for alternative livelihood solutions. A team of the Hue University of Agriculture and Forestry (Le Van An 2006) developed an initiative to engage these community members, and especially the most disadvantaged groups of the community, in participating in a collective journey to develop new livelihood practices. Community members regrouped according to their farming activities and interests and shared ideas and opinions on the problems they now were confronted with. With the help of the researchers, they then started looking for solutions and experimenting them. For example, in the case of rice production, farmers decided to test new varieties and to try out the application of a fertilizer, together with transplanting and direct sowing methods. Training was organized to support the different initiatives. Role plays, videos, posters, and leaflets were used as needed.

64.8 Managing Local Conflicts

Conflicts and opposed interests are linked with the management of natural resources. Finding solutions is never easy, and sometimes these are out of reach of the communities themselves. The case of land reform is a good example.

But there are many conflicts at the local level on which people can act and where a participatory development communication approach can make a difference.

In Lebanon, conflicts over land use among animal herders, fruit growers, and quarry owners in a semiarid area were addressed by the intervention of a research team from the American University of Beirut who set up a user's network between different stakeholders, using a wide range of tools, including traditional communication tools such as the *majlis*, tribal get together during which issues are brought up in the community, short video documentaries on different issues which were used as powerful participatory tools, a series of workshops related to natural resource management and community development, etc. The network provided an environment in which conflict resolution could take place among different land users since the needs of conflicting parties could be voiced and compromises explored (Hamadeh et al. (2006) in Bessette G (ed), op. cit.).

In Burkina Faso, a local conflict over land use between men and women was addressed through a process of involving the women, who were victims of a local usage of taking good land from them, into addressing the situation (Thiamobiga 2006, in Bessette G, op. cit.). Five villages participated to this initiative. The issue could not be discussed publicly in regular community meetings because women of this area did not have the right to speak in public.

They used a traditional custom: once a year, women would dress themselves as men and could do as they wished without retaliation of any sort. With the help of a local NGO, CESAO, and the Theâtre de la Fraternité, a group of women from the five villages developed and organized a play in which, dressed as men, they addressed a number of issues linked to property rights but also soil productivity. A debate followed the theater play and served as a learning experience for everyone. Farmwives giving advice on soil fertility to men was a first to the region. At the end, the village elders took a pledge of respective women's land rights. If their plots produced more than others, they would not be taken from them anymore.

64.9 Conclusion

There are many examples of applying PDC in natural resource management. In all of them, the common tread is the use of communication to empower people to identify and understand the problems they face (it could also be the case of a collective vision they wish to contribute to) and identify a set of actions to address them and then to support such initiatives. In a review of similar cases from Africa, Indonesia, Lebanon, and others, it was suggested that the processes that PDC practitioners concentrate on can be grouped in four categories (Saik Yoon 2006), communicating effectively, creating knowledge, building communities, and enabling action.

As the author of this review puts it, "Conventional communication for development efforts usually concentrate on the first and last cluster (communicating effectively and enabling action. PDC covers two additional clusters (creating knowledge and building communities) that aim to self-empower people through augmenting and validating their knowledge of critical issues and subjects that affect their lives, and

through forging strong alliances between people, groups and communities so that they can consult and act effectively together in order to address problems and realize aspirations" (Idem. p. 275).

This being said, as Nora Cruz Quebral, one of the main founders of our discipline puts it, "New models of communication do not necessarily replace older ones. They just co-exist" (Quebral 2006). What is important for practitioners is to be clear about the kind of communication and what kind of development they advocate. Participatory development communication takes a stand on empowerment as the key to effective community-based natural resource management.

It is also is a communication of proximity. As such, it is most effective in working with local communities. It is also a useful complement to working at a policy level on issues such as climate change, agricultural policies, land tenure, etc., because at the end, such policies can only be effective if people see them as an answer to their needs and implement them.

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Participatory Communication in Practice: The Nexus to Conflict and Power

65

Saik Yoon Chin

Contents

65.1 Introduction 1156
65.1.1 Why Practitioners Adopt Participatory Approaches 1156
65.1.2 Participatory Communication in Practice 1159
65.1.3 Transforming Conflict and Competition 1161
65.1.4 Issues of Power in the Practice of Participatory Communication 1163
65.1.5 Empowering the People 1165
65.1.6 The Approach to Practicing Participatory Communication 1168
References 1174

Abstract

Practitioners of participatory communication commonly encounter episodes of conflict in their work with communities. The first type of conflict is among peers and members of the community which occurs when people with diverging priorities attempt to address shared problems. Conflict may persist due to inability of processes to resolve disagreements and competition. The second type of conflict is between the community and influential elites who possess powers which they wish to continue asserting in a top-down fashion to shape events and influence outcomes within the community. These experiences suggest a necessity for practitioners of participatory communication to build interdisciplinary linkages to the area of conflict management and theories of power in their continuing efforts to develop approaches which are capable of processing conflict involving communities they serve. This contribution explores the nexus between participatory communication and the closely related theories and realities posed by conflict and unevenly distributed power within communities.

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Development · Participation · Participatory communication · Conflict · Power · Empowerment of people and groups

65.1 Introduction

65.1.1 Why Practitioners Adopt Participatory Approaches

The first practitioners of participatory communication (practitioners) began their careers working with conventional mass communication methods. They discovered and then adopted participatory processes after experiencing setbacks using top-down approaches with the communities they worked. Many of these practitioners started their work in offices far away from farms and villages, designing extension-support print material, recording radio programs, and writing agriculture stories for provincial newspapers. Many were employed by organizations and government agencies set up to encourage villagers to adopt new ways of farming to increase yields and income.

The Training and Visit (T&V) system of agricultural extension was one such initiative promoted by the World Bank (Benor et al. 1984) where a continuous series of regimented training sessions is conducted by "subject-matter specialists" about scientifically prescribed farming methods. Such training originated at the "zone" headquarters of the extension services. It was then repeated at the "district" and afterward the "subdivisional" levels before being finally taught to the village extension worker. This worker, at the end of the pipeline of specialist prescriptions, then mounted a bicycle or motorcycle to visit his or her circle of about eight farming groups. At each stop the extension worker taught the methods which he (they were mostly men) had just learned to about 10 "contact farmers." These farmers are provided with communication and learning support materials and "inputs and supplies" – these may be seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, or tools and sometimes even lent money – so that the farmers could carry out what they have been taught.

The role of communication then was in the classic mode of "development support communication." Communicators were there to produce media materials specified by the technical staff of the program. The work was essentially "mass" communication – to take the centrally designed messages from the "expert" few to the groups spread across a farming district. As the T&V system and other similar programs proved over time to be less effective than conceived, everyone involved scrambled to review and pin down inadequacies in their work. A fairly common complaint was that the "communication shop" was issuing boring and unclear training support material which the contact farmers either did not understand, will not use, or both.

Some communicators responded to the criticism by pretesting the media and training support materials they were working on with the intended audiences. For many, it was the first time they had travelled to the villages and farms and showed their prototype print designs, played back recorded radio programs, and screened

training films to the people who comprised the readers and audiences for these material to determine scientifically if they understood the messages being mediated.

The efforts invested in pretesting did lead to the production of more effective development support materials that better served the purposes of top-down initiatives. However, it did not solve all the problems. Communicators began probing deeper during their fieldwork and sometimes found while the materials they had produced were effective in communicating intended messages, they failed in changing people's behavior and practices. The simple answer they sometimes discovered was that targeted audiences were not interested in the issues and topics being promoted. The top-down objectives defined by the experts were not the ones the targeted "audiences" wanted to work on. Technologies and solutions were being promoted that did not meet an urgent need nor solve a priority problem of the people.

Some communicators took liberty in altering their own work-briefs, and instead of just broadcasting recommendations of the experts to the people, they also attempted to open feedback channels to the experts and subject-matter specialists in attempts to reorientate program and project objectives to match the people's needs and wants. Many of these initiatives by communicators to make available feedback from the field were not appreciated by the hierarchically more senior subject-matter specialists who found the intervention to be insolent of their "juniors" and promptly snubbed their efforts.

While this was happening, communicators made contact on their field trips with social scientists immersed in field projects aimed at doing just what they had attempted with opening feedback channels. Some of the social scientists had adopted participatory research methods (Tandon 2005) which encouraged people to take an active part in the research process and shape the directions of their work. Paulo Freire's (1970) critical thoughts on pedagogy – or more appropriately "andragogy" – would at about the same time strike a chord with some of the communicators who found resonance of their work experiences with parts of his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. It proposed a new relationship between the teacher, student, and society. Freire criticized "traditional pedagogy" – which was very much the way in which development support communication engaged with target audiences – as the "banking model of education." In this model learners were approached as "empty vessels" to be filled with knowledge. He proposed that students be treated instead as co-creators of knowledge with their own contributions to what should be taught and shared. This was the new pedagogy to free the "oppressed." The early practitioners' adoption of this Freirian concept may have marked the beginnings of participatory communication.

The significance of this approach changed the focus of the work of practitioners from media materials production to the facilitation of communication and social processes for social change. The emphasis moved from the mechanics of mass communication – the printing presses and recording studios – to the people, to facilitating the expression of their ideas and group-processing these ideas to trigger collective action to solve community problems.

Such an approach was very difficult for early practitioners to reconcile with the exigencies of their organizations which had a predetermined agenda and a clearly

defined mandate that often did not match the interests of the people they tried to engage with. Very few communicators working in development enjoyed the freedom of engaging with a community in a completely open-ended manner in which the people were free to address only the issues and problems that were important to them. One of the earliest groups which did enjoy this freedom was Colin Low, a filmmaker, who worked with Fred Earle of the Extension Department of Memorial University in making a number of documentary films about the 5000 residents from 10 fishing villages on Fogo Island in Canada. The fishing folks on the island were in dire straits. Catches had dwindled to uneconomic levels, and the government was seriously mulling the options of making welfare payments to the islanders or relocating them to the mainland where they could seek other forms of employment. Low had picked the island because of three factors: (1) the residents were experiencing many social and economic problems; (2) government policy for the region was being formulated, and hence ideas and options from the people were being sought; and (3) the island was large enough to experience "inter-community communication" problems which the team could attempt to develop methods to overcome (Nemtin and Loh 1968).

What emerged from the innovative approaches and processes pioneered by the team as they filmed from 1964–1967 became known as the "Fogo Process" – often described by practitioners as the first participatory film/video method. The National Film Board of Canada which funded the work called it "The Newfoundland Project," while others refer to it as "Fogo Island Films." This was before portable video cameras were available and film was shot on celluloid. The participatory element did not come in the islanders handling the camera but in their close involvement in deciding what to film, in agreeing to be filmed, in stating their views on record, in watching the "rushes" (raw, unedited footages) and deciding how sequences and footages should be edited to make up a complete film, and in watching the finished film and reflecting on the issues and views it presented.

A challenge by some of the Fogo islanders that the filmmakers "would not dare to run the statements (which the islanders had made on the films) in St John's or Ottawa" (where the provincial and national governments are based) encouraged the filmmakers to screen the films to government officials. The officials' response was "critical but supportive," and the filmmakers filmed one of the officials responding to the statements made on film by the fishing folk in Fogo Island and then took the reel back to the island and screened it for the islanders, thereby creating a two-way communication opportunity where people in different locations could see and hear each other's views, decades before the advent of videoconferencing and Skype.

In the Fogo Process, people who would otherwise be treated as the "target audience" played an active part in focusing the communication medium on people, scenes, things, and issues that were important to them. The finished product was presented back to themselves and other people of their community. It served as a mirror for the community. The reflected reality of their problems helped define these problems and mobilized community to act on the issues identified. Fogo Island communities were ultimately not disbanded and relocated. They continue to thrive today.

65.1.2 Participatory Communication in Practice

Early practitioners of participatory communication had to be creative and developed new ways of working as there were no manuals and not many cases of tried and tested methods for them to follow. Some of these new methods were borrowed and adapted from others working in development following participatory approaches.

Putting people of the community in the "director's chair," as we saw in Fogo, proved to be a sound approach to participatory communication. Community radio soon evolved (UNESCO undated). The practitioner's main role in this case was installing the hardware – recording equipment, transmitter, and broadcast tower – finding the money to pay for electricity bills and maintenance, and training members of the community in using the equipment and managing a broadcast station. The differentiation between the broadcaster and listener blurred as people took turns in "appearing" on broadcasts and programs got recorded in different homes, workplaces, markets, and community centers. Program producers did much of their recording "on the go," travelling to where the stories were breaking and visiting the homes of people who had news and stories to share. Many adopted the position that production values were not as important as having the people of the community – the listeners – in charge. Apart from in-depth programs on community issues, some of the more popular programs involved entertainment where different families and groups took turns in performing music or oral presentations which were often broadcasted live to save the cost of magnetic tape and the time required in postproduction. Personal and family information were also closely listened to on most community stations. The author recalls visiting a remote radio station which served communities living in an isolated valley dispersed on the slopes of two high mountains, where it sometimes took a day to hike from one side of the valley to the next. These quick and dry interjections over the air of family information ranged from calling family members to return home due to sickness or deaths to happier announcements of births and marriages. Besides serving a telegraphic service, such messaging knitted the communities closer in the sharing of sad and happy milestones of their members.

The print medium followed suit. Village wall newspapers were "published" on large bulletin boards hung in central locations such as community store, tea shop, meeting hall, or school (Practical Action 2007). People could pin stories and drawings on to the boards for all to read. An editorial committee would keep postings going in an orderly manner and, when the occasion called for it, write editorial pieces on community issues. The illiterate members of the community or the elderly with poor eyesight would get help from people present around the boards to read the postings to them.

Practitioners also introduced visualization methods into community gatherings and meetings. The most commonly adopted method involved writing answers and comments about issues raised during meetings on cards and dropping them anonymously into a heap (Salas et al. 2010). Participants would then work together to sort and group the cards according to themes and pin them on a wall in clusters. Discussions which follow tend to be more focused and productive when guided by

the thematic clusters of ideas and comments visualized on the cards. As participants wrote the cards at the same time, rather than take turns at speaking, more ideas were collected, and everyone got an equal chance at contributing points to the discussion, and the risk of the articulate few dominating discussions was minimized. The other advantage of cards was that ideas and comments were not easily identified with the people making them and therefore got sorted and discussed less emotionally, especially when issue addresses proved to be personal and divisive. The process recommends pasting the cards on large pieces of paper after a meeting to serve as a ready record of points discussed which could be conveniently displayed in follow-up meetings so that the group did not go around in circles tackling the same issues at subsequent meetings. In communities with large numbers of illiterate members, agreed symbols are drawn on to cards instead of written words.

When done effectively, visualization processes will help groups arrive at a unanimous decision on action to be taken by the community. Often, unanimity may not be the outcome of visualization in which case a short list of options and alternatives proposed by the members will be the outcome. If not all options on the short list can be acted on at once, conducting a poll among all members to pick the priority action is often the most commonly accepted way forward. Practitioners could play the role of the neutral pollster in such a case and design a more engaging process of polling rather than a simple vote for the preferred option. A municipality in the Malaysian state of Penang involved all members of the community above 10 years of age in a gender-responsive and participatory budgeting process to decide how municipal funds budgeted for their neighborhood should be spent (Shariza 2016). After a participatory consultation process which identified a short list of neighborhood facilities which could be built using municipal funds, a poll was called. Every resident above the age of 10 years was given five ballots, each ballot representing RM (Ringgit, the Malaysian currency) 100. The residents had to decide for themselves how to spend the RM 500 they held and drop the five ballots into the respective boxes for the various options. The children in the community had mobilized themselves to lobby their parents, relatives, and friends to allocate their money votes to a playground. They won convincingly and a playground has been built for the community. While the playground is the concrete result, the more profound achievement by the people is their meaningful role in deciding how public resources allocated for their benefit are used.

Practitioners make use of different combinations of methods and strategies, such as the examples mentioned above, in designing processes for the communities they work with. Field experiences of the practitioners and advice sought from members of the community and people who know the communities intimately should guide the design of processes. Practitioners should keep an open mind about their designs and be alert to the responses of members of the communities once these processes are launched and be ready to tweak and even make major changes to processes to improve them once members of the communities engage with these processes and test their acceptability and efficacy.

The unsung hero of designs and processes that do work is often the “facilitator.” This is the person who convenes the meetings and chairs them. He or she also acts as the liaison between members of the community, practitioners, and development workers who provide support to the community’s efforts. The facilitators are often

overlooked because they tend to work in a low-key manner and many of them are not trained media practitioners. In the case of the Fogo Process, most scholars who have written about the experiment came from specialized media and communication backgrounds and had researched the impact of the Fogo Process from the perspective of filmmaking. What was often overlooked or given less prominence in their analysis was the quiet work behind the scenes rendered by Fred Earle, the extension agent.

According to Susan Newhook (2009) and sociologist Robert DeWitt, who undertook sociological research on Fogo Island in the autumn of 1966, Fred Earle's arrival as the new extension field officer in 1964 had given "new hope to all those who claimed an interest in improvement. Here was the man, they felt, who could provide a well-needed link with the remote government in St. John's. It is hard to imagine any of the developments that followed Earle's appointment happening without him and his employers at the Extension Service. In the Fogo Island films, he appears to be an interested but uninvolved observer of events, but nothing could have been further from the case. Earle was no outsider: he was born on nearby Change Islands and moved to Fogo Island in his teens . . . had once worked . . . as an errand boy and later as a bookkeeper" on the island. It is very likely that Colin Low, the filmmaker, had selected Fogo Island for his experiment from a short list of several potential sites, because of the availability of Earle as a facilitator for the project.

Experienced practitioners of participatory communication have long recognized that an effective facilitator is the key element in participatory communication that is the hardest to replicate when a project proves successful in one community and it attempts to scale up or expand its processes to serve other communities. This chapter will attempt to understand what is it about good facilitators that remain elusive to upscaling and replication. The above analysis of Fogo Island suggests that facilitators must know the community as intimately as an "insider." In addition to inside knowledge and an empathy for the place and people, good facilitators must also be credible individuals who engender trust and goodwill among most, if not all, possible fractions or interest groups within a community. A facilitator who possesses these attributes enjoys a better chance of engaging a community in activities and processes launched. Just as importantly, if not more so, such a facilitator will play a critical role in helping the team from the outside understand sensitivities affecting members and groups within the community and disagreements on divisive issues. An effective facilitator is the frontline member of the project team who manages conflict when they happen and transform such conflicts into opportunities for solution and change.

65.1.3 Transforming Conflict and Competition

Practitioners sometimes begin their work in communities believing so deeply in the intrinsic good of participatory communication that they are sometimes caught unprepared when processes lead to conflicts among the people taking part and the mood in the community sours. An experienced facilitator is indispensable at the outbreaks of conflicts to tap the opportunity it provides to define disagreements and find ways to resolve them and move the community pass the conflicts, hopefully stronger for their occurrence.

Colin Low and his colleagues filming on Fogo Island saw an important role for conflicts. This is what they wrote in their report reflecting on the processes they innovated:

> We think the intensity of discussion should be related to the effect discussion has on direct development. In other words, if, as we were doing, the purpose of the project is inter-community communication and creation of consensus, the degree of conflict then can be constructive; will be less than with other projects. A project that channels the responses into direct action can handle more. The reason for this is obvious. A small isolated community can be torn apart if its people and problems are left exposed and unresolved. The motivation to reconcile problems is greater when direct action is being considered. In a discussion the influence to reconcile conflict comes from the discussion leader. His is a difficult role, for if no conflict or tension is elicited, it usually means that little communication has gone on. The position between definition and recognition, and division, is quite precarious.
>
> Perhaps our films could have catered to the defining of conflicting opinion, more than they did. Although we presented views supporting the adoption of longliners [large ocean-going fishing boats,] and a centralized school, and also opinions against centralization off the island and the effects of welfare, we never heard opinions counter to these. The closest we came was with the *Billy Crane Leaves His Island* (NFLD Archive 2015) reel, and it was the most successful one.

Colin Low felt that the film of fisherman Billy Crane quietly but very thoughtfully and forcefully explains why circumstances on Fogo Island had deteriorated to the extent that he had lost hope for its future and had decided to move to the mainland, as his most successful reel. Crane's repeated mention in the film of "long-liners" – larger fishing boats that could sail further from shore to richer fishing grounds – as a solution and his rejection of government "welfare" payments to islanders proved eventually to be the solution that saved the fishing industry in Fogo.

Given that conflicts are unavoidable and even "good" when effectively processed, how should facilitators and practitioners prepare themselves for their occurrences? Referencing conflict at the workplace, Madalina (2016) identified four types of conflict classified according to "who" are the people involved:

- **Interpersonal conflict** refers to a conflict between two individuals. This occurs typically due to how people are different from one another.
- **Intrapersonal conflict** occurs within an individual. The experience takes place in the person's mind. Hence, it is a type of conflict that is psychological involving the individual's thoughts, values, principles, and emotions.
- **Intragroup conflict** is a type of conflict that happens among individuals within a team. The incompatibilities and misunderstandings among these individuals lead to an intragroup conflict.
- **Intergroup conflict** takes place when a misunderstanding arises among different teams within an organization. In addition, competition also contributes to the rise of intergroup conflict.

Another way of classifying conflict is according to "what" is causing it. Jehn and Mannix (2001) proposed that conflict in work groups may be categorized into three types:

- **Relationship conflict** where there is an awareness of interpersonal incompatibilities involving personal issues such as dislike among group members and feelings such as annoyance, frustration, and irritation.
- **Task conflict** is an awareness of differences in viewpoints and opinions pertaining to the group's task which may coincide with animated discussions and personal excitement but, by definition, are void of intense interpersonal negative emotions that are more commonly associated with relationship conflict.
- **Process conflict** is where controversies arise about aspects of how a task is accomplished, specifically regarding work and how resources are shared – such as who should do what or how much should one receive to get the job done.

A third and potentially more disruptive form of conflict comes from the much appreciated "empowering" nature of participation. When the processes adopted by the people begin to take effect, a couple of things happen – the first may be that participants have been motivated to set aside apathy about an immediate need and begin to work together on addressing that need. The other possibility is that people want to tackle root causes of their problems so as to regain control of their lives and do things their way rather than listen to powerful elites who hitherto have led the community in a top-down manner. Participation is therefore empowering because people are reclaiming power to shape their own lives. Conflict may then follow as previously influential elites attempt to resist and retain the power the people are cooperating toward seizing back. Experienced facilitators are sensitive to preexisting power distributions and of the elites who hold power over the community they are working with. Most facilitators will prefer not to threaten existing arrangements until such time the community is ready to negotiate for new power-sharing arrangements to be made.

Just as many practitioners of participatory communication are not trained in processing conflict, many are also not familiar with the concept of power and how it is wielded.

65.1.4 Issues of Power in the Practice of Participatory Communication

Power has been much studied by both civilians and the military because it rests at the core of administering and protecting communities, kingdoms, and nation-states. Civilians study power as it is the grand prize in politics, business, and religion. The military was the earliest to master power and has been projecting and wielding it over the past millenniums. Practitioners of participatory communication should study power to become sensitive to the potentials of processes as well as the unpredictable dynamics we expose members of the community to when participatory processes begin to adjust power distribution within the community.

Practitioners from a media background have always worked against a backdrop of power issues. In fact, the news media has been intimate enough with power to be referred to as the "Fourth Estate" across the landscape of power found in a

nation-state. The First Estate in the realm of a kingdom is the clergy. The Second comprises the nobility and the Third is made up of the people or commoners, hence "The Commons" in the British Parliament, where the "Lords Spiritual" make up the First Estate and the "Lords Temporal" form the Second. It is useful for facilitators and practitioners to keep these "four estates" in mind when engaging with a community.

One of the earliest authors on power was Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli, a famous writer of the Renaissance period who was variously a humanist, diplomat, politician, historian, and philosopher. His book *The Prince* (translated from Italian) (Machiavelli 1532) published 5 years after his death is the oldest source on thinking about power – not all of it flattering. His name spawned the term "Machiavellian" that refers to the ruthless use of cunning and duplicity in statecraft to achieve one's goals, revealing the bare-knuckle approaches of sixteenth-century, feudal Europe which many practitioners will tell you are still very much the current approaches in many places where they work. "Machiavellianism" has also become a term personality psychologists use to describe a person' who is unemotional, able to detach himself/herself from conventional morality so as to deceive and manipulate others.

A vast literature on power has been published in the six centuries after Machiavelli's book. Michel Foucault (2001) who wrote extensively on the subject from 1954 to 1984 pointed out the limited power of the Fourth Estate. He wrote about the necessity to distinguish power relations from "relationships of communication that transmit information by means of a language, a system of signs, or any symbolic medium. No doubt, communicating is always a certain way of acting upon another person or persons. But the production and circulation of elements of meaning can have as their objective or as their consequence certain results in the realm of power; the latter are not simply an aspect of the former." In other words communication is a necessary but not a core element of power. To Foucault power refers to relations between individuals or between groups where certain persons are able to exercise influence over others. The media is a mechanism in this exercise.

John French's and Bertram Raven's chapter on "The Bases of Power" (French and Raven 1959) is a useful reading to grasp the types of power that the community need to deal with when interacting with elites who wield it. There are five bases or fundamental elements of power:

- **Reward power**: the ability of a person or social agent to reward another person. For example, agricultural-extension officers who can hand out to farmers free seeds and fertilizer.
- **Coercive power**: similar to reward power but the social agent also possesses the ability to manipulate conditions to obtain the rewards. For example, a minister in the government who can approve the above farming subsidies as well as set new policies to increase such subsidies or waive regulations which disallow them.
- **Legitimate power**: created by the beliefs and values of a group which accord individuals the legitimate right to influence members of the group who in turn have an obligation to accept this influence. For example, a traditional ruler, or a religious leader, who enjoys the faithful support of either a community that reveres the royal institution or a pious community that embraces a set of religious doctrines.

- **Referent power**: an attractive person who has power over others because they in turn may derive prestige from being closely associated with this attractive person. A celebrity, such as a famous actress, wields such power. The greater the attractive attributes of this actress, the greater is her public identification, and consequently the greater the referent power that she possesses and wields. This is the reason why development agencies appoint popular celebrities as "ambassadors" of the causes they promote.
- **Expert power**: people with more knowledge and more information have power over others who don't have the knowledge or information. The strong influence doctors exert over their patients who are ill is a clear example of such power. External development "experts," participatory communication practitioners included, may also possess such power.

Practitioners when faced with challenges posed by the strong influence that the powerful have over a community that resists change are often puzzled by such apparent apathy. Gaventa (1980) suggests that such powerlessness or "quiescence" or motionlessness is due to the mechanisms of power being wielded to curb independent decision-making by the people. He established three "dimensions" within such mechanisms:

- **First dimension**: the powerful is usually the one who always prevail in bargaining over the resolution of key issues – the community or group also frequently surrenders decision-making to this powerful person.
- **Second dimension**: the reason why people surrender their independence in making decisions is because the powerful individual is able to mobilize bias and support through various means including the use of force, sanctions, manipulation, and invocation of existing biases.
- **Third dimension**: the way the powerful individual influences, shapes, and determines issues includes his/her mobilization of communication and information. The Fourth Estate hard at work for the Lords Temporal instead of the commoners, for example! In the same way, this role can be reversed – participatory communication processes can be adopted by the people to mute such influence, to clarify issues, and to shape solutions that better serve the community's interests.

65.1.5 Empowering the People

Practitioners often find that one of the unspoken, first goals of a participatory communication brief is to design processes and messages that enable people to discover that they are capable of making independent efforts to improve their lives. This may in turn motivate the people to work together to reclaim power and opportunities that they had surrendered to others so as to improve their lives and environment, in short to "empower" the people.

"Empowerment" interestingly emerged as a professional term in the 1980 presidential address by Julian Rappaport to the American Psychological Association

where he was referring to the work of psychologists and the expert power they held over patients. He explained to his colleagues: "By empowerment I mean our aim should be to enhance the possibilities for people to control their own lives." Two decades would pass before his colleague Marc Zimmerman (2000) would propose the empowerment theory in a handbook on community psychology edited by Rappaport himself. The theory calls for a "value orientation" which it succinctly describes:

> An empowerment orientation also suggests that community participants have an active role in the change process, not only for implementing a project, but also in setting the agenda. The professional works hard to include members of a setting neighbourhood, or organization so they have a central role in the process. Participants can help identify measurement issues and help collect assessment and evaluation data, but the results are also shared. Feeding back information to the community and helping to use it for policy decisions is a primary goal. An empowerment approach to evaluation focuses as much attention on how goals are achieved as on outcomes.
>
> The theory emphasizes empowerment as context and population specific. Empowerment "takes on different forms for different people in different contexts. A distinction between processes and outcomes is critical." Empowering processes attempt to establish control, secure needed resources and critically understand one's environment. Empowered outcomes refer to how these processes were implemented and their impact; not only in material terms but more importantly at the social or community level. Outcomes are determined through studying consequences of the people's attempts to gain more control of how their lives are lived within their community. In carrying out such study each level of analysis may have to be undertaken separately but it is crucial that the people undertaking the analyses recognize that all these different levels are inherently connected to each other. Such study has to determine how individuals, organizations, and community empowerment are mutually interdependent and that they are all at once a cause and a consequent of each other. "Efforts to understand empowering processes and outcomes are not complete unless multiple levels of analysis are studied and integrated."

The preceding discussion of how conflict is an inevitable dynamic within participatory processes and its connection to the bases of power is an extremely brief one. It barely skims the surfaces of the disciplines involved and serves to introduce practitioners to these areas for further study and interdisciplinary research by practitioners and their colleagues who work on these issues. Elisheva Sadan (2004) who teaches social work researched the rather wide field of power and concluded that the literature on it diverges. She found that the divergence made it difficult even for us to define power. She proceeded to develop a theory of empowerment in the "shadow" of those disagreements. Her theory is shared here because it had been proposed in the context of community development that most practitioners of participatory communication do their work. Her starting point echoed that of the psychologists – the process of empowerment means a transition by people "from a state of powerlessness to a state of more control over one's life, fate, and environment." She suggests that the process is aimed at achieving three conditions:

- Changing feelings and capacities of individuals
- Changing the life of groups and communities

- Changing the professionals (such as practitioners of participatory communication who are involved in projects aimed at bringing about social change) as they learn from their collaboration with people and improve upon their skills in further practice within communities

It is an interesting theory that situates the outsiders – development workers and practitioners – within the process. She sees the work of outside professionals as "methodical intervention aimed at encouraging processes of individual and community empowerment." Her perspective is encouraging to practitioners who are often reminded by critics who hold the view that true empowerment cannot come from the outside. Their argument is that facilitators and professionals are creating pseudo-empowerment at best or introducing new kinds of dependency among the people they work with if the outsiders became overly active in the processes they are facilitating within communities.

The starting point, for Sadan, is the empowerment of the individual. It can happen in "an immense variety of circumstances and conditions" quite independently of the presence of outside facilitators or the empowerment of the groups that the individual is a part of. However, individual empowerment carries greater value when it occurs as a result of the individual's participation in social change processes and activities that are connected to groups and organizations as both the individual and groups derive "special value" from this communal experience.

Next is empowerment of a community which involves organizing and creating a community which shares a "common critical characteristic," for example, suffering from social stigmas and discrimination – this may range from small communities of people living with HIV to population-wide groups such as women who are segregated by glass ceilings within their communities. Sadan says such community organizing and building help strengthen the ability of people to "control its relevant environment better and to influence its future… develop a sense of responsibility, commitment, and ability to care for collective survival, as well as skills in problem solving, and political efficacy to influence changes in environments relevant to their quality of life."

Among the many cases of community empowerment, some of the most effective and inspiring have been led by women who rally their own strength to improve their lives and conditions. It was perhaps Caroline Moser's (1993) book on gender planning and development that made the term empowerment familiar to many professionals working in development. "The Empowerment Approach" proposed by Moser, while acknowledging inequalities between men and women and the subordination of women in the family, questions assumptions between "the interrelationship between power and development." The approach identified power "less in terms of domination over others… and more in terms of the capacity of women to increase their own self-reliance and internal strength." It was an approach which did not frame power as a zero-sum equation – the power gained by women did not mean a corresponding loss by the men. It was an approach with a conflict-transforming ethos embedded within. The other notable conflict-transforming feature of this approach is how it "utilizes practical gender needs as the basis on which to build a

secure support base, and a means through which strategic needs may be reached." Moser's differentiation of these two gender needs was an elaboration of Maxine Molyneux's (1985) conceptualization of the practical and strategic interests of women in the following manner:

- **Strategic interests** are the "real" interests identified logically via analysis of the root causes of problems faced by the people – in the case of women, their subordination and discrimination – and from the visualization and articulation of a happier and more acceptable way of living and working for the hitherto disempowered people.
- **Practical interests** are about immediate needs which even if met do not help to advance the people's strategic interests. In other words practical interests don't help to overcome root causes of problems, for example, government handouts to poor farmers which while meeting the immediate practical needs of the farmers to put food on the table fail to overcome the conditions causing them to be poor.

65.1.6 The Approach to Practicing Participatory Communication

65.1.6.1 Where to Start?

Moser's and Molyneux's advice is to begin with practical issues even though the overriding imperative in development is often to tackle root causes. Beginning directly with root causes, particularly if you are new in practice, is designing difficulties – and even failure – into your project. New practitioners should not only consider practical issues but also the less complex practical issues. For example, work initially on water shortage for farming in a small neighborhood rather than attempting to reform the entire irrigation system of a district. Starting with little practical things allows everyone to get acquainted, develop robust processes, and build trust among those participating. Trust is essential for sustaining members of a group through difficulties they will face when tackling the bigger issues. Keep people who hold reward, coercive, and legitimate powers informed. Involve them in a support role if their involvement does not entail risks of curtailing what is planned. Beginning with small issues is unlikely to threaten them into undermining your work.

65.1.6.2 Begin with Individuals

The urge is to work with groups given that participatory communication is the process. However, groups are only as vibrant as the individuals who form them.

Paulo Freire (2007) in his influential book about critical pedagogy – *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* – highlighted the relationship of nonparticipation to nonconsciousness of deprived groups trapped in highly unequal power relationships. The people in such groups live in "closed societies" that renders them powerless and highly dependent upon the powerful. Their isolation paralyzes people from initiating independent action. They are unable to reflect on their actions and understand outcomes of their quiescence. Freire's solution to these two conditions is "conscientization" – from the Portuguese

term *conscientização* or consciousness-raising (Freire Institute undated). The concept of conscientization is often mentioned by facilitators as one of the processes that help to "empower" passive individuals and groups. This is best achieved by first focusing on the needs of individuals participating in group activities.

A good way to start is with a small group of about half a dozen to a dozen people in a community who show an interest of working with the participatory communication team. This may take the form of a nonformal education activity which will be the least threatening to everyone within and outside the community. This small group can together select a topic or theme that they all share an interest in. This could be learning to read and write or how to get online and do e-commerce. The manner in which the activities are conducted is probably more important than the topics selected. Adopt participatory learning approaches where the participants play an active role in planning the program which could include fun, social items if the participants opt to do so. The facilitator is the resource person who responds to the queries posed by individuals.

The aim is twofold to Rowlands (1997):

- Developing a sense of self, individual confidence, and capacity and undoing the effects of internalized oppression
- Developing the ability to negotiate and influence the nature of relationships and decisions made with others whom an individual works with or relates to

The "internalized oppression" that needs undoing is succinctly described in a case study (Chan 1997) of young women recruited from villages to work on the high-pressured assembly lines of high-tech factories in an export-processing zone: "Daily experiences of emotional subordination generate feelings of shame, guilt, inadequacy, self-doubt and inferiority. The cumulative effect of these experiences is to ingrain a deep sense of helplessness, fear, ineptitude and incapacity. Minds become blank and dulled over time … various approaches have been experimented with, to facilitate the healing and recovery… Story-telling-sharing has been used extensively and effectively as a tool for consciousness-raising and mobilization…" This overcoming of internalized oppression is at the same time also the resolution of intrapersonal conflict discussed previously.

65.1.6.3 Iterate with a Community

Storytelling and sharing is also an effective process for groups. Stories told or presented by actors may be used to discover causes and define issues; these are the "stories without a beginning" where the actors or storyteller presents a story which mirrors the current plight of the group or community. After the presentation the facilitator invites the audience to suggest reasons for the problems faced by the characters in the short play. In "stories without the middle," actors present the recent past of the community followed by a portrayal of its preferred future. The audience is then invited to essentially discuss what happened in the present that helped the community overcome the past and achieve its future. The third variation is "stories without the end" where the past and present are acted out and then the audience

visualizes how it all ends up. These "stories withouts" process is potentially non-threatening and conflict-managing if the performances, while mirroring the situation of the community, are presented as entertaining street theater about an imaginary place and people so that members of the community in the audience may be free to analyze causes, make criticism of their current plight, and visualize their desired future, as if they were addressing it to the supposedly entertaining play which serves as a proxy punching bag. If the actors or storyteller are/is skilled and experienced in the process, the sessions can end with the missing part of the stories presented spontaneously based on the story line which emerged in the discussions. The process can make a profound impact on the actors if they happen to be members of the community itself. The preparatory processes involving scripting of the stories, rehearsing the lines, and presenting it before the community can leave deep conscientizing and empowering impressions on those actively involved.

Participatory communication teams may engage with a group or community directly, without the prior step of conscientization of individuals within the group, if they are able to engage with organized communities, such as those on Fogo Island, who have already established a working relationship with development agencies that share similar interests and objectives of the participatory communication team. In other communities, individual-focused programs such as the ones described above may naturally lead to the formation of groups. For example, individuals learning together how to start an e-commerce business may decide it is advantageous to group together and run a community website and shared order-fulfillment facilities to enjoy some benefits of scale and at the same time take advantage of the possibilities of cross-selling to each other's customers. Efforts which began with "training" the individuals can now progress to facilitating the individuals consulting with each other and exploring how they can work together to tap synergies and powers offered by collaborating within a group.

In the past practitioners had thought of communities as groups of individuals who live and work in locations close enough for them to share the same problems and environment. Their proximity gave them the opportunity to meet face-to-face to share their problems and work together on possible solutions. However, with the advent of the Internet, online communities comprising people who live in locations distant from each other have been formed. They are also known as "virtual" or online communities. They meet remotely via email threads, chat groups, or gaming sites, and these exchanges can be either "public" (where anyone can chip in) or "private" where a participant needs to be preregistered. The remote and virtual nature of these online gatherings limits what these communities can do to address local development issues. Online communities have proven to be very effective in mobilizing support and conducting advocacy about issues at both the national and international levels. Such communities have also been effective in raising funds and asserting political support for disadvantaged and marginalized individuals and groups trapped within harsh regimes.

Communities of neighbors who live in the same village or neighborhood also frequently make use of online networking facilities to keep in touch with each other. This fusion of actual and virtual networking processes creates some of the most

powerful linkages for keeping a community informed, organized, and mobilized for coordinated action. The advent of web-based social media has offered practitioners with a low-cost but highly potent channels for participatory communication.

In communities where Internet access is affordable and universal among all members of the group, set up a chat facility or a simple group email account where members can keep everyone in the group updated on what has been done, and is being done, by individuals on furthering the group's work plan. The success or failure of the individuals and subgroups can be shared. The facilitator can take the lead in reflecting on the action taken and encourage everyone to share their analysis on why efforts worked or failed and to suggest the next course of action. This process is what Freire described as "praxis" – people acting together to address issues and afterward reflecting on what they had done (Freire Institute undated). Such action and reflection, which is usually followed up by further action and reflection, helps members of the group to gain deeper understanding of their lives. It also strengthens senses of affinity and confidence among members of the group to mount increasingly complex action which addresses the bigger challenges or strategic interests of the community.

The aim here is to discover the attributes of the collective. To learn that individuals working together will make more extensive impact than each could have achieved on their own. This includes appreciating the efficacy of collective action based on cooperation rather than competition (Rowlands 1997).

65.1.6.4 Everyone Is Unique

Facilitators should always remind themselves that all individuals are unique. When they get together and form groups, these individuals also make their communities unique. As such the practice of participatory communication is rarely always done according to the same methods and designs and at the same pace. Always get the individuals and groups involved in deciding what to do next and how to get it done. In this way their unique attributes and considerations will drive their unique processes forward at a pace and level of risk they are comfortable with.

65.1.6.5 Participation Costs Valuable Time

Practitioners and outside development workers often do not realize that members of a community sometimes decide not to participate in an initiative because they cannot afford the time to do so. Members of the project and participatory communication teams are often paid a salary to do their work; they assume that the people in the community will be happy to participate in activities they initiate because it aims to benefit the people.

However, time is more precious to people in a community than what outsiders can sometimes sense. People in villages often quietly work longer days than people in "9-to-5 jobs." Some of the work may be done at home – men busying with postharvest processing of crops they have grown, women sewing and weaving, and children often taking small animals out to graze after school. Find out how much time people can spare for activities and what times of the day, week, and year are most convenient for them. Prepare the project team to work according to the convenience of the people rather than your own "office hours."

A fair way of compensating the participants in project activities is to host a simple meal before or after a gathering or work session. The meal also offers members time to socialize and bond. Allow parents to bring their children with them – many mothers have no one at home to look after their youngest children and therefore may choose not to leave them at home alone and uncared for. Make arrangements for a member of the team to plan activities for the children so that their parents may focus on project activities.

65.1.6.6 Value Local Contributions and Risk-Taking

Practitioners need to be mindful that seemingly modest contributions by the community may be more significant than they appear to the better-resourced project team. Villagers who rarely treat themselves to snacks and hot beverages are demonstrating generosity when they serve such snacks and drinks at gatherings. They probably had to make use of laboriously gathered fuel to boil water and contribute items from their family's sometimes sparse pantry to make the snacks.

Subsistence farmers who agree to take part in trial planting of a new seed are taking a huge risk on behalf of their families who will face food shortages for a long time if the trials prove unsuccessful. For the same reason, allow the people to do their own risk assessment when opting for a solution that makes use of unproven solutions. This is where the strength of the group and participation may be demonstrated and learned. The community may opt to share risks and carry out the field trials on a shared plot and apportion the cost of failure or taste the harvest of a successful crop. Success is not measured by how many farmers and plots get planted with the new seeds but by how risks are appraised in a participatory way and how the risks of trials are shared.

65.1.6.7 Be Prepared to Transform Conflict into Praxis

Make sure everyone in the project team is trained to recognize conflict and how to respond when it occurs. A useful initial step when convening a group for the first time is to develop with the help of all members the ground rules for working together, including how to process differences of opinion and approaches. Disagreements need to be recognized from the start as a normal occurrence in group participatory efforts. It should also be agreed that everyone will work on such differences in an unemotional way. At the same time, it is useful to introduce Friere's concept of "praxis" which values group efforts at solving disagreements and that talking and working through a disagreement is a process of strengthening the community. Give quality time to solving all disagreements and problems. A good device to establish right from the beginning is a section of the wall where the group meets as an "issue park." When the group meets an impasse, summarize the issue on a card or a piece of paper, and post it on the wall, and invite everyone to help find a solution by posting their ideas for the solution on cards under the issue parked. Then move on to other issues, and give members time to reflect and form ideas about how to resolve the parked issue. The facilitator should use her/his good judgment to chat about the issue informally with the members most affected by the parked issue and explore acceptable solutions. Consult members informally for their readiness to return to the parked issue before facilitating another group discussion about it.

When a commonly accepted solution is found, implement it carefully following the way the group has worked out the solution. After the solution has been implemented and its efficacy proven (or not), give the group time to appraise the results; make sure everyone has their emotions in check before the group is invited to reflect on the issue. Recognize the achievement of the group in resolving the disagreement and developing a solution for it. Celebrate the advancement of the group if members choose to do so. Acknowledge the contributions and graces of members who made it possible.

Opt to leave deeply divisive issues in "long-term parking mode" if members of the community and the facilitator sense the group is not ready to tackle them productively. Work on other practical issues first.

65.1.6.8 Listen for Silences and Watch Body Language

Most facilitators find a silent group one of the hardest to work with. This is common in newly formed groups where members need time to get comfortable with each other and unfamiliar processes introduced by the facilitator. Starting with practical issues and working on "simple" problems that don't involve tricky power considerations will help members develop confidence in processes and each other.

More challenging silences will occur when the group progresses to issues that touch on strategic considerations. One of the reasons may be cultural. Keeping quiet, not responding or reacting, is often considered the polite thing to do when confronted with a delicate issue that one does not wish to deal with as it may provoke or embarrass others. There are deep meanings in silences. A facilitator has to be culturally sensitive to decipher such meanings.

A facilitator may also read what the silent participants are saying via their body language. This "includes facial expressions, eye contact, voice modulation, posture and gestures, attire, appearance, handshake, space, timing, behavior and smile" (Sharma 2011). Body language is complex and requires a comprehensive understanding of the cultural norms of the "speaker." For example, in many Asian communities, maintaining constant eye contact is impolite and under some circumstances may be decoded as being hostile, while in most Western cultures, avoiding eye contact may be considered impolite or suggest the telling of a lie or hiding a truth.

Understanding body or nonverbal language can help facilitators and practitioners better appreciate the emotional elements of what is being said. This enables the facilitator to determine the emotional subtext being transmitted along with the spoken words.

65.1.6.9 Practitioners to Learn and Share with Community Lessons Learned

Facilitators usually adopt quick self-tabulating methods of evaluation which routinely wraps up an activity. This maybe a simple "mood-meter" where participants paste colored sticky dots under emoji symbols sketched on a piece of flip-chart paper. The paper is usually hung on a board that faces away from the group so that participants can paste their dots anonymously. Once everyone has pasted their dots, the board is turned around, and the mood of the group is immediately apparent from this self-visualizing straw poll.

The facilitator and practitioners present may then do a quick reflection of what she/he has learned from the group during the activity that just concluded. The members of the group may then share their reflections and at the same time suggest how future activities may be tweaked to make them better. The process can be alternated with members of the group taking the lead in reflection before the facilitator and practitioners. This will be in line with the action-reflection process promoted by Friere.

65.1.6.10 Plan for Gradual Withdrawal of the Outsiders and Handover to the Community

Members of the group and community should be encouraged to play an increasingly central role in planning and facilitating activities. Correspondingly, outside facilitators and practitioners should scale back their roles but remain present at activities. When the time is right – which may be weeks or years – depending on the people, the issues, and the location, the outside team could ask the community for help in planning for the withdrawal of the outsiders and the handover of project management to the community. This may be a gradual process with a long-term agreement that the people can contact the outsiders for "tech support" especially in projects that involve new technologies or outside government and development agencies whenever that is required.

The outside project team may also offer to stay in touch with the communities via social media spaces set up for the project or even via remote participation such as a Skype hookup if the community has affordable Internet access.

65.1.6.11 Community Sharing Experiences with Other Communities and Developing Ways of Upscaling

An element of the above withdrawal and handover plan may include participation of members of the community with the outside team in similar projects involving other communities. A significant limitation of participatory communication initiatives has always been the difficulties of "scaling up" approaches which have been found to work. Part of this limitation stems from the people-embodied nature of participatory methods and approaches which require the training of members of the community as well as the project team itself. Given the usually limited number of practitioners of participatory communication teams, they can reach only a limited number of communities during their deployment in the field.

The ultimate solution may reside in the pure spirit of participation and empowerment where people in the community expand and extend processes among themselves. In this way they will make the processes better match goals they want to achieve and nurture cultures and values they appreciate intimately.

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Capacity Building and People's Participation in e-Governance: Challenges and Prospects for Digital India

66

Kiran Prasad

Contents

66.1 Introduction 1178
66.2 Digital India Project 1179
66.3 e-Governance and People's Participation 1180
66.4 Capacity Building for e-Governance 1183
66.5 Socioeconomic Characteristics of Respondents 1184
66.6 Exposure to Mass Media and e-Governance Information 1184
66.6.1 Are the Akshaya Centers Being Implemented in Kerala in Line with the Objective of Increasing Citizen Participation in e-Governance? ... 1185
66.6.2 Are the Akshaya Centers Designed Within a Public-Private Partnership Framework Which Would Augment the Financial Viability of the Centers? 1186
66.6.3 Do these Centers Serve as Anchor Institutions or Demand Aggregators and Which Provide Digital Literacy Instruction, Continuing Education, Job Training, and Entrepreneurship Classes for Capacity Building? 1187
66.7 Akshaya Centers, e-Literacy, and Participation in e-Governance 1189
66.8 Conclusion 1191
References 1192

Abstract

Access to ICTs alone does not make for successful national e-governance projects in developing countries but requires participatory efforts to promote democratic practices. India's ambitious Digital India project, key to its administrative reform agenda, proposes to extend the Internet to the remotest of villages by 2017. The foundation of this initiative is a program of e-literacy, capacity building, and installation of ubiquitous broadband-enabled computer kiosks based on entrepreneurial public-private partnerships. The best example of this is the Akshaya

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centers project in Kerala, a potential model for the rest of India and other developing nations interested in e-governance initiatives to bring innovative administrative reform. The capacity-building Akshaya e-literacy project of Kerala Government was implemented in 2002 jointly by the Kerala IT Mission and Department of Science and Technology, with tie-ups with local bodies and voluntary agencies. This project aimed at making Kerala the first completely e-literate state in India. It is expected that the IT infrastructure expanded through Digital India project will create and expand economic opportunities, empower individuals and communities through enhanced access to information, modernize and upgrade skill sets, integrate communities through creation of e-network, create awareness of ICT tools and usage, generate locally relevant content, and lead to an environment for digital democracy. The chapter will also critically examine the challenges and prospects of Digital India for inclusive governance and citizen participation through education and training that could change priorities, save money, and deliver better results through digital empowerment of people.

Keywords

e-governance · Capacity building · People's participation · Digital India · Inclusive governance · Digital democracy

66.1 Introduction

The UN e-government rankings assess the capacity of a country to fully leverage information and communication technologies (ICTs) in daily activities and production processes with efficiency and competitiveness to create an e-participation index to track the extent to which citizens participate in e-governance (UN 2010). While political processes such as decentralization and participatory governance are high on the international development agenda, it must be recognized that the motivations and imperatives for adopting e-governance in a developing country like India are vastly different from those in the developed countries. India is the second largest nation with a population of over one billion, with the largest rural population (857 million) (UN 2014) in 640,867 villages (Census of India, 2011). India is ranked 135 out of 185 countries in human development with 55% of its population experiencing multidimensional poverty (UN 2014). Hence e-governance initiatives need to be planned with reference to these ground realities in the country.

e-governance emerged out of a realization that ICTs can be utilized to effectively provide services to a population of over one billion people (Prasad 2004, 2009). e-governance is now seen as a key element of the country's governance and administrative reform agenda. Taking note of the potential of e-governance to improve the quality of life of the vast population of the country, the Government of India has formulated a national program – the National e-Governance Plan (NeGP). The NeGP has been scaled up into the Digital India project with an

investment of Rs 1.13-lakh crore ($ 2.1 billion) to provide thrust to nine pillars which include broadband highways, everywhere mobile connectivity, Public Internet Access Programme, e-governance, e-Kranti (which aims to give electronic delivery of services), information for all, electronics manufacturing, IT for Jobs, and early harvest programmes (http://digitalindiaproject.com/). The Prime Minister is the Chairman of the Monitoring Committee of the Digital India project under which all central government ministries and departments will come up with their individual projects that can be delivered to public using ICT like health services, education, judicial services, etc. The Digital India project aims to offer a one-stop shop for government services using the mobile phone as the backbone of its delivery mechanism. Government prefers to adopt public-private partnerships (PPP) wherever feasible for rolling out Digital India programme. The best example of this is the Akshaya project in Kerala, a potential model for the rest of India and other developing nations interested in participatory e-governance initiatives. What can one learn about the Akshaya e-literacy project in India about capacity building and inclusive governance for designing the Digital India project? Access to ICTs alone does not make for successful national e-governance projects in developing countries but requires participatory efforts to promote democratic practices.

66.2 Digital India Project

India's ambitious Digital India project, key to its administrative reform agenda, proposes to extend the Internet to the remotest of villages by 2017. Digital India has three core components. These include creation of digital infrastructure, delivering services digitally, and digital literacy. Digital India proposes to extend the Internet to the remotest of villages, but making this relevant at the local level requires participatory efforts to promote democratic practices. The foundation of this initiative should be e-literacy, capacity building, and installation of ubiquitous broadband-enabled computer kiosks based on entrepreneurial public-private partnerships (Prasad 2012: 183). This chapter seeks to situate and highlight the Akshaya e-literacy project in the specific context of Kerala. The only initiative to make ordinary citizens e-literate in India is in the state of Kerala, the study of which can assist in determining how e-literacy can impact e-governance. The findings of this study have implications for planners and policy makers in India seeking to advance people's participation in e-governance and apply to India as a whole – with its strategic geopolitical position as the largest country in South Asia and the largest stable functioning democracy in the world – and have broader relevance in the context of other developing countries in Asia and Africa that have similar demographic, socioeconomic, and cultural characteristics.

The e-governance initiatives in Kerala have been commended by international agencies and have also won admirers from outside India. The World Bank delegation found the Kerala State IT Mission (KSITM) competent to perform the role of an international consultant, especially to developing countries in Asia and Africa (Praveen 2011). The KSITM had the added advantage of practical experience

in rolling out e-projects and is a pioneer in the use of free and open software in e-governance. A delegation from Zimbabwe visited Kerala in December 2010 to study how to revive its economy through the application of ICT solutions. A delegation from Bangladesh visited Kerala in May 2011 to learn from its experience in mobile governance applications and the citizen-centric delivery of e-governance services undertaken by the state through the KSITM. Bangladesh is in the process of setting up 4500 net-enabled information centers similar to Kerala's Akshaya Common Service Centres (CSCs) and wants an integrated application of ICTs in the delivery of e-governance services which are presently scattered across multiple networks and servers.

The subsidiary research questions:

1. Are the Akshaya centers being implemented in Kerala in line with the objective of increasing citizen participation in e-governance?
2. Are the Akshaya centers designed within a public-private partnership framework which would augment the financial viability of the centers?
3. Do these centers serve as anchor institutions or demand aggregators and which provide digital literacy instruction, continuing education, job training, and entrepreneurship classes for capacity building?

66.3 e-Governance and People's Participation

The role and importance of information and communication technologies (ICTs) attracted the attention of the Indian government, and the deployment of ICTs began as early as the 1970s. In 1985, the Indian government decided to increase the pace of ICT use in the 1990s. The National Informatics Centre Network (NICNET) connected district-level and rural-level government offices to government secretariats in the state capitals and was in turn connected to the national network in New Delhi. e-governance in India steadily evolved from computerization of government departments to fragmented initiatives aimed at speeding up e-governance implementation across the various arms of the government at the national, state, and local levels (Arul Aram 2004). These fragmented initiatives were unified into a common vision and strategy provided by the National e-Governance Plan (NeGP) in 2006 (NeGP 2006).

The NeGP takes a holistic view of e-governance initiatives across the country and envisages a model for delivery of web-enabled anytime and anywhere access to information and services in rural India. Around this idea, a massive countrywide infrastructure reaching down to the remotest of villages is evolving, and large-scale digitization of records is taking place to enable easy and reliable access over the Internet. The vision of the NeGP is to "make all Government services accessible to the common man in his locality" (http://arc.gov.in/11threp/ARC_11thReport_Ch7.pdf). The integrated projects include e-business, Common Service Centres, India portal, e-procurement, and e-courts.

According to Kalam (2005: 37), "e-governance should enable seamless access to information and a seamless flow of information across the state and central government in the federal set-up." Research has suggested that in developing countries, ICTs have largely been employed in efforts to streamline labor-intensive bureaucratic transactions rather than in participatory or consultative efforts to promote democratic practices (Bekkers and Homburg 2007) or citizen engagement (Mosse and Whitley 2009). Many e-government initiatives focused on adapting e-commerce models to increase efficiency, for example, tax administration (Jamaica, Guatemala); better services to customers, businesses, and stakeholders in general (Brazil, India); and government for transparency and business efficiency (the Philippines, India, Chile) (Raman 2013). Colle (2000) emphasized the need for participation by local communities in telecentres.

The Common Service Centre (CSC) is a strategic cornerstone of the National e-Governance Plan (NeGP), approved by the government in May 2006, as part of its commitment to introduce e-governance on a massive scale. CSCs or broadband-enabled computer kiosks offer a range of government to citizen and business-to-customer services, besides promoting sheer access to the Internet. Information management systems are focused to ensure that relevant information is available anywhere anytime and in any way for interactions between government to government (G2G), government to citizens (G2C), and government to businesses (G2B). The scheme creates a conducive environment for the private sector and NGOs to play an active role in implementation of the CSCs and become partners of the government in the development of rural India.

The PPP model of the CSC scheme envisages a three-tier structure consisting of the CSC operator (called Village Level Entrepreneur or VLE), the Service Centre Agency (SCA) that will be responsible for a division of 500–1000 CSCs, and a State Designated Agency (SDA) identified by the State Government responsible for managing the implementation over the entire state. The CSCs are aimed at providing high quality and cost-effective video and voice and data content and services, in the areas of e-governance, education, health, telemedicine, entertainment, as well as other private services. CSCs also offer web-enabled e-governance services in rural areas, including application forms, certificates, and utility payments such as electricity, telephone, and water bills (http://www.csc-india.org/). The total number of CSCs in India as of 31st March 2016 is close to 200,000 that are operational in the country (http://www.csc.gov.in/).

The Digital India project launched in August 2014 augments the services of CSCs to offer a one-stop shop for government services using the mobile phones as the backbone of its delivery mechanism. The Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) pegged the number of Internet users in India at 278 million as of October 2014 (www.trai.com). It is expected that India's web user base will grow to 354 million by June 2015, and it is largely driven by increased Internet use on mobile phones with 173 million mobile Internet users (128 million urban users and 45 million rural users) in December 2014 (IAMAI and IMRB, 2015). India has the world's third largest Internet users after China and the United States with three-fourths of its online population under the age of 35. Access to the Internet media is largely

concentrated in the urban and semi-urban areas. One would think the number would be much higher, given the country's fairly advanced capabilities in the software field, but this is typical of India's political economy paradox, large swathes of backwardness amid high economic growth rates (Ram 2011).

Communities with greater capacity for learning will achieve more desirable outcomes from their telecentres than communities with low capacity for learning; this is identified as a success factor for telecentres (Harris 2001). The capacity building among citizens began with awareness to the right to information created by all media like Internet, cable TV, community/FM radio, and the vernacular press. Combined with appropriate content, connectivity, and capacity-building measures, the media has helped in ushering in higher awareness about governance and motivating people's participation in political processes. Since India has opted for a model of assisted access, particularly in rural areas, building capacity among the service center operators is a key area of attention (Das and Chandrashekhar 2007).

The availability of the new media including mobile communications, social networking sites, and the Internet supported people's participation in movements for the right to information, anti-corruption, and environmental conservation in India. The anti-corruption national people's campaign led by veteran social activist Anna Hazare who fasted for 13 days from August 16, 2011, to August 28, 2011, ended only after both houses of the Indian Parliament agreed to consider appointing an ombudsman with legal powers to act against corruption. The protest movement drew hundreds of volunteers who managed the telephone helplines; gave bytes to newspapers, radio, and television; went online; sent emails; tweeted; formed online forums; and sent mobile clips to media on the local protests organized in the country and even abroad (Saxena 2011: 46–48). The anti-corruption movement across India saw a convergence of social movements, new media, and civic engagement never witnessed before in post-independent India (Prasad 2012, 2013).

There were more than 58 million tweets in the 2014 elections in India, a country which accounts for less than 5% of the world's Internet users. Far from the days of using just posters and street banners, political parties now use digital, SMS, MMS, and online media quite effectively in their campaigns. News organizations have made social media as the "second screen" by reading tweets and comments on TV, inviting the audience to raise issues and questions and even hosting debates. The social media networks have also been influential in spreading protest movements such as the Anti-Corruption Campaign in India and environmental movements.

The Twitter Samvad, a service that allows people to receive tweets by government leaders and agencies as text messages over mobile phones, was launched on March 24, 2015, the same day on which the Supreme Court struck down the controversial Section 66A of the Information Technology Act, 2000, enacted through an amendment in 2008 which could be used by the government to regulate and curb the use of social media. The adoption of information and communications technologies is having a significant, yet often unacknowledged, impact on the way that governments administer policies and conceive of citizens (Henman 2010). India's experience in e-governance/ICT initiatives has demonstrated significant success in improving accessibility, cutting down costs, reducing corruption

(Bhatnagar 2012), and increasing access to unserved groups (Das and Chandrashekhar 2007). It is clear that the Internet and new media in its myriad forms are gradually moving center stage to contour a digital culture even in societies like India which are sharply marked by the digital divide.

66.4 Capacity Building for e-Governance

The state of Kerala presents an interesting case in the study of e-governance in a region with high literacy and educational status, access to ICTs, civic engagement, and political participation as compared to other states in India. Kerala occupies the first position among all states in India with its high human development status. It is in the forefront of implementing e-governance and m-governance. It is also the only state to implement the Akshaya e-literacy project toward facilitating capacity building for citizens to participate in modernizing governance and implementing an effective plan to bridge the digital divide (Prasad 2011). These factors make Kerala an ideal setting to study people's participation in governance. Pathanamthitta in Kerala was purposively selected for study as it is a developed district. The overall literacy rate in the district is 95.09%. The male literacy rate is 96.62%, while the female literacy rate is 93.71%.

Pathanamthitta district has its headquarters at Pathanamthitta. Tiruvalla and Adoor are the revenue subdivisions. The district is divided into nine community development blocks. Subsequently three community development blocks from Pathanamthitta district, Mallappally, Parakkode, and Koipuram, were selected for study. From the selected community development blocks, Kaviyoor, Mallappally, and Kallooppara from Mallappally, Kalanjoor from Parakkode, and Eraviperoor from Koipuram were selected for data collection. A random sample of both men and women were selected from each block to study people's participation in e-governance. The sample consists of 345 males and 355 females. The total sample from the three community development blocks is 700. The study used an analytical survey to examine the factors influencing the participation of people in e-governance through a structured questionnaire framed on the basis of the objectives of the study.

Apart from using a quantitative survey, a qualitative method was also considered appropriate because the study intended to find from the Akshaya entrepreneurs the services provided by the Akshaya centers to the people in Pathanamthitta district of Kerala and to identify the e-governance interactions between the government, citizens, and businesses. Case studies were carried out using in-depth interviewing to gather information from ten entrepreneurs who run the Akshaya centers that is the mainstay of e-governance initiatives aimed at bridging the digital divide in Kerala. The officials responsible for the functioning of the Akshaya project were also interviewed to generate primary data for the study.

The limitations of the study lie in the fact that Kerala is a highly literate state with the highest human development indicators and better gender equality; the findings of the study may not apply to backward regions of India. It is also the only state with the Akshaya e-literacy policy initiative in India which makes comparisons with other

states rather limited. The study was limited to a developed district in Kerala, and the gender-related findings may also differ in other states of India with a wide gap in education and status of women.

66.5 Socioeconomic Characteristics of Respondents

The socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents of the study reveal that while over one-third of the respondents (35.4%) live in the rural areas, around two-thirds of them live in semi-urban areas. This is due to the characteristic nature of Kerala where rural areas and urban areas are contiguous. Over one-third of them (40.3%) are aged between 18 and 35 years, whereas 46.1% are 36 to 50 years old, while 13.6% of them are above 50 years. While 49% of the respondents are male, 51% of them are female. This is in line with the sex ratio of the state of Kerala where women outnumber males. Around two-thirds (73.4%) of the respondents are married, and around one-third (26.3%) of them are unmarried. While half of the respondents (50.9%) are Hindus, 44.4% are Christians, and 4.7% are Muslims.

It is found that 40.9% of the respondents hold a degree or have higher educational levels, while 38.9% have secondary or higher secondary education, while one-tenth of the respondents hold diploma or certificate in technical education. Only 7.9% have primary education especially those who are working in the agricultural sector. More than one-tenth (12%) of the respondents are employed in government or public sector, and 15.3% are employed in private sector. About 14.6% are self-employed or have their own business, and 13.1% are employed in agriculture sector. Interestingly nearly half of the respondents (45%) are unemployed, women account for a majority of the unemployed in the district. While over a third of the respondents have a family member working abroad, one-fifth (20.4%) of the respondents had a family member employed in government service. Over half of the respondents (52.4%) belong to the middle-income group followed by nearly one-third of them (29.7%) who belong to the low-income group and less than one-fifth of the respondents (17.9%) in the high-income group.

66.6 Exposure to Mass Media and e-Governance Information

An overwhelming majority (92.3%) of the respondents both men and women read newspapers daily. While about two-third women (73%) have expressed their interest in reading political news, an overwhelming majority of men (92.5%) expressed their interest in reading political news. Men and women were equally interested in reading social and development news. While men and women were equally interested in reading news on e-governance programs and services, men were more interested in reading business news and economic matters compared to women. Over half of the respondents (54.7%) were interested in reading news related to agriculture since many of the respondents reside in the rural areas where agriculture is a dominant occupation. While 46.7% had read governance-related news in newspapers,

one-third of the respondents (33.1%) made use of governance programs that they read in the newspapers. Half of the respondents (50.1%) recall seeing posters which convey e-governance-related news, advertisements, and messages. About three-fourths of the respondents (71.1%) watch e-governance-related programs on TV.

It is widely recognized that timely availability of information enables good decisions, increases productivity, and improves governance. However, to ensure that information is available in a timely manner, systems for collating data and converting them into information inputs are essential. It is essential to have systems, which ensure that relevant information is available anywhere anytime and in any way for interactions between government to government (G2G), government to citizens (G2C), and government to businesses (G2B). The emphasis of citizen relevant data has been on reducing the transaction costs incurred by the individual citizen as on date. The transaction cost here does not refer to the pricing of services (user charges) but the cost involved in getting information, like cost of repeated travel, wastage of time and opportunity cost, etc. It is critical to have decentralized information access centers that cater to a range of citizen needs and has an inbuilt integrated front-end system.

66.6.1 Are the Akshaya Centers Being Implemented in Kerala in Line with the Objective of Increasing Citizen Participation in e-Governance?

The Akshaya e-literacy project of Kerala Government was implemented in 2002 jointly by the Kerala IT Mission and Department of Science and Technology, with tie-ups with local bodies and voluntary agencies. This project aims at making Kerala the first completely e-literate state in India. Under this project, state and local self-government bodies are connected via the Internet and mailing facility in Malayalam; the local language is also provided. Akshaya centers were set up within a distance of 2–3 km to serve as an ICT access points, 1 for every 1000 families. There are 2328 Akshaya centers out of which 2662 (87.50%) are in the rural areas. It is to be enhanced to 3180 centers in the near future, thus covering every part of the state, even the remotest villages (http://akshaya.kerala.gov.in/). All these centers are recognized by the central government as CSCs. Thus the access to Akshaya centers is the first step toward bridging the digital divide.

The Akshaya centers being implemented in Kerala are in line with the objective of increasing citizen participation in e-governance. They are access centers for G2C information interaction as well as for a substantial range of G2B information interaction. Apart from G2C information flows, G2G information flows especially the data from field-level offices to higher tiers are a critical information management issue. Given the fact that all the government departments and individual offices do not have automated systems or computerized backend information systems, currently such data flows are in the manual mode using defined proformas in specified periodical statements and have issues of delay and retrievability for analysis attached to it. The capturing of data in proformas and forwarding the same in electronic

format to central repositories through the infrastructure available at Akshaya centers are crucial in strengthening e-governance until the capabilities are acquired in all the government offices concerned.

Apart from G2G, G2C, and G2B information interactions, it is also critical that some of the transactions in these categories are also brought to decentralized and integrated front-ends. This would essentially mean that government can then concentrate more on the critical core backend operations that it is mandated to do and would channelize its information and transactions through a widespread network of access points. A key component of such a decentralized system wherein the information and if possible transaction services happen outside the premises of government offices/institutions would be the presence of electronic access points which could serve as information/transaction dissemination points as well as data collection and capture points. Akshaya seeks to provide such access points. The Akshaya centers also offer over 23 government services on continued e-learning program; data entry under e-governance program; DTP and job-typing work; computer training for public; design of invitation cards, visiting cards, banners, posters, and paper bags; screen printing; data bank services; and telemedicine applications.

66.6.2 Are the Akshaya Centers Designed Within a Public-Private Partnership Framework Which Would Augment the Financial Viability of the Centers?

There are several community telecentres in different countries initiated by the public and private sector funded by individual entrepreneurs, local bodies, government, and international institutions. In several developing countries, the telecentres showed no systematic participation of people in learning, information, and training except for providing incidental technical assistance as in Nepal (Tulachan 2010). Similarly, in Vietnam the telecentres have yet to make people part of the information society (Colle and Van Dien 2013). In a study of Akshaya and the two UNESCO ICT initiatives Nabanna in West Bengal and Namma Dhwani in Karnataka, the most striking difference was one of scale (Nair et al. 2006). While Nabanna and Namma Dhwani both operated in a maximum of five centers, Akshaya had state-wide operations. The Akshaya project was on a sound financial footing due to its backing by the State Government and municipality which together invested 13.2 crores (132 million in 2006), and it was amply supported by the technical teams at KSITM and TULIP IT services and given entrepreneurial training by STED (Science and Technology Entrepreneurship Development). When compared to the UNESCO initiatives, the Akshaya project has achieved an impressive level of success in putting into place various administrative, technical, and training responsibilities. The critical difference between Akshaya and UNESCO's ICT centers lies in Akshaya's strategy of involving and building ICT entrepreneurs from the community, while both Nabanna and Namma Dhwani are projects that are working with the community, but nonetheless have largely been conceived and executed by the NGO partners (Nair et al. 2006).

Akshaya has been modelled as ICT access points that are not state-run institutions but entrepreneurial ventures. The Akshaya centers as key stakeholders in information and

transaction dissemination are designed within a public-private partnership framework which would augment the financial viability of the centers. The investment for setting up the e-centers is made by the entrepreneurs. It costs around Rs.3.00 lakhs ($4800 approx.) for setting up an Akshaya e-center with five to ten computers, printers, scanners, webcam, other peripherals and necessary software. The entire recurring expenditure for running the e-center is also borne by the entrepreneur. KSITM provides the support required to sustain the project by way of e-literacy, training fund, connectivity, advanced courses, content CDs software, e-governance, and various other services. KSITM focuses on creating effective market mechanisms for demand-driven delivery of services in a public-private partnership (PPP) framework.

Akshaya's strategy builds ICT entrepreneurs from the community supported by the technical teams at KSITM and TULIP and given entrepreneurial training by STED (Science and Technology Entrepreneurship Development). The project has achieved an impressive level of success in putting into place various administrative, technical, and training responsibilities (Nair et al. 2006). Akshaya operates within an economic model linked to the management skills and social commitment of the entrepreneur in terms of its social and financial sustainability. The service delivery phase opens up ample opportunities for entrepreneurs to earn a steady income by offering a variety of services such as e-learning, e-commerce, advanced IT training, e-governance, communications, and specific community-based services.

The planned interventions that can come from government initiatives, especially in the developing countries, are important and inevitable. The government usually has the resources, the infrastructure, and the authority to implement programs aimed at reducing the digital divide (Joshi 2004, Jayakar 2012). Government policies will influence the ability of telecentres to induce desirable development outcomes (Harris 2001). Market forces can play an important part only if the government policies are favorable. The private sector is primarily responsible for providing access, and competitive private sector-led markets go a long way toward making these services widely available. The public sector's main role is to provide a sound policy framework, regulate markets where they do not work well enough on their own, and support additional service provision where markets do not achieve economic and social objectives. The Government of India has undertaken an initiative, namely, BharatNet – a high-speed digital highway to connect all 2.5 lakh Gram Panchayats (village units) of the country. This would be the world's largest rural broadband connectivity project using optical fiber. The public telecom service provider BSNL has undertaken large-scale deployment of Wi-Fi hotspots throughout the country which will render affordable access to the Internet.

66.6.3 Do these Centers Serve as Anchor Institutions or Demand Aggregators and Which Provide Digital Literacy Instruction, Continuing Education, Job Training, and Entrepreneurship Classes for Capacity Building?

The Akshaya project was aimed to make at least 1 person in each of the 65 lakh families in the state e-literate through a 15-h course in the first phase of Akshaya project from 2002 to 2006. A unique method was adopted to spread e-literacy in Ernakulam after it

was found that the 14 Akshaya centers initially allotted within its limits were insufficient to achieve the stated objective. To overcome this, 30 efficient Akshaya entrepreneurs from the Kochi city outskirts were roped in to cover the corporation area with the approval of the Corporation Council. Each entrepreneur was allotted two divisions each with subcenters in at least six different locations within the division. Thus, Kudumbashree units (women's self-help groups), anganwadis (child care centers), political party offices, vacant buildings of the corporation, individual households, and even police stations were turned into centers for computer learning (Praveen 2009). Of the 5,12,270 e-literate people in the Ernakulam district, 3,43,753 were trained in basic computer literacy by Akshaya (Praveen 2009). Near universal e-literacy was achieved in eight districts in Phase 1. The pilot project in Malappuram district had multipurpose community training centers to train people to handle computers, data entry, desktop publishing, and Internet browsing. Malappuram was declared as the first e-literate district in India. Malappuram and Kannur districts were declared as 100% e-literate. Kollam, Kozhikode, Thrissur, and Kasaragod districts achieved e-literacy above 90%. So far around 33 lakh beneficiaries have been trained under the Akshaya e-literacy project.

In 2007 Akshaya moved into the second phase two of the project, covering the balance six districts and also rendering new G2C and B2C services. Akshaya has to its credit over 200 crore rupees worth transactions besides providing multitude of services through its 2000+ Akshaya centers. The Akshaya project has an additional objective of enhancing the quality of available IT infrastructure in the state to bridge the rural-urban digital divide. It is expected that the IT infrastructure will be expanded to the rural areas to create and expand economic opportunities in the knowledge economy, empower individuals and communities through enhanced access to information, modernize and upgrade skill sets, integrate communities through creation of e-networks, create awareness of ICT tools and usage, generate locally relevant content, and generate direct employment opportunities (http://www.akshaya.kerala.gov.in).

The Akshaya project is an e-governance initiative that has succeeded in drawing people to use technology in socially deterministic ways to satisfy local needs. In an evaluation of the Akshaya project, it was found that it was successful in generating employment, providing IT literacy, enhancing communication, and providing e-services (Ghatak 2006). The Akshaya program generated employment for the youth, particularly women, for work like DTP, typing, etc. Trainees particularly women could search for better employment opportunities at the end of their course. Akshaya program provides cheaper e-literacy courses to the people. The courses offered ranges from easier ones (like MS Office, DTP) to harder ones (like Diploma courses). E-learning programs like Intel learning, Learn English, Arabic Tutor, Internet for Mass, Medical Transcription, e-Vidhya, etc. are already introduced and are implemented by a number of e-centers. Internet-enabled kiosks are used by people to contact their relatives/friends who are staying abroad (such as the Gulf countries) or other states in India. Communication is also done for marketing of products. Akshaya kiosks are providing a range of services like registration of births and deaths and collection and feeding of health-related data (in a way acting as databanks) of the local population (by tying up with village administrative units) (Ghatak 2006).

In the third phase from 2011, the Akshaya centers were recognized as CSCs by the central government to provide a range of 23 citizen services. A flagship project funded by UNESCO in association with Akshaya called *Entegramam* (My Village) was launched which is an online community portal in Malayalam and maintained by the citizens of each village. The project aimed at bringing forth web portals that cater to the needs of the citizens locally. Each village has its own space in the portal, and the information ranges from a catalog of "useful services" from coconut tree climbers, carpenters, and more along with their phone numbers and location where they live. The portal also has the history of the land, governance, information on public services, locally relevant news, and announcements. This project has been implemented in Kannur district. In the course of time, the portals will be used for local transaction, enabling in it with more business features.

The access to information, backed with relevant infrastructure and services, not only allows rural populace to improve its quality of life but also support and supplement its existing incomes in a sustainable way. Access to information and services, like e-governance, micro-credit, literacy, education, health, etc., can provide a solid foundation for the economic prosperity of rural villages. Rural consumers were willing to pay for products and services that meet their needs and are offered at affordable prices. The potential of extending Akshaya ICT facilities would not only facilitate better communication, with a direct improvement in the quality of family lives and positive impacts on savings, but it would also open up unlimited opportunities to develop training resources, upgrade human resources, and improve trade and job opportunities (Nair et al. 2006).

66.7 Akshaya Centers, e-Literacy, and Participation in e-Governance

A great majority of the respondents (84.3%) reported that Akshaya center is available near their residence, while less than one-fifth of the (15.7%) respondents reported that there was no Akshaya center near their home. An attempt is made to find how the respondents came to know about Akshaya centers. Nearly half of the respondents (43.6) know about Akshaya through their friends and neighbors followed by one-fifth of them (22.6%) through mass media and advertisements. Less than one-fifth of them (17.3%) came to know Akshaya through Akshaya entrepreneurs, while less than one-tenth of them (7%) came to know through local government functionaries. About one-tenth of the respondents (9.6%) had never heard about Akshaya centers. The results about awareness of Akshaya centers among men and women are highly significant.

About two-thirds (64%) of the respondents were aware of the various services available at Akshaya centers, while one-third of them (36%) did not know about them. Irrespective of gender, people's awareness about various services is high. The services offered by the Akshaya centers include payment of utility bills, various certificates, insurance, application for ration cards, web browsing, and e-learning. Majority of the respondents (72.7%) were aware that Akshaya centers were conducting computer

training, while about one-fourth of them were not aware of it. It is also found that majority of the respondents (71.7%) were aware that Akshaya centers has Internet browsing facility, while one-fourth (28.3%) of them were not aware about it.

Over two-thirds of the respondents (69.9%) favor utilizing the services available at Akshaya instead of going to various offices. About one-third of them (30.1%) reported that they prefer to go to various offices as Akshaya centers were more distant than the government offices. During the course of the study, interviews with people revealed that those who live in the vicinity of the government offices often go there rather than to the Akshaya centers which are further away. Kerala has a sizeable population employed outside the state and the country. They would like to make payments for property tax, electricity, telephone, and other services on an annual basis which is normally facilitated at government offices after checking their account balances for such payments.

More than two-thirds of the respondents, one of their family members, neighbors, or friends (71.9%), had received e-literacy training at the Akshaya centers. More than one-fifth of the women respondents (22%) underwent computer training at Akshaya, while more than one-tenth of men (13.6%) underwent computer training. About one-fourth (24.3%) of the respondent's family members were trained in the use of computers at Akshaya. Over a quarter of them (29.7%) reported that either their neighbors or friends were trained in the use of computers at the Akshaya center. Over a quarter of them (28%) had not received e-literacy training a majority of them being agricultural workers and mothers with small children. A great majority of women (83.4%) think that they can work more efficiently with computer skills, while three-fourth of the men (76.2%) reported the same. More women thought they could work efficiently with computer skills.

Nearly half of men (44.9%) and less than one-third of women (29.9%) use Internet for e-mail, chat, and some of the social networking groups to communicate with their friends and colleagues. The empirical findings establish that more men use Internet facility to communicate with friends and colleagues than women. Capacity-building programs can bridge the gender divide in the digital world. While a great majority of the respondents (93.3%) did not use the Internet to access market networks, it is heartening to note that 6.7% of them used the Internet to access market networks. Around one-tenth of the men had accessed market networks when compared to women who account for a majority of the unemployed in the district.

A majority of the respondents (85.9%) did not receive any information about e-governance programs and facilities through digital/social media which includes e-mail, Facebook, and Twitter. More than one-tenth of them (14.1%) received such information through social media. It was found that messages related to e-governance would be delivered only to those who registered their e-mail addresses or mobile numbers to the concerned authority. The Digital India project proposes to use mobile platforms to reach people who were hardly in touch with government departments.

An attempt was made to evaluate whether the information they received from the Internet was beneficial to the respondents. More than half (59.4%) of them reported that they benefited from the educational opportunity information through the Internet

followed by around half of them (43.9%) who reported that they benefited from information about job openings/opportunities. Less than one-fourth of them were benefited from health information followed by about one-tenth of them who reported that they were benefited for income generation and business opportunity from the Internet.

An overwhelming majority of the respondents (87.1%) opined that e-literacy is needed to get more access to government services and information online compared to about one-tenth of them (12.9%) who do not think so. This revelation has an important bearing on policy making. The government needs to continue capacity-building efforts to offer free e-literacy classes to all those who do not have e-literacy. The Kerala Government's initiative of providing e-literacy through Akshaya centers has been successful in enabling people to communicate and interact online and access online services with the help of the Akshaya staff, but they need more digital skills to engage in e-commerce and e-governance.

Kerala is also in the forefront of setting up mobile governance. M-governance is defined as the strategy and implementation involving the utilization of wireless and mobile technology services, applications, and devices for improving benefits for citizens, business, and all government units. The rapid diffusion of mobile ICT gadgets such as laptops, mobile phones, and personal digital assistants (PDAs), along with emails, instant messaging, and other networking services has rapidly fuelled the mobile interaction. In order to take advantage of mobile and wireless ICT technologies as well as dealing with the fluidity of the interaction with the mobile society and booming mobile usage rates, the Kerala State Government has initiated action to set up about 20m-government services offered by 8 departments identified for pilot-level implementation and to deliver services through mobile phones accessible to the citizens in the field, in the street, at home, or other convenient locations on a 24 × 7 basis, rather than the users having to visit government offices or log on to the Internet portals to access services.

The case studies of the Akshaya centers and personal interviews with entrepreneurs revealed that there are some factors that contribute to the successful running of the centers. These factors are the knowledge of computers, IT skills, ownership of premises, an additional occupation to beset the operational costs of running the center, entrepreneurial skills, and the ability to build a rapport with the community. Entrepreneurs who understood the nature of the program and the need to provide e-literacy to bridge the digital divide and felt that running Akshaya center was a social responsibility were successful in running the CSC than those who viewed it purely from a business perspective (Prasad 2011).

66.8 Conclusion

Evidence from both theoretical and empirical studies reveals that ICTs and new media technologies have become inevitable in e-governance. But the motivation for adopting e-governance in developing countries like India is quite different from that in developed countries. The findings of this study suggest that the Indian

government's e-governance program, with the CSCs promoting sheer access to the Internet, wants to promote citizen access to ICTs for encouraging their participation in e-governance. Providing access to the Internet alone is not enough – people must be enabled to use ICTs for citizen-government interaction.

It is also clear that literacy skills, greater awareness, education, and capacity-building efforts such as the Akshaya e-literacy project in Kerala are important factors that will enable greater civic engagement and citizen participation in e-governance. The Akshaya project is a unique partnership involving the government, private entrepreneurs, community volunteers, and citizens in improving the e-literacy skills of the community. Akshaya project is a bottom-up model for imparting e-literacy training, delivery of content, services, information, and knowledge, that integrates public and private enterprises – through a collaborative framework – to integrate their goals of profit as well as social objectives, into a sustainable business model for achieving rapid socioeconomic change in the state. It is unique as local ownership of Akshaya centers has fostered its sustainability even in difficult times. Many projects that were externally owned and donor-funded and had limited timeframes often resulted in wastage of resources and had to close down as the necessary skills to sustain them were not honed through entrepreneurial capacity building.

Future research projects can study various capacity-building measures to determine the efficiency of e-literacy of communities and frame suitable policies for digital inclusion of people of developing countries. ICT initiatives can be studied for UCD (user-centered design) that gives attention to the target audience's perspective. Capacity-building initiatives like the Akshaya project can bridge the digital divide and advance digital democracy by including women who have often been restricted and received limited benefits of access to ICTs (Prasad 2007, 2008). The study demonstrates that Akshaya has provided equitable access to women in e-literacy training, ICT access, availing various services, and even becoming ICT entrepreneurs themselves. Kerala had achieved almost total literacy before embarking on providing e-literacy to the people of the state. Though the 29 states of India are at various stages of development, the project attempts to highlight the possibilities for other states that are similar to Kerala in levels of development. It can be regarded as a model for emulation in other states of India with the implementation of Digital India project and has also generated considerable interest throughout South Asia. Nevertheless, financing affordable Internet access and ICT competence – including investment and training to create, maintain, and expand computer networks – may challenge the sustainability of e-governance in developing countries like India as they continue to grapple with the many complexities of development (Prasad 2011).

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Fifty Years of Practice and Innovation Participatory Video (PV)

67

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Contents

67.1 Introduction 1196
67.1.1 Description 1197
67.1.2 Product Versus Process 1198
67.1.3 History 1198
67.2 Theoretical Framework 1199
67.2.1 Critical Theories 1199
67.2.2 Affordance Theory 1201
67.3 Benefits and Limitations 1201
67.3.1 Perceived Benefits 1201
67.3.2 Degrees of Participation 1204
67.3.3 Conflicting Objectives 1206
67.4 Future Directions 1208
References 1209

Abstract

Benefiting from more than 50 years of practice and innovation, participatory video (PV) is a firmly established approach in the field of communications for development. The term "participatory video" is used to refer to a very wide range of practices that involve nonprofessionals in making their own films as a means to engage communities, develop critical awareness, and amplify citizens' voices to

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discuss social problems that they prioritize. The canonical texts on participatory video all make reference to PV's grounding in the praxis of Brazilian popular educator Paulo Freire, and the influence of feminist practice is often also noted in the literature. The authors also draw on affordance theory as a way of clarifying the possibilities for social action enabled by participatory video. In recent years, a number of important critiques have been leveled at PV which have reopened a normative debate about what practices, values, and objectives should constitute participatory video. Rapid recent advances in digital filmmaking technologies coupled with falling costs of mobile devices are opening up exciting new future possibilities and challenges for PV. This chapter reviews a range of PV practices, examines key critiques, and assesses potential future directions for participatory video in communication for development.

Keywords

Affordance theory · Critical theories · Degrees of participation · Fogo process · Paper edit · Participatory video (PV) · Practitioner network (PV-NET) · *Tyranny of Participation* · Visual storyboard

67.1 Introduction

Participatory video (PV) is a process of involving people without filmmaking expertise in making short films about social issues affecting them, using their own words and their own images. Unlike other kinds of filmmaking, participatory video hands over control of the filmmaking equipment and of the editorial process to inexpert users. An external practitioner or "facilitator" is often responsible for structuring and guiding the PV process in which participants first reflect critically on the social issues that are affecting them and the change they wish to see, before producing their own film to represent their priority issues from their perspective.

In one of the foundational texts on the subject, Shaw and Robertson (1997: 26) describe participatory video as: "a process of media production to empower people with the confidence, skills and information they need to tackle their own issues." However, there is no commonly agreed definition of participatory video. What the term PV *should* refer to and what the focus of PV *should* be are contested normative debates. In practice the term participatory video is used to describe a wide range of distinct community-led filmmaking practices, and there are many processes that closely resemble participatory video that are not referred to as PV by their practitioners (High et al. 2012). For the purposes of this chapter, we take an inclusive approach as to what is considered to be participatory video. This inclusive perspective is perhaps best captured in the definition of PV developed collectively by the practitioner network "PV-NET," which described participatory video as: "a collaborative approach to working with a group or community in shaping and creating their own film, in order to open spaces for learning and communication and to enable positive change and transformation" (PV-NET 2008).

67.1.1 Description

There is also no single agreed correct way to do participatory video. However, it is possible to identify many elements common to different participatory video processes from practical "how-to" guides, including those authored by Shaw and Robertson (1997) and Lunch and Lunch (2006). In most PV processes, an experienced facilitator or team arrives with cameras, tripods, and any other equipment necessary to make the film. A group of participants take part in practical exercises to familiarize themselves with the functioning of cameras and related equipment. Participants are engaged in group dialogue about the social issues most important to them, and they decide what kind of film they would like to make. Participants then collaborate in the group production of a script or visual "storyboard" which is sketched on paper. This "paper edit" then becomes the plan which participants use to guide them as they take up the camera to begin filming the scenes depicted in each frame of the storyboard in order to produce their own film.

Periodically during the filming and editing process, participants pause to review their progress and to critically reflect on both the technical process and the social issues that they are trying to articulate on film. For some practitioners this group process of dialogue about the social issues is the most important aspect of participatory video. From this perspective, participatory video is designed to create a space for participants to critically reflect and learn together about the injustice that they experience and its root causes and to discuss how they can best communicate their views and act together to produce the social change that they value. From this perspective the process of participatory video has an intrinsic value in creating new spaces for group reflection and dialogue about issues that may be socially taboo or are not prioritized. The films produced fulfill an epistemological role as an iterative process of reflection, filming, and editing, through which participants come to a deeper understanding of their own situation and produce a clearer articulation of their priorities for change. As such participatory video is a means for collective self-inquiry and reflection (Freire 1970) that can enhance participants' ability to "experience their capability and power to produce knowledge autonomously" (Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991: 17).

In some processes it may be only the immediate group of filmmakers themselves who reflect critically on the issues. In other processes wider community screenings are central to the iterative processes. Early screenings of the rough footage may be held with the wider community in order to stimulate broader debate and inclusion and input about the issues and to generate agreement about the core message that they wish to communicate in the final edit (Braden and Huong 1998; White 2003; Lunch and Lunch 2006).

For other practitioners it is important that participatory video processes go beyond consciousness-raising of the participants and there is an extrinsic goal to communicate to external audiences a call to action for social change. This often involves constructing films that contain an advocacy message targeted at distant decision-makers. This participant-authored representation format of PV (Shaw 2012) is perhaps the classic form of participatory video and echoes back to the original 1957 Fogo Process (see below).

67.1.2 Product Versus Process

Put another way, some participatory video initiatives are primarily process-focused, while others are primarily product-focused. In some PV initiatives, the primary objective is to create a space for group dialogue and learning, and the production quality of the film is of secondary concern (Nemes et al. 2007). It may be the case that the subject matter of the film is so personal or political that disclosing the content to a wider audience would raise serious ethical or personal safety risks (Thomas and Britton 2012; Teitelbaum 2012). However, in other PV initiatives, the primary objective may be to communicate an advocacy message in pursuit of social change. If the intended audience is the government or other high-level policy makers, a decision may be taken to invest a larger share of the project's finite resources to achieving high production values in the film. This process-product distinction is not binary. Many PV initiatives value process and product to varying degrees (Kyung-Hwa Yang 2012). Some participatory video processes begin life as internally focused, but over time participants develop an aspiration to project their perspective to external audiences (Shaw and Robertson 1997). In an interview for this chapter, Namita Singh, an experienced PV practitioner at Digital Green in India, said that "[over time] *I started to focus more on the* technical quality of the video. Earlier I used to think that technical quality is not important, the content is what actually matters. Now I place a lot of emphasis is on being able to share the info clearly and being entertaining. It has to compete with highly entertaining content like Bollywood." Given finite resources, a trade-off is necessary between dedicating time and resources on the group consciousness process and taking time to perfect the technical quality of the sound recordings and editing effects. There is no single agreed correct way to practice participatory video, but being aware of and transparent about these trade-offs and opportunity costs is important.

This rest of this chapter will first locate participatory video in a historical and theoretical context before drawing on practitioner interviews and desk research to reflect on the perceived benefits, limitations, and future directions for participatory video practice.

67.1.3 History

The earliest cited example of participatory filmmaking is the 1967 work by the people of Fogo Island, Newfoundland, facilitated by a team headed by Donald Snowden (Snowden 1984). The "Fogo Process" began by filming community members' views on pressing social issues and then organizing 35 separate community screenings to a combined audience of 3000 islanders (60% of the total population). Post-screening discussions were used to animate social dialogue and to identify key issues of common concern to Fogo Islanders. The islanders then co-authored and appeared in a film to represent their concerns. Snowden and his team filmed and edited the film, and it was shown to government officials. The Minister of Fisheries then recorded a filmed response to play back to the

communities. This film-mediated dialogue improved communication and dialogue, altered government policy, and led to Fogo Islanders forming a fishing cooperative that increased employment and improved livelihoods (Crocker 2003; Corneil 2012). The Fogo Process became an exemplar of communication for social change and, in modified formats, has been used in numerous locations around the world.

Participatory video practices have diverse roots including the community arts movement, feminist documentary filmmaking, action research, and video for change activism. Social workers and community arts activists began harnessing video's potential from the 1970s onward (Shaw and Robertson 1997). Feminist documentary filmmakers emphasized the need to express women's knowledge in their own words (Lesage 1978). In action research PV has long been used as a process for citizen groups to analyze the unequal power relationships that they experience (Kindon 2003), and in the video for change movement, Gregory (2005) reminds us of indigenous media initiatives in Chiapas, Mexico, and the Drishti Media Collective in India from the 1990s onward.

67.2 Theoretical Framework

The following sections provide a theoretical framework for the chapter. Foundational texts by practitioners of participatory video all ground their work in the praxis of Brazilian popular educator Paulo Freire. Contemporary authors increasingly incorporate critical feminist perspectives in their approaches. To these framings here we add the concept of "affordances" as a way of illuminating the unique action possibilities made available to practitioners by participatory video, when compared to other participatory methodologies.

67.2.1 Critical Theories

Although diverse practice traditions contribute to participatory video processes, in terms of theoretical grounding, all of the canonical texts on PV all refer to Freire's (1970) critical pedagogy as having influenced their participatory video practice (Shaw and Robertson 1997; Braden and Huong 1998; White 2003; Lunch and Lunch 2006). These core PV texts all refer to Freire's most well-known texts (1970, 1974) in which he introduced his critical pedagogy of group reflection on generative images (sketches) in order to enhance participant's "critical consciousness" about their own experience of social injustice and its causes. Freire described this process as one of learning to "read the world" more critically in order to "act in the world" for social change. It is interesting to note that Freire does not mention video in these (1970, 1974) texts but 20 years later he did write specifically about the value of using video images to generate critical consciousness (Horton and Freire 1990). Given the centrality of Freirean theory to much of participatory video and Freire's specific advocacy for the use of video in this publication, it is perhaps surprising that it is not more widely read and cited (Roberts 2015). While Freire

did not himself use video, he was explicit in this text that video could be used, in pace of the original sketches, as generative images used to stimulate critical dialogue about the often hidden structures shaping experienced inequality (Horton and Friere 1990: 88):

> Give a camera to several people and say: 'Record what you want, and next week we meet together [to discuss your videos]... They [will be] reading reality through the camera. . . now it is necessary to deepen the reading, and to discuss with the group lots of issues that are behind and sometimes hidden. . . trying to understand the concrete reality that you are in (Freire in: Horton and Friere 1990: 88)

Despite participatory video's roots in emancipatory social movements of the 1970s and 1980s, participatory video practice was arguably diluted in the 1990s and 2000s when, it has been argued, participatory methods in general were "co-opted for a range of agendas other than those with the needs of the poor and oppressed at the their heart" (Cooke 2001: 120). By the late 1990s, participation had become institutionalized as a condition of receiving funding for research projects, establishing what Braden and Huong (1998: 94) referred to as the "new participatory orthodoxy." This practically compelled all those seeking grant-funding to claim that their initiatives were "participatory" in some way. All participatory methods, including participatory video, were in danger of being co-opted. Cooke and Kothari (2001) famously called this the "Tyranny of Participation." This "compulsory participation" resulted in both a dilution of the original, radical meaning of participation and attempts to manipulate "participatory" processes in order to legitimize the top-down agendas of governments and funders (Shaw 2007, 2012).

In recent years there has been a concerted effort to reclaim and reaffirm an emancipatory participatory video practice that enhances critical consciousness (Benest 2010, Roberts and Lunch 2015) and political capabilities (Williams 2004). This movement to reorientate participation back "From Tyranny to Transformation" (Hickey and Mohan 2004) does not deny that forms of fake participation continue to exist. What it claims is that the existence of fake participation does not prevent other practitioners from practicing a participatory video process in which they create space for participants "to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire 1970: 17).

In the last 15 years, progress has also been made in developing a consciously feminist practice of participatory video (Kindon 2003). It has been shown that PV can be an effective means to hear women's voices, validate women's experiences, and project women's representations of issues that they prioritize (Waite and Conn 2012). Feminist practitioners seek to bear witness to issues of gender injustice drawing on the knowledge and experience of those most directly and faithfully articulating their standpoint (Harding 2004). Participatory video can also be used to create a space for participants to effect their own critical reading of what Naila Kabeer (2013: 2) calls "the dense root-structure of gender injustices experienced in daily lives" and to articulate the intersectionality of the disadvantage and discrimination women experience (Poveda and Roberts 2017).

67.2.2 Affordance Theory

The field of communication for development provides a range of approaches that participants can draw upon to produce social change. In order to produce the development outcomes associated with participatory video, practitioners might alternatively use, for example, digital storytelling, participatory photography, or participatory theater. Therefore, the question arises why should a practitioner choose participatory video? One way of answering this question is with reference to the idea of "affordances."

The concept of affordances was originated by the visual psychologist Gibson (1977) to refer to actionable properties suggested to a user by something's visual appearance. Later, in the field of technology design, Norman (1988) appropriated the term in order to signify elements of a technology's design that *invite*, *allow*, *or enable* a person to act in a particular way; a cup, for example, signifies the affordance of "liquid conveyance." The technology of a cup, from this perspective, *invites*, *allows*, *or enables* a user to convey liquid. In other words the cup affords the user the *action possibility* of conveying liquid – in a way that a fork does not.

The concept of affordances is relevant to the field of communication for development as it provides us with a basis for determining which participatory methodology to use; it also provides us with an analytical tool for distinguishing which actions are made possible by each participatory methodology (Roberts 2017). For example, from this perspective, participatory video can be argued to have specific affordances for the co-construction of a group advocacy position, compared with digital storytelling which has affordances for eliciting individual participant narratives. As a digital medium, participatory video has the affordance of transmitting its product instantly worldwide, which is not an inherent affordance of participatory theater.

67.3 Benefits and Limitations

As background research for this chapter, in addition to a desk review of the existing literature, the authors conducted semi-structured interviews with a range of participatory video practitioners, each having over a decade of experience in diverse settings. They were asked among other things to reflect on the perceived benefits of participatory video, its limitations, and potential future directions. In the following sections, these practitioner perspectives are used to both ground and illuminate the academic literature on PV.

67.3.1 Perceived Benefits

The increasing popularity of participatory video within the field of communication for development and social change is related to a range of perceived benefits of the approach. Different elements in the participatory video process are perceived to

contribute to different development outcomes at three levels: individual, group, and societal. This section will present and examine these perceived benefits.

In the participatory video process, individuals may learn to interview others, to be interviewed themselves on camera, to hear themselves speaking authoritatively on issues of importance, and to see themselves projected on-screen (Roberts 2016). These experiences can develop an individual's sense of having something worth saying and of being heard. Interviewed for this research about her work using participatory video for peace-building, Valentina Bau explained how participants expressed a sense of agency and freedom at being able to speak their truth: "Those who told their stories had the perception of finally being given the opportunity to speak and to tell their own story, and to contribute towards peace" (see also Bau 2014). By taking on the roles of film producers, videographers, interviewers, presenters, editors, and sound engineers and incrementally building their skills and capabilities, participants increase their sense of self-efficacy (Bandura 1995) and self-esteem (Bery 2003). By constructing documentary narratives and expressing themselves through film, participants can increase their confidence to voice their opinion and their sense of authority to speak out on subjects of concern to themselves (Underwood and Jabre 2003).

The group reflection and critical dialogue that are at the heart of much participatory video practice are perceived to contribute additional benefits. In an interview conducted for this chapter, Nick Lunch, Director of InsightShare, recounted that, in his early experience with participatory video working with young people in Nepal, he found that participants used the process to "build consciousness within the group." This resonates with other practitioner experiences that the process of group dialogue enables participants to build their critical consciousness as actors for social change (White 2003; Benest 2010; Walsh 2012). What distinguishes participatory video from other filmmaking is the emphasis that it places on the collective process rather than the film product; it is by working as a group that participants are allowed the time and space to build the political capabilities of collective prioritization and decision-making. It is this iterative process of moving from "reflection on action" to "action on reflection" (Freire 1970) that builds the group's critical consciousness about themselves and their social situation (Thomas and Britton 2012).

To have social change impacts at the societal level, some practitioners argue that participatory video must go beyond engaging with participants themselves and the immediate community (Muniz 2008, 2010). From this perspective, "voice is not enough"; the objective should be social action to change the unjust circumstances that the video highlights. One means of seeking to effect social change is by structuring participatory video initiatives so that the resulting film targets distant decision-makers or power-holders with advocacy messages calling for action. This normative approach also connects with ideas of citizenship; by communicating their messages to those in positions of power and authority, participants are able to develop their sense of themselves as citizens with rights who are able to hold power-holders to account (Wheeler 2012). This form of citizen-representation PV can also be seen as one logical outcome of the Freirean approach of critical reflection

to inform critical action; having used group dialogue to develop their enhanced "reading of the world," projecting their video to a wider audience as a call to action can be seen as "acting in the world" to produce social change (Freire 1970).

We can use the concept of affordances to analyze the contribution of participatory video at each of the three levels considered above. Participatory video has some affordances that it shares in common with other participatory visual methodologies, but arguably it enables some distinct action possibilities. Like other visual methods, participatory video affords the possibility to work with low-literacy groups or with groups with mixed literacies (Braden and Huong 1998), and, as an audiovisual medium, PV affords its advocacy message greater "recallability" when compared to text-only content. Research has established that we more readily recall what we hear and see compared to what we read (Fraser and Villet 1994). As PV practitioner Fernanda Baumhardt from Pro Planeta commented when we interviewed her for this chapter: "PV is a particularly powerful medium because it projects the voice, and combines video and sound."

Participatory video also has particular affordances of "reflexivity" due to the technologies' functionalities of rewind, replay, and projection on-screen. This provides participants with new action possibilities for reflecting on their ability to act in the world and to revise and rehearse their performance in a "safe space" (Miller and Smith 2012; Waite and Conn 2012). Lunch and Lunch (2006) have likened participatory video's "reflexivity" affordance to Lacan's mirror stage in enhancing a person's sense of selfhood.

Users of participatory video often discover that a tripod and digital camera offer them a reason and excuse to approach and question higher-status people (Shaw and Robertson 1997). In the first author's own research, young women users in Zambia found that holding a digital camera with the recording light flashing enabled them to elicit a respectful and considered response from older men, which they had not been afforded previously (Roberts 2015). This affordance of "respect-ability" can have the effect of raising users' self-efficacy and sense of agency.

It has also been argued that participatory video has distinct affordances for participatory monitoring and evaluation (PM&E). PV's affordance of "accessibility," removing literacy barriers to participation, provides the action possibility to incorporate PM&E feedback that is more widely representative of the whole population. Lunch (2006) has argued that the iterative process of PV (taking participants through several cycles of action-orientated filmmaking alongside sessions of critical reflection and analysis) lends itself well to the task of monitoring and evaluation. Lunch and colleagues at InsightShare drew on the "mobility" and "accessibility" affordances of video to encourage participants to take the cameras out into the villages and interview people of all backgrounds, asking them evaluative questions concerning a particular initiative. It was also their experience that hearing evaluation feedback directly from villagers themselves, through the medium of film, helped managers and funders to better ground evaluation findings contextually. They also found that evaluation feedback in the form of film can connect at affectual and emotive levels not normally achieved by textual or statistical reports. In order to add rigor and depth to their M&E process,

Lunch and colleagues then incorporated the widely used "most significant change" (MSC) approach (Lemaire and Lunch 2012; Asadullah and Muñiz 2015). The MSC approach provides multiple stakeholders with open-ended opportunities to identify the most significant change that they associate with a given intervention and a structured means to interpret the arising data for evaluation purposes (Davies and Dart 2005).

The participatory video process also has affordances that make it a popular choice for action research processes (Plush 2012). Like PV, action research seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory, and practice, in participation with others in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people (Reason and Bradbury 2006; 2). Given this shared objective, what are the specific affordances that participatory video contributes to action research? Participatory video brings together marginalized groups to co-produce knowledge on social issues; this affordance of "co-produce-ability" of marginalized groups' own audiovisual representations on key social issues is a unique form of knowledge input to social change processes, which is not afforded by some other means. PV also has the advantage of producing a digital product which has the affordance of "send-ability," meaning that it can be immediately attached to an email or uploaded to social media in order that participants can inexpensively communicate their words and images directly to a single recipient, or to any number of people or groups, whom they may wish to influence or with whom they may wish to make common cause.

67.3.2 Degrees of Participation

The use of participatory video is not unproblematic. Not all PV is equally participatory. Power relationships exist between participants, facilitators, intermediary organizations, and funders. The early literature on participatory video understandably focused primarily on establishing the benefits of the approach and was largely uncritical (Shaw and Robertson 1997; White 2003). More recently, and especially in the wake of the "Tyranny of Participation" critique (Cooke and Kathari 2001), the participatory video literature has become less celebratory and more critical, questioning the extent to which control is handed over (and to whom) and scrutinizing claims that PV produces social change (Muñiz 2010; Shaw 2012; Roberts and Lunch 2015).

The basic theory of change underlying all participatory video is that marginalized individuals and groups who take part in participatory video processes can gain a range of benefits which contribute to development or social change. This theory of change has a number of embedded assumptions that give rise to questions including who participates? In which elements of the project cycle? Who is defining development and social change? As well as who benefits? And according to whose evaluation/criteria? While all participatory video involves a group of people making their own film, significant differences exist regarding who participates in which stages of the film's conception, planning, filming, editing, evaluation, and distribution. The

next section offers a highly schematic chronology for understanding how participatory control over elements of the PV film production cycle is expanding over time.

The groundbreaking innovation of the 1967 Fogo Process was to extend to communities participatory control over the content of a film about them, enabling them to voice their own concerns in their own words. They did not operate the cameras or any of the editing equipment. These tasks were reserved for external experts. Editing took place away from the islands (Quarry 1994). There was no editing suite on the Fogo Islands, and it could be argued that professional training was necessary to operate the filming and editing equipment available at that time. In this "PV version 1.0," participants were able to take participatory control of determining the content of the film and had the ability to require edits and re-edits, but the people with their hands on the camera and on the editing equipment were external professionals. This reflected existing power relationships about ownership of the means of film production.

By the 1990s the cost of video cameras was falling dramatically, and their ease of use and resolution quality were increasing rapidly. This allowed the innovation of handing over control of operating the camera equipment to participants themselves. In this "PV version 2.0," participation was no longer limited to co-creating a script for external experts to film and edit; participants were now able to take control of the filmmaking equipment and to carry out their own filming. A typical PV process now involved participants taking rotational turns to play roles including camera operator, sound engineer, director, and interviewer. However, they did not yet do the editing themselves. It still remained common practice for all of the film media and equipment to be collected up by the facilitating team and removed to an editing suite, often in a different location, with the final film being returned to the participants at a later date for their approval or suggested further edits (Mak 2012). In the majority of projects, it also remained the case that the cameras would leave when the facilitating organization left at the end of the funded period, which had negative implications for ongoing dependency and sustainability of benefits (Colom 2009). Despite the emancipatory intent of external facilitators, power relationships remained, and these unequal power relationships continued to reflect unequal ownership of the means of film production.

After 2010 the availability of cheap and powerful laptops, free and open-source film editing software, and low-cost and high-definition video cameras made it possible for participants to carry out all of their own editing as well as the filming. In this "PV version 3.0," participants are able to take not only full editorial control over the film product but also full control over both the filming and editing process. Editing could now be carried out on standard laptops, by participants themselves, on the same day and at the same location as the filming. This makes it possible for external PV facilitators to operate a "hands-off" approach where they decline to touch either the camera or the editing equipment at any stage in the process, ensuring that the film is entirely the participants' work and that their sense of agency and ownership of both the process and the product is fully optimized (Poveda and Roberts 2017). This has the advantage of accelerating participants' hands-on skill development, which can boost their self-efficacy and autonomy. The relatively low

cost of high-definition cameras has also made it possible for the cameras, tripods, editing software, and laptops to remain the property of participants beyond the initial funded project engagement. The transfer of ownership of the means of film production from external facilitators to local experts is a substantial advance that arguably shifts power relationships by removing dependencies and handing independent control for determining all aspects of film conception, production, and dissemination.

This progressive extension of participatory control over elements of the participatory video process should not be read as a simple linear unfolding logic. There have always been, and continue to be, exceptions to and contradictions within the schematic model presented above. Even in cases where participants have control over film content, filming equipment, and editing equipment, there are always people who are excluded from the process. Inequalities of power between funders, facilitators, and participants mean that initial framings or dissemination processes may continue to lack the participation of all players.

However, some progress continues to be made. Recent years have also seen a shift away from short interventions led by externally funded facilitators toward long-term participatory video processes and processes designed to build the capacity of independent and sustainable participatory video capacity in grassroots organizations. Networks of such independent PV organizations are forming, and south-to-south exchanges have happened. In this "PV version 4.0," independent participatory video organizations have full control of the entire project cycle and are free to conceptualize their own PV initiatives from the outset and have the freedom to film, edit, and disseminate their work without the historical dependence on external experts. Examples include Drishti, Video SEWA, and Digital Green in India (Singh 2014) and the community video hubs developed by InsightShare in South Africa, Peru, and London (Muñiz 2011). This is not to claim that these entities operate free from structural constraints and power relations; it is only to say that the "PV version 4.0" innovation of building independent long-term capacity is preferable to parachute interventions, which may raise agency in the short term only to accentuate a sense of powerlessness in the medium term (Milne et al. 2012). Longer-term participatory video engagements that build permanent local filmmaking capacity are arguably more effective at sustaining the political spaces that groups are able to open up through the use of participatory video and other means (Colom 2009).

67.3.3 Conflicting Objectives

One other way that power relations often play out in participatory video initiatives is in the form of multiple and sometimes conflicting objectives. PV practitioners are motivated by a wide range of objectives, and their initiatives are informed by a wide range of explicit, or implicit, theories of change. Within a single participatory video process, there may be multiple and contradictory theories of change in operation. The motivations of the funder, the practitioner, and the participants, for example, may not be the same and may not be mutually compatible. The contradictory nature

of these objectives may not be known, or may not be made explicit at the outset, and may only become apparent when conflict arises. This reality is not specific to participatory video and occurs in a wide range of development initiatives.

Several practitioners have written about the challenges of reconciling the contradictory demand of stakeholders including funders, practitioners, and participant groups themselves. Shaw (2012) has reflected on what happens when it transpires that the commissioning organization's objective was not to elicit community input into a decision-making process but rather to secure community validation for decisions that they had already made; Milne et al. (2012) provides an example of a community doubting the funder and research objectives and refusing en masse to participate; and Dougherty and Sawhney (2012: 447) point out that based on their extensive experience: "Quite often, community-produced video projects have obligations to satisfy funders or non-governmental organisation's agendas; the degree to which the community owns and controls the process can be in question as the project advances." Clearly it would be optimal to co-develop the objectives of a participatory video process jointly with all stakeholders and to agree in advance what happens if participants wish to take the PV process in an unforeseen direction midway through the process. But achieving this is not always practical due to time and resource constraints and the power relationships that always exist between funders, intermediary organization, practitioners, and participants (Wheeler 2012).

In clarifying objectives, it may be useful to think through the stages of the participatory video process and the kind of outcomes that it is possible to generate at each stage. This can then inform a discussion about which elements participants wish to focus their finite time and energy on. The first operational phase of a participatory video process often involves setting shared expectations and developing ground rules. This preparatory phase may involve some icebreaking exercises to establish trust and familiarity. If there has been success in bringing together people from the margins who are not normally heard, this group-building phase can be key in breaking down inhibitions and building a sense of shared enterprise. Often the first phase also includes some games or demystifying exercises with the camera equipment (Lunch and Lunch 2006).

There is more than one way to break down the stages of the project cycle of participatory video, but Shaw (2017) breaks her extended video process into four key phases: (1) ensure inclusive engagement during group forming and building, (2) develop shared purpose and group agency through video exploration and sensemaking, (3) enable horizontal scaling through community-level videoing action, and (4) support the performance of vertical influence through video-mediated communication. Inclusive participation is a key outcome in phase 1. Unless all stakeholders, from commissioning funders to low-caste women, are in the room at this stage, there is potential for later conflict when the group discovers that conflicting objectives disrupt progress. In phase 2 participants begin to develop shared intent and a collective voice as they critically reflect on their priority issues. In Shaw's third phase, the active engagement and input of the wider community are secured, and it is not until phase 4 that vertical influence is attempted through video-screening with decision-makers. This staged approach reflects Shaw's (2012)

concern that having voice is not the same as being heard and being heard is not the same as having influence. According to this logic, producing external social change in a context of complex power relations requires a staged strategic approach that connects vertically with relevant power-holders. This resonates with the work of PV practitioner Tamara Plush, which analyzes the capacity of PV to transform power relations. When we interviewed her as part of the background research to produce this chapter, she pointed out that: "Just because a voice is amplified it doesn't mean that you are shifting power relations." Like Shaw her concern was whether anyone was listening and being influenced, and also like Shaw, her conclusions include that: "PV needs to be included in wider projects of citizen engagement and mobilisation that connect it to local and national advocacy campaigns" (see also Plush 2015).

Ultimately it can be argued that no PV process is "maximally participatory" as not everyone wants to participate in every element of a film's conception, production, and dissemination. Realistically external funders, government officials, and even facilitators will exercise unequal influence over some element of project framing, partner choice, process, or product in most participatory video. It may be that being as open and transparent and as reflexive as possible about these realities and aiming for PV that is "optimally participatory" rather than "maximally participatory" is a more realistic objective.

67.4 Future Directions

Continuing rapid technological change, practitioner adaptations, and theoretical developments suggest that innovation in participatory video practice will accelerate in the years ahead. The incorporation of microprojectors into video cameras; the advent of high-specification, low-cost tablet computers; and the increasing video capabilities of mobile phones are creating exciting new opportunities and challenges for participatory video practitioners. In an interview for this research, experienced PV practitioner and academic Jay Mistry commented that "in our current projects we are already using tablets because they are cheaper and because we can edit directly on them" and also noted that "Community researchers bought smart phones and in their spare time have been training a lot of people and doing conservation projects with other organisations. They are becoming independent facilitators (see also Mistry 2014)." Outside of "projects" people are independently acquiring the equipment and the skills to produce their own films and to incorporate them into their communication and social change work.

The first book on mobile phone-based participatory video appeared in 2016 following the first conference on incorporating mobile phone films into visual research and activism (MacEntee et al. 2016). Perhaps we will soon be incorporating 360-degree virtual reality cameras into PV. The digital nature of video media certainly has the potential affordance of "combine-ability" with other digital visual methods to create new participatory methods. Participatory video practitioner Namita Singh, in an interview for this chapter, stated her experience that: "People want to transfer videos between phones using WhatsApp. The video format will change to create shorter

videos that don't make people spend too much data to download." So the question arises whether in the future PV content will be compromised in order to accommodate new communication practices and digital formats. We should be asking ourselves whether moving away from cameras to tablets and mobile phone-based PV dilutes group dialogue in favor of more individualized processes. Is there a danger in the rapidly changing technological landscape of losing sight of the original radical purpose and emancipatory objectives of participatory video?

We have seen in this chapter that participatory video practice is always in flux over time and that, like any approach, PV can be used for repressive or for emancipatory ends. Participatory video can be used to legitimate top-down decision-making or to create critical consciousness and shift power relationships. Given the rapid pace of technological change, practitioners will have to resist the glittering temptation of the new for its own sake and instead be mindful of the specific affordances each new video technology has for stimulating critical consciousness and collective action. What came over in the interviews that we conducted with practitioners in advance of writing this chapter was a desire to remain focused on challenging power relations and supporting people to create the change that they want in their lives. Achieving this in practice means not expecting PV to achieve this in isolation but rather to integrate PV practice vertically and horizontally within wider programs of communication and action for transformative social change.

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Reducing Air Pollution in West Africa Through Participatory Activities: Issues, Challenges, and Conditions for Citizens' Genuine Engagement

68

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Contents

68.1 Introduction 1214
68.2 Context 1215
68.3 Participation in Practice 1217
68.4 Learnings 1218
68.5 Preaching to the Converted? 1218
68.6 Persistent Power Relationships 1222
68.7 Experts' Discourses and Changes of Practices 1223
68.8 Preconceived Solutions 1224
68.9 Conclusion 1225
68.10 Cross-References 1226
References 1226

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Abstract

Largely supported by international donors, participatory initiatives are multiplying in Africa, to such an extent that some observers refer to a new "tyranny of participation." The challenges associated with participatory democracy are even more acute in developing countries. In a context where the notion of civil society in these countries remains unclear, the inclusion principle is difficult to enact, particularly with regard to women who are still largely underrepresented in this type of process. Moreover, there is a risk that participatory initiatives widen the gap between "politically engaged" citizens and their more apathetic counterparts. Power relationships between participants are another important issue. If not properly tackled, they can lead to the maintenance of traditional hegemonic discourses – rather than to innovative ways of thinking. Lastly, the concrete implementation of the solutions or compromises emerging from participatory processes is paramount for their legitimacy.

This chapter examines and compares two cases of participatory processes put forward in the context of a public health project aiming at reducing air pollution in the cities of Cotonou (Benin) and Dakar (Senegal). This allows us to reflect on the issues, challenges, and conditions of success of the participatory processes orchestrated in these contexts. It also brings support to the need to address various challenges when participatory initiatives are fostered and shows that these challenges are met differently in the two countries.

Keywords

Public participation · Air pollution · Public health · Senegal · Benin · Communication · Dialogue · Inclusiveness · Power relationships

68.1 Introduction

In the last two decades, acknowledgment of the relevance of citizen participation by governmental actors has risen in Occidental countries. Given the limits of representative democracy, participatory democracy initiatives are more and more considered legitimate, if not necessary, in some instance (Bacqué and Sintomer 2011; Blondiaux and Sintomer 2002; OCDE 2001). Science communication has also adopted a more participatory framework, moving from the deficit model to a dialogic one (Brossard and Lewenstein 2010; Nisbet and Scheufele 2009). This paradigm shift is also observed in some African countries (Cissoko and Toure 2005; OCDE 2013) where there is a movement from an elitist mode of management to modes of governance that are said to be more and more participative (Fung and Wright 2003; Tenbensel 2005). Indeed, participative governance is seen as the "missing link" to fight against poverty (Carrel 2007; Cling et al. 2002; Dom 2012; Schneider 1999). The objective is, of course, to gain greater legitimacy of the decisions made by governing bodies but also to support the efficacy of those decisions through the acknowledgment of citizen or "lay" knowledge (Callon et al. 2001; Fisher 2009). The consideration of

this lay knowledge is helpful in the development of these decisions and for their uptake by communities, hence favoring their implementation.

This openness to participation comes with numerous challenges. A consensus is slowly emerging around what would be good practices in terms of public participation (Bacqué and Gauthier 2011; INM 2013; Blondiaux 2008; Fung 2006; Gastil and Levine 2005). These are based on cumulative learning emerging from participatory experiences in Northern and Western Europe (Anderson and Jaeger 1999; Gourgues 2012; Koehl and Sintomer 2002), in North America (Bherer 2006; Rabouin 2009), and to a certain extent, in Latin America (Baiocchi 2003; Garibay 2015; Weyh and Streck 2003). It remains to see whether such "basic and procedural rules" to insure sound processes can be transposed to other social contexts such as those of African, Asian, or Eastern Europe societies. Indeed, the mechanical application of so-called "universal" rules on participation, which obscure local specificities, may lead to unacceptable experiences of participation or, worse, to the disinterest – or even cynicism – of the populations one seeks to mobilize.

As a step toward a better understanding of participatory processes in other social contexts, we propose to highlight the participatory challenges encountered in two cases of participatory processes put forward in the context of a public health project aiming at reducing air pollution in the cities of Cotonou (Benin) and Dakar (Senegal). Our analysis is drawn from the direct observation of participatory activities organized in these two cities, from semi-structured interviews with participants, and from conversations with the team implementing the project. A guided visit of the discussed neighborhoods has also highlighted our perspective. This empirically based approach allows us to reflect on the issues, challenges, and conditions of success of the participatory processes orchestrated in these specific contexts. The actors' mutual influence, resistance and opportunities emerging from these processes, political significance of these experiences for the participants, as well as the social effects generated by them are looked upon, thus answering the call of researchers in the field (Lavigne Delville 2011).

68.2 Context

In 2012, more than 7 million of deaths in the world were attributable to the exposure to air pollution (WHO 2014). Air pollution was thus identified as an important factor for non-transmittable diseases such as cardiovascular diseases, asthma, and *bronchopulmonary* carcinoma (Clark et al. 2013; Laumbach and Kipen 2012; Martin et al. 2013; Pascal et al. 2013; Pope and Dockery 2006). West African cities are strongly affected by this problem, notably for chaotic industrial activities (with some factories directly located within cities), weakly organized transportation systems characterized by the multiplication of motorcycles and old vehicles, and polluting sources of energies, like traditional fire oven inside households (Liousse and Galy-Lacaux 2010; Liousse et al. 2014). There are few available data allowing for the quantification and characterization of air pollution in West African cities, the evaluation of its effects on health, and the influence of lifestyle habits on the situation (Perez et al. 2013).

In this perspective, the International Development Research Center of Canada is founding a research that aims at improving the understanding of urban air pollution and its impacts on non-transmittable breathing diseases in four west African cities, Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Cotonou (Benin), Dakar (Senegal), and Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso). The project is a collaboration between four African universities and is under the auspices of the Communauté de pratique en écosanté en Afrique de l'Ouest et du Centre (CoPES-AOC). Since 2006, the CoPES-AOC has been very active in the region to promote an ecosystem approach to health (ecohealth), to foster collaboration between scholars and practitioners, and to train a new generation of African scholars. The research also aims at developing prevention strategies in partnership with community organizations in these cities. More specifically, the Air Sain project, a component of the research, has the objective to develop and evaluate, in these urban west African contexts, adaptation strategies that benefit municipalities and communities and contribute to environmental protection, population health, and social and gender equity. The involvement of the actors directly concerned by the issue is paramount for the success of the project, so they can have their say in the definition of realistic and efficient interventions. Political actors, industries, funding organizations, as well as local communities are thus targeted, knowing that the more vulnerable members on the economic and healthy plans of the latter are not always aware of the public health problems posed by air pollution. Hence, the Air Sain project goes beyond the "deficit model" in communication (Brossard and Lewenstein 2010; Nisbet and Scheufele 2009), which essentially consists in transmitting the knowledge. It is rather a project based on an ecohealth perspective, where different types of knowledge – local, traditional, scientific, and practical – must be considered so that people can relate to them and integrate them in their reality (Saint-Charles et al. 2014; Charron 2012; Webb et al. 2010). This is particularly important since the changes of behavior promoted to reduce air pollution may appear in contradiction with deeply rooted cultural or religious practices that are considered as "good" by the persons (such as using coal or fire for cooking or burning incense to remove bad smells). The recommended solutions must take into account the preoccupations and restrains of the different groups of the population in order to be socially acceptable. Social acceptability can be defined as "the result of a process through which stakeholders build together the minimal conditions under which a project, a program, or a policy will be harmoniously integrated in its natural and human environment" (Caron-Malenfant and Conraud 2009, our translation). The co-construction principle underlies the notion of social acceptability and calls for public participation (Fortin et al. 2013; Batellier 2015).

Air Sain is thus a participatory project. As shown by a growing number of studies, public participation comes with many challenges, which can be grouped in four categories (INM 2013). The first challenge consists of fighting the assumed popular apathy by convincing citizens to take part in participatory initiatives. The second challenge consists of avoiding reproducing inequalities in participation, which questions the inclusion of marginalized populations, notably women (Raibaud 2015). As such, there is a risk that participatory initiatives widen the existing gap between engaged citizens and their more apathetic counterparts (Blacksher 2013). Another challenge concerns the balance to reach between experts and citizens' voices and the difficulty

to avoid the reproduction, within participatory initiatives, of the usual power relationships leading to the traditional "hegemonic discourses" (Abelson et al. 2011). Hence, an effort has to be made to make sure that "lay citizens" are not evacuated from the process to the benefit of a "new elite of participation" (Bherer 2005). A last challenge concerns the implementation of the solutions or compromises emerging from participatory initiatives. The initiatives that are not followed by concrete results will likely be considered as mere legitimation attempts of public decisions and will be associated with an instrumentalization process (Bherer 2011; Blondiaux and Fourniau 2011; Clarke 2013; Levine and Nierras 2007).

We can think that all those challenges are even more acute in West African countries. Promoted by international donors (Norad 2013), public participation in governmental decision is often seen as a "'bureaucratic populism' that has structured state interventions from the beginning of the colonisation" (Lavigne Delville and Thieba 2015, p. 214, our translation). Considered as hegemonic, public participation is even deemed, by some observers, as "a new tyranny" (Cooke and Kothari 2001). It becomes particularly difficult, in this context, to fight against the ambient cynicism that often accompanies public participation initiatives in emerging countries. Moreover, with the very notion of civil society remaining unclear (Hearn 2001; Bayart 1986; Otayek 2009), the inclusion principle is hard to attain, particularly toward women, still largely underrepresented in participatory processes. Even when the inclusion principle is respected, having one's voice heard is not always easy when the presence of other participants is deemed more legitimate, based on hierarchical and status differences. Even if one cannot conclude that these processes come under "pure instrumentalization" (Lavigne Delville 2011), the political and institutional contexts specific to each initiative must be taken into account in order to understand the dynamics that occur, hence the relevance of case studies (Lavigne Delville and Thieba 2015). Empirical approaches that encourage the consideration of citizens' daily ways of life and sense of citizenship are a good start to turn back to a strictly normative vision of participation (Robins et al. 2008) and to foster more sustainable changes.

68.3 Participation in Practice

Our empirical perspective is based on two participatory activities in each of the country studied, mostly held in local languages (Fon in Benin and Wolof in Senegal). The activities slightly varied between the two countries. In Benin, we report on a preparatory meeting with four women identified as leaders in the Cadjehoun neighborhood; the objective of this meeting was to prepare the mobilization for the larger assembly to be held in this neighborhood afterward, on which we also report. In both cases, participants had already taken part to a public awareness activity on air pollution before and, as such, had already some knowledge on this matter. A large part of the meeting in the second neighborhood, Dantokpa, aimed at discussing the information that was presented at the previous meeting in order to see what participants remembered and how this knowledge had changed their practices. A leaflet and a poster, both presenting handmade drawings, were used as a communication support during these meetings.

In Senegal, we discuss two public awareness meetings hold at 1 week of distance with about 20 community leaders from Fass-Colobane and Medina neighborhoods. The first meeting had the objective to present information on air pollution and the second, which gathered the same participants, to discuss this information in order to see what elements were remembered and what changes of practices were envisioned. A series of slides were presented during the first meeting showing, in a first part, definitions, figures, and explicative drawings and, in a second part, different sources of pollution, their impacts on health, and the measures that can be taken to reduce exposure, all of this illustrated with photos. The last slides invited participants to discuss the information just presented, for instance, by asking them to share their own experiences related to pollution. Photos showing situations of dense pollution were reused during the second meeting as a reminder and to generate discussions.

Many aspects of these four meetings support our discussion: who is talking to whom and after whom, the role of the presenter, the level of bidirectionality between her and the attendees, the thematic of the exchanges and the reactions generated by them, the level of agreement or conflict, the openness or closeness toward the subjects discussed, the diverse calls to legitimacy claimed by participants (expertise, representativeness, tacit knowledge, seniority), and the presence of leaders and their overall effects on the attendees. We also noted the various types of participants, the rules of the discussion, the spatial organization of the room, and the possible effects of the observers on the behavior of the participants. An observation grid allows for the compilation of these elements.

Interviews with activities' participants from a diversity of gender, age, and profession conducted by a locally engaged student allow for an insider view of the participating process. Interviews were conducted in the local language and then translated and transcribed. Several aspects of the participatory meetings were discussed during these interviews, such as the mobilization for these meetings, the impression on their utility, the easiness to speak during the meetings, the knowledge emerging from them, the changes of perception and behavior following them, as well as the awareness efforts toward third parties.

68.4 Learnings

By grounding our reflections in empirical concrete situations, we were able to shed light on several aforementioned challenges associated with participatory initiatives. Indeed, our results highlight risks of reinforcement of inequalities by the recruitment of already engaged citizens, the reproduction of pre-existing power relationships that poses a threat to the inclusion principle, and the difficulty to co-construct and implement solutions emerging from these participatory processes.

68.5 Preaching to the Converted?

As stressed by Blacksher (2013), participatory initiatives pose the risk to widen the gap between politically engaged citizens and those who are mostly detached from the discussions associated with collective issues, if not apathetic or bluntly cynical

about them. The different strategic choices between Senegal and Benin when it comes to the recruitment of participants highlight this issue.

In Senegal, Air Sain organizers banked on community leaders who can be associated, following Bherer (2005), with a certain "elite of participation." These individuals, who attended the two public awareness meetings we observed, were selected based on their role in the Medina and Fass neighborhoods and on their capacity to disseminate public health messages to a broader population. For instance, one member of the Medina Women Association, another one from the Medina Notability Association, several representatives of diverse community organizations, one teacher in women entrepreneurship, two imams, one engineer, and several Badiene Gokh were parts of the meetings (literally, Badiene means auntie or mommy and Gokh means neighborhoods. Nowadays, their role is to conduct awareness campaigns on health-related topics. Their work schedule is dependent upon the topics elected by the Ministry of Health). The recruitment of participants was under the responsibility of an influent local public servant. The facilitator of the meeting was a young woman who has studied in Paris and was now doing her master with the head of the research project for Senegal.

Most of the interviewees asserted that the meetings were an occasion to learn about air pollution. One can think that participants were particularly open to new learning – in fact, several of them took some notes – in a context where many of the harmful practices that were discussed did not directly concern their own behavior. Organizers pointed up, for instance, pollution generated by urban transportation, the burning of waste or their tipping out in open-air canals, the smoking of fishes or the smoke coming from bakery (which usually cook their breads on wood fires), the detergent used by women whose occupation is to do the laundry, the cigarettes, or the selling of perfumes or other potentially toxic products. Hence, we can put forward that the discussions around the changes of practices associated with these sources of pollutants did not represent an immediate threat to these participants' way of living. In line with this remark, several interviewees mentioned that it would have been relevant to invite at the meetings other types of participants more directly concerned by the harmful practices identified, such as mechanics, metal welders, drivers, carpenters, shoemakers, or sellers exposed to wastes in the market.

Of course, even these "elite" participants themselves generate some types of pollutants, and as such, they may have been concerned by the discussions around some household pollutants, like incense, insecticides, or spray deodorants. Indeed, when asked about the changes in their behavior they put forward following the public awareness meetings interviewees mostly referred to a less intense use of incense. But it is probably accurate to state that, globally speaking, participants in Dakar did not feel directly concerned with the harmful practices associated with air pollution that were discussed. In this perspective, their participation to these meetings may have accentuated the gap between their perception on their "good" way of living and the noxious practices of other actors in their environment. Supporting this assumption is the fact that some interviewees mentioned, as a change in their behavior following the meetings that, from now on, they would be less reluctant to "denounce" improper behaviors of others, notably through the environmental emergency phone line put in

place in Dakar. As such, one interviewee stated that, "Yes, a change in behaviour must occur because there are practices in my neighbourhood that I didn't like at all, but I had no means to remedy them. From now on, I will make a good use of the emergency number you gave us" (Dakar 4) (all of the interviews excerpt have been translated in English by the authors.). Another interviewee mentioned: "I am exposed to emanations coming from a carpenter shop in our neighbourhood, but I plan to remedy to this situation with the environmental emergency number you gave us" (Dakar 12).

In Benin, in each of the neighborhood selected for the project, Air Sain organizers rather chose to hold one preparatory meeting with a few women identified as leaders in their community and with the neighborhood delegate, assisted by a woman animator and a woman co-animator. These women had then the responsibility to recruit a total of 60 participants for the participatory assembly that would follow, which raised some tension for the difficulty to attain such a number. The assembly that we observed in Dantokpa market gathered 15 participants, mostly women merchants (although some of them also consider themselves as leaders in their community) as well as the head of the neighborhood (a man). The facilitator was a woman from the area. Interestingly, a comparative analysis of the vocabulary used in the two countries shows that the organizers tended to refer to scientific terms in Senegal in order to talk about air pollution and its effects on health. For instance, the presentation slides made references to air composition, to the respiratory system and to the effects of asthma on it, and to cardiovascular or coronary diseases, using detailed figures to illustrate these concepts. In Benin, organizers rather favored a more accessible language, for instance, they talked about "dangerous pollutants" when referring to toxic substances coming from wastes burning. This finding reinforces the idea of a certain "elite of participation" in Senegal, which would be deemed more capable to understand a scientific presentation. The choice of facilitator (a university student in Dakar, local facilitators in Benin) also nourishes this distinction between the two countries.

Contrary to what was stated earlier for Dakar, we can think that the individuals who were part of the participatory assembly observed in Cotonou felt directly concerned by the harmful practices associated with air pollution that were discussed during the meeting, since these practices are part of daily behaviors that take place inside many households. Cooking on a wood fire oven was mentioned, as well as the use of vegetal fuel (*kpèlèbè*, derived from the transformation of palm nuts into palm oil) or plastic bags to make fire, the burning of household wastes, and the use of insecticides. A large part of the discussions also turned around household cleanliness, despite that this element was not specifically mentioned on the posters and the leaflet produced for the Air Sain campaign. Besides, the link between insalubrity and air pollution remains tenuous and mostly concerns unpleasant smell issues (of course, insalubrity is the source of many public health problems, but they are not directly related to air pollution). This emphasis on insalubrity as a source of air pollution also clearly stands out from our interviews. In the following excerpt, a participant unequivocally associated the participatory assembly with hygiene

measures: “I think that we were called to attend this meeting for reasons of good hygiene, for us to adopt good practices in terms of cleanliness” (Cadjehoun 4).

Admittedly, interviewees mentioned other actors who should also be targeted by the public awareness campaign, such as canteen owners who produce a lot of wastes and wastewater, or taxi-moto drivers. That being said, they generally acknowledged that they had to change their own practices in a much stronger way than what was the case for Dakar. The following excerpt gives an idea of the general state of mind after the assembly hold at the Dantokpa market: “Since we had this meeting on air pollution, I did not completely stop using the mosquito (an insecticide), but I reduced the frequency of its use. It is already a change of behaviour. It is true that I hate uncleanliness, and I reinforced hygienic measures around me. All of this is a result of the meeting” (Dantokpa 1).

Thus, we can put forward that the approach that was favored in Benin allowed the engagement of actors whose behaviors produce air pollution, who are directly affected by it, and who have the possibility to partly modify their own practices in order to reduce their exposure. Contrary to what was observed in Dakar, the campaign does not seem to be an initiative that reinforces a certain “elite of participation.” Nevertheless, under this “grassroot” participation, more subtle power relationship issues appear. During the preparatory meeting observed in Cadjehoun, the head of the neighborhood, who chaired the reunion, mentioned that he “had fought” in order to have his neighborhood selected by the Air Sain project, in a context where organizers plan to distribute gas ovens to selected households for free at the end of the campaign. Moreover, although the recruitment of participants for the participatory assemblies was officially under the charge of the women identified as leaders in each of the selected neighborhoods, heads of neighborhood stepped in to convince people to participate. In Dantokpa, it seems that this was notably done on the base of past collaborations, as illustrated in the two following excerpts:

> When the (head of the neighbourhood) gives me a mission or asks me a service, I duly carry it out. This is certainly why I was invited to the meeting (Dantokpa 1).
>
> Another reason to explain my invitation is the trust and the conscientiousness that I am capable of when I carry out the missions that the head of the neighbourhood entrust me with (Dantokpa 4).

Furthermore, it seems that the head of the neighborhood in Dantokpa exerted a certain pressure over the participants to make sure they attend the meeting, as underlined in the following excerpt “I was opposed to the idea of using constraint in order to mobilize women for the meetings. The head of the neighbourhood was using this threat. I rather believe that participation must be voluntary and free” (Dantokpa 2). These elements show the difficulty to completely evacuate power relationships when it comes to selecting and recruiting attendees for participatory initiatives. As we will see in the following section, power relationships persisted during the participatory activities we observed, despite the intention to hold initiatives that were as inclusive as possible.

68.6 Persistent Power Relationships

Since they gather actors coming from diverse horizons, participatory initiatives are prone to reproduce traditional hegemonic relations, thus impeding the emergence of new ways of thinking (Abelson et al. 2011) and the expression of more marginalized groups, such as women (Raibaud 2015). Following ecosystemic approaches to health and its principle of gender equity, the participatory initiatives we observed in Senegal and Benin were both characterized by the presence of a majority of women attendees. Nevertheless, we noticed the persistence of traditional power relationships during these activities, in both countries. Hence, in all of the meetings we observed, men with a high social status took more room in the discussions than women, despite the fact they were less numerous.

In Dakar, it is not trivial to notice that during the two public awareness meetings, four men out of a total of six men attendees sat in front of the room, while women "naturally" took place behind. This configuration favored dyadic exchanges between the presenter, also in front of the room, and some men attendees who had private conversations with her at several occasions. These situations notably happened in relation with the use of incense, a delicate matter since it is associated with women's seduction practices; besides, some joking comments were made on the fact that the woman facilitator was still unmarried. These interludes, which excluded the other participants, each time gave rise to a hubbub and diverted the attention of the audience. It is also worth mentioning the propensity of participants with a high social status – heads of neighborhood or imams – to speak louder and for longer periods of time than the rest of the attendees, sometimes with an authoritative voice and often standing up while speaking. Admittedly, this situation did not totally impede the expression of women as several of them appeared very at ease to speak up; however, it created an imbalance between the number of women attendees at the meetings and the scope of their voice.

This dominating place took by men in assemblies mostly composed of women was also observed at the meeting of the Dantokpa market, in Benin, where the head of the neighborhood took the floor for long periods of time, at several occasions, many times in French and in a refined language. Some of his remarks could be deemed as paternalistic, for instance, when he stressed that the country was a patriarchal society and asked what was the place of men in the campaign, asserting that "no woman had confronted his man" on air pollution matters. It is true that using wood fire to cook fish or chicken, for instance, is deeply rooted in tradition. Changing this practice necessitates to heighten the whole family awareness of the problems that it may cause. Otherwise, a blunt change of practices will likely generate strong resistance in the household. As it was the case in Dakar, some women did speak, but overall the head of the neighborhood was a dominating presence.

When asked in the interviews if they believed that participants were able to express themselves as they wished, respondents (both in Dakar and in Cotonou) noted that there was not enough time for most people to express themselves and that, in general, those who spoke were those familiar with public speaking. Respondents expressed global satisfaction with the facilitators at the meetings.

68.7 Experts' Discourses and Changes of Practices

Surprisingly, resistance to change was rarely mentioned by participants and interviewees from both countries. If a few people did underline that some harmful practices were rooted in ancestral traditions and that, consequently, change had to be progressive, the majority of the interviewees asserted, on the contrary, that they had already modified their behavior:

> From then on, I forbad the use of plastic bags in fire as well as the use of vegetal fuel (kpèlèbè). Wastewater is filtered to remove its organic components – pasta, vegetables and so on. Household wastes are not exposed in an untidy heap anymore: they are put in bags and dropped in a specific spot where they will be collected. (Cadjehoun 1)
>
> From now on, I buy my gas. I reinforce cleanliness in my household and in the toilets. When I have to, I light the fire before starting to cook. I don't use coal and plastic bags anymore, when I leave my house I spray my bedroom so it can be in good condition when I come back in the evening. I don't rush at these necessities anymore. (Dantokpa 11)

Some changes of practices associated with the use of insecticides and incense can be done quite easily: one can simply wait outside the room by the time these products are burning or are settling down, in the case of spray insecticides. On the opposite, changes of practices associated with "clean" fuel are far more complex, for they imply more costly alternatives such as gas ovens. And yet, participants at the meetings rarely mentioned the costs increase associated with these changes, and only a few persons brought up this issue during the interviews. Most interviewees in Benin declared having changed their practices to some extent. Such a finding could be explained as a desirability bias to please the organizers – or not to displease them – by presenting views that correspond to what was taught during the meetings. But another as likely explanation is the deep trust toward experts' discourse that filtered out of the interviews. In Senegal but also in Benin, many interviewees mentioned the quality of the information given by experts during the meeting, and the fact that they trust this information. In both countries, "experts" were prominent during the activities, stepping in on many occasions to answer a question or correct a false information or perception. Interestingly, findings from the interviews clearly show that the confidence toward experts is partly attributable to the fact that they are not tied to the "political" universe, broadly taken: "At first, I thought this was a political thing, but I have been pleasantly surprised to see that is was a health affair, which motivated me more" (Dantokpa 10). The clear "nonpolitical" positioning of Air Sain could be construed as a relevant strategy to fight the cynicism related to public participation.

This acknowledgment – if not deference – toward the experts' discourse tends to limit, in return, the emergence of "lay knowledge" that would come from citizens' experiences and perceptions. This could potentially explain why resistance to changes of practices that could be considered as "good" notwithstanding their consequences on health – fire to cook fish or meat and incense to seduce – is seldom mentioned. In this perspective, the "solutions" presented to fight air pollution are mainly imposed by experts.

68.8 Preconceived Solutions

Another challenge associated with participatory initiatives relates to the concrete implementation of the solutions emerging from these endeavors (Bherer 2011; Blondiaux and Fourniau 2011; Clarke 2013). Like we just mentioned, in the two cases studied, solutions aiming at fighting air pollution were thought beforehand by Air Sain organizers, a budget having been planned from the outset in order to buy and distribute gas ovens. Admittedly, participants were involved in the discussions aiming at producing the leaflet in Cotonou, proposing, for instance, to add or change some images in order to make it more meaningful. In Dakar, participants suggested to produce a leaflet in the local language, a proposition that was welcomed by the organizers. But overall, respect, confidence, and deference toward experts' discourse did not favor the emergence of lay or citizen knowledge. The challenges posed by the concrete implementation of the identified solutions remained seldom touched on. Rather, participants proposed to organize more meetings with other participants but with the presence of experts. In this context, Air Sain activities were closer to communication models of persuasion and knowledge transmission rather than to genuine participatory models. These models would be more in phase with the traditional African palaver model, characterized by small assemblies where deliberation occurs through an informal setting, "transcending status and centered on content" (Lanmafankpotin 2015, our translation).

And yet, the type of engagement privileged by the Air Sain program is not vain. We can think that the form of citizen participation that took place through this project had a significant political meaning for participants. Indeed, McComas (2010) distinguishes three motives that justify citizen engagement in participatory initiatives (the author proposes these motives in relation to citizen engagement in crises management, but the concept can be applied to other contexts.). First, the motive can be normative, which means that it is based on the profound belief that individuals have a fundamental right to be heard in democratic regime. Second, the motive can be instrumental when it is thought that participation will likely favor a better acceptance of the decisions that have been debated and a greater confidence toward authorities. Finally, the motive for citizen engagement can be substantive, which is the case in situations where the benefits of such engagement are considered to go beyond the issue at stake. In these situations, participation is seen as a means to generate social capital, to lead to greater political efficiency and increased capacities for a community. Air Sain activities could be associated with the last two perspectives. First, taking into account the persuasion model of communication that was favored, the meetings created better conditions for uptake notably thanks to direct interactions with experts. Second, the Air Sain campaign also gave rise to participants' empowerment; this would be in phase with the participatory approach favored by international organizations, which nowadays call for "the valorisation of personal experience in participation to development projects" (Parizet 2016, p. 84, our translation). Beyond the knowledge acquired through public awareness activities, participants can get a feeling of empowerment associated with the ability to heighten third-party awareness on air pollution. As such, Air Sain has the potential to generate "social effects" (Lavigne Delville 2011) among its participants. The following excerpts speak to this idea:

> Whenever I had the chance to exchange with people and I had the occasion to share learning from the meeting with them, I did it, and I encouraged these individuals to share these learning as much as they can. (Cadjehoun 2)
>
> The meeting will be instrumental in the success of the future public awareness campaign I'll put forward, since I now possess many assets and scientific proofs concerning pollution ravages. (Dakar 1)
>
> I even apprehend people that I meet for the first time, go out of a taxi and commit gestures that are the opposite of what we learnt at the meeting. I hail them directly and draw their attention on the unfortunate consequences that could follow their behaviour. (Dantokpa 4)

This is consistent with an ecohealth perspective, according to which the emphasis must be put on knowledge-to-action, notably with regard to scientific knowledge. This bridge between experts and citizens is viewed as a way to insure projects' sustainability and better social cohesion. That being said and as stressed earlier, a strict transmission model tends to impede the emergence of lay knowledge that would allow the identification of more socially acceptable, and thus more sustainable, solutions. The recourse to incense, for example, remains strongly rooted in common habits, and one can question the sustainability of a solution promoting the reduction of its use.

68.9 Conclusion

In sum, by anchoring the challenges identified in the literature into field observations and interviews, we were able to bring support and nuances to the need to address various challenges when participatory initiatives are fostered. As we have seen, the initiatives presented may have contributed to widen the gap between informed citizens and those not involved in discussions related to collective issues. This was more so in Dakar where those invited to the meetings were community leaders that can be think of as an "elite of participation." The situation was different in Benin, even though our interviews have revealed that several participants to the Dantokpa meeting were recruited based on their pre-existing (positive) relationship with the community leader. We have also underlined how difficult it is to ignore the "usual" power relations during meetings in which, in principle, participants have an equal voice. We have seen that men, and notably those with an acknowledged social status, had a tendency to speak more often and for a longer time than women despite their minority status in the meeting. Our analysis has also revealed the central role played by experts in the conversations; even though the information they brought was highly relevant and well received by participants, their knowledge dominated the meetings leaving very few room for lay knowledge. Finally, our analysis has highlighted the complexity of the concept of "co-construction" at the heart of participatory initiatives: we were led to conclude that the initiatives we observed were close to persuasive communication and knowledge transfer models focusing on awareness and offering prepackage solutions.

This global conclusion questions the participatory nature of the observed meetings, the selected format leaving little room for the emergence of a dialogue between participants. Yet, dialogue is a foundation of communication for social change: "Communication for social change (. . .) is defined as a process of public and private

dialogue through which people define who they are, what they want and how they can get it. Social change is defined as change in people's lives as they themselves define such change" (Gray-Felder and Dean 1999, p. 8. On dialogue, see also Cohen and Fung 2004, De Bussy 2010, Delli-Carpini et al. 2004, Fishkin 2009, Kent and Taylor 2002, and Sintomer 2011). In the meetings we observed, leaving more room for dialogue could have permitted the emergence of lay knowledge regarding some sources of pollutants and, more importantly maybe, could have exposed the challenges posed by the desired changes in perceptions and practices.

What has been said above does not question the relevance of the Air Sain program. As studies in communication have shown (Figueroa et al. 2002; Mertens et al. 2005; Kirk 2004), peer pressure and influence are major determinants for behavior change. Therefore, dialogue and interinfluence are crucial for these changes to go beyond individual behaviors to embrace collective practices: "For social change, a model of communication is required that is cyclical, relational and leads to an outcome of mutual change rather than one-sided, individual change" (Figueroa et al. 2002, p. iii). Indeed, even if part of the fight against air pollution can be conducted within households, it requires collective awareness and behavior changes at the society level. In this regard, our results clearly show that participants have learned and that many of them feel better equipped to convince their peers of the need to change some of their practices. Hence, one can think that dialogue and interinfluence will happen on the long run within participants' social networks. This is bound to contribute to behavior changes that could help fight air pollution and hence diminish its impact on people's health in the two cities.

68.10 Cross-References

- ▶ A Community-Based Participatory Mixed-Methods Approach to Multicultural Media Research
- ▶ A Threefold Approach for Enabling Social Change: Communication as Context for Interaction, Uneven Development, and Recognition
- ▶ Bottom-Up Networks in Pacific Island Countries: An Emerging Model for Participatory Environmental Communication
- ▶ Empowerment as Development: An Outline of an Analytical Concept for the Study of ICTs in the Global South
- ▶ Multidimensional Model for Change: Understanding Multiple Realities to Plan and Promote Social and Behavior Change

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Community Radio in Ethiopia: A Discourse of Peace and Conflict Reporting

69

Mulatu Alemayehu Moges

Contents

69.1 Introduction 1232
69.2 The Community Radio as Tool to Solve the Internal Conflicts 1233
69.3 Ownership of the Media 1234
69.4 Proximity and Immediacy 1235
69.5 Languages and Values of the Community 1236
69.6 Volunteerism and Nonprofit Making 1238
69.7 Summary 1239
References 1239

Abstract

In the states, like Ethiopia, where internal conflicts, mainly ethnic conflicts, have currently been appearing in many parts, a medium that deals with those issues appropriately is vital. Among the three main media branches, such as public service, commercial, and community radio, the later can be described as an appropriate medium that can, perhaps, bring not only possible timely solutions to the cases but also some social changes in the society. This is because the nature of the community radio, which is close to the societies and covers the issues immediately, can serve the people well by raising directly relevant issues in relation to conflict and peace. By taking some cases from Ethiopia, it is the purpose of this chapter to show how community radio is a best platform in dealing with internal conflicts in particular and social issues in general in the marginalized societies that are vulnerable to various social and political problems.

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Keywords

Community radio · Ethiopian Broadcast Authority (EBA) · Kembat community radio · Kore community radio · Public broadcasting service

69.1 Introduction

In a broad classification of broadcasting, there are three groups of electronic media in Ethiopia. The first one is public broadcasting service, which is funded by the public. In the case of Ethiopia, these media are financed and controlled by the government. This can also be named government-run media. The second is commercials, which are privately owned, and their goals are profit making. The third is community radio, which is supported by the community and local and international NGOs. And, the main goal of the community radio is to serve and benefit the target groups in some areas. As it is defined by AMARC, community radio is a "nonprofit" station, currently broadcasting, which offers a service to the community in which it is located, or to which it broadcasts, while promoting the participation of this community in the radio (AMARC-Europe 1994 cited in Carpentier et al. 2003, p. 240). Among these three types of media in the country, it is the argument of this paper that the later one (community radio) can be one of the best means of communication for social changes in particular, dealing with internal conflicts in a given country. This will be explained throughout this chapter. But, first, it is fair to note briefly about the development of community radio and the extent of conflicts in the country.

Currently, there are a number community radio stations in Ethiopia. Most of them are well established and structured. Unlike the other media in the country, such as the national radio, television, and newspaper, the community radio can be described not only as a recent phenomenon but also as a fast-growing medium in the country (Tadesse 2006; Eshetu 2007). As of 2008, the government of Ethiopia, in its office, called Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority (EBA), has begun licensing the community radio in a formal way, but most of them have started properly functioning as of 2010 and 2011 (Infoasaid 2011). Presently, there are about 26 community radio stations, which are functioning well across the country; the other 30 got license, but have not started providing service to the community (EBA 2016). Since it is being recent and comparing it with other mainstream media, the community media can be described as a media in good progress in the country.

In advocacy communication, which is an important tool to foster public policies in the audiences by producing issues or program continuously in the media, in which they could bring solution, for instance, to the conflicts (Servaes and Malikhao 2012), the community radio can be the best medium in taking such roles in the country. This can be discussed into two points in relation to internal conflicts. Firstly, there are several internal conflicts in the country. Ethiopia, one of the Horn of African countries, has been experiencing both inter- and intra-conflicts in its history due to political, socioeconomic, border, and administrative structure, ethnic and religious tensions, the geopolitics of the country, and other causes. Specifically, intra-conflicts

have currently become so serious and vast in numbers. Various research and reporters indicated that there have been several internal conflicts, which have had serious consequences, which led to losing the lives of many people, destruction of proprieties, and other social problems in the country (Armed Conflict Location and Events Data Project-ACLED (2016). In fact, there were some regional states in the country which were vastly experiencing ethnic conflicts. Oromia, Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Region (SNNPR), and Somalia regions were among the most vulnerable regions to ethnic conflicts (iDMC 2009). But recently, the conflicts have sporadically happened in the other regions due to the political tension, and many people lost their lives. In pastoralists' areas where grazing and farming land are so scarce and where the border structures are poorly demarcated, they have been accommodating many clashes and conflicts.

Secondly, the community radio stations in the country are mostly situated in marginalized areas, in which the people are vulnerable to various conflicts, specifically ethnic conflicts. These make the importance of community radio so magnificent in alleviating conflict and in bringing the solutions to the problems.

69.2 The Community Radio as Tool to Solve the Internal Conflicts

There have been two different arguments on the importance of the media, in general, in relation to their interventions in conflicts. Some groups, for instance, Des-Forges (1999), Thompson (2007, 1999), by taking the cases of Rwanda and former Yugoslavia, argued that the media play a negative intervention in the conflict by presenting the cases in a more sensational ways that motivate the people to stand against the other perceived enemies. On the other hand, there are groups who are strongly arguing that the media are still one of the best means to approach conflict and bring sustainable solution to a given conflict (Wolfsfeld 2004; Spencer 2005; Lynch and McGoldrick 2005; Howard 2008). The best-case scenario of the positive intervention of the media in conflicts is the crisis between the Catholic and the Protestant groups in Ireland. The media in this country are appreciated in creating a conducive environment for the two-antagonist groups to settle their differences. To note here, both the negative and positive interventions have been observed in the mainstream media in the respective countries. It is the argument of this chapter that unlike the mainstream media, community radio differently serves the people in the discourse of peace and conflicts if it is properly established and managed and the volunteers' journalists are well trained. As Ethiopia is ethnically a divided country where its societies are grouped based on their ethnic lines which could help to mobilize themselves in their groups as well as to get some benefits because of their groupings (Abbink 2006; Østebø 2007; ICG 2009), a recent study on the mainstream media found that journalists in these media are always working in fear where their report may incite conflicts among the ethnic groups (Moges 2017). Due to the fear of inciting conflicts as well as fear of creating animosity among a perceived ethnic enemy, most of the mainstream media in the country do not dare to report internal

conflicts, particularly ethnic conflicts (Moges 2017). The media prefer to silence the cases.

Taking this finding into account, it is the main argument of this chapter that the community radio can perform better than the mainstream media in relation to reporting conflicts and possibly bringing solutions in Ethiopia. This is because their nature, approaches, and autonomy could help them to deal with internal conflicts in the society in a way to ameliorate cases. In support of this idea, Terizs and Vassiliadou (2008, p. 26) argued that the community radio has the power to reach the target audience and enable them to participate in the decision-making process both in the content selection and content production. Carpentier et al. (2003) also explained the importance of community radio into four multi-theoretical approaches. These are in terms of serving a community, the community media as an alternative to mainstream media, linking community media to the civil society, and community media as rhizome. These multi-theoretical approaches, except the latter, are very important to elaborate the cases of community radio in Ethiopia in the case of ensuring peace and resolving conflicts. In this chapter, the community radio are present in terms of their ownership, proximity and immediacy, language and values, and volunteerism and nonprofit-making interest.

69.3 Ownership of the Media

In the political economy of the media, ownership is one of the elements that influence the mainstream media content production and dissemination in the given society. However, it is possible to argue here that the influence of ownership in community radio becomes minimal. It is because the community owns the media and they can also select, propose, and even participate in the content production in the programs aired in the stations (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada 2002). Unlike the mainstream media that are mostly working to meet either political or economic benefits of the owners by reporting some issues, such as conflicts, perhaps sensationally to get more sells (Allen and Seaton 1999), the community radio are, nevertheless, less likely rushing to report issues in a way to exaggerate the reports so as to maximize incomes. For instance, when there is conflict in a given society, the community radio stations are believed to report the cases in a very fair manner that benefits their target communities. It is because the community radio stations are always reporting cases in a way that helps that particular society. In support of this idea, Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002) emphasize that the decision on all aspects of management is transparent and democratic which enable them to serve the community. This indicates that, for example, if there is a conflict in some areas, the journalists in the community radio are mainly concerned with how the cases could be reported in a way to bring the solutions to the problems. In other terms, their (the community media) main interest is to deal with the issues in line with the interests of the community, which are witnessing the conflict. A study on internal conflicts in Ethiopia found that owners (in terms of political and economic) are highly influencing the media in both the extent of and framing of those issues

(Moges 2017). However, when it comes to the community radio, unlike the other mainstream media, the owners' influence in the community media is so little. Instead, since the communities are the owner of the radio station, they are highly privileged in participating in the content selection and production freely (Carpentier et al. 2003). They also underscored that in the community radio, the community are getting better access in participation in the content production and in the discussion in the programs (Carpentier et al. 2003). Thus, the discourse of conflict and peace in the case of Ethiopia can be easily and fairly facilitated by the community radio stations, which are mostly owned by the communities.

69.4 Proximity and Immediacy

Proximity and immediacy are some of the most valuable elements in story selection in the media. When it comes to the conflict cases, these two elements become the most important criteria of story selection in the media (Gultung and Ruge 1965). More specifically, these two elements can be most valuable and well used in the community radio. This is because the radio stations can be the most close media to the society in providing information to them as soon as possible. This further benefits that particular society in four ways. Firstly, the target audiences can get the chance to know what is going on in their surroundings since journalists in the community radio relatively report the case as soon as it happens. Secondly, unlike the mainstream media at the national and international level, the community radio stations are situated close to the target community, in which their journalists can easily identify the possible violence, perhaps, before the outbreak of the conflicts, as well as suggest possible solutions to them. As it has been argued by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005), reporting conflicts proactively can contribute to containing the outbreak of serious violence and their consequences in the community. This is because when the report identifies some problems ahead and suggests the way out, the concerned bodies can also come up with the solutions. It is also easy to get the solution to the problem from the community themselves. This can happen in the community radio, which is situated in the community. In support of this idea, Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002, p. 71) state:

> *The collective perception can only be achieved through internal discussions to analyse specific problems, identify possible solutions, and mobilize the appropriate people or groups for action. Community radio provides the perfect platform for this internal discussion.*

Thirdly, since the journalists and the owners (the community) are part of the same society, the former can bring issues of conflict to the audiences so as to discuss the case in the way they want to be. The journalists know the social and cultural values of that particular community (will be discussed next), and they can present the cases that the audiences can understand by using its language and culture. In light of that, reflecting and promoting local identity, values, and culture of the community are some of the main functions of the community radio (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada

2002). The society is also considering the community media as a safeguard for their culture (da Costa 2012). This can be further discussed in the next subtopic.

Lastly, the community can get the chance to easily participate in the program, which also helps them to promote the rights of the societies (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada 2002, p. 71).

> *(The community radio help) to promote good governance and civil society by playing a community watchdog role that makes local authorities and politicians more conscious of their public responsibilities. The marginalized and the oppressed normally have no way to complain when authorities take advantage of them, but community radio gives them a voice to air their grievances and obtain their due rights.*

In a similar vein, Carpentier et al. (2003) noted that the community media has the power to provide access to the community, particularly the marginalized, in participating (getting the chance to have their voice heard) and facilitating communication in the given society. The Kore community radio in Ethiopia can be a case in point for such role. Historically, the Kore community is likely isolated both politically and geographically from the central government. The area, which is located in SNNP region, is not easily accessible for transportations. Like many other ethnic groups, this community also has a distinct language, which is not catered by the national media. Of course, as the Ethiopian populations are large in number and there are many ethnic groups with their own language, it has become difficult to provide coverage for all groups in their languages at the national level in the mainstream media. As a result, the community radio, Kore Community radio, has become the best platform to the community to use the media in expressing whatever they want. Kembata community radio has also shared similar roles. Generally, the issues of proximity and immediacy make the community media more preferable stations in the discourse of peace and conflicts. There is a strong need for the proximity of radio stations to the rural audiences and localization of program materials (Diedong 2014). This ultimately helps the community to raise more issues, and then, they can get the chance to be heard by the concerned people. In addition, as it is noted in the multi-theoretical approach of Carpentier et al. (2003), topics of the discussion in the programs in the community radio are considered for selection if and only if they are found relevant to that particular community. This has also another advantage in the community. Issues, which need immediate action by the decision-makers, could get answer shortly.

69.5 Languages and Values of the Community

As noted above, briefly, the other most important elements in the discourse of peace and conflicts in the community radio in Ethiopia are the use of local language and social values of the community in the program production. It is clear that language is one of the means that reflect values and cultures. The community radio is also using this advantage by producing and disseminating information to the audiences that

they can clearly understand the cases. In addition to language, the communities have different identities, cultures, or perceptions that may bring some forms of different understanding. This can be described as the main challenges to the mainstream media at national, foreign, or international level in reporting cases in line with the cultural context of the cases. As it is argued by Terizs and Vassiliadou (2008), the international and foreign media can be highly challenged in understanding and translating words and concepts of the local community. The low level of understanding and translating the local language by these mainstream media may lead to prejudice and biases toward the cases, the context, and the society they are reporting to (Terizs and Vassiliadou 2008, p. 386). In other terms, Servaes and Malikhao (2012) argued that media, which aspire to bring social changes, particularly build peace, and bring resolution to the conflicts, shall frame the message based on the culture context of the target community. "The information should be trailered to the audiences and be in line with the understanding and expectation of the people or stakeholder" (Servaes and Malikhao 2012, p. 237). In his handbook, *Conflict-Sensitive Reporting*, Howard (2008) also noted that journalists should describe conflicts accurately, which needs understanding to the background of the case, the context, and other: ". . .the spelling of names, the facts as they happened, and the real meaning of what was said" (Howard 2008, p. 21). All the above authors suggested that considering the language and values of the given community where the media are working in is vital. In the case of community radio, the journalists do understand well not only the language and the values of the community but also the interest of the target audiences. This can help the community to get more chances to speak out their problems freely. And they can also suggest possible solutions freely that can work in line with their cultural values.

This can be described in terms of presentations of the issues in the community media. Some communities have the culture that can colorfully express certain issues. This can help the community radio to use such values of the society in presenting issues of reconciliation and arbitration of the conflict artistically, which ultimately make the discussion very soft and smooth. As one of the roles of the journalists who are aspiring to bring conflict cases and present them in a non-violent way, Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) suggest that the presentation shall be more creative and be in line with the social values of the community. The authors also advise that the story shall include the voice of the people in general and influential cultural and other social groups, in particular, who can influence the public opinion easily. Unlike other mainstream media, the community radio is a best platform to bring those values from the societies, and they can present those in the form of music, dialogue, art, poem, and others (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada 2002). In its nature, the community radio is producing programs in the local language about local issues, music, cultures, and news based on the interests of the target listeners (Milius and Oever NY.). This makes the community radio the right medium in solving the problem and bringing peace to the community. To note here, all the community radio stations in Ethiopia are using the local languages of the people who are getting the service from the aired programs. In other terms, most of the community radio in Ethiopia is serving small ethnic groups, which have a strong sense of local identity (Infoasaid 2011, p. 18).

This can be further explained that some community radio stations are serving some marginalized communities, which are somewhat isolated in the socioeconomic benefits of the country. At the same time, these marginalized societies are most vulnerable to minor conflicts. This is one of the advantages of community radio, specifically in Ethiopia, which are producing contents and disseminate them to the societies in different languages of the communities.

Languages and values can also be discussed in relation to having clear understanding to the cases. Facts are the most important elements in the objective reporting in the media; it thus becomes so serious in writing accurate stories within the context of a given society. It is the job of the journalists to work hard to figure out facts from the trashes. There are times that journalists who are not close to the issues or particular communities are challenged in identifying "which is which." However, these problems may not be a big deal with the journalists who are working in the community radio. It is because they either can know the facts well or can easily cross-check them from various sources. Moreover, they can know the context of the conflicts, the background of the conflict, and the values that should be dealt with while reporting the cases. They can also easily anticipate the intended consequences of their reports in the political, social, and cultural matters in the target community. Hence, the presentation about a certain conflict that aims at bringing reconciliation in the community or arbitrating the groups by taking their values in the program needs to have clear knowledge about the case, which is not a challenge to the journalists who are working in the community radio.

69.6 Volunteerism and Nonprofit Making

The last point that this chapter wants to mention to strengthen the discussion in relation to the importance of the community radio in the intervention of peace and conflict reporting in Ethiopia is volunteering and nonprofit-making interest of both the journalists and the stations. Journalists who are working in the community radio are volunteers who have ardent interests to serve the society for free. Of course, they shall have some skills to write and report issues. They work in the community radio parallel with their jobs. The radio station may not pay them. As their aim is only to serve the target community, they do not have extra interest in working in the media. This is to mean that journalists in the mainstream media are highly interested in reporting conflicts mostly in a sensational manner. This can be an advantage to promote them and become famous in the media by dealing with sensitive issues. However, when it comes to the community radio, its journalists do not have an extra interest in rushing to report some issues in a sensationalized manner for monetary gain or personal promotion. In fact, this has been argued in a different way.

The flow of information is another advantage of the community radio. Unlike other mainstream media, the community radio does not highly promote the top-down flow of information. In fact, there are times that the community radio stations set some agendas from the NGOs or other funding organization. For instance, there were some local NGOs that have been financing Kembata community radio to deal

with women and children issues with the aim of minimizing women-children mortality rate. This is also common in Africa in general. NGOs and development agencies consider the community radio as conduits for message that aimed at educating the community, fostering behavioral changes, and empowering them (da Costa 2012, p. 135). This indicates that the community radio not only develops volunteerism but also promotes social changes at the grassroots level in its community. This ultimately has an impact in dealing with issues of conflicts.

69.7 Summary

Generally, community radio in Ethiopia can be considered as one of the tools that can be used to intervene positively in the discourse of peace and conflicts and bring solutions. Since community radio stations are owned by the community and run by the volunteers, and they are close to the society, they become so vital not only becoming a platform for discussion on conflicts and peace as well as other sociopolitical issues but also deepening the participation of the community in many aspects which ultimately bring social changes. It also maximizes the two factors of development, such as communication and people's participation. Taking all these points into account, community radio in Ethiopia is one of the catalysts for social changes and solves ethnic conflicts mostly happening in the remote parts of the country. According to Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002, p. 69), "the community radio station is a platform for identifying and analyzing problems and their solutions, thereby determining development inputs that truly meet local needs." Hence, those who want to use and advocate certain issues, including peace building, in Ethiopia, shall approach the community radio to meet their interests. This is because the community radio is the best medium that can bring social issue up front to the public discussion.

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Part XI

Regional Overviews

Political Economy of ICT4D and Africa

70

Tokunbo Ojo

Contents

70.1 Introduction 1244
70.2 Digital Capitalism and Business Economies of ICT4D 1244
70.3 ICTs, Africa, and Global Economies 1248
70.4 Mobile Phones and Economics of Affection in Africa 1249
70.5 ICTs, Public Services, and Social Entrepreneurship 1252
70.6 Conclusion 1253
References 1253

Abstract

With hype surrounding the leapfrogging power of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in the national and international development agenda, there have been significant scholarly research interests in what ICTs "will do" *and* "can do" for Africa and its people if appropriated within national development planning agenda. Several of these studies have examined the utopia and dystopia dimensions of the ICTs from the standpoints of socioeconomic development. Against this background, this chapter examines the political economy of ICTs for development in Africa. In this context, the chapter explores ICTs as an economic sector and also as an interventionist tool in the development process.

Keywords

Digital capitalism · Flashing · Information and communication technologies for development (ICT4D) · Mobile phones and economics in Africa · TRACnet · World Health Organization (WHO)

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70.1 Introduction

In their mapping of the published scholarly peer-reviewed journal articles on the communication and international development from 1998 to 2007, Ogan et al. (2009) found that "of all the primary approaches adopted for the study, information and communication technologies for development (ICT4D) comprised 42.3 percent (and an additional 12.5 percent of the secondary approaches) of the total and 40.8 percent used ICTs as the media focus of the research" (p. 660). As an acclaimed buzzword in the scholarship on international development and communication, ICTs are viewed as a "magic multiplier for the poorest of the poor" (Ogan et al. 2009, p. 656). Consequently, development actors such as civil society groups, corporate entities, UN agencies, and cross section of nation-states "view projects like telecenters or information kiosks as the solution to becoming more globalized and stimulating the local economy" (Loh 2015, p. 235). Several of the studies, which focused on Africa, examined the continent's digital divide and the role of international organizations in the ICT policy formation.

While the pessimistic perspectives largely dismissed the notion of ICT4D on the ground that it is another subtle imperialist project of the Western economic power, the overtly optimistic perspectives see the ICTs as a leveler in the global economy and also as a positive index of the twenty-first century human development agenda (Ojo 2016; Murphy and Carmody 2015). Outside of these polarized perspectives, there are other sporadic works that looked at the ICTs in the contexts of political institutions and governance, and social movement, following the 2007 Kenyan presidential election crisis and 2011 Arab spring. There is also an emerging wave of scholarship on the ICTs and journalism practice in Africa, with a particular focus on the citizen journalism and integration of new technologies into the operation of legacy news media outlets in a cross section of African countries. This area of research on African journalism is partly inspired by the broader questions of future sustainability of the legacy news media and "old" technologies such as newspapers and books, amid the rapid growth of digital mobile communication technologies. From an Afrocentric perspective, it is also an important area of scholarship on political economy of African media systems in the post-military rule era.

In spite of all these interesting research works, there is still a dearth of research on "what Africans *do* with ICTs through enculturation" (van Binsbergen 2004 cited in Nyamnjoh 2005, p. 205) and also practical understanding of ICTs as a set of economic practices in African contexts. While acknowledging the validity and contributions of the previous studies to the knowledge production and understanding of ICT4D in Africa, this chapter explores the political economy of ICT as an economic sector and also as an interventionist tool in the development process.

70.2 Digital Capitalism and Business Economies of ICT4D

Digital capitalism, which is the resuscitation of the liberal economic policy of the Victorian age Britain, emphasizes the social and cultural dimensions of the capitalist-based networked economy, amid increasingly consolidation of the public and private

interests in digital platforms since the turn of the century (Schiller 1999). Both Schiller (1999) and Pieterse (2010) characterize the materiality and imaginaries of ICTs as an assemblage of creative capitalism, which increasingly organizes accumulation of sociocultural capital and economic capital for individuals, universities, corporate entities, social entrepreneurs, and nation-states in multiple frontiers of transnational spatial spaces and diverse economies. In a utilitarian sense, digital capitalism packages ICT4D as all-inclusive progressive initiatives for the greater good of greater number of the people, provided every region of the world is interconnected and networked into global market systems that is fostered by advancement in digital and mobile communication technologies. As such, "when they are not trumpeting the wonders of digital networks, the stewards of digital capitalism remain basically complacent about their project's human face" (Schiller 1999, p. 208). But, the market-oriented capitalistic ventures are conflated with social progress, without making "distinction between development and capitalism, or between modernization and capitalist transformation" (Lin 2006 cited in Zhao and Chakravartty 2008, p. 14). The conflation naturalizes ICTs as an integral "force that shapes, determines, constrains, or otherwise controls social development" and economic growth (Mosco 1996, p. 143). Hence, while ICT4D is ideologically rooted in the marketization of communication services and infrastructure, the ICT4D discourse operates on the terrain of "technological causation" that justifies technologies as enabler of equality, access, freedom, participation, and control (Mosco 1989; Ojo 2016).

With the metaphoric phrases of "information society" and "technological revolution" well-enshrined in the international development agenda, the deepening levels of investment on infrastructural development and ICT networks, coupled with neoliberal friendly policy frameworks of several nation-states, enabled the opening of new markets and economic of scales for transnational telecommunication and technology companies. In 2015, global trade in ICT goods and services exceeded $US 2.5 trillion (UNCTAD 2017). The World Bank's data in the *2016 World Development Report* indicated that, "the accumulation of ICT capital accounted for almost 20 percent of global growth between 1995 and 2014" (World Bank 2016, p. 55). This is further underscored by (a) the market capitalization and profitability of a cross section of transnational telecommunication and technology companies and (b) increasing growth of ICT industry in the world economy.

In 2017, 10 of the top 20 companies in the world are in the ICT sector of the global economy (PwC 2017). As Table 1 shows, with market capitalization of $US 754 billion, the Apple Inc. is the number one company in the world. It is followed by Alphabet Inc. and Microsoft, with market capitalization of US$ 579 billion and $US 509 billion, respectively (PwC 2017). Between March 2009 and March 2017, Apple Inc. had approximately eightfold increase in its market capitalization value. In short, "ICT4D may be a terrain in its own right but it is also part of a general ICT boosterism in which ICT is the latest major wave of capital accumulation" (Pieterse 2010, p. 173).

The alignment of geopolitical interest with corporate power has not only expanded the transnational corporate supply chains of transnational ICT and telecommunication companies in this context; the networked global economy

Table 1 Global top 20 companies in 2017

Company	Country of origin	Industry	March 2017		March 2009	
			Market cap rank ($US billion)		Market cap rank ($ US billion)	
Apple Inc.	USA	ICTs	754	1	94	33
Alphabet Inc.	USA	ICTs	579	2	110	22
Microsoft	USA	ICTs	509	3	163	6
Amazon Inc.	USA	ICTs	423	4	31	N/A
Berkshire Hathaway Inc.	USA	Financial services	411	5	134	12
Facebook Inc.	USA	ICTs	411	6	–	–
Exxon Mobil Corp	USA	Oil and gas	340	7	337	1
Johnson & Johnson	USA	Health-care	338	8	145	8
JPMorgan Chase & Co	USA	Financial services	314	9	100	28
Wells Fargo & Co	USA	Financial services	279	10	60	55
Tencent Holdings Ltd	China	ICTs/telecom	272	11	13	–
Alibaba Group Holding	China	ICTs	269	12	–	–
General Electric	USA	Industrial energy	260	13	107	24
Samsung Electronics	South Korea	ICTs	259	14	61	53
AT&T Inc.	USA	Telecomm	256	15	149	7
Ind.& Comm. Bank of China	China	Financial services	246	16	188	4
Nestle	Switzerland	Food and beverage	239	17	129	15
Bank of America	USA	Financial services	236	18	44	87
Procter & Gamble	USA	Consumer goods	230	19	138	10
China Mobile	China	Telecoms	224	20	175	5

Source: PwC (2017)

has also reconfigured economic geography by facilitating ICT capital accumulations in the periphery African cities such as Lagos, Kigali, and Nairobi where clusters of technology hubs and ICT-oriented start-up firms have emerged. There are 314 technology hubs that are operational in 93 cities in 42 African countries in 2016 – that is about 15% increase in comparison to 2014 (Du Boucher 2016). These technology hubs, which are metaphorically known as the Silicon Valleys of the Global South, are embedded in the transnational network capitalism, and are partially funded by international venture capital and philanthropic foundations such as Mark Zuckerberg's the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative.

As the specters of what Schiller (2007) termed "accelerated commodification" of communication resources, these technology hubs serve as the axis of regional ICT economies and knowledge production whereby partnership are forged among international investors, telecommunication operators, ICTs software companies, civil society, and local entrepreneurs for innovative product development and capacity building. By so doing, the temporal dynamism and spatial configuration of these technology hub cities hinge on the sociocultural variation and combined forces of accumulation logic, agglomeration of creative labor, and mass consumer culture. As such, it is no wonder that half of these technology hubs in Africa are situated in five countries – South Africa, Egypt, Kenya, Nigeria, and Morocco (GSMA 2016). While these five countries are on the margin of the interdependent global economic system, they are among the leading emerging economies in Africa (AfDB, OECD & UNDP 2017). The capital flow from the transnational ICT companies is also predominately clustered in these countries' economic core cities as well – in Nigeria, Lagos; in Kenya, Nairobi; in South Africa, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town; in Egypt, Cairo and Port Said; and in Morocco, Casablanca and Tangier (World Bank 2016). Invariably, by the geometry of entrepreneurial development intervention, technology hubs are another geostrategic expansionary tools for the ICT economy sector in the global and local contexts.

As Table 2 shows, 9 of the overall top 10 African ICT and telecommunication companies originated from South Africa, Egypt, Kenya, and Morocco. As a corollary, the fortunes of these regional big companies and those of internationally backed new local start-up technological firms might become intertwined with those of the transnational ICT/telecommunication companies such as Alphabet Inc. and Facebook that are now offering basic Internet services in the continent (Ojo 2013; Adejunmobi 2011).

Although social appropriation of ICTs and technology hubs can neither be seen as a secured foundation for Africa's economies nor be considered yet as a major driver of the continent's economic growth at the moment, the continent provides a "spatial fix" for the digital capitalism that underpins the ICT4D and transnational digital

Table 2 Top 10 African ICT/telecommunication companies as of June 2017

Rank	Company name	Country	Total market cap (US$ million)
1	Naspers[a]	South Africa	91,763.51
2	Vodacom Group	South Africa	18,224.52
3	MTN Group	South Africa	17,033.81
4	Maroc Telecom	Morocco	12,492.37
5	Safaricom	Kenya	7854.06
6	Sonatel	Senegal	3895.57
7	Telkom	South Africa	3032.19
8	Global Telecom Holdings	Egypt	1883.74
9	EOH Holding	South Africa	1440
10	Telecom Egypt	Egypt	946.01

Source: [a]African Business Magazine, 2017

economy of the twenty-first century (Unwin 2017; Harvey 2001). Approximately 56% of continent's 1.2 billion populations are of the working age, which is the age group of 15–64 (AfDB, OECD & UNDP 2016). "A young and growing population is generally seen as providing a 'demographic dividend' to GDP growth and GDP per capita growth through labour supply" (AfDB, OECD & UNDP 2016, p. 41). At the heart of this "demographic dividend" factor is the spending and consumption power of the continent's growing educated middle class, which represents 34% of the continent-wide population (Thomson 2016). With such a number, the new and old class of African bourgeoisie constitutes a critical mass for the transversal production, circulation, and consumption of information through various digital communication platforms and mobile phones. The acculturation of new technologies would lead to "a 'double movement' in which profits flow downwards to direct producers and upwards to global corporations" (Murphy and Carmody 2015, p. 20 cited in Mann 2017). Accordingly, in terms of values, African ICT and telecommunication market is a prime market for capital accumulation and new customers.

70.3 ICTs, Africa, and Global Economies

The annual contribution of ICT sector to the global gross domestic product (GDP) has been in the range of 3–6.5% since early 2000s (UNCTAD 2017; Heeks 2018). At the national level, its contribution to the GDP varies from country to country. In the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, it accounts for about 7% of the GDP and about 20% of the overall economic growth (Fransman 2010; OECD 2017; World Bank 2016). In the USA, which is home for several of the transnational ICT companies in the world, the sector adds an average of 7% to the country's GDP annually (World Bank 2016). Whereas quantitative analysis of the linear relationship between ICTs and economic growth is generally weak and sometimes inconclusive in Africa, the ICT sector's annual contribution to the national GDP in Rwanda, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Africa, Ghana, and Egypt has been fluctuating between 5% and 10% annually since 2010 (Jerven 2013; Souter 2015; Ndemo and Mureithi 2015; GSMA 2017). Combined, ICT sector's contribution to African economies was $US 102 billion in 2015 (GSMA 2015; Ford 2015).

Although the Africa's economies still largely resolve around the extractive and commodity industries, the mobile telephony subsector has been heralded as the transformational dimension of the convergent ICT and telecommunication sectors in African contexts. Relative to other forms of ICTs such as Internet, mobile telephony has grown exponentially in the continent in the last decade. With the take-up growth of over 550% in the last decade, the continent is considered to be the world's fastest-growing mobile phone market (GSMA 2017; ITU 2015). The deepening penetration of mobile phone is considered as a form of social progress and modernity. That is, a form of sociocultural mobility in which "the mobile phone has quietly provided people at the bottom of the income pyramid access to electronically mediated communication; often for the first time" (Ling and Horst 2011, p. 364). In

2016, the ecosystem of the mobile telephony added around $37 billion (or 2.6% of GDP) to the economies of the sub-Saharan African region (GSMA 2017).

While the overall contribution of the ICT sector to the broader global, regional, and national economies seems modest on the surface, what is significant is that its "capital contribution to the GDP growth has been fairly constant over the past two decades" (World Bank 2016, p. 12). The sector's spillover effects are considered enormous in other established economic sectors such as banking, retail services, health-care services, tourism and advertising, and media and entertainment where various variants of ICTs are considered integral to business transactions, supply chain, and labor productivity (Souter 2015; World Bank 2016; Albiman and Sulong 2017). Evidently, the boom in the mobile phone ownership and subsequent growth in the mobile Internet access have boasted video on demand and digital content production in African movie and entertainment industry, which has grown exponentially over the last decade (Kacou 2015). Regardless, the linkage between the ICT sector and macroeconomic economic development is complex. As such, it cannot be deduced in the linear fashion.

Unlike Asian region, Africa has not turned itself into "workshop of the world" by becoming a major producer and major exporter of the ICT goods and services (Zhao 2007; Ojo 2013). With the exception of fragmented presence of internationally backed start-ups like Nigeria-based software firm Andela and South African smartphone manufacturer Onyx Connect, the local African ICT sector is predominately dominated by few local big companies (such as Naspers, MTN Group, Vodafone, and Safaricom) and major global players (such as Huawei and Ericsson). Most of the continent's socioeconomic activities are informal or simply economies of affection (Hyden 2001).

70.4 Mobile Phones and Economics of Affection in Africa

There are adaptation and appropriation of mobile telephony in economies of affection, which is underpinned by the notion of "people as infrastructure," that cannot be quantified in the macroeconomic terms. High-profile examples include hawking of mobile phone airtime scratch cards, recirculation of disposed mobile phone handsets, and parallel market for sales of fake and stolen mobile phones. The notion of *people as infrastructure* refers to people's activities to generate concert social relations and economic actions within the nodes of cities that are entrapped in embedded structures of (a) unproductive postcolonial nation-state, (b) socioeconomic failings from truncated state-enacted grandiose national development plans, and (c) spatial and class inequalities from sociocultural and political logics of everyday life (Simone 2004; Hyden 2001). In other words, *people as infrastructure* encapsulate everyday "politics of suffering and smiling" (Chabal 2009) of people, and how they cope with their socioeconomic predicament by "using their wit in ways that fit neither neoclassical nor Marxist assumptions about human behavior" (Hyden 2001, p. 10023). In general, the enacted socioeconomic actions of survival in this context are often ad hoc, unsustainable, and operate outside the formal institutional boundaries of

recognized universal economic activities that normally count in the calculation of the GDP (Chabal 2009).

In the backdrop of the increasingly digitalization of everyday life fueled by digital capitalism, the surge in mobile telephony blurs the line between livelihoods means and communicative action. At the functional social level, mobile phone provides a basic connectivity and sociability accorded at the baseline of communal exchange by increasing frequency of interaction with geographically distant friends, families, and relatives (Donner 2009; 2015). In the same vein, while it strengthens social communication networks, the surge in mobile telephony also leads to socioeconomic survival-driven entrepreneurial ventures such as street hawking of phone cards, exchanging of phone accessories for phone minutes credits, and selling of second-hand or recycled mobile phone handsets, "thereby commodifying the 'social capital' of poor people into multinational chains of accumulation" (Elyachar 2005 cited in Mann and Nzayisenga 2015, p. 33).

In Uganda, it is estimated that the government loses about $US 9 million annually in sales tax revenues due to the flourishing underground markets for stolen or fake mobile phone handsets in the country and its neighboring countries of Democratic Republic of Congo and South Sudan (Mahajan 2009; Bagala 2016). Whereas this is a reflection of the complex disjunctive order that characterizes the contemporary global cultural economy and technological flows (Appadurai 1990), the generative political economy of *people as infrastructure* underscores the fact that adaptation and penetration of ICTs, in particular mobile phones, "*transgress* the boundaries imposed by the state, the culture, the economy, and by the technology-capitalism complex itself" (Wasserman 2011, p. 150 – italics in the original).

Based on the transmission model of ICT4D, the view is that ICTs would revolutionize economic practices and steer path for economic development. Accordingly, the linear effects of ICTs, mobile phones in particular, on the ecosystem of African economies are often highlighted with micro-financing and e-banking initiatives such as M-Pesa in Kenya and WIZZIT in South Africa. But such macro-level perspectives on transmission effects did not fully capture the intricacy of appropriation and adaption of ICTs in everyday life of those at margin of the local economy in many African nation-states. One of the standard entrepreneurial features of the economies of affection in Africa is the open public square market where people, in particular women, sell all forms of commodity goods that range from raw food products to household commodities and mundane retail products such as street-made fried beans and roasted corns. For several of these traders, mobile phone is a necessity of life. However, the particularities of adaptation and usage extend beyond the forecasted linear patterns of economic usage highlighted in the scholarly literature (Aker 2010; Akers and Mbiti 2010) and position papers of international development agencies about African farmers and market women's use of mobile phones for market pricing information and competitive price adjustment.

Based on the author's nonparticipant observation of the activities in several of these street markets in Nigeria and Kenya, the petty traders' utility of mobile phone is largely for personal use and to maintain business contact with their good suppliers and customers. In this respect, the trade-related utility of mobile phone is generally about

demand-supply coordination of goods and services. As Burnell (2014) also observed, in regard to market women in Ghana, "the calls between market women and the wholesalers/suppliers they purchased goods from often involved requests to set aside quantities for later collection. . . . In the coordination work described by many market women, what is exchanged by phone is information about one's present location, predictions about time of arrival, details that help to smooth the eventual in-person exchange between buyer and seller" (pp. 585–586). Though at the periphery of the official normative economic frameworks, the traders in this context appropriated mobile phones as a constitutive part of the wider social networks of their established trading norms in an informal economic environment, which is not completely detached from the domesticated communal spaces of everyday life. Hence, rather than changing the established relationship dynamics and nature of informal market economic structure in this context, the mobile phones actually help to strengthen the social embeddedness of informal market transactions, especially among the petty traders and their suppliers (Burnell 2014; Avgerou 2010). In a nutshell, the market women and petty traders adopted "mobile phone as an enabling device – and as a symbol of their own particular form of a 'modern life-style', which enables them to escape the designation of cultural backwardness while distinguishing themselves from the 'official' secular subjectivity of the modern nation-state" (Morley 2017, p. 177).

The generative political economy that manifests through the commodification of the social capital of everyday life shows the widening gap between the ritualized official discourse of ICTs' leapfrogging power and the materiality of sociocultural appropriation of ICTs. On average, Africans spend between 10% and 17% of their monthly incomes on the mobile phone calls and SMS texts (Gillwald 2017; Ojo 2013). To save on the economic cost of mobile phone conversations, people often resort to the short messaging system (SMS) texts *and/or* "flashing." Flashing is an act of dialing a mobile phone number, allowing it to ring once or twice, and then hanging up before the call is picked up on the other end (Hahn and Kibora 2008). It is a culturally invented tactic for callers not to incur the costs of phone calls but a coded message for the call receiver to call back. Importantly, it is a subtle message to the call receiver that the caller might not have had enough "credit" to complete the call (Hahn and Kibora 2008; Smith 2006). On the other hand, it also speaks to sociocultural wit of staying connected and coping in the mediated social relation that is forged in the Africa's mobile revolution era.

Depending on the context, flashing can also be seen as a form of social-cultural communication act that is similar to *aroko* in the Yoruba traditional social communication thoughts. *Aroko* is a nonverbal form of interpersonal communication that is deployed in the transmission of an emissary message of promises, pledges, solidarity, and even warnings, in social and diplomatic occasions (Ojo 2017). As Hahn and Kibora noted: "Some people give special instructions to relatives and friends, encouraging them to flash whenever necessary, particularly if these friends have previously been asked for a favour by the owner of the mobile phone" (Hahn and Kibora 2008, p. 95). Notwithstanding the technical appropriation of nonverbal cultural communication code, flashing reveals deeply embedded micro-politics of socioeconomic inequality in everyday mobile phone usage in African contexts.

70.5 ICTs, Public Services, and Social Entrepreneurship

As a result of the increasingly ubiquity of mobile phone in public life, the government, corporate entities, and civil society groups also deploy the mobile phones as the new "talking drums" for public services announcements and development-support communication activities that address "information poverty." Being that the use of the ICTs for positive health outcomes is one of the key features of the United Nations (UN)'s Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), health sector represents one of the significant areas where national governments, in collaboration with health workers, civil society groups, and international development agencies, frequently leverage the mobile phones and Internet platforms in the public safety and health-care-related issues. In this respect, Rwanda government's TRACnet, which is both Internet- and mobile phone-based platforms for the monitoring of HIV/AIDS treatment, remains one of the most successful government-led development-support communication projects. Established in 2005, the TRACnet is wired to virtually HIV/AIDS treatment clinics across the country for data collection on HIV/AIDS patients as well as HIV/AIDS treatments of these patients. "As a result, public monitoring of HIV/AIDS transmission patterns has improved, doctors and patients have access to more reliable information, and real-time monitoring of antiretroviral drug stocks lead to quicker replenishments" (Fox 2016, p. 63). Rwanda is the digital leader in this context in Africa (Unwin 2017; Heeks 2018).

Given the long-standing issues of sustainability and continuity with several of the government and international donor-funded development-support communication projects, social enterprises are springing up in many African cities as a third-wave sector between the corporate-driven ICT4D projects and international donor cum charity-based projects. Among new wave of the ICT-enabled social entrepreneurship is the M-Pedigree, a drug-monitoring technological platform that "permits health workers and consumers to send a text code to a central hotline quickly to verify, quickly, whether a medicine is counterfeit or genuine" (Rotberg 2013, p. 148) in Rwanda, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda, and Ghana. Set up as a social entrepreneurship venture by Ghanaian, Bright Simons, in 2007, M-Pedigree partners with telecommunication operators (such as Safaricom and MTN Group), technology companies (such as Hewlett-Packard) and government drug regulatory agencies to minimize the circulation of counterfeit drugs in the public domains. Based on the World Health Organization (WHO)'s recent data, over 100,000 deaths per year in Africa are due to the use of the counterfeit drug (Hirschler 2017).

By simply texting M-Pedigree or calling the M-Pedigree's 24-h operated call centers, individuals and wholesale buyers can verify the authenticity of their purchased drugs. Alternatively, the buyers with smartphones can scan the barcode on the package to verify that the drugs are not fake or counterfeit. Although public good is partly served through social entrepreneurial activities such as the M-Pedigree and counterfeit drugs, ethical questions on privacy and the use of the generated personal data from the citizens might pose a future challenge, in view of the rapid growth rate of the Internet of things and big data industry in the Western hemisphere. Whereby privacy is one ethical concern with data analytics and Internet of things, political data

surveillance by the state intelligence agencies as well as corporate entities' commodification of the data are among other emerging areas of ethical concerns and future risks of data-based ICT development initiatives and ICT-enabled social enterprises.

70.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the ICT4D in the global and African economies. In doing so, it captured the intertwined dynamics of socioeconomic construct of ICT4D and the growth of ICT sector in the global and African contexts. As an economic sector, ICTs add value to public life through job creation. The sector also generates revenues for government coffers through the mechanism of direct and indirect taxation schemes – sales taxes on ICT goods and services, income taxes of ICT companies' employees, and corporate taxes. For the entrepreneurs and investors in the private sector, the investments in the leading transnational ICT/telecommunication companies have yielded positive investment returns. This is partly due to the massive increase in the market capitalization of these companies in the last decade; with few ones such as Blackberry losing their market values and dominance. In hindsight, the political economic processes for the development of critical network infrastructures for the twenty-first century economy have transformed ICT sector and made it an important orbit for global information flows and trade.

In Africa, the uptake of mobile telephony in the continent has modified the politics of everyday life by offering socioeconomic actions on one hand; while it also normalizes social inequality gaps at the same time. In other words, the influx of mobile phone produces dialectical effects of empowerment and disempowerment in socioeconomic and political domains. To this end, the chapter notes that mobile phone as a development apparatus is not necessarily a machine for the alleviation of poverty and other socioeconomic problems; but a machine that re-embeds social and economic relations within sociocultural African spaces.

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Mainstreaming Gender into Media: The African Union Backstage Priority

71

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Contents

71.1 Introduction 1258
71.2 Gender and the Media: Why Should It Be an Area of Concern? 1258
71.3 African Union Gender Equality Frameworks 1261
71.4 Achieving Gender Equality in the AU and the EU: Unfinished Job 1264
71.4.1 The AU Unmet Promises 1264
71.4.2 The EU Unmet Promises 1266
71.5 Gender and the Media in AU Gender Architecture 1268
71.6 Conclusion 1272
References 1273

Abstract

The chapter examines the ways in which mainstreaming gender into the media has been overlooked in the African Union (AU) gender equality frameworks. The chapter argues that in AU policies, gender in the media is effectively treated as second and last in importance to problems such as poverty, health, security, and education for women. Given the fact that the European Union (EU) has failed to implement gender mainstreaming strategies in the field of the media, and given the significant role the EU has played in global efforts as donor and source for policy inspiration, the chapter explores the possibility of a global failure in achieving gender equality in the media. The implications of such failure on social change and development are also considered.

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71.1 Introduction

The media, spelled out as 1 of the 12 critical areas of concern in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA) adopted in 1995 at the Fourth International Conference on Women, have been referred to as "the most important yet challenging area of work for advancing gender equality" (Lowe Morna 2002, p. 1). Gender stereotypes, women limited decision-making roles in the media, and their unequal access to ICTs have been highlighted in the Declaration as key challenges to realizing equality of men and women in and through the media (BPfA 1995).

Despite being among the prominent figures in the adoption of the Declaration, the African Union (AU) has been slow to mainstream gender perspectives into the media. More than two decades later, integrating gender dimensions into the media has not yet received the weight it deserves. The nexus between gender and the media has been considered as an "add-on" in AU gender equality frameworks in which poverty, health, security, and education have assumed key priorities. At the same time, incorporating gender notions into the media is an unaccomplished mission in the European Union (EU) as well. Throughout the years, the EU has failed to implement gender mainstreaming strategies in the field of the media. Given the significant role the EU has played in global efforts as donor and source for policy inspiration, its failure in this context might be a potential indicator of a global disappointment in achieving gender equality in the media.

The chapter first discusses realities of problems in gender and the media. It then traces the historical development of AU gender equality instruments and explores the AU and the EU failures at keeping gender equality promises in general and mainstreaming gender into the media in particular. Finally, the exclusion of gender and the media issues from AU gender architecture is analyzed.

71.2 Gender and the Media: Why Should It Be an Area of Concern?

The media have been central to the construction of gender ideologies. They have a significant impact on the ways in which gender is defined and understood. The media do not only mirror reality but also shape public opinion and culture (Ross and Padovani 2017). Largely dependent on the ways in which they are used, the media can contribute to the promotion of gender equality. For instance, by using sensitive contents and language, and non-stereotypical representation of women and men, the media can enhance the equality of men and women in society (Williams 2000).

Further, the media have huge potential in advancing and empowering women by enabling them to participate and to be heard in the process of development and transformation (Bhagwan-Rolls 2011).

However, the media have been mostly criticized for standing on the way of gender equality (Lowe Morna 2002; Sarikakis and Nguyen 2009; Byerly 2014; Ross 2014a, b). Several studies have shown the problem of media's gender-based stereotyping, women's limited roles in media decision-making, and women's unequal access to ICTs (Lowe Morna 2002; Byerly 2014; Collado 2014; Grizzle 2014; Kareithi 2014; Ross 2014a, b; GMMP 2015; Webb 2016). These studies have been documenting and analyzing the ways in which women have been systematically and systemically put in disadvantaged positions both in content and decision-making in the media industries for decades.

The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), the most extensive and longest-running research advocacy initiative for gender equality in and through the news media conducted every 5 years since 1995, has been reporting the persistent invisibility of women as news subjects. According to its 2015 report, women make up only 24% of the persons read about, heard, or seen in newspaper, radio, and television news, exactly as they did in 2010 (GMMP 2015). That means that for every three males we hear or see or read about in the media, we see or hear or read about only one female. Besides, the report reveals that almost 48% of all the stories reinforce stereotypical representations of men and women. The same report reveals that in Africa women's relative presence in the news has increased in half a decade from 19% in 2010 to merely 22% in 2015 yet below the global average. Such unfair representation of women maintains the status quo, contributing to the perpetuation of gender inequality in everyday life (Ross and Padovani 2017).

Although underrepresentation and misrepresentation of women in the media is a global challenge, it is more intensified in Africa where the problem is further reinforced by patriarchal tradition and social customs (Kareithi 2014). A paper prepared by Gender Links for the AU Specialized Technical Committee on Information and Communications (STC-IC) on "Media Portrayal of Women and Media Gender Gap in Africa" stresses out that the media in Africa persist underrepresenting and misrepresenting women and systematically silencing their voices through invisible "gender censorship" (Gender Links 2017). The paper further points out that despite the intensity of the trouble with gender and the media in the continent, most African countries lack legislation, policies, and a positive environment for promoting gender equality in the media.

Furthermore, with the advancement of electronic media such as the Internet and cable channels, media images and contents transcend the local (Zubair 2016). Hence, global media would mean global content in which images of women circulate in ways that are more readily accessible. These global imageries perpetuate the persistent stereotypical portrayal of women and men (Gallagher 2008). Gallagher (2008, p. 24) has noted that "the picture that emerges from many analyses of Internet content is of a masculinist rhetoric and a set of representations that are frequently sexualized and often sexist." Given the transcending nature of these platforms and the lack of policies governing global contents, the struggle to have a fair and balanced representation of women can face even more difficult challenge.

The small number of women in media decision-making is another challenge in promoting gender equality in and through the media (Lowe Morna 2002; Byerly 2014; Ross 2014a, b; Byerly and Padovani 2017). It is assumed that an increased presence of women decision-making roles in the media is likely to make a difference to the stereotypical and portrayal of women (Byerly and Padovani 2017). If women had a greater access to decision-making in the media, they could contribute to more gender-sensitive content. Nevertheless, the number of women in media decision-making is strikingly small worldwide. The Global Report on the Status of Women in News Media in 2011 shows that women held only about a fourth of "the jobs in governance (i.e., boards of directors) globally" (Byerly 2014, p. 40). Similarly, the report reveals that women in sub-Saharan African media account for 28% of the board members, 24% of the top and 54% of the senior management positions, despite constituting 49% of the technical professional field (Gender Links 2017). Kareithi (2014, p. 335) argues that though the number of African women working in media decision-making has shown some improvement after the Beijing Platform, women in the African media "can only get as far as the men will let them."

Women's access to ICTs also raises concern as the digital divide increases and poses a problem for the development of equal information society (IT) (Collado 2014; Grizzle 2014; Webb 2016). Although the issue of women's unequal access to ICTs was acknowledged in the BPfA, the subject was paid greater attention in the Beijing +5 review in 2000 (Gallagher 2011). In addition to ICT access, issues such as "infrastructure and content as well as the role of ICTs in the development of culture, and the impact of all these on women's rights and gender equality" have become new concerns that needed to be addressed (Gallagher 2011, p. 454). Subsequently, the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), held in two phases in Geneva (2003) and Tunis (2005), recognizes the potential of ICT as a tool for promoting gender equality and women empowerment and the existing "gender divide." The Geneva Declaration, the outcome of the first phase, affirms a commitment to ensuring women's inclusion and full participation in the information society "on the basis on equality in all spheres of society and in all decision-making processes" and to "mainstream a gender equality perspective and use ICTs as a tool to that end" under para 12 (WSIS 2003). Again, in a 10-year review of the implementation of the WSIS principles (WSIS+10), the WSIS acknowledged the persisting "gender divide" and reaffirmed its commitment to narrow the gap (ITU 2014).

The "gender divide" has been a significant impediment to women's full participation in development process and in their enjoyment of the benefits of new electronic contents and services. Even if women's unequal access and use of ICTs is a worldwide problem, women in developing countries are considerably more affected by obstacles to the access and beneficial use of ICTs (Grizzle 2014). Gender Links in its paper for the AU-STC-IC highlights that African women, particularly rural women, consistently struggle with unequal access to ICTs due to "inadequate infrastructure, affordability and availability, language barriers, illiteracy and even discriminatory social norms capacity and skills relevant content" (Gender Links 2017, p. 9).

Overall, the relationship between gender and the media remains one of the major challenges in achieving gender equality globally. Yet, the progress to address the problem has been far too slight to make gender equality in the media a reality. Further, any considerable advancement "can even be considered relative since it varies according to the region of the world" (Lourenço 2016, p. 927).

71.3 African Union Gender Equality Frameworks

The AU, which replaced the Organization of Africa Unity (OAU) at its inaugural meeting in Durban, South Africa, in 2002, has expressed its commitment to promoting gender equality and empowering women and girls in several of its legal instruments. Its commitment to gender equality can be traced to the 1948 UN Charter and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, which emphasized the enjoyment of rights and freedom without distinction of any sex (Martin 2013). Since its establishment, the AU has been working to narrow the social, political, and economic inequality of men and women in the continent (Joshua Omotosho 2015). Acknowledging the fact that gender equality is a fundamental human right, the organization has promised to ensure "the absence of discrimination on the basis of one's sex in the allocation of resources or benefits or in access to services" (The African Union Gender Policy 2009, p. 28).

Historically, the legal mechanisms of the AU to fostering gender equality have been informed by the UN frameworks (Martin 2013). Prominent among international legal frameworks adopted by the AU, the then OAU, is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which is described as the "international bill of rights for women." The AU was also among the significant institutions taking part in the UN conferences held in Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985), and Beijing (1995) and its Platform for Action, as well as conferences in the 1990s on population and development, human rights, social development and human settlements, and trade and poverty reduction strategies (Martin 2013).

Adhering to its commitment to fostering gender equality and women empowerment, the AU has adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the primary global framework for international development intended to reduce poverty and to empower women (Goal 3) by 2015, and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), another global mechanism aiming to end poverty by 2030 and to achieve gender equality and empower women and girls (Goal 5).

In line with the SDGs, the AU has set Agenda 2063, the continent's 50-year strategic plan aiming to achieve an integrated, peaceful, and prosperous Africa for all. This framework, officially adopted by the AU Assembly in 2015, provides a new collective vision and road map to build a developed and united Africa based on shared values and a common destiny (The African Union Commission 2017). Agenda 2063 reaffirms fostering gender equality and acknowledges women's contribution to Africa's structural transformation and sustainable development (African Union Commission 2015).

Furthermore, in accordance with the UN gender equality mechanisms, the AU has formulated a number of gender equality instruments to accelerating gender equality and women empowerment. The first ever African Union Gender Policy was developed in 2009 with the proclaimed goal of setting up a clear vision and making commitments to guide the process of gender mainstreaming and women empowerment to influence policies, procedures, and practices which advance the achievement of gender equality, gender justice, nondiscrimination, and fundamental human rights in Africa (African Union Gender Policy 2009). Other key gender equality frameworks set by the AU include the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (1981), a significant instrument for the protection of human rights in Africa; the Protocol on the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003), a legal framework; the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004), a non-binding commitment to the principles of gender equality; the Ouagadougou Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings, especially Women and Children (2006), a tool for combating human trafficking; and the Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (2007), a key instrument for the promotion of gender balance and equality in the governance and development process. In addition, with the aim of accelerating the implementation of the gender equality policies, the AU has declared this decade, 2010–2020, the African Women's Decade.

More importantly, the AU has made a revolutionary decision on gender parity (50/50) taken at the Inaugural Session of the AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government in July 2002. Standing by its decision, the AU elected five female and five male Commissioners during the Second Ordinary Session of the Assembly in 2003. In addition, the appointment of Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as Chairperson of the AU Commission, who became the first woman to lead the Commission from 2012 to 2017, further demonstrates AU effort to advancing gender equality principles.

Expanding the gender parity principle to other AU organs, AU Executive Council's formal decision in January 2016 has pledged to ensure that the voices of both women and men are equally represented in all AU organs. Accordingly, at least one of the two representatives from the five African regions in all AU organs shall be a woman (The African Union Commission 2017).

The AU has also played a significant role in promoting gender equality by pursuing its regional economic communities (RECs) representing Africa's sub-regions: the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the East African Community (EAC), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) as well as key programs and instruments such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) to adopt gender principles and declarations (Martin 2013; Joshua Omotosho 2015).

Again, the AU has made a considerable contribution to encouraging its Member States to adopt, ratify, implement, and domesticate international and regional treaties, conventions, and decisions on gender equality and has created platforms to bring a consensus on gender equality issues among the Member States (Winyi 2009).

To facilitate the implementation of the frameworks on gender equality, the AU has formed the Women and Gender Development Directorate in 2002 which is responsible to build the capacity for all AU organs, RECs, and Member States "to understand gender, develop skills for achieving gender mainstreaming targets and practices in all policy and programme processes and actions by 2020," with the hope of closing the persisting gender gaps and delivering the promise of gender equality for African people (African Union Gender Policy 2009, p. 5).

The Directorate also organizes annual AU Gender pre-Summits in collaboration with other departments of the African Union Commission and development partners. The pre-Summits are held before each AU summit to update and assess progress toward gender equality and women empowerment. The outcome of the discussion serves as a key informant to the AU Summit of Heads of State and Government deliberation on gender equality issues (González 2017). The pre-Summits, "initially conceived as civil society consultation platforms... now draw participation from the African ministers responsible for gender and women's affairs, RECs, AU organs, AUC departments, the private sector, UN agencies and development partners" (González 2017, p. 20).

Over the years, the AU has been a pivotal organ in the promotion of gender equality in Africa. It has contributed to the advancement of "the gender agenda by recognizing the importance of women's contributions to development, reducing maternal mortality and promoting basic education for girls" (González 2017, p. 12). Through its gender equality frameworks, the AU has "enabled the member states and the RECs to advance their own legal, administrative and institutional frameworks to make progress on women's rights and gender equality" (Martin 2013, p. 16). Moreover, AU gender equality instruments have put gender mainstreaming at the center of AU policy-making (González 2017). Consequently, "most instruments adopted by the AU since 2003 make provision for gender equality and women's participation" (Martin 2013, p. 16). Nonetheless, it should be noted that implementation of these instruments has been hampered due to the persisting lack of political will and shortage of resources (Martin 2013).

In the journey of the AU to gender equality, the EU has been a key development partner. It has been a major source of donor and a role model on "the institutionalization of gender equality and on strategies for gender mainstreaming" (Martin 2013, p. 18). Though "primarily for geopolitical and economic reasons," the development cooperation with Africa entered the EU agenda since its establishment in 1957 (Debusscher and van der Vleuten 2012, p. 319). Gradually, their relationship took a different shape to bilateral cooperation as former colonies gained their independence. In their transformed partnership, promoting gender equality has taken a key place. The first references to women's rights in EU development cooperation with the sub-Saharan African region are found in the Third Lomé Convention signed in

1984 with 79 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries (ACP) (Debusscher and van der Vleuten 2012, p. 319). The issue of "Integrating Gender Issues in Development Cooperation" is also reflected in subsequent EU development policies such as the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty (Article 3(2)) and the 2005 EU Consensus on Development (Article 19) (Martin 2013). Advancing gender equality has been also one of the principles enshrined in the 2007 Joint Africa–EU Strategy (JAES) (JAES 2007) and central to EU development aid programs. In the study of the programming of EU development cooperation with sub-Saharan Africa for the period 2002–2013, Debusscher and van der Vleuten (2012, p. 327) find out that "gender is increasingly present in all budgetary sectors of the EU–sub-Saharan African development aid." Notably, the focus placed on the principles of gender equality in EU financial and technical support strategies for the AU has been crucial in enhancing the continent's progress toward gender equality.

71.4 Achieving Gender Equality in the AU and the EU: Unfinished Job

Since the BPfA, the AU and the EU, at either end of the spectra of power and economy, have made considerable improvement in promoting gender equality in their respective regions. Notwithstanding the huge difference in the extent of their achievements, their progress toward the actual equality of men and women has been slower than hoped. Particularly, despite reaffirming commitments to promoting gender equality in the media, the mission appears to be an unaccomplished one in both supranational entities.

71.4.1 The AU Unmet Promises

Gender inequality is a defining challenge for Africa. Although the AU has exerted considerable effort in tackling gender inequality, the path of progress has been slow and inconsistent for many African counties(UNDP 2016). Winyi (2009) has expressed the overall progress toward gender equality in Africa since the BPfA, as "regrettably slow and with a wide gap between commitments and actual action still persistent." Significant gaps between men's and women's opportunities remain severe obstacle to structural economic and social change. According to the Africa Human Development Report 2016, gender inequality is costing sub-Saharan Africa on average 95 billion dollars a year, peaking at 105 billion dollars in 2014, 6% of the region's GDP, jeopardizing the continent's efforts for inclusive human development and economic growth (UNDP 2016).

In narrowing the persisting gender inequality, the AU tends to place greater focus on the adoption of equality instruments than ensuring the practicability of them among Member States. Notably, the AU has taken more actions in the form of policy formulation and the development of frameworks for implementation (Winyi 2009). Although ratification of policies can help "strengthen the work of national

mechanisms by creating additional accountability, harmonizing approaches across countries and circumventing resistance and challenges to gender equality at the national level," more important is their domestication and implementation (Martin 2013, p. 24).

When it comes to follow-up measures, the AU lacks effective evaluation and monitoring mechanisms both at national and regional levels. The Member States, regardless of their differences in government structures and political choices, have in common inadequate tracking and monitoring systems (Martin 2013). Several Member States have failed to submit progress reports on their implementation of gender mainstreaming. For instance, although Member States were required to send in periodic reports on their implementation of rights enshrined in the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, only three Member States have reported their progress. Again, only 13 Member States have submitted regular annual reporting on the Solemn Declaration of Gender Equality in Africa for the tenth annual report in June 2015 (Abdulmelik 2016).

More importantly, mainstreaming gender into the media is a promise greatly overlooked in AU policies and practices. The subject appears to gain little attention in AU policies toward gender equality and women empowerment (see section "Gender and the Media in AU Gender Architecture"). In fact, the nexus between gender and the media has gained a far better consideration in the RECs protocols like the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2008) and the Supplementary Act Relating to Equality of Rights between Women and Men for Sustainable Development in the ECOWAS Region (2015). These two documents cover the major challenges in gender and the media, gender stereotyping in media content, professional discrimination in the media industries, and unequal access to new ICTs, and propose specific action plans (SADC 2008; ECOWAS 2015).

At large, the AU progress to promoting gender equality in media has been painfully slow. According to "the Twenty-Year Review of the Implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA) +20: African Regional" report, only 22 Member States, less than half of the 51 countries which submitted progress reports, have shown significant advancement in formulating legal frameworks and strategies to increase the participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in the media (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa 2014). Progress toward the implementation of the legal instruments, however, is not indicated. In addition, any effort by the AU in pursuing Member States to fostering gender equality in the media is invisible in the report. Yet, following this review, the AU has reaffirmed its commitment to addressing the problem with gender and the media in the Addis Ababa Declaration on Accelerating the Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (2014).

Moreover, initiatives and dialogues on gender and the media supported by the AU are far too few and focus on gender and the media with relation to peace and security. A typical example is the "Network of Reporters on Women, Peace and Security" launched by AU Commission and UN Women in 2016. This initiative, taking the media as key partners in advancing women and peace and security agenda, seeks to empower journalists to respect the dignity of women and recognize women's

contributions to social cohesion and lasting peace in their communities. The network has further published a handbook on "Practicing Gender-Responsive Reporting in Conflict Affected Countries in Africa" in July 2017. Regardless of the potential contribution of the network to a fair representation of women in the media at times of conflict, its scope is limited to women's role in peace and security matters and ignores their complex challenges in a day-to-day reality. More similar initiatives on gender and the media that address women in social, political, and economic contexts are missing. This could restrict the role of the media in effecting a positive social change.

71.4.2 The EU Unmet Promises

The EU has played a pivotal part in the advancement of international agenda such as gender equality, climate change, and peace and security. To this end, it has established and funded a number of development programs in Africa and other developing regions. Given the key role the EU has played in global efforts to social change and development, its progress as well as its failure to achieving gender equality as a whole and mainstreaming gender into the media in particular could have significant impact on a global success on the matter.

In addition, in view of the growing trend toward globalization of media and communication, and considering the EU greater contribution to global media contents, the ways in which gender equality is addressed in the European media would be relevant beyond the region.

It is, therefore, with this consideration that EU unmet promises in the practicability of gender mainstreaming with specific emphasis on mainstreaming gender into the media are explored.

Although the EU has gained a much greater achievement in the advancement of gender equality and women empowerment with relation to the AU, it cannot be regarded as a perfect reference point of success, particularly in implementing gender mainstreaming in its policies and practices (Tomlinson 2011; O'Connor 2014; Weiner and MacRae 2014). Tomlinson (2011, p. 3755) argues that "despite strong statements on the need to eliminate gender inequality, the EU's progress in this area is contested." The EU has regularly drafted a number of laws and strategic documents to promoting gender equality, albeit its accomplishment is slow and limited (Weiner and MacRae 2014). Weiner and MacRae (2014) further argue that gender equality is invisible in EU policies, and a "revolutionary change" is far from attainable. Similarly, O'Connor (2014, p. 72) contends that "much of the progress in the EU and elsewhere has been strong at the discursive level in terms of gender justice commitments, but relatively weak in outcome." According to the 2017 Gender Equality Index, gender gaps persist in many areas and in the labor market where women are still overrepresented in lower paid sectors and underrepresented in decision-making positions. With an average score of 66.2 for gender equality, the EU still has a long way to go to bring a fundamental social change in terms of gender parity (Barbier et al. 2017).

Mainly, the EU has come short in ensuring the practicability of gender mainstreaming (Bretherton 2001; Tomlinson 2011; O'Connor 2014; Weiner and MacRae 2014). As Pollack and Hafner-Burton (2000, p. 434) note, the concept of gender mainstreaming is "potentially revolutionary" which calls for the incorporation of gender perspectives into all EU policies. The European Commission (EC), which adopted a formal commitment to gender mainstreaming in 1996, defines the concept as:

> The systematic integration of the respective situations, priorities and needs of women and men in all policies and with a view to promoting equality between women and men and mobilizing all general policies and measures specifically for the purpose of achieving equality by actively and openly taking into account, at the planning stage, their effects on the respective situation of women and men, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. (Commission of the European Communities 1996, p. 2)

In practice, gender mainstreaming is, however, an extremely demanding approach which needs the adoption of gender dimensions by all central actors in the policy process (Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000; Bretherton 2001). The success of gender mainstreaming would require internalizing its principles and practices "in all aspects, and at all levels, of EU policy process" (Bretherton 2001, p. 61).

Hence, institutionalizing the principles of gender mainstreaming in all EU policies and practices has become a challenging task. Discussing the implementation of gender mainstreaming, Weiner and MacRae (2014, p. 2) note that although there are "small, often hard-won" accomplishments, they are usually "outnumbered by several instances which block out gender mainstreaming partially or completely from EU policies." To illustrate the futile struggle of the EU in integrating gender into its policies, particularly in implementing gender mainstreaming, Weiner and MacRae use the story of Sisyphus. In the story, Sisyphus, a character in *the Odyssey*, condemned by the gods, pushes vainly a massive rock uphill, yet to find the rock always rolling back to where he started. The authors argue that like Sisyphus's rock, "rolling gender mainstreaming into EU policies either ends up rolling back out of policy, or never rolls in at all" (Weiner and MacRae 2014, p. 4). To this day, excluding gender aspects from many of EU policies mainly in the European Employment Strategy (EES) remains a challenge where "the gender equality goal has been instrumentally subordinated to other agendas" (Fagan and Rubery 2017, p. 7).

Above all, the EU has not succeeded in mainstreaming gender into the media. Although the nexus between gender and the media entered the EU agenda well before the BPfA, with the adoption of Council of Europe's Recommendations on Equality of Men and Women and its Guidelines for Television Advertising in 1984 (Byerly and Padovani 2017), the overall progress to integrating gender perspectives into the media has been slow (Sarikakis and Nguyen 2009; Gallagher 2011; Byerly and Padovani 2017; Ross and Padovani 2017).

Following the BPfA, the EU has adopted a number of documents regarding gender equality in the media (Byerly and Padovani 2017), yet these policies lack gender-specific provisions on the conduct of the media (Sarikakis and Nguyen 2009; Byerly and Padovani 2017). Almost a decade ago, Sarikakis and Nguyen (2009)

have highlighted the ways in which EU media policy lacked explicit provisions on fair representation of women. As such, in the most significant legal instrument for the European audiovisual (AV) sector, the Television without Frontiers Directive (TVWF), "there was a timid reference that advertisements may not infringe human dignity or contain discrimination on grounds of sex" (p. 209). The authors argue that such general allusion had limited the directive legal impact.

Similarly, Gallagher (2011) has discussed the lack of specificity in other EU media policies. She explains that in two recommendations adopted by the Council of Europe in 2007 on media pluralism, a general phrase "Due attention should also be paid to gender equality issues" is included in each case at the end of a paragraph. In addition, a similar phrase, "Gender-related issues should also be mainstreamed with regard to these services," is found in the Political Declaration adopted at the first Council of Europe Conference of Ministers responsible for Media and New Communication Services (2009). However, she argues that there is "no indication of what these issues are, how they could be 'mainstreamed' or even how they relate to the substance of the policy documents" (p. 456).

The absence of explicit provisions to gender equality in the media is also observed in the recent EU ICT strategy known as the Digital Agenda for Europe which makes a general reference to the gender implications of digital transformations (Byerly and Padovani 2017). Byerly and Padovani contend that "the framing of gender equality in the digital context seems to be very narrow" and emphasizes the economic implications of involving women in ICTs (p. 15). Regarding the limited scope of the strategy, Padovani (2016) notes "more general concerns with gender social justice, persistent discrimination, and the gender implications of the unequal power relations in an evolving media environment are missing, demonstrating that gender mainstreaming in this domain is still unfinished job" (in Byerly and Padovani 2017, p. 15).

Furthermore, EU media policy provisions for gender equality in media content has been of "a 'soft' nature, referring to the media's 'contribution' to non-sexist portrayal and not to their obligation" (Sarikakis and Nguyen 2009, p. 209). On the persistence of this trend, Byerly and Padovani (2017, p. 18) state that "the 'soft' nature of policy provisions can still be found in the reference to codes of conduct and self-regulation as the main means through which the media sector can integrate normative guidelines in their operation, rather than legislation."

Notably, as Gallagher (2011, p. 456) argues "conflict within EU institutions between gender equality policy and media policy is clear." Nonetheless, reconciling the two seems to be the EU unaccomplished mission. As a whole, the media sector has remained reluctant to change (Ross and Padovani 2017).

71.5 Gender and the Media in AU Gender Architecture

The AU has made a commitment to address obstacles to gender equality in and through the media with the adoption of the Beijing Declaration. The Platform has spelled out two strategic objectives (Section J) to tackle the problem (BPfA 1995):

- To increase the participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in and through the media and new technologies of communication
- To promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media

To this end, the Platform calls both governments and international organizations to facilitate the implementation of these strategies to the extent it is consistent with freedom of expression. In what follows, to what degree the BPfA strategic objectives and action plans are translated into AU gender architecture is discussed.

The AU gender architecture encapsulates the Union aspirations of gender equality and is comprised of six pillars (Martin 2013):

1. The Consecutive Act of the AU – the constitutional framework
2. The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa – the legal framework
3. The Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa – the reporting framework
4. The African Union Gender Policy – the policy framework
5. The African Women's Decade – the implementation framework
6. The Fund for African Women – the financial mechanism

The Constitutive Act of the AU, adopted in 2000, sets out the framework under which the AU is to conduct itself (African Union 2000). Under Article 4(l), the Act recognizes the "promotion of gender equality" as one of its principles. Based on this reference to gender equality, Martin (2013, p. 11) argues that "creating the necessary mechanisms for the promotion of gender equality is therefore an important aim of the AU." Nevertheless, the Constitutive Act lacks specific provisions on gender mainstreaming issues and strategies as it has mentioned the principle of gender equality very briefly. In fact, the terms "gender" and "women" are each mentioned once throughout the document. Although the Act "represents a significant departure from the 1963 OAU Charter-in particular by including the 'promotion of gender equality' as one of its foundational principles," it excludes a similar provision from its list of objectives and makes use of a gender-insensitive term – "chairman" (Viljoen 2009, p. 13). This elicited the adoption of the Protocol on Amendments to the Constitutive Act of the African Union on July 2003 in which the inclusion of the objective to "ensure the effective participation of women in decision-making particularly in the political, economic and socio-economic areas" and the substitution of the word "chairman" with "chairperson" were proposed (Viljoen 2009).

As the Act has not discussed gender issues in detail, no indications are found regarding mainstreaming gender into any sectors including the media.

The second key AU gender equality framework is the 2003 Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the Maputo Protocol). This is the legal framework which requires Member States to integrate gender in legal and policy frameworks, strategies, programmers, and development activities. Winyi (2009) calls the protocol as "the first African instrument to explicitly articulate the rights of women in Africa."

With regard to the treatment of gender and the media in this protocol, Article 12(b) calls for "the elimination of all stereotypes in textbooks, syllabuses and the media that perpetuate all forms of discrimination against women." In addition, Article 13(m) urges States Parties to "take effective legislative and administrative measures to prevent the exploitation and abuse of women in advertising and pornography." However, this phrase does not elaborate on what actions fall under "exploitation and abuse," leaving the matter for open interpretation. In addition, the provisions address merely non-stereotypical portrayal of women yet fail to include other aspects of problems surrounding gender and the media. There is no any indication to women media decision-making roles or their unequal access to ICTs. Again, gender in the media receives insignificant consideration in the protocol compared to the focus given to gender in relation to issues like health, peace and security, marriage, justice, political and decision-making, education, economics and social welfare, food security, cultural context, and sustainable development, which are discussed in more comprehensive manner.

Talking about the little attention that women and communications issues, in general, had received during the UN Decades (1975–1985) and even until the 1990s, within both the UN system and the international women's movement, Gallagher (2011, p. 453) notes that communications issues were regarded "as secondary in importance to problems such as poverty, health, and education for women." This problem persists in this protocol where gender with relation to peace and security, poverty, health, and education appears to be key priority, whereas gender in the media is considered as an afterthought.

The subsequent instrument is the 2004 Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa. It is a non-binding reporting framework committing Member States to report annually on their progress in gender mainstreaming.

This declaration acknowledges the existing digital divide between men and women in the continent and the role of ICTs in accelerating gender equality. Yet, no action plan to address the digital divide is mentioned. Further, women's representation in media contents and decision-making roles is not indicated at all. In terms of major areas of concern where gender inequality needs to be addressed, like the previous protocol, this document spells out health, particularly HIV/AIDS, peace and security, child soldiers and abuse of girl children, gender-based violence, and property rights. Despite the declaration reference to the BPfA in informing its direction, gender inequality in and through the media is not among the declaration's list of concerns.

Another key document in AU gender architecture is the AU Gender Policy which was approved in 2009 and adopted in 2010. The policy provides "the basis for the elimination of barriers to gender equality and fosters the reorientation of existing institutions" (Martin 2013, p. 14).

The Gender Policy recognizes the role of the media in accelerating gender equality and women empowerment. It identifies women's equal access to ICTs as a key area of concern. It also puts "the participation of the media" under its rationale. The media are also identified as part of the institutional frameworks in the implementation of the policy.

However, although there is a phrase "Elimination of gender stereotypes, sexism and all forms of discrimination" under the policy rationale, no indication is made to "the media." Moreover, with regard to the role of the media as part of institutional frameworks for the implementation of the Gender Policy, they are mainly considered as facilitators for mainstreaming gender into other sectors. Nonetheless, the policy fails to regard the media as sectors which would require the integration of gender dimensions themselves. Hence, while the Gender Policy identifies ten "key issue sectors" of development where gender needs to be mainstreamed into with the view to achieving gender equality and women empowerment, the media are not among them.

It may be argued that mainstreaming gender into the media may be encapsulated in one of the ten sectors, for instance, under "Social Affairs" or under "Science and Technology." However, bearing in mind media's huge potential in challenging gender inequality, and the recognition gender and the media gained in the Beijing Platform, mainstreaming gender into the media deserves much greater consideration.

The fifth pillar of the gender architecture is the African Women's Decade which was launched in 2010 with the aim to accelerate the implementation of Dakar, Beijing, and AU Assembly decisions on gender equality and women empowerment. It is based on ten priority themes targeting to empower women across Africa through dual top-down and bottom-up approach which is inclusive of grassroots participation.

When it comes to the place of gender and the media among the ten African Women's Decade themes, the framework appears to give no considerable thought to the subject. The only indication close to the issue is the phrase "contribution of Women Scientists and Information, Communication and Technology" under theme 4 – Education, Science and Technology. However, the reference is too general and vague to clearly show what needs to be addressed regarding women and ICTs. Such lack of clarity may undermine efforts taken to face up challenges in women's unequal access to ICTs. This can be observed in the Mid-Term Status Update Report of the African Women's Decade (2010–2015) in which only one country, Rwanda, has reported measures taken to promote women and girls' access to ICTs.

Complementing the African Women's Decade Road Map, the Fund for African Women was launched in 2010. This framework aims at providing financial support for African women development programs. It benefits women and development programs in African Union Member States, RECs, and African Civil Society Organizations. To enhance the implementation of the Women's Decade, the Fund for African Women, each year, supports a minimum of 53 projects related to 1 theme from the 10 Decade themes identified by AU Ministers of Gender and Women's Affairs.

As the projects supported by the Fund are selected among the ten themes of the Decade, the issue of gender in the media, which is excluded from the key themes, may find it hard to benefit from the Fund for African Women. This, in turn, could restrict the communicative space of initiatives on promoting gender equality in and through the media.

In general, the intersection of gender and the media is not a well thought through agenda in AU gender architecture where topics like health, peace and security,

education, gender-based violence, property rights, economic, and justice have assumed key places. Except for some occasional references and recommendations on gender and the media, a genuine concern and concrete strategies are invisible. These provisions have failed to reflect the strategic objectives and action plans set in the BPfA.

The invisibility of the issue of gender and the media in these key official gender equality mechanisms of the AU could affect progress toward promoting gender equality in the African media and the potential role of the media in empowering African women since addressing gender inequality in and through the media is "clearly dependent on policy determinations" (Gallagher 2011, p. 452).

71.6 Conclusion

Much is happening but much remains to be done with regard to achieving gender equality in Africa. Despite the potential that exists for the media to accelerate this process, the AU has failed to embrace mainstreaming gender into the media as part of its mission. Promoting gender equality in the media has not been taken seriously within the broader policy framework to push forward on the equality agenda. The subject is considered as an "add-on" and treated second or last in importance to matters such as health, peace and security, education, and economic. For a continent with the highest maternal mortality rate, frequent armed conflicts, and extreme poverty, putting health, peace and security, and the economy as key areas of concern is an undisputable measure. However, given the pivotal role of the media as opinion shapers, there should still be a room left for fitting the agenda with the rest of AU priorities.

At the same time, mainstreaming gender into the media has also been the EU unfinished job. Despite being the AU major donor provider and a role model for designing and implementing gender equality mechanisms, the EU has lacked a best practice to share in this area. At large, the EU has been slow in making specific provisions to make gender equality in the media a reality. Although its effort to advance gender equality in and through the media started even before the BPfA, no substantial change is yet made in this context. This may demonstrate a troubling possibility of a global failure with regard to mainstreaming gender into the media which in turn can pose a serious threat to taking any meaningful steps to social change and development. When the media with their powerful influence on the public opinion regarding gender and gender equality and ICTs with their vital roles in empowering and advancing women remain gender insensitive, the status quo would be maintained, delaying the realization of gender equality.

To face up this challenge, the AU needs to set up strategies that address the problems in gender and the media. These strategies should provide clear and specific provisions on combatting unfair and stereotypical representation of men and women, women limited decision-making roles, and the gender digital divide. Here, the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2008) and the Supplementary Act Relating to Equality of Rights between Women and Men for Sustainable

Development in the ECOWAS Region (2015) can serve as good reference points. More importantly, as developing policies alone could not bring a substantial change in promoting gender equality in the media, emphasis should be placed on their implementation and evaluation.

With regard to the EU, since the existing strategies and initiatives have been slow to fostering gender equality in the media, more specific policy interventions could still be needed. Further, to make gender equality in and through the media a global reality, the EU financial and technical support for the AU on promoting gender equality in the media could be elemental in advancing the progress.

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Idiosyncrasy of the European Political Discourse Toward Cooperation

72

Teresa La Porte

Contents

72.1 Introduction 1278
72.2 Context of the New Consensus: Understanding the Relevance of the European Development Policies 1279
72.2.1 The European Union as a Global Agent for Development: External Relevance 1279
72.2.2 Uniqueness of the European Notion on Development 1280
72.2.3 The Articulation and the Dynamics of European Development Policies 1282
72.3 An Analysis of the New European Consensus on Development: "Our World, Our Dignity, Our Future" 1284
72.4 Discussions Concerning the New Consensus 1286
72.4.1 The Consensus Contributions to Development Policy 1286
72.4.2 Limitations and Deficiencies of the Consensus 1288
72.5 Conclusion: The EU Contribution to Global Development Policy 1290
References 1291

Abstract

Development and cooperation policies are located at the core of the European Union foreign policy. Not for nothing, the European Union, together with its Member States, is considered the world's largest aid donor. Despite multiple challenges and failures experienced along these 60 years, the European Union strives to avoid to be blocked by past setbacks or by unresolved current conflicts and envisions new solutions to keep on going: the last initiative is the New Consensus on Development which attempts to align the European Union and the development policies of Member States with the development sustainable goals defined by the United Nations in 2015. This chapter examines the narratives

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used to launch this project so that the unique of the European political discourse toward cooperation can be identified, that is, the EU's specific contribution to the global discussion in terms of concepts, approaches, and aid management.

Keywords

European development policy · Sustainability · Migration · Partnership · Securitization · National ownership

72.1 Introduction

The European Union Foreign Affairs Council adopted on May 19, 2017, the New European Consensus on Development, a document that reflects the shared opinion that the European Union and the Member States have on the topic of European development until 2030. The Consensus was officially signed on June 7, 2017, by the Presidents belonging to the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union, and the European Commission and also by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, which demonstrates the unanimous commitment from the different EU institutions to promoting the established priorities on the field of development (European Union 2017). The document updates the previous 2005 Consensus on Development and aims to define an EU framework for action in line with the Sustainable Development Goals approved by the United Nations on January 2015 (United Nations 2015). The objective is thus to establish the principles for a European development policy that further develops the concept of "sustainability" by applying the measures set out in the 2030 Agenda.

The new agreement has generated high expectations within the development community because they hope it will help solve endemic problems in the European development action. The development NGOs trust that the agreement is able to address issues that have been marginalized, such as the defense of women's rights or the participation of civil society groups (CARE 2016); the development agencies of the EU Member States expect an improvement in the policy coordination of the European Union (2012); the beneficiary countries seek that the new measures support the already signed agreements (Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific countries (ACP)); and the think tanks encourage the European Union to regain global leadership on development policy (Gavas et al. 2016).

However, the text has aroused controversy from the moment it was released. In the context of the refugee crisis, the recently signed Valletta agreement with Turkey, and the new EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa, the European Union has been accused of prioritizing its protection from massive migration flows over the fight against inequality and poverty.

Irrespective of whether the agreement fulfills its proposed expectations, the Development Consensus allows to identify the specific contribution that the European Union makes to global development cooperation policy. The raised controversy justifies the interest to reflect upon the pillars that sustain the

European Union perspective on development and to analyze the narratives the Union utilizes to frame it.

This chapter will first address the global and European context in which the Consensus has been approved, taking into account those features that define the European concept of development and the legal and financial structure through which cooperation policies are articulated. Secondly, an analysis of the content of the Consensus will be carried out, and, following this, the positive and negative evaluations expressed by the different development agents will be examined. The conclusion of the chapter will summarize the main European contributions to global development policy and the most significant challenges the European Union must face in order to guarantee effective aid.

72.2 Context of the New Consensus: Understanding the Relevance of the European Development Policies

In order to assess the potential impact of the new document, it is necessary to briefly consider some ideas in order to determine the influence of the European Union in the global picture of development cooperation policy and identify the values, structures, and dynamics that define the European Union contribution to development cooperation.

72.2.1 The European Union as a Global Agent for Development: External Relevance

The European Union and the Member States are collectively the world's largest aid donor. In 2015, only the EU Commission invested 10.3 billion euro in Official Development Assistance (ODA) and more than 1.4 billion euro in Emergency Aid. In addition, together with the Member States, the European Union made the commitment to ensure that 0.7% of the gross national income was allocated to this purpose, following the deadlines established in the 2030 UN Agenda. In parallel, the 11th European Development Fund has approved an aid budget of 30.5 billion euro for the 2014–2010 period.

The European Union has a long experience in cooperating and collaborating with deprived communities and has significantly contributed to the innovative vision of the current concept of development. Europe synthesizes its development cooperation in two statements: aid provider and values promoter. In fact, along with its outstanding role as a donor, the specificities of the European concept of development are perceived in the priority that its policies give to values that are part of its idiosyncrasy, such as the respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms, peace, democracy, good governance, gender equality, the rule of law, solidarity, and justice (TEU, Article 21, paragraph 1 and "Agenda for Change" of the Union approved by the Council of the Union 2012).

Other international organizations also recognize the significant European influence on this matter. According to the last OECD evaluation, European development

policies maintain a positive improving trend, despite the fact that they retain chronic weaknesses and despite the slight aid budget reduction during the last 3 years: "The DAC's Review of the Development Co-operation Policies and Programs of the European Union notes that, since the last review 5 years ago, the European Union has taken steps to make its aid more effective and give it more impact. These steps included organizational restructuring, streamlining the financial process, improving co-ordination, and working more with civil society" (OECD 2016).

The EU action contrasts with that of other major powers such as China and Russia, whose investments and interests in Africa are being criticized for the dubious effectiveness of their actions and the absence of human rights promotion. By contrast, as argued by some academic papers on the field, the recent inclusion of development objectives in the diplomatic actions of the European External Action Service allow to expect a more multidimensional and coherent collaboration of Europe in Africa (Constantinou and Opondo 2016).

To conclude, it is worth mentioning the appreciation made by the European Think Tank Group which considers that the integration of the development policy within the framework of the Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy is a unique opportunity for the European Union to position itself as a global development leader, since this context provides the opportunity to jointly address the diverse threats to security along with the challenges to sustainable development (Gavas et al. 2016).

72.2.2 Uniqueness of the European Notion on Development

The features that define the European perspective on development do not belong to it exclusively, but it can be asserted that the European principles on the matter were adopted earlier than in other institutions and organizations and that their complementarity and interaction give them a unique nature. The perspective adopted in this section is the one contained in the official legal documents and in political discourse, unfortunately not always present in the specific actions that have taken place on the ground.

Development in Europe is understood in an all-encompassing way, that is, recognizing the interdependence between the various aspects that give rise to poverty traps. Although the growing emphasis on "sustainability" has favored the deepening of this aspect, the European Union has always comprehensively considered the economic, human, social, and political aspects of development. Good governance achievements have always been a constant in the European Union's policies (Agenda for Change 2012).

Among the aspects that form the comprehensive European perspective on development, the European Union has shown a special sensitivity to the human dimension of the concept over other more structural or macroeconomic facets (European Union 2012, 2016, 2017). In fact, the European Union has not hesitated to focus its actions on the most vulnerable groups. The relevance granted to education, health, or food security, especially present in the programs of the 1990s, has been reinforced in the

new century by its implementation on areas of a more personal nature, such as job satisfaction, the promotion of artistic expression, the education of girls, or the preservation of indigenous culture.

As a consequence, the concept of European development is essentially inclusive. Not only does it consider together the diverse causes of poverty, but it also attempts to involve all the agents that, in one way or another, are implicated in cooperation processes: European organisms, states, civil society, donors, and beneficiaries. The very structure of the European Union, articulated through various institutions, although sometimes complicates the processes and generates dysfunctions, facilitates the diversity of the participants.

The inclusive nature of development objectives implies a constant effort to advance in the coordination among agents and the coherence among policies. This effort can be seen in the recent texts on security and defense (Capacities Development in support of security and development 2015), actions in favor of good governance, the rule of law, and the defense of human rights that are initiatives of the Council (Strategic Framework on Human Rights and Democracy 2012) or of the European External Action Service (new Action Plan for Human Rights and Democracy for the period 2015–2019), in measures to address climate change (Paris Agreement 2015) or in the cross-cutting gender equality actions that focus on the stability and growth of the associated countries. Also, this attempting to improve coordination and coherence, can be verified in the policy coherence commitments that the European Union has regularly adopted and that are included in the next section of this chapter.

Participation is another defining element of European development policy (European Union 2016). In line with this inclusive perspective on development that drives its coordinated and coherent actions, the European Union seeks to determine the mechanisms that favor the real participation of all the actors involved. Participation is firstly considered in the relationship with the beneficiary partners. The European Union has been increasingly insisting on the fact that national governments are primarily responsible for the development of their countries and that they should partner with their local institutions and with their civil society since they are considered closest collaborators to face the necessary measures to contribute to the development of the nation. They are also deemed to be the ones charged with identifying their needs and the means to satisfy them (principle of "joint programming"). In this context, the beneficiary country should take the lead as far as possible, and international aid should solely act subsidiarily. It is also presupposed that local entities should also assume the obligation to evaluate the impact of their efforts and should be held accountable for the investment received.

Participation is also contemplated in relation to European agents. In recent years, the opinion of civil society groups has been incorporated into the institutional discussion, represented through trade unions, research centers, business organizations, and the private sector (A Stronger Role of the Private Sector in Achieving Inclusive and Sustainable Growth in Developing countries, COM (2014) 263 final) and, above all, NGOs specialized in development and in environmental defense. The

intervention of the private sector is increasingly relevant, not only as a source of funding but also as a source of knowledge and experience, transferring know-how and "on the ground" learning processes.

Lastly, and in line with the global perspective on the topic, the European concept of development is essentially sustainable. The European Union understands sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the possibility of future generations to fulfill theirs" (EU Strategy for Sustainable Development; European Commission 2007, p.6–7). The Union has added to the basic objectives of sustainability (those related to the preservation of the environment) those referring to trade, promoting projects such as "marketing with cause" or "ethical banking." Europe has also underlined the type of sustainability that focuses on human resources: investment in education; professional training; openness and tolerance; interreligious coexistence, which, in the medium or long term, can favor the peaceful resolution of latent conflicts; and the empowerment of the population so they are able to manage their development creatively and autonomously in the future.

72.2.3 The Articulation and the Dynamics of European Development Policies

In summary, it can be said that the priority objectives of the European Union in terms of development have been and are the eradication of poverty (in a sustainable and integrated way, encompassing food security, the fight against HIV, the management of migration flows, and security concerns), the defense of democratic values (which includes the protection of all human rights), and the national management of aid (which entails the responsibility and leadership of the partner countries in the management and implementation of it).

The progressive evolution in the achievement of these objectives has mainly followed three criteria: first, the improvement of the coordination and coherence between the actions of the EU institutions and those of the Member States; second, the incorporation of local partners in the participation in their own development; and third, the integration of the various facets that are involved in situations of poverty.

This evolution can be seen in the legislative documents regulating the action of the European Union. All development policies are based on the same framework: Article 21, Section 1, of the Treaty on the European Union, which establishes the guiding principles of the development cooperation of the Union; Article 4, Section 4, and Articles 208 to 211 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union; contained in the same document, Articles 312 to 316 cover budgetary matters. Following this, each region has its own specific cooperation agreements: the Cotonou Agreement for Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific countries and other bilateral agreements with partner countries from other regions, such as the Mediterranean.

The immediate antecedents of the New Consensus on Development appear in the previous Consensus (December 20, 2015) and in other documents that are enumerated next and that accurately reflect the lines of improvement of the European action:

- "Policy Coherence for Development" (2005)
- "EU Code of Conduct on Complementarity and the Division of Labor in Development Policy" (2007) and the "EU Operational Framework on Aid Effectiveness" (2011) adopt measures suggested by international organizations to improve the effectiveness of cooperation policies: OECD Paris Declaration (2005), the Accra Agenda for Action (2008), and the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (2011).
- The "Agenda for Change" (May 2012) identifies the basic pillars of European cooperation, establishes measures to enhance impact, identifies the group of least developed countries as a priority aid objective, and introduces the principle of differentiation to adapt cooperation to the specific and real needs of each country.
- The Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA 2015) is an integral part of the 2030 Agenda, dealing with an effective use of financial and nonfinancial means, complemented by the Sendai Framework on Disaster Risk Reduction (United Nations 2015–2030) and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change (United Nations 2015), which provides a multilateral rules-based global order supported by the United Nations (2016).
- The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (July 2015 and November 2016) incorporates the sustainable development goals set by the United Nations and the commitment to allocate 0.7% of GNI to ODA.

The financial cooperation provided by the Union is articulated through three channels: a) projects, subsidies, and contracts granted under different conditions to organizations that propose specific actions to be developed within a certain time frame and that are awarded through public calls; b) budgetary support through transfers to the national budget of the beneficiary country, according to the needs expressed by them, and which assume the responsibility to manage and evaluate its effectiveness; c) sectoral support, which consists of financing specific industry fields (energy, education, environment, etc.) managed by each partner country and channeled through different modalities.

The aid is managed through a double approach: either through a transversal thematic approach, giving priority to the objectives proposed by the project (gender equality or access to drinking water), or through a geographical criterion, giving priority this time to the collective needs of a given area.

The new European Consensus on Development intends not only to integrate the objectives set by the UN 2030 Agenda (taking into account the significant EU contribution to its definition) but also to continue and consolidate the improving trends initiated in the new millennium and reflected in the aforementioned legislative documents. In relation to financing, it also contemplates new mechanisms to guarantee the effectiveness of the aid and the involvement of all the implicated agents. The following analysis aims to assess the specific contribution of the new European Consensus on Development.

72.3 An Analysis of the New European Consensus on Development: "Our World, Our Dignity, Our Future"

The 21-page document is divided into five different parts: The EU's response to the 2030 Agenda; A framework for action; Partnership: the EU as a force for the implementation of the 2030 Agenda; Strengthening approaches to improve EU impact; Following up with our commitments; and its content is organized through the five pillars indicated in the 2030 Agenda: people, planet, prosperity, peace, and partnership.

At the beginning, the Consensus includes the values that articulate the proposal and that reflect those that define the principles of the EU: defense of democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, human dignity, the principles of equality, and solidarity and respect for the norms contained in the Charter of the United Nations and international law.

Reflecting the philosophy of the new sustainable objectives, the document addresses cross-cutting elements that are cause and consequence of poverty and undertakes to give them the utmost consideration in all policies: youth; gender equality; mobility and migration; sustainable energy; good governance, democracy, and the rule of law and human rights; innovative engagement with more advanced developing countries; and mobilizing and using domestic resources.

These transversal objectives are coherent with the priorities traditionally defended by the European Union in terms of development, such as its interest for the most vulnerable population groups, the defense of the rule of law, and the importance of policies responding to the idiosyncrasy of local partners. In relation to the defense of the rights of the youth, women, and girls, although it has been a recurring theme in the EU's discourse, especially regarding health and education issues (Agenda for Change 2012), the need to ensure a prosperous education and future for them is now incorporated, so that the youth are dissuaded from radical and violent options and are able to contribute to the future of their own nation.

In the chapter on "people," the topic of migration deserves special attention. The Consensus encourages all necessary measures be taken to address the seriousness of the situation, but always respecting the Member States' right to control the entry of migrants: . . . [those policies should] "not affect the right of Member States under Article 79(5) TFEU to determine volumes of admission of third-country nationals coming from third countries to their territory in order to seek work" (art 39). Although European collaboration is contemplated in the measures that can prevent forced displacement from occurring (the promotion of employment or trade and local innovation), the emphasis is placed on those actions that involve control and border management and the return of illegal migrants (Articles 40 and 41), in accordance with the provisions of the Valletta agreement signed with Turkey. Actions like this are the main reasons as to why the European Union is being criticized: it seems that the European Union's security concerns take precedence over the needs of the affected populations.

Besides being treated under the specific heading of "planet," environmental sustainability is present as a guiding principle in the provision of basic needs: the

guarantee of food security and a proper water management requires a regional solution taking into account local natural resources and the interlinkages between land, food, water, and energy.

The private sector is considered as a particularly effective collaborator in the chapter on "prosperity," where the objective of generating stable employment with future prospects, especially for the young population, is valued as a priority for achieving sustainable growth. Although it is discussed in more detail below (in Article 82), it is in this section where, for the first time, consideration is given to the possibility of relying on public and private funds jointly ("blending grants and loans"). This form of financing, increasingly widespread in the framework of the United Nations, has generated suspicion on the part of those who distrust the solidarity intentions of the private sector.

The achievement of political stability and peace weights the possibility of collaborating with the security sector, following the principle of respect for the competences of the Member States and the involvement of local actors to ensure the security of their own country. Although the final document corrected a statement previously contained in the draft ("including military actors under exceptional circumstances"), this measure has also aroused protests due to the lack of reliability of some "security actors" and the risk of relying on practices that may end up violating human rights.

In accordance with the EU tradition in this respect, political stability and good governance constitute inescapable pre-conditions of any development process and demand the creation of a state based on the rule of law that guarantees human rights and that, firmly grounded on democratic principles, promotes equal and plural participation by all individuals.

The current Consensus emphasizes the participation of civil society, with which it is intended to establish a fluid dialogue and which is meant to be integrated in the design and evaluation processes of planned actions. The European Union recognizes the right to decide on its future, but also the need to respond to the commitments it entails. Therefore, together with the Member States' governments and public funds from local partners, financial and human resources from private companies, NGOs, or other citizen groups will also be employed, making them responsible from the beginning in the design of the actions and for the accountability of their results.

In the context of sustainability, the Consensus underlines the importance of using domestic resources, both human and natural, adapting actions to local possibilities. This aspect was highlighted by Mogherini in the presentation of the document:

> "So, we move from a traditional approach of donor recipient to a partnership approach in which we do things with our partners to cover all different set of fields. It is still mainly about poverty eradication and reduction but it is also covering many other fields that affect directly the living conditions of the people on the ground." Mogherini (19 May 2017)

As far as the action of the European Union is concerned, the institution utilizes the document to improve the internal management of these policies. As stated in Article 6 of the Consensus, "the purpose of this Consensus is to provide the framework for a

common approach to development policy that will be applied by the EU institutions and the Member States while fully respecting each other's distinct roles and competences." Although it constitutes a EU longstanding objective, the need to avoid overlaps or repetitions takes on in the document renewed emphasis as a condition for a more effective policy and for the reduction of unnecessary costs. This coherence is also enhanced when considering the coordination with the EU external action. In this regard, it is significant that the signature of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security, Federica Mogherini, is next to that of the Presidents of the Council, Commission, and Parliament.

The New Consensus on Development follows on the EU's improving trend and replicates the principles of action already included in the Agenda for Change of 2012: "differentiation," paying special attention to those countries that are more fragile and have a higher level of poverty; "concentration," focusing the action only on three priorities considered key for each local partner; "coordination" between the European Union and the Member States, both in the programming of actions and in the information on the results obtained to guarantee a complementary and mutually reinforcing action; "coherence" in the principles that shape the different development actions.

Lastly, another significant, yet hardly new, aspect should be highlighted: the European Union, as part of the principle of policy coherence, also promotes the value of sustainability in the domestic policies of Member States, understanding it as a new mentality that should permeate all social activities. An example of this included in the new Consensus is the purpose of implementing the New Urban Agenda in the legislation of European regions and municipalities.

72.4 Discussions Concerning the New Consensus

The discussion generated by the publication of the new document on European Development constitutes a good synthesis of the state of play in the European space: what are the achievements and main objectives attained, what aspects remain unresolved, and what should be the path for future action. The positive and negative criticisms made to the Consensus well describe the framework of the current debate. The criticisms and controversies raised by the document are more numerous than the compliments. To a certain extent, they show the vitality enjoyed by the topic within the European Union, the significant self-criticism of the various agents involved, and the benefit of a healthy confrontation between the public and the private sector, which, despite the risk of stoppage of the actions, usually reverts in their improvement. All of this constitutes an outstanding feature of the communitarian policy.

72.4.1 The Consensus Contributions to Development Policy

The major contributions, even highlighted by the detractors of the document, are three: the reinforced vision on a sustainable development, the progress to a more

holistic perspective that integrates security, and, finally, the role given to civil society in the design and monitoring of cooperation policies.

Sustainability as a value is present both in the actions carried out and in the measures adopted in the different European societies and by the agents that promote development. In the beneficiary countries of the aid, and in accordance with the 2030 Agenda, the proposal of the new Consensus reinforces the interest in areas that guarantee a lasting and persistent growth, such as, among others, the defense of the environment, growth based on own natural resources, the creation of stable employment for young people, the education of women and girls, the advancement of democratic participation, and the promotion of conditions that favor responsibility and national autonomy in development processes. These topics are considered cross-cutting issues that should be present in the different cooperation agreements. However, as already mentioned, the aim is also to achieve a coordinated and coherent action between the European Union and the Member States in order to ensure efficiency, effective spending, and the attainment of complementary and mutually reinforcing initiatives.

The second relevant contribution is the close link established between development and peace, which reinforces actions of conflict prevention and peacebuilding. The Consensus recognizes political instability and violence as fundamental causes of poverty: it is a transversal theme to which a specific section has been devoted. It recognizes new action scenarios, points out the need to coordinate humanitarian aid with development policies, and contemplates intervention in the entire cycle of violence, from conflict prevention measures to human and material reconstruction. According to the German Development Institute, "a holistic and sustainable security concept is however equally important for this overarching strategy so as to connect development policy to issues of stability, democracy and security in the EU foreign policy model (cf. combating the causes of forced migration)" (Henökl and Keijzer 2016).

NGOs specialized in development praise the predominance given to civil society as a crucial element to consolidate democracy. At least in terms of "ought to be," the Consensus considers it is necessary for local civil society to be present in the origin, development, and evaluation of projects that are implemented in the area, combining the citizens' control over the public body with the responsibility to collaborate in the application of measures within family and personal settings (Trimmel 2017). Lastly, also in relation to this aspect, it is worth mentioning the value given to the promotion of resilience and the desire to collaborate with civil society groups without limiting the process of pacification to governments and armies (Angelini 2017).

The most political sector praises the proposals for structural reform of the European development policies that are initiated in the document. The interdepartmental actions, the commitment for an improvement of the coordination, and the inclusion of the Consensus in the framework of the Global Strategy favor whole-of-government approaches to encompass all dimensions of the EU external policy (Gavas et al. 2016).

72.4.2 Limitations and Deficiencies of the Consensus

It seems necessary to begin by referring to the inevitable risk of Eurocentrism that the policies of the European Union entail, despite the fact that this concern is not present in any of the criticisms raised against the document. This Eurocentrism is evident in both the priorities set for development policies, in the way of understanding development and in the values exported. In this context, the first criticism that the document has received is that of the "securitization" of the development agenda, that is, the priority given to matters related to security. This issue has a positive aspect already examined, in that it involves an integration of all the variables that impact and hinder development. Yet the most controversial point is that this "securitization" may stem from an unjustified assessment of the risk that economic migrants and political refugees pose to Europe.

Reality is that the criticism of the "securitization" of the agenda is linked to that of an excessively Eurocentric analysis of the situation by placing the accent on measures aimed at avoiding and controlling immigrants who can pose a potential threat to Europe, both in terms of security (terrorist attacks) and in terms of socioeconomic imbalance. As Concorde points out, "(we) are alarmed by the instrumentalization of development cooperation toward security, commercial and migration objectives" (European Confederation of Development NGOs 2017). The European Union often takes a particularly close interest in matters related to conflict prevention and in fighting against the causes that trigger migration, which shifts the focus from the eradication of poverty and thus raises suspicions about what type of security is sought, whether that of the affected population or that of the European citizens. "EU governments (. . .) are trying to stop people from reaching Europe in search of safety and dignity, instead of fighting inequality and poverty," denounces Natalia Alonso, Oxfam International Deputy Director for Advocacy and Campaigns (Oxfam 2017).

In particular, there is some reticence with regard to the fact that new items concerning border control or migration management are added to the contribution that the European Union makes to the OECD Official Development Assistance without proportionally increasing the final amount destined to it. It also disconcerts the lack of rigor in the analysis of the situation: for instance, the differences that exist between migration and forced displacement are not taken into account, which would otherwise require contemplating different measures aimed at these two population groups.

Closely linked to this first criticism, there is a complaint regarding the lack of coherence with the fundamental principles of the European Union since collaboration with governments that do not guarantee respect for human rights is considered as a way of halting migration flows. Although the final version of the document corrected a controversial statement included in the first draft ("[the EU] will work with security sector actors, including military actors under exceptional circumstances. . ."), the Consensus still considers necessary the coordinated action with local authorities without designing any guarantee scheme that allows for the identification of unreliable partners on the ground. This proposal is consistent with

other agreements parallelly signed with the aim to stop migration. The recent Valletta agreement (2015) signed with Turkey is a good example of this: it contemplates the detention of emigrants in exchange for economic aid and the granting of visas for Turkish citizens and also sets the terms for the return of citizens from Eritrea and Somalia, both to their countries and to Ethiopia, without guaranteeing their human rights protection during border management and upon landing.

The third element of criticism is the excessive recourse to the private sector and to blended finance. A general feeling among the development agents is that the Consensus has a great deal of confidence in the private sector by not articulating simultaneously control mechanisms that guarantee the priority of the service that the development cooperation requires over the benefit that companies seek to gain in any operation.

The imbalance between the ambition of the objectives and the lack of specific policies constitutes the fourth reason for controversy. Although in the presentation of the document, Neven Mimica, Development Commissioner, affirmed that the Consensus was only a framework for action and that the Commission would adopt more specific policies throughout 2018, a sceptical reaction has inevitably followed. The opinion of Ester Asin, Director of Save the Children's EU Office, is certainly widespread: "We see some good rhetorical commitments in the Consensus, but we need to see how these will be translated into reality."

Along the same lines, the concept of "efficacy" raises concerns over its meaning: it seems that it implies "to do more with less," and the risk of simply ending up "doing less" is clearly perceived. With regard to "doing more," the Consensus is very ambitious in the type of objectives that aims to achieve and in the areas in which it intends to act. However, it openly restricts resources without, on the other hand, specifying what kinds of actions will balance that reduction. The decrease of resources is justified if better coordination avoids overlaps, both with a more rational planning and with a progressive evaluation of impact. Yet the document does not determine what concrete actions are to be adopted or what type of collaboration is to be established with stakeholders or local governments (Boesman 2017).

On the other hand, there are important shortcomings in the interest shown in working with civil society groups. In particular, participatory processes that allow for the intervention of local civil society in an effective manner are not determined: coordination mechanisms are not specified, there is no information about direct financing, and there are not channels to share information regularly with local civil society groups that would allow them to be involved in policy control and evaluation (Angelini 2017). There were also other considerable objections raised from some political representatives of African countries during the Meeting of ACP-EU Economic and Social Interest groups held in Brussels on May 15–17, 2017: the talks surrounding the establishment of the appropriate channels for an effective participation of civil society should involve political parties and should not be exclusively targeted at governments.

Another objection refers to the expectations raised by the Consensus among the countries belonging to the African, Caribbean, and Pacific regions. A full revision to the current agreements that reduces the still existing imbalance in favor of European

interests was expected: "The Partnership Framework, the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa and the External Investment Plan are primarily serving the EU's own agenda instead of helping people lift themselves out of poverty" (Tempest 2016). In order to correct these imbalances, it seems necessary to identify new parameters that define development policies for the APC bloc. The German Development Institute advocates for a modernization of the relationship with these countries that implies the disappearance of the geographical parameters that have guided development policies so far, and an evolution toward more economic and transversal criteria, such as income level. The German Institute suggests a policy redefinition toward middle-income countries, regardless of their geographical location, as well as toward those countries that begin to be considered as emerging economies (Henökl and Keijzer 2016).

Finally, the absence of references to the impact that Brexit has on development policies has given the impression of a lack of realism and an ill-founded rhetoric on tangible commitments.

In summary, it could be concluded that there are two main complaints that experts from various development cooperation areas make to the EU document: it holds a short-sight perspective that prioritizes short-term goals on security over the long-term views that development requires and lacks concrete guidelines to operationalize that ambitious agenda.

72.5 Conclusion: The EU Contribution to Global Development Policy

As to the conclusion that can be drawn from the previous analysis, it could be said that the European Union is in a position to effectively contribute to the sustainable development goals of the 2030 Agenda set by the United Nations (United Nations 2015), as credited by the concept of European development, the long experience accumulated and the policies and dynamics applied since its foundation. On the other hand, the lines of improvement in the effectiveness of development cooperation contemplated by the European Union coincide with the trends adopted globally.

The new European Consensus on Development ensures that support effectively. In full coherence with the European tradition in this area, it represents an advance in sustainability by integrating the security aspects in the analysis and in the necessary measures taken to eradicate poverty, considering the cross-cutting issues present in all facets of underdevelopment, and extending that sustainability to the improvement in the coordination of the work of the different development agents in Europe, as well as in the integration of the different policies that affect cooperation.

However, the implementation of the New Consensus requires a reconsideration of the balance between European interests and the real needs of underdevelopment. There is a sense of urgency to solve short-term problems – such as the refugee crisis – to the detriment of measures aimed at an effective poverty reduction. The focus on impeding migration flows over investments in places of origin that prevent

displacement seems disproportionate, especially when restoring to measures that put at risk the coherence of European principles.

The new Consensus should also further develop many of the proposals mentioned. It is necessary to determine with precision the control mechanisms for the private sector, develop appropriate channels for the effective participation of civil society groups, specify the coordinated action of the institutions that in principle justifies budget reductions, and redefine the parameters of the development agreements signed so far. It would be irresponsible not to recognize that only a development policy that balances the positive impact on poverty reduction with reasonable economic and social spending will make European citizens willing to make the financial and human sacrifices necessary to collaborate on this field. The first objective of the European Union is to protect its Member States. Yet it is also obvious that a reasonable balance between protection and aid is needed and that there is a constant risk of discrimination in favor of European interests. This is the main challenge that the implementation of the Consensus must face.

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The Challenge of Promoting Diversity in Western Journalism Education: An Exploration of Existing Strategies and a Reflection on Its Future Development

73

Rozane De Cock and Stefan Mertens

Contents

73.1 Diversity in Journalism Education 1294
73.2 Researching Diversity in Journalism Programs 1298
73.3 Journalism Education and Different Diversity Approaches 1299
73.3.1 Importance of Diversity in Journalism Education 1300
73.3.2 Teaching Approach of Diversity and Course Content 1301
73.3.3 Future Plans Related to Diversity Education 1302
73.3.4 Collective Factors Underlying Successful Western Diversity Initiatives in Journalism Education 1303
73.3.5 Diversity Issues that Need Extra Attention in Future Education Initiatives 1306
73.4 From Resemblance in Diversity Toward a More Diverse Approach 1308
References 1309

Abstract

Western journalism is guided by a traditional occupational ideology that includes values as truth and accuracy, independence, fairness and impartiality, humanity, and accountability (http://www.ethicaljournalism.org). Nowadays, this ideology faces the pressure of two ongoing developments, i.e., multimediality and multiculturalism (Deuze et al. 2002). Furthermore, mass audiences lose their unified and monolithic characteristics due to the demographic diversity in society. Media use becomes increasingly personalized and digital platforms gain importance, resulting in a society that is diverse, but displaying a media consumption pattern increasingly based on digital platforms, that functions as an echo chamber of one's own opinions, inspired by one's own identity. This evolution entangles the necessity of developing an adapted code of praxis for journalism education that

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fosters diversity as a central concept (Deuze et al. 2002). Following Botma (2016) journalism education needs to teach cultural citizenship in the digital future. Also O'Donnel states that media diversity is an important public interest policy objective and that "audience access to a wide variety of news and opinions sources enhances democracy" (2017, p. 20). This implies that journalism students need to acquire digital literacy, alongside with cultural knowledge on diversity. The DIAMOND "Diversity and Information Media: new tools for a multifaceted public debate" project in Flanders aspires to develop educational tools to face this challenge. To reach this goal, the project explores existing initiatives on diversity education in journalism schools in Flanders by conducting a survey among the staff of all the bachelor and master programs, alongside interviews with ten selected international journalism education experts, known for their trendsetting role in diversity education in journalism. Different strategies of educational dealing with differences in society regarding age, gender, ethnicity, class, disability, and sexual identity will be discussed throughout the data analysis, and suggestions for the development of future teaching material will be presented. The focus is on Western countries dealing with diversity in journalism education, with a special case study on Flanders.

Keywords

Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications (ACEJMC) · Constructive journalism · Ethnicity · Flemish journalism programs · MEDIVA project · Public journalism · The media blind spot

73.1 Diversity in Journalism Education

Already in 1992, Theodore Glasser, in that time director of the graduate program in journalism at Stanford University, USA, pleas in favor of a detrivialization of diversity in journalism educational programs and a genuine recognition and operationalization of diversifying the curricula. In his exploration of what diversity means as an epistemological claim and the contradictions between (so-called value-free, neutral, and objective) professionalism and diversity, Glasser states that professionals "typically operate with assumptions and attitudes that can be (. . .) described as ethnocentric" (p. 131) and that it is utterly important to "combat the indifference to difference." Professionalism concentrates on what journalists have in common, it promotes standardization and homogeneity, and in general filters out personal and cultural differences to live up to the rules, journalistic routines, and beat demands. Knowledge exists in and through experience which makes facts to be seen as social phenomena. This proposition leads to the idea of multiculturalism, cultural pluralism, or what Glasser describes as "simply diversity" (p. 131). This approach to knowledge as a social construction dependent on social and cultural viewpoints conflicts directly with a belief that considers the (re)presentation of the world as it really is, a permanent, universal reality (objectivism). Glasser's viewpoint emphasizes that standards, also journalism standards, "endure in history and not in nature"

(1992, p. 132) and that, therefore, it is important to reflect upon how knowledge, its relationship with experience, and journalism standards shape journalism courses and curricula. That is, for Glasser, more important than trivializing diversity by only quantifying and reducing it to "physiographic criteria for admission and employment" as there is a more profound, qualitative, and cultural layer underneath. The quantitative aspects are necessary conditions "but seldom sufficient for the differences in experience that yield differences in thought and action" (p. 133). The work of Glasser invites us, even a quarter of a century later, to rethink the role and importance of diversity in the education of journalism professionals and to reflect upon the division between "conceptual, theory courses, or the non-skills side of the curriculum" and the practical courses in relation to the hierarchy of knowledge (theory versus knowledge-in-practice) (p. 137). Also Deuze (2006) emphasizes the importance to study journalism education more rigorously and multicultural journalism education in particular.

When reviewing the literature on diversity and journalism education, it becomes clear that the majority of these studies are conducted in the USA, followed by Australian studies. Far less European studies published in peer-reviewed journals can be retrieved on the topic, and also the educational approach in other continents such as Africa is only sporadically reported on (see, e.g., Botma 2016). When it comes to the Low Countries, information on diversity aspects taught in the Netherlands, "a typical multicultural society," has received scholarly attention (Deuze et al. 2002; Deuze 2006, p. 390), whereas a systematic overview of the approach in Flanders (Dutch-speaking part of Belgium) is lacking. The Australian studies show a remarkably strong focus on useful development of practical material and course content that can be used in journalism education to teach students "to reflect, assess, and challenge (if necessary) ingrained inequity" (North 2015, p. 182). The work of North (2015, p. 177) describes the quite recent development of the first gender unit (course) in an Australian journalism program in response to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) call for a teaching model that "gives students at least an introductory understanding of (...) 'gender, cultural diversity, religion, social class, conflict, poverty, development issues and public health issues with training in (...) techniques to cover these issues'." Another Australian example is the pedagogical practice of direct personal contact used by Burns (2015) in order to teach his students how to report in an inclusive and respectful manner on people with a disability. Also the Reporting Diversity Project (Hess and Waller 2011), a partnership of universities and news media organizations supported by the Australian Federal Department of Immigration and Citizenship, has resulted in a multitude of practical educational material: cases, a website, and a bibliographical database on multicultural topics. Although diversity training "in one form or another is widely promoted across Europe" according to O'Boyle et al. (2013, p. 301) and supported by the Council of Europe (e.g., Toolbox: Journalism Training, Discrimination and Diversity), the scholarly study of the approaches used in journalism education throughout Europe remains limited. The results of the MEDIVA project (Media for Diversity and Migrant Integration across the EU) show that diversity training is not prioritized in journalistic education nor in professional development and is "commonly viewed as extra-curricular"

(O'Boyle et al. 2013, p. 305). The UK and the Netherlands are exceptions which make the authors conclude that European states with longer immigration histories generally have more developed diversity policies and binding or advisory guidelines for journalists (O'Boyle et al. 2013, p. 301–305).

According to the study of Jones Ross and Patton (2000) on the nature of journalism courses devoted to diversity, the relative newness of diversity journalism education makes many courses focus primarily on rising the awareness of journalism students for diversity topics. Climbing up the ladder of changing people's behavior, rising awareness is the first step in the direction of aiming for social change but is still many rungs away from the top of the ladder, that is, demonstrating fixed and obtained diversity inclusive behavior (Bambust 2015). Designing enduring change urges for paying attention to the stepping stones in between on the road to transitions and thinking about steps as concern, insight and understanding, intention, and trial or testing behavior before resulting in fixed behavior. This remains a challenge in Western journalism education although Jones Ross and Patton (2000) clearly stress the substantial progress booked by journalism schools in the USA, as three quarter of the surveyed schools offer courses devoted to media and diversity compared to only a quarter of the schools in previous studies throughout the 1970s until the late 1990s. An important stimulating factor in this evolution to activate journalism educators in the USA was a requirement imposed by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications (ACEJMC) in 1982. The ACEJMC required journalism schools to make "effective efforts to recruit, advise and retain minority students, staff, and women faculty members" (Jones Ross and Patton 2000, p. 24). Ten years later, in 1992, the requirement was expanded by what came to be known as Standard 12 that demanded journalism curricula to incorporate courses that made future journalists understand, cover, and communicate with and within a multicultural, multiracial, and otherwise diverse society. By 2013, Standard 3 (Biswas et al. 2017) appeared on the stage giving priority to diversity and inclusiveness and stressing the need for a diversity plan in journalism schools in order to achieve an inclusive curriculum and a diverse faculty and student population. The plan has to be expressed in a written document and has to state clearly the school's definition of diversity.

Besides the precise position of the focal point in journalism education when it comes to diversity (rising awareness), also the thematic focus is mostly limited in scope as the majority of the journalism programs are entirely devoted to race and gender issues (Jones Ross and Patton 2000). Within ethnic minorities and gender-related topics, the courses offer much more attention to more easily available information in handbooks on African-Americans on the one hand and on female stereotypes on the other, neglecting the coverage of other ethnic groups such as Latino's or ignoring stereotypical representations of males. In addition, the courses often limit themselves to a historical approach of the lack of diversity, which might suggest the false idea of diversity issues being solely "a thing of the past," a description that no longer holds true. The study of Biswas and Izard (2010) indicated that media instructors already included more diversity topics in their courses such as class and diversity in general and that the majority of separate courses on diversity dedicated attention to both historical and contemporary diversity issues.

Nevertheless, the top three themes that received the most attention in these courses remain very typical: gender, diversity in general, and race/ethnicity (Biswas et al. 2017). It is, without any doubt, a challenge to devote sufficient attention to news media's relationship with other groups or minorities who experience discrimination and are often mis- or underrepresented in the news. In this respect, next to ethnic/racial aspects and gender, future journalists need to be aware of how to report on sexual orientation, disability, class, religion, and age in a fair way (Bodinger-de Uriarte and Valgeirsson 2015; Biswas et al. 2017; Jones Ross and Patton 2000; Martindale 1991). In their most recent update on diversity teaching in the USA, Biswas et al. (2017) added a new category, "international," to stress the importance of international journalism, global culture, and diversity and to meet ACEJMC Standard 3 demands on instruction related to "mass communications across diverse cultures in a global society" and international relationships (p. 11).

Within the field of journalism education programs, different approaches come to the fore when the precise position of diversity education is concerned. Three pathways appear in the studies of Jones Ross and Patton (2000), Biswas and Izard (2010), and Biswas et al. (2017): (a) offering a separate diversity course in the program, (b) integrating diversity issues solely into other general journalism classes, and finally (c) a combination of a and b thus devoting a course entirely to diversity matters while at the same time dealing with it in other journalism classes as well. Jones Ross and Patton (2000) state that the majority (57.5%) of the journalism schools opted for the combination, while nearly a third of the educational institutions dedicated one or more separate courses to diversity. A minority of the programs reported to only incorporate diversity topics into their general journalism courses. The most recent study on the preferred diversity teaching approach in journalism programs shows that integrating diversity content across the curriculum was given top priority and that teaching diversity separately was the most unpopular path (Biswas et al. 2017). Martindale (1991, p. 34) writes about the "infusing approach" to name the integrating of diversity issues in the range of general courses in journalism educational programs. She is in favor of the approach as she sees multicultural knowledge and sensitivity as a "standard part of a journalist's job, not an extra skill" (1991 p. 34) and something that is acquired only by repetition. Besides these advantages, the approach also reaches more students than when programs only include diversity into optional courses. Proponents of this infusing approach stress the benefits of the integration into the whole program because of the potential danger of ghettoizing the information by separating diversity courses from the rest of the journalism training (Jones Ross and Patton 2000). This is the same point of view that Glasser (1992) calls "neatly packaged" diversity and the "risk segregating it from the rest of the curriculum" (p. 132). At the same time, proponents recognize the challenge that comes along with the infusing approach, that is, matching the diversity theme with the main contextual focus of the more general journalism course. Next to the three approaches, diversity courses tend to be optional classes instead of compulsory courses (Biswas and Izard 2010). This has an impact on the total number of journalism students that can be reached in order to foster diversity in news reporting.

Strengths of diversity classes in journalism education reported in previous studies are the variety of guest speakers that are invited to interact with students and actual reporting tasks to experience a diver's viewpoint by hands-on training (Jones Ross and Patton 2000; Martindale 1991; De Uriarte 1988). De Uriarte prepares her students to address and wipe out "the media blind spot" (1988, p. 78) and states that this has to be done "as vigorously in the classroom as around the editorial table." She does so by using her former experience as a newspaper editor and personal background to assign the Latino community in Austin as beat to her journalism students. The course starts with offering an overview of US Latino cultural and history (theory) and then takes the students literally to places and city quarters where they have never been before. There, they have to look for diverse news stories giving voice to people who often remain ignored in non-diverse news media stories. Martindale describes the "urgent need" for journalists "who are sensitive to multicultural issues and have some knowledge of the (. . .) groups they will cover" already in 1991 (p. 34). Just like De Uriarte, she not only stresses the importance of knowledge transfer in a more theoretical way, but she especially emphasizes hands-on training. The courses she proposes are not only pure news and feature writing pieces but also opinion writing classes, journalism history courses, media ethics incorporating diversity topics, and courses in photojournalism. In her plea, she aims to widen up the diversity debate to go wider ("The students should be taught that they have a responsibility to reflect in their stories all parts of society, not just the white middle and upper classes") and deeper ("news beyond coverage of isolated events in order to cover long-standing situations that affect the lives of their audience.(. . .),to dig below the surface rhetoric (. . .) to cover the root causes of the controversies") at the same time (Martindale 1991, p. 35). The willingness to invest time and effort in diversity teaching of faculty members is crucial to make diversity education work. The research of Ng et al. (2013) shows that female staff members, younger staff members, and people of color hold more positive attitudes toward diversity goals in education than male and white colleagues and faculty members with more than 15 years of institutional experience.

73.2 Researching Diversity in Journalism Programs

During February and March 2018, an online survey questionnaire was developed, tested, and spread among all staff members of all bachelor (six) and master programs (three) in journalism education throughout Flanders and Brussels (the Dutch-speaking journalism education programs in Belgium). A total of 67 respondents filled out the questionnaire, resulting in a response rate of 29% after two reminders. All responses of the survey were collected anonymously in line with the ethical guidelines of the Social and Societal Ethics Committee (dossier G 2017 07 859). Respondents answered to as well open-ended as to closed questions. The questionnaire consisted of a socio-demographic part, a professional part (type of journalism education program they are working for, type of course they are teaching), a diversity aspects part (teaching

approach, sub-dimensions of diversity, importance of diversity courses), and finally, a selection of statements on diversity teaching in journalism education.

In the same time period, ten in-depth interviews based on an open-ended topic guide were conducted with staff members of ten different international journalism schools known for their trendsetting role in diversity education in journalism. Interviews were audio-recorded and analyzed using open coding and case study analysis in order to examine and identify collective factors underlying successful diversity in journalism education examples. The ten experts were selected in nine countries (The Netherlands, Germany, the UK (two experts), the USA, Australia, Rumania, Canada, France, and Sweden); seven participants were female and three were male.

Based on the literature review and the research objectives, the following hypotheses and research questions were formulated:

RQ1: How important is diversity in journalism education according to faculty staff in journalism programs in Flanders?
RQ2: Which thematic sub-dimensions of diversity are the most important according to faculty staff in journalism programs in Flanders?
RQ3: To what extent are thematic sub-dimensions of journalism diversity already being taught at journalism education programs in Flanders?
RQ4: To what extent are faculty members happy with the present attention for diversity in their educational journalism program?
RQ5: What collective factors are underlying successful diversity in journalism education initiatives when looking at known international examples?
RQ6: Which diversity aspects need extra attention in future journalism education programs according to lecturers in Flanders and international journalism schools known for their diversity initiatives?
H1: Lecturers in journalism in Flanders prefer integrating diversity as an aspect in general journalism classes instead of offering specialized, stand-alone courses on diversity in journalism education.
H2: Staff teaching theoretical journalism courses believes attention for diversity in journalism education is more important than staff members teaching practical courses.
H3: Younger staff members believe attention for diversity in journalism education is more important than older staff members.
H4: Staff members that are part of a diversity group themselves believe attention for diversity in journalism education is more important than staff members not belonging to a diversity group.
H5: Female lecturers believe attention for diversity in journalism education is more important than male lecturers.

73.3 Journalism Education and Different Diversity Approaches

Of all respondents in the survey, 65% were teaching in a bachelor program in journalism education, 29% were staff members of a master program, and 6% of the respondents were both active within a bachelor as a master training program.

This proportion reflects the number of bachelor versus master programs in journalism in Flanders. Seventeen percent of the respondents report teaching mainly theoretical courses, 28% says offering practical training to students in essence, but the majority of surveyed staff members reports using a combined approach of teaching theory and practice. Slightly more male (52%) than female (48%) lecturers took part in the survey. On average, participants were 48 years old (range, 30–63), the majority of the sample had obtained a university degree (70%), 19% holds a doctoral degree, 9% obtained a higher education degree (non-university profession training), and the remaining 3% did not obtain a higher education certificate.

73.3.1 Importance of Diversity in Journalism Education

Respondents were asked how important attention for diversity is in a journalism education program that is training future journalists. On a scale from 0 to 10, on average, the faculty staff in journalism programs in Flanders awards the importance of diversity 7,77 out of 10 (SD = 1,67). Only 6% of the staff members gives this aspect a score of 5 out of 10 or lower. The largest group appoints a score of 8 to the importance of diversity (39,4%), and a quarter of the sample chooses to give diversity an importance score of 9 or 10 out of 10. It is therefore clear that diversity is widely acknowledged as a crucially relevant topic that is essential in journalism education in Flanders.

Based on previous studies, it is expected that staff members teaching theoretical journalism courses would consider attention for diversity in journalism education as more important than staff members teaching practical courses. The data indicate that this is the case as staff members teaching primarily theoretical courses give the importance of diversity a mean score of 8,17 out of 10 (SD = 1,19), whereas staff teaching mainly practical classes award a lower mean score of 7 out of 10 (SD = 2,53). The staff group that reports teaching a combination of theoretical and practical courses finds itself in between both other groups (M = 8,06, SD = 0,99). The ANOVA test is only marginally significant as the p-value is precisely 0.05 (F = 3,05; df = 2, $p = 0.05$).

Also the relationship between staff age and their perception of the importance of diversity in journalism educations shows a marginally significant result. Younger staff members consider attention for diversity in journalism education as more important than older staff members (r = −0.20, $p = 0.06$). When the focus shifts toward gender, results show that female lecturers do believe attention for diversity in journalism education is more important than their male counterparts (r = 0.26, $p<0.05$). Hereby, hypothesis 5 is confirmed whereas hypothesis 4 has to be rejected. Staff members that are part of a diversity group themselves do not believe that attention for diversity in journalism education is more important than staff members not belonging to a diversity group (r = −0.13, $p>0.05$). In the sample, 2,74% of the teaching staff in Flemish journalism programs reported that they consider themselves as being part of a minority group when it comes to ethnicity, sexual orientation, physical disability, a not-physical disability, and social class.

73.3.2 Teaching Approach of Diversity and Course Content

The lecturers in the sample were asked in what way their journalism program pays attention to diversity. The majority of the sample (75,4%) indicates that their journalism school prefers integrating diversity as an aspect in general journalism classes instead of offering specialized, stand-alone courses on diversity (3,5%). One out of ten staff members report that their program combines as well an infusing approach along with a specialized course on diversity throughout the journalism training. Surprisingly, 10,5% of the surveyed staff members say their journalism school does not pay attention to diversity at all.

These results are in line with the answers on the following question: "How important is it for you that a journalism education program dedicates a complete course to diversity"? The mean score on this question (M = 5,31;SD = 2,65) and the distribution of the answers (55% gives a score of 5 out of 10 or lower) indicates that opinions are mixed on this matter.

Respondents were asked which thematic sub-dimensions of diversity are the most important to teach in a journalism curriculum. Therefore, staff members ranked the sub-dimensions from most important (1 out of 8) to least important (position 8 out of 8). The lower the number, the more important the sub-dimension is according to faculty staff in journalism programs in Flanders (see Table 1.).

With a mean score of 1,94, the sample ranked ethnicity as the most important sub-dimension of diversity to teach throughout journalism education. Gender appears as the second most important aspect of diversity according to the staff members (M = 3,29). Class holds the third position, before sexual orientation and international journalism who both score an average of 4,42 on 8. Disability ends on the sixth position, followed by age. The "other" sub-dimension ends on the final position, and the open answering field accompanying this answering option makes clear that several respondents added religion as this final eighth sub-dimension that deserves extra attention in journalism programs.

Next to the ranking of sub-dimensions, respondents were asked to what extent the different thematic sub-dimensions were already being taught sufficiently at their

Table 1 Mean ranking position of sub-dimensions of diversity (1 = most important, 8 = least important) according to staff members of journalism schools in Flanders

Sub-dimension	Position	Mean/out of 8 (standard deviation)
Ethnicity	1.	M = 1,94/8 (SD = 1,02)
Gender	2.	M = 3,29/8 (SD = 1,88)
Class	3.	M = 3,77/8 (SD = 2,15)
Sexual orientation	4./5.	M = 4,42/8 (SD = 1,38)
International journalism	4./5.	M = 4,42/8 (SD = 2,33)
Disability	6.	M = 4,83/8 (SD = 1,39)
Age	7.	M = 5,88/8 (SD = 1,51)
Other (primarily religion)	8.	M = 7,46/8 (SD = 1,56)

Table 2 Which diversity sub-dimension is already being taught sufficiently in your journalism education program according to you? (% of sample)

Diversity sub-dimension	%
Gender	24,49
Sexual orientation	21,43
Ethnicity	15,31
Disability	13,27
International journalism	13,27
Class	5,1
Other	4,08
Age	3,06

journalism education program in Flanders (see Table 2). The sub-dimension gender was the most often (a quarter of the sample) indicated as receiving enough educational attention. Sexual orientation follows closely by 21% of the staff members. Ethnicity is indicated by only 15% of the sample as receiving enough attention. Disability as well as international journalism share the fourth position in the ranking as both are being reported as sufficiently incorporated into the program by 13,27% of the sample. Class (5%) and age (3%) are clearly not seen as topics sufficiently being taught to future journalists.

73.3.3 Future Plans Related to Diversity Education

Staff members were asked about future plans and attention aspects in their education programs for journalism training. Respondents were requested to indicate which diversity aspects needed extra attention in future journalism education programs in Flanders. Ethnicity appears to be the top priority of faculty members as 23,96% puts this sub-dimension of diversity in the picture. Class differences are reported as the second most important future aspect by 20,83% of the sample. International journalism closes the top three list (14,58%). Age discrimination holds the forth position (11,46%) and is followed by disability (9,38%), sexual orientation (8,33%), other aspects (6,25%), and finally gender (5,21%).

Faculty members were asked how happy they were with the present attention for diversity and whether they were planning to pay more attention to it in the future. 45,83% of the respondents say they are not planning to pay more attention to diversity in their future journalism program as they believe their attention for it is already alright now. 14,58% says no, and 39,58% reports to plan more attention for diversity in the future.

Of all respondents, a big majority (73,47%) believes it would be a good idea if journalism programs in Flanders voluntarily would design a written diversity plan that indicates how they want to work on diversity and inclusion. In an open text field, they could explain why they are in favor of such a diversity plan: “Without a plan, too less initiatives will arise”; “Such a plan helps carrying out ideas”; “When you design a plan on paper and you sketch how you will include diversity into the different courses throughout the program and how you see the practical coaching, you keep staff members

alert"; "A plan incites to action and to reflection on the own journalism education program." Another respondent emphasizes that "structured attention for this important topic is necessary." A remaining quarter (26,53%) is opposed against this idea. The main reason there is the already high working and planning load for staff members.

73.3.4 Collective Factors Underlying Successful Western Diversity Initiatives in Journalism Education

73.3.4.1 Embedding Diversity in the Whole Program

A first very important factor that came to the fore throughout the in-depth interviews with diversity experts is that journalism education activities need to be embedded within an entire program. If students can follow a journalism education program without being obliged to follow a diversity course, it means that it is not a core issue. Diversity education, though, does not necessarily have to be concentrated into one specific course. On the contrary, it is better for diversity education to be integrated in all courses, especially the ethics course and the practical training courses. The infusion approach is the most popular, according to the interviewees.

> The attention for diversity should not be a stand-alone topic. It needs to be integrated in a way of practicing journalism, that holds the future for me. It is a way of practicing journalism that is a bit more slow, focused on inclusion and sustainability. If this form of journalism arrives, specific attention for diversity is hopefully not necessary anymore. (Interviewee 1, The Netherlands)

> Too often diversity is an afterthought. Or something we add on at the end. Or we put it in fifteen minutes in week 7. Because journalists are writing about people and issues, it should be infused in the course all semester long all time. (Interviewee 2, USA)

73.3.4.2 Accreditation

A link with accreditation for journalism programs may be a good idea according to interviewees. The link between a journalism program getting funding and its apt treatment of diversity in its journalism education program may be a particular enforcing way to promote diversity. Diversity is too often considered an afterthought and that has to be avoided.

> You have to say "these are the requirements that any course that wants to be accredited by us must reach." That buy-in from industry means that most courses want to be accredited. (Interviewee 5, UK)

73.3.4.3 Producing Content in Practice

Producing actually diverse content is a very important condition. Students can most effectively see the benefit of producing diverse content if they talk with others than their own friends and family and produce news items and articles themselves using a diverse input (i.e., ethnic differences, social class differences, age differences, etc.). Many interviewees also report award-winning initiatives within their journalism programs as a result of student's hands-on work. Students publishing their own book are another concrete example.

> The students are very excited: we are publishing a book in our class. And when they get the books, they are very proud, and they say:' I told people that I was publishing a book and they didn't believe me'. (Interviewee 2, USA)

> We have done some practical work where we created three radio documentaries and they were 30 minutes programs. They were broadcast on local public radio. (Interviewee 9, Australia)

73.3.4.4 Getting Out of the Comfort Zone

Students can be believed to live in a comfort zone. Young journalists are especially prone to being locked in in their own comfort zone, because the young generation is increasingly news dependent upon social media. This entails the risk of young people being entrapped in a so-called filter bubble, whereby they only consume news that echoes their own ideological preferences. Raising awareness that a society is diverse with diverse opinions and diverse identities may therefore be a crucial step toward educating diversity-oriented journalists.

Most big cities have a diverse cultural, ethnic, and class-related landscape, often only on walking or public transport distance from the journalism schools' main campus buildings. This can form the ultimate, unique, and non-expensive opportunity to "practice what we preach" throughout diversity classes in journalism education. This is a plea to go out of the classroom, to incorporate service-learning projects with a diversity of societal diverse and inclusive organizations into the journalism curriculum, and to install a win-win learning environment. Societal organizations win public attention and recognition; the journalists of the future are immersed into a close but up till then unknown world that deserves being the input of a wide variety of news stories.

> A very basic exercise that we have is the 'my neighborhood exercise'. They get a postal number that they are supposed to use to track people. They don't get to choose the neighborhood and after six months they get another postal code and that exercise was created because a lot of students tend to hang out in the same area with the same people. (Interviewee 4, Sweden)

> Journalism students should know that diversity exists. On many points of view society is a bit conservative. Students of journalism should learn how to deal with such issues and know that such issues exist. (Interviewee 6, Rumania)

73.3.4.5 Cross-Perspective Practice

Students should also be encouraged to work with other people who have different perspectives. This is especially easy to achieve if the students in the journalism education have diverse backgrounds themselves. If someone with, for instance, a listening disability is participating in a journalism course, this sensitizes the other participants especially to being attentive toward this particular form of diversity. Another example are classes with international students. In these classes, students coming from different countries may participate, resulting in a confrontation between the ideas of these students formed by their own national contexts of journalism production.

> For instance one student comes from Germany and the other comes from France. By making them work together and crossing their perspectives, you can open their mind on how they cover the news and how they need to include people. (Interviewee 3, France)

73.3.4.6 Working Together with NGO's

In other circumstances confrontation of students with diverse voices may not be as easy. A special good practice in this case may be to work together with NGO's who especially target diverse journalists or diverse audiences. An example may be the cooperation of a journalism education program with community media representing indigenous people.

> Interviewer: What is the initiative in journalism education that you're most proud of?
> Answer: We work with an NGO. They have been training editors and journalists across the world in countries where there is conflict and people cannot speak freely about issues in their society. They bring their own expertise. (Interviewee 8, UK)

73.3.4.7 Applying the Right Interview Techniques

Journalists who are currently being trained for interviewing people should also be aware of the fact that freely and openly asking questions to people is not that easy and accepted in every culture. The directness of Western interviewing might be less appreciated in non-Western cultures. Students should learn how to interview people from different cultural backgrounds. This may be of wider importance than just ethnical background, because not feeling at ease when interviewing people with a disability is another example.

> They did a workshop on how to report sensitively on indigenous people and indigenous issues. So the class was on paper a digital journalism class but the project that we did and the publication we worked on was on telling indigenous stories. (Interviewee 10, Canada)

73.3.4.8 Focusing on Alternative Diversity Dimensions

A special topic to be treated is a focus on social class differences. Many differences regarding diversity are on the agenda, such as age, ethnicity, religion, gender, disability, and sexual orientation. But many of the treated diversity topics tend to overlap with what was earlier called "social class differences." Nowadays Marxism is not as prominent on the agenda of education as it used to be once before, but the underlying phenomenon of class differences remains important. For instance, class differences and ethnic differences tend to overlap very often, while working journalists and students tend to stress the importance of culture and ethnicity too heavily.

> In the discussion, the gender and ethnicity focus has been emphasized, but the socio-economic dimension is at least equally important. The socio-economic diversity implies very often other forms of diversity. Class differences, as we would have called it in a Marxist framework, correlate very often with for instance ethnicity. (Interviewee 1, The Netherlands)

> One of the areas that is less focused on is class and social mobility, and that tends to cut across lots of other diversities. You might get women or people with different ethnic backgrounds coming forward, but if they are all middle class, we are ruling out a whole heap of people. (Interviewee 5, UK)

73.3.4.9 Raise the Quality of Public Discourse

Many can be used to promote diversity, including quota for people coming from a diversity background. The respondents have mixed feelings about the benefits of quota. They might be an interesting intermediary goal to enhance diversity, but in an ideal world quota would not have to exist. A better strategy is to work on public discourse, so that eventually the barriers for people with a diversity background would fade out, such as the barrier to participate in key sectors of society such as journalism and journalism education. Minorities are still underrepresented in newsrooms and journalism education.

> Sometimes I have to say quota might help, but the better solution is lively public discourse. Sometimes quota present a reference point, but nobody can say what the best or the correct reference point would be. (Interviewee 7, Germany)

> Quota may lead to a point that quality disappears, and we do things only because there are quota. (Interviewee 6, Rumania)

73.3.4.10 Produce a Mission Statement

Although words may not be enough, as has been said in the point on accreditation, it may be useful to integrate intentions in a mission statement of the journalism school. Another option could be a diversity charter, being a more explicit document on diversity goals of a journalism education program, next to a general mission statement with a broader scope.

> In any mission statement of a journalism program, as in any mission statement of a journalists union, a statement with how to deal with the diversity of the world is obviously a key issue. (Interviewee 7, Germany)

73.3.5 Diversity Issues that Need Extra Attention in Future Education Initiatives

73.3.5.1 The Speed of Journalism vs Slow News

Journalism needs to produce quick reporting. This forms a perennial part of journalism culture, but the development of the digital era has speeded up the process. Due to the availability of free online news, news that is paid for is always suffering from sharper deadlines. This can also be an opportunity because “slow news” can be

said to be the one form of news that still merits being paid for, but in general the time pressure on journalism may still be first and foremost a constraining factor, because reporting facts in a diverse way is most often reporting beyond what is immediately available. Nevertheless audiences become more diverse as well, and this may provide a new business model.

73.3.5.2 Market Orientation for Journalism Students

Journalism programs should promote diverse reporting and ideally get accreditation for doing so. They might promote an alternative form of journalism, but in the end journalism schools need to prepare journalism students for a job in journalism. These jobs will require more traditionally educated journalists adapted to the standard routines of journalism. Journalism schools might be judged according to the extent to which they lead young people to a job.

> This job allocation is really important, therefore a lot of courses focus on training, but what is lost, is a much more general understanding of the principles and the ethics of journalism. (Interviewee 9, Australia)

73.3.5.3 The Infeasibility of Acquired Diversity Reporting Skills

It is good that journalists learn how to report diversely, but you also need to focus on skills that are feasible within a traditional journalistic job. It may be very interesting to teach a form of journalism that transcends the diversity limits of current journalistic practice, but this has no use when once employed, young journalists discover that the skills demand time and resources that are simply not available on a day to day basis.

> We can teach anything we like to students, if they can't apply it in the workforce, what is the point of that knowledge? (Interviewee 8, UK)

73.3.5.4 Avoiding Focusing on Negativity

Journalism in the Western tradition has always overemphasized negative news. This risk is especially outspoken for the reporting of ethnic minorities, who tend to appear most often in the news "in trouble" or "as trouble." The highlighting of people of ethnic minority background in other than criminal situations can be an example of a solution-based journalism. Labels such as "constructive journalism" or "public journalism" can also be used to describe this development. It is important that journalism education programs develop more progressive and positive forms of journalism, because the ideas of young beginning journalists might influence the next generation. Seeing through the classic overstressing of negativity can also be part of a media literacy approach. Being "media literate" is also being sensitive toward the bias of traditional journalism. It makes sense to teach journalists the paradigm of "constructionism" in journalism as well, because having insight in the

social construction of all realities, including media reality, might lead to a sharpened feeling for pitfalls to be avoided when reporting issues concerning minorities.

> What I tend to observe today is that the debate on diversity tends to be less recognized or not considered as an important issue as it was before, due to many different reasons, but specifically due to the terrorist attacks and the migrant crisis and the debate in European societies. (Interviewee 3, France)

> We had a very long conversation in class about when news organizations use the word terrorism. A gunman murdered 9 man in a mosque and that was not called terrorism, but the guy in the car in London who hit the pedestrians on the London Bridge was called a terrorist. (Interviewee 10, Canada)

73.4 From Resemblance in Diversity Toward a More Diverse Approach

This exploratory survey research demonstrated that the importance of diversity issues for journalism education is considered high in Flanders. Although further survey research would be needed to test the hypotheses of the survey in other Western countries, the survey showed that especially journalism educators with a theoretical background (rather than a vocational background) and especially female journalism educators (rather than male journalism educators) want to see more diversity-oriented journalism education initiatives.

In-depth interviews with international journalism education specialists confirm the data from the survey inasmuch as a stress on the importance of diversity issues is reiterated. Especially the infusion approach, i.e., the integration of diversity education throughout the curriculum, is highlighted. Means supporting the infusion approach such as accreditation, the editing of a diversity plan (e.g., as part of a mission statement), and the importance of improving public discourse are emphasized throughout the interviews.

Another important focus in the in-depth interviews is on the necessity to improve journalism education through practical exercises. Journalists should undertake practical production exercises, work with other students from various backgrounds, work with societal organizations, and apply the interview techniques adapted to the people involved and the context.

The survey indicated that, at least with the Flemish case as an entry point, gender and ethnicity are the most treated diversity topics. Other cases might merit attention as well, and a particular point of interest is social class. It remains important, but is somewhat lower on the agenda as it used to be in the age of Marxism.

A major constraining factor for the development of diversity through journalism education is the features of contemporary journalism itself. Journalism needs to be fast and emphasizes negative news, and it is precisely in this context that the young journalists need to find a job; all these features may be a challenge for and in contradiction to their educationally acquired diversity reporting skills.

In all, this contribution shows the questions and issues that are on the agenda of journalism diversity education. Further empirical inquiries could show which aspects of the hereby demonstrated agenda are important in other Western but also non-Western countries.

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Institutionalization and Implosion of Communication for Development and Social Change in Spain: A Case Study

74

Víctor Manuel Marí Sáez

Contents

74.1 Introduction and State of the Question 1312
74.2 Methodological Strategy for Studying CDSC in Spain 1313
74.3 Historiographical Analysis: The Stages of CDSC in Spain 1315
74.4 A Brief Look at the Bibliometric Analysis of CDSC in Spain 1316
74.5 The Four Case Studies 1317
74.6 Discussion and Conclusions 1318
List of Pertinent Authors and Universities Publishing Papers on CDSC in the Top Ten Spanish Journals During the Period 2000–2015 1320
References 1321

Abstract

This chapter offers an overview of the institutionalization of the academic field of communication for development and social change (CDSC) in Spain in the twenty-first century, following a period of neglect and marginalization. The ongoing expansion of this field in the Spanish context is understood as a process of implosion, i.e., an inward collapse deriving from the inconsistencies and weaknesses of its tardy and hasty institutionalization.

A triple methodological approach has been implemented in this case study: (a) an historiographical analysis of the field of the CDSC in Spain, (b) a bibliometric analysis of the papers published on this subject in the main Spanish journals between 2000 and 2015, and (c) four significant and relevant Spanish case studies in this regard.

The results of this research basically point to (1) a late consolidation of the field in Spain, which has led to its implosion during its expansion and

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J. Servaes (ed.), *Handbook of Communication for Development and Social Change*,
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institutionalization stage (2011–to date); (2) a marginal production of scientific papers in comparison with the general academic production in the field of communication in Spain; (3) a certain subsidiarity in other more closely related fields (e.g., education for development) which has covered existing gaps and lacunas; (4) the fundamental role played by Spanish community radio; and (5) the potential of virtual communication spaces such as those deriving from the experience of the "Indignados" or 15-M movement (2011).

Keywords

Bibliometric analysis · Bibliometric research · Communication for development and social change (CDSC) · Epistemological framework · Institutionalization process

74.1 Introduction and State of the Question

The strategic importance of communication in solidarity organizations has gradually gathered steam over the past three decades. Diverse technological, communication, social, and political processes, which currently enable us to understand communication as an essential dimension of social and solidarity organizations, have contributed to this situation. This progressive relevance of communication in the field of social action and development has been accompanied by a wide array of theoretical-practical approaches from which communicative action is conceived. The majority of these approaches are dominated by imaginaries (Castoriadis 1987; de Certeau 1984) in which communication is reduced to a mere transmission of information or modification of the conduct of citizens which, generally speaking, is limited to an audience and consumer dimension.

However, communication for development and social change (hereinafter CDSC) is apt to frame the communicative reflection and action of solidarity organizations in contexts more coherent with the social goals championed by them and which allow us to identify the strategic role of communication in the process of transforming reality. In line with Enghel (2011), we believe that communication for development (Servaes 2002, 2008) and communication for social change (Gumucio 2001; Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte 2006; Tufte 2017) constitute different approaches that can serve to designate and characterize a field relating to the role of communication in the strategic efforts to overcome collective social challenges and to advance toward greater social justice.

Based on these premises, this chapter aims to describe the institutionalization process of CDSC in Spain after a long period of neglect and marginalization. As will be seen in greater detail below, in the past 25 years CDSC has gone through three major stages. After an initial stage of neglect and marginalization (during the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s), it entered a stage of emergence (from the mid-1990s to 2002), followed by a stage of institutionalization and implosion (from 2003 to date). The initial hypothesis is that CDSC' current

expansion or boom in Spain can be understood as an implosion, namely, as an internal rupture, due to its inconsistent and weak development during the institutionalization stage.

Some of the questions underlying this research include the following: If CDSC emerged in Spain in the twenty-first century, what is the point at issue? Or, in other words, to what questions – which still have not been answered sufficiently or consistently – does the institutionalization of CDSC respond in the Spanish context? What continuities or discontinuities are there between the trends observed in the Spanish case and those inherent to the field at an international level?

74.2 Methodological Strategy for Studying CDSC in Spain

In order to study and analyze CDSC in Spain, we have implemented a triple methodological strategy. This responds to the criterion of methodological triangulation, aimed at making research more accurate and consistent by integrating qualitative and quantitative methods with a view to covering the different dimensions of the reality under study more comprehensively. We will now briefly describe each one of the methodologies used in our study.

Firstly, we have reviewed the literature in the field, following the keys proposed by authors such as Erlandson (1993), McDonald and Tipton (1993), for whom "documents constitute a third source of evidence" (Erlandson 1993:99). The historiographical perspective of our work assumes that the social sciences are historical disciplines per se (Mills 1959).

In social research, the use of multiple sources of evidence (Stake 1995; Yin 2009) allows researchers to reflect the complexity of a specific phenomenon or case study. The three most habitual sources of evidence (Erlandson 1993; Ruiz de Olabuénaga e Ispizua 1989; Vallés 1999) are observation (first source of evidence), interviews (second source), and documentation (third source). In this respect, Vallés (1999) regards documentation as a methodological strategy for obtaining information to supplement that of the other two sources of evidence, inasmuch as this enables us to perform research that addresses historical reconstructions. All these elements have been taken into consideration in our study when using documentary analysis to conduct a historiographical study of CDSC in Spain.

To this end, we have reviewed the academic literature and documents describing the advent and institutionalization of CDSC in Spain. This review has been supplemented by secondary data produced by social organizations such as the Coordinating Committee of NGDOs, the *Red Estatal de Medios Comunitarios* (State Network of Community Media – ReMC), and the *Red de emisoras locales, públicas, alternativas y ciudadanas de radio y televisión de Andalucía* (Network of local, public, alternative and citizen radio and television broadcasters of Andalusia – EMA-rtv). The purpose of breaking the development of CDSC down into stages has been to identify those institutions, research groups, researchers, and social organizations that have been capable of using the approach to CDSC in Spain to stimulate research, formation, and/or action processes.

Secondly, we have implemented a strategic bibliometric methodology for reviewing papers on "communication, development and social change" published in the top 10 communication journals in Spain. The timeline of the bibliometric study (2000–2015) is justified by the inclusion in this period of the two main stages of CDSC in Spain (*emergence* and *institutionalization and implosion*) in order to be able to determine and compare their influence on bibliographical production. The sample employed in this research comprises 3782 papers to which has been applied an evaluation sheet that uses preliminary studies, especially those performed by Martínez Nicolás and Saperas (2016), as benchmarks. A series of concepts that serve as filters to identify the link between the papers on CDSC have been established, based on the presence of the following terms in their keywords and main texts: (1) communication for development, (2) communication for social change, (3) solidarity communication, (4) NGO/NGDO and communication, (5) third sector/audiovisual third sector; 6) community/citizen/alternative media, (7) social movement/ICT/society of information, (8) citizen movement/ICT/society of information, and (9) social/citizen/ICT participation.

Lastly, we have conducted case studies of four particularly representative CDSC communication experiences in Spain, chosen on the basis of the field's

Table 1 Case studies

Case	Type of organization	Stage of CDCS in Spain	Characteristics
IEPALA (Latin America and Africa Political Studies Institute)	Development research institute	Pioneer stage (1980–1994)	Institution playing subsidiary role in development research in the Spanish case
Communication, Education and Citizenship Forum	Activist, academic, NGO, and social movement network	Institutionalization and implosion stage (2003–to date)	First attempt to forge links between university experts and solidarity organizations in CDCS in Spain
Onda Color Radio	Community radio	Community media have been present during the three stages, so it would be a cross-sectional case	Community media are paradigmatic representatives of CDCS at an international level
Comunicambio	Facebook group linked to communication, development cooperation, and solidarity organizations	Institutionalization and implosion stage (2003–to date)	Social network groups emerging from the "Indignados" or 15-M Movement (2011)

Source: Own elaboration

historiographical and bibliometric analysis. For the theoretical fundamentals of the case studies, we have resorted to Coldevin (1986, 2008), Eisenhardt (1989), Yin (2009), and Snow and Trom (2002).

The four case studies (see Table 1) meet the following requirements: (1) each one of the three stages in which the history of CDSC is divided in Spain is represented; (2) the diversity of the social actors that have promoted this field of research in the country (development research institutes, activist networks, scholars and NGOs, community media, and, more recently, the "Indignados" or 15-M Movement) is described; and (3) the communication practices fostered by the case studies encompass the publication of books (IEPALA), the production of radio programs (Onda Color), website design (Communication, Education and Citizenship Forum), and techno-communicative practices in the digital space (Grupo Comunicambio on Facebook).

We will now take a look at the research results, setting out the different analytical techniques that have been implemented in chronological order.

74.3 Historiographical Analysis: The Stages of CDSC in Spain

For the sake of brevity, rather than offering a detailed description of the characteristic features of each one of the three stages of CDSC in Spain – (1) pioneers (1980–1994); (2) emergence (1994–2002); and (3) institutionalization and implosion (2003–to date) – we will provide a tentative overview (Table 2):

1. Firstly, the accent must be placed on the subsidiary nature gradually assumed by those institutions, fields of knowledge, and disciplines not directly associated with the epistemological framework created by CDSC at a global level, as in the case of institutes dedicated to issues such as international cooperation or education for development (including Hegoa, Etea, and IEPALA).
2. Secondly, what is remarkable is the *décalage temporal* of the introduction of the field of CDSC in Spain, compared with other geographically (Europe) or culturally closer (Latin America) contexts.
3. The *absence of academic spaces per se* in which to review international debates on CDSC, as well as the *dearth of solid research* offering an overview with which to reconstruct the field's history in the Spanish context.
4. The *tardy*, *sporadic*, and *weak ties with researchers and social activists promoting CDSC at an international level*. Notwithstanding the multiple ties that would have made it relatively easy for Spanish research to accommodate the most representative authors in the field of Latin American communicology (Kaplún 1998; Luis Ramiro Beltrán 1980; Juan Díaz Bordenave 1976; among others), the truth is that their presence and influence have been tardy and marginal. The same can be said about the field's key authors such as Servaes, Tufte, and Tacchi Servaes (2012, 2015).

Table 2 Stages of CDSC in Spain

Pioneer stage (1980–1994)	Emergence stage (1994–2002)	Institutionalization and implosion stage (2003–to date)
The NGO phenomenon: from marginality to popularization	Creation of the Institute of Communication (InCom) (Autonomous University of Barcelona – UAB, 1997) involving some of the field's international experts (Thomas Tufte, for example)	Basic research into the field of CDCS in Spain (Javier Erro, 2003, 2004)
Emergence of the first CDCS experiences, albeit fragmented and disperse	First rigorous scientific communication and NGO studies (Sampedro, Ariel Jerez, López-Rey)	Founding of the Communication, Education and Citizenship Forum (2006)
First studies and publications dealing with solidarity communication	Galvanizing role of the EMA-rtv network (local citizen radio and television broadcasters of Andalusia) in promoting congresses and actions consistent with CDCS	Institutionalization of CDCS in the field of research (EMA-rtv Congress 25th Anniversary McBride, 2005; Congress of the Spanish Association of Communication Research, 2011, dedicated to these issues)

Source: Own elaboration

74.4 A Brief Look at the Bibliometric Analysis of CDSC in Spain

Based on the aforementioned criteria, and after performing an analysis of the 3782 papers comprising the sample, it can be observed that a total of 24 papers meeting the established requirements, plus another 19 only partially so, have been published to date. Of these 24 papers, 19 have appeared in 4 journals: *Comunicar* (3), *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social* (3), *Telos* (5), and *CIC* (8). Only the first three have a name for publishing research papers on CDSC. None of them have an editorial line exclusively or preferentially focusing on CDSC, although they do indeed show a great affinity for the subject, due to the fact that their key thematic areas are associated with fields close to it, as in the case of media literacy or political communication.

In relation to the authors of papers on CDSC published in Spain (see list in Annex 1), first and foremost, the scant presence of international researchers who have served as touchstones for the field's construction can be observed. Furthermore, these authors include a significant number (7) of researchers linked to universities and institutions that have promoted and strengthened the field of CDSC in the country.

Bearing in mind the work of Jiménez and Arriola (2016), nonetheless, specific authors have indeed broached the field of development in papers on CDSC published in Spain. Based on the bibliometric research conducted by (Marí and Ceballos 2015), Jiménez and Arriola have performed a quantitative and qualitative study aimed at

Table 3 Development researchers cited more than once in papers on CDSC published in Spain

Author(s)	No. of citations	No. of cited publications	No. of publications citing them
Jan Servaes	9	7	6
Rosa María Alfaro	8	2	8
Raquel Martínez and Mario Lubetkin	6	3	4
Javier Erro	4	4	2
Jo Ellen Fair	4	3	1
Gilbert Rist	4	1	4
Amartya Sen	4	2	4
Alberto Acosta and Esperanza Martínez	3	1	3
Anthony Bebbington	3	3	1
Serge Latouche	2	2	2
Paolo Mefalopulos	2	2	2

Source: Arriola and Jiménez (2016)

identifying which development theories and reference authors dealing with these subjects have been used by communication researchers to support their claims. One of their most noteworthy conclusions is that, as a rule, a sufficiently solid state of the question still has not been established. Most of the papers published to date have lapsed into what we could call a *post-modern fragmentation* when framing their objects of study in the field's historical and research context. On the whole, such a contextualization has not been performed or has been fragmentary and deficient at the very most.

When reviewing the authors working in the field of development listed in Table 3, it is possible to detect a clear bias toward those linked to the post-development (Rist 2008), degrowth (Latouche 2010), or good living (Acosta 2011) currents, while at the same time, other theoretical positions and perspectives forming part of the field's history have been disregarded. For example, these omissions include the dependency theory originally developed by authors like Cardoso and Faletto (1979) and Baran (1957), to name but a few. Similarly, although the most cited authors include eminent international researchers (Servaes), there are also important oversights (Tufte 2006; Tacchi 2013; Wilkins 2013; and more besides).

74.5 The Four Case Studies

Lastly, the third research technique that we have employed to analyze CDSC in Spain has been the case study. The most significant results obtained from the four case studies performed here are as follows:

– On the whole, in all four cases, the pioneering social actors have implemented communication practices and initiatives with a far-reaching social impact in terms

of promoting development and social change, although the theoretical frameworks in which they are grounded (journalism, dissemination, or public relations, for instance) have not allowed their inherent transforming potential to be fully leveraged.
- In two of the case studies (Communication, Education and Citizenship Forum and the community radio station Onda Color), however, it has indeed been possible to identify a number of communication, development, and social change theories associated with the field's tradition (Servaes, Beltrán, Bordenave, etc.), to wit, as a social process affected by diverse mediations and linked to culture, with a marked pedagogical-liberating dimension (Freire 1970).
- All the cases have had strong ties with local and specific historical contexts of social change. In this connection, it could be claimed that, following the scheme of McQuail (1994), they are cases closer to *social centrism* than to *media centrism*. Thus, the centrality of the process in the history of each case has been crucial, this being understood in communicative, political, and educational terms (Barbas and Postill 2017).
- The Internet has been used in all four cases, although the strategies of technological appropriation employed have been patchy. This has meant that it has been impossible to reach intensive use levels of what Hamelink (2000) calls "informational capital" in all the cases. For him, this technological appropriation culminates when ICT and digital communication practices lead to the creation of knowledge that serves to transform reality. From this perspective, the highest levels of informational capital have been observed in the case of the community radio station Onda Color which has leveraged the Internet to foster media literacy processes, as well as establishing channels for dialogue and citizen and audience participation.

74.6 Discussion and Conclusions

In light of the above, the time has now come to discuss the research results and draw a series of conclusions. To this end, in relation to the objective of identifying the relevance of CDSC in Spanish research, we believe that it is more convenient to talk about an *implosion* than a *boom*. According to the *Oxford Dictionary*, an implosion is "an instance of something collapsing violently inwards," which to our mind better describes the current situation in which the field's internal dynamics are weaker than its external ones.

Specifically, we have used the term "implosion" here on several occasions to refer to the theoretical inconsistency and shortcomings of the field of CDSC in Spain. Consequently, now at a moment of relative expansion, its present and future substantiation and consolidation lack firm foundations. This can be seen in several aspects of which we will highlight two. On the one hand, there is the structural weakness of the elements defined by Martínez Nicolás (2016) which would put a field in the process of being institutionalized on a firmer footing: the institutional

context of production (universities, research groups, research networks) and the epistemological context (a field's substantiation and delimitation).

On the other, the rationales of academic production prevailing in the field of CDSC in Spain involve the subjugation of scientific production to commodity logic and to the intensive exploitation of the productivity of researchers in the short term. This second trend has a negative impact on knowledge construction processes and the theories sustaining them, since it ultimately favors those elements of reality that are easily measurable, in line with mainstream thought. In pragmatic terms, from a quantitative point of view, this had led to the predominance of metadata analyses in the case of bibliometric studies, which are necessary but insufficient if the intention is to identify the reading, comprehension, and citation rationales that we have analyzed here. Moreover, these dominant dynamics in contemporary academic production ultimately favor the use of functionalist theoretical frameworks in which the empiricist principle of analyzing what is "easily measurable and observable" displaces and marginalizes that of theories and methodologies that are more useful for critically analyzing the contradictions of reality, power structures, or the rationales of domination or submission in a specific academic field.

Furthermore, CDSC poses a great paradox. On the one hand, it is an approach whose terminology (*development* and *social change*) is insufficient to deal with problems of a sociopolitical nature. However, despite these difficulties, the theoretical and practical background of CDSC enables us to claim that this framework offers more possibilities to think about communication sociopolitically than other approaches to the study of third sector communications, such as social marketing and public relations, understood at least in conventional terms.

As has been seen, by comparing the structure of the field of CDSC in Spain with international trends in this regard, it can be noted that there has been a *décalage temporal* with respect to the introduction of the discipline's key authors and concepts. It has also been observed that this albeit tardy introduction has been patchy. Key international authors in the field do not appear in the theoretical references of the studies on CDSC that have been conducted in the Spanish context.

In short, CDSC has reached a critical point in Spain: even though it has developed, this growth is not sufficiently grounded in scientific production, institutional advancement, and epistemological development. How this critical situation is tackled through research, theorization, and practical action will have a crucial impact on the future success or failure of CDSC in Spain. There is potential for change: the ongoing cycle of social mobilizations commencing with the "Indignados" or 15-M movement in 2011, and worldwide with movements such as Occupy Wall Street, provides an opportunity to build significant bridges between researchers and activists – that is, an opportunity for praxis.

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List of Pertinent Authors and Universities Publishing Papers on CDSC in the Top Ten Spanish Journals During the Period 2000–2015

Journal	Author	University	Vol.	Year
1. *Revista Comunicar*	Thomas Tufte	University of Copenhagen, Denmark	26	2006
2. *Revista Comunicar*	Alejandro Barranquero Carretero	University of Malaga (UMA)	29	2007
3. *Revista Comunicar*	Sherri H. Culver, Thomas Jacobson	University of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA	39	2012
4. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*	Francisco Sierra Caballero	University of Seville (US)	26	2000
5. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*	Chiara Sáez Baeza	Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB)	64	2009
6. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*	Txema Ramírez de la Piscina Martínez	University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)	65	2010
7. *Telos. Cuadernos de Comunicación en Innovación*	José Marques de Melo	Methodist University of São Paulo, Brazil	51	2002
8. *Telos. Cuadernos de Comunicación en Innovación*	Luis Ramiro Beltrán Salmón	Researcher, Bolivia	72	2007
9. *Telos. Cuadernos de Comunicación en Innovación*	Manuel Chaparro Escudero	University of Malaga (UMA)	74	2008
10. *Telos. Cuadernos de Comunicación en Innovación*	Manuel Chaparro Escudero	University of Malaga (UMA)	81	2009
11. *Telos. Cuadernos de Comunicación en Innovación*	Manuel Chaparro Escudero	University of Malaga (UMA)	94	2013
12. *Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación*	Jan Servaes	University of Massachusetts, Amherst, USA	17	2012
13. *Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación*	Ana Fernández Viso	Institute of Communication – Autonomous University of Barcelona (InCom-UAB)	17	2012
		Charles III University (UC3M), Madrid	17	2012

(continued)

Journal	Author	University	Vol.	Year
14. *Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación*	Alejandro Barranquero Carretero			
15. *Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación*	Raquel Martínez-Gómez, Pinar Agudiez Calvo	Complutense University of Madrid (UCM)	17	2012
16. *Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación*	María Cruz Alvarado López	University of Valladolid (UVa)	17	2012
17. *Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación*	Eloísa Nos, Luís Amador Iranzo Montés, Alessandra Farné	Institute of Social Development and Peace (IUDESP) – Jaume I University (UJI), Castellón	17	2012
18. *Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación*	Julio César Herrero, Ana Toledo Chávarri	Camilo José Cela University (UCJC), Madrid	17	2012
19. *Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación*	Isidoro Arroyo	Rey Juan Carlos University (URJC), Madrid	18	2013
20. *Revista de Estudios en Comunicación ZER*	Víctor Marí	University of Cadiz (UCA)	22	2007
21. *Revista Ámbitos*	Francisco Collado Campaña	Pablo de Olavide University (UPO), Seville	17	2008
22. *Revista Comunicación Sociedad*	Summer Harlow, Dustin Harp	University of Texas at Austin, School of Journalism; University of Texas at Arlington, Department of Communication	26	2013
23. *Revista Estudio del Mensaje Periodístico*	María José Gámez Fuentes, Eloísa Nos Aldás	Jaume I University (UJI), Castellón	18	2012
24. *Revista Estudio del Mensaje Periodístico*	Concepción Travesedo de Castilla	University of Malaga (UMA)	19	2013

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A Sense of Community in the ASEAN

75

Pornpun Prajaknate

Contents

75.1 Introduction 1326
75.2 Sense of Community and Communication for a Sustainable Community 1327
75.2.1 Definition of Community 1327
75.2.2 Communication for a Sustainable Community 1328
75.3 Factors Predicting a Sense of Community 1329
75.4 Sense of Community in ASEAN and Its Predictors 1332
75.4.1 Perceived Sense of Community in the ASEAN 1332
75.4.2 Factor Predicting Sense of Community in the ASEAN 1332
75.5 Summary 1334
75.6 Future Directions 1336
Appendix 1: Survey from a Citizen of ASEAN's Member States 1337
References 1337

Abstract

The ASEAN Community was established in 2015 to achieve the three pillars of sustainable development: political security, economic, and sociocultural development. However, this is only the beginning of establishing a sense of community there. The question remains whether the ASEAN can reach its goals and whether the people will feel this sense of community. Understanding the factors that predict the development of a sense of community in the ASEAN can help answer this question. The survey results from 1200 citizens of the ASEAN member states provide insight for future regional communication campaigns, which may help to strengthen emotional connections, trust, and a sense of belonging to the ASEAN Community.

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Sense of community · ASEAN community · Multimedia campaigns

75.1 Introduction

One Vision, One Identity, One Community

This motto was stated by the Chairman of the 11th ASEAN Summit on December 12, 2005. Ten years after this statement, the ASEAN Community was formally established on December 31, 2015 (The ASEAN Secretariat Community Relations Division 2017a). Member states include Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam (The ASEAN Secretariat Community Relations Division 2017b).

Following the community's motto, three blueprints reflecting the three pillars of development were issued: (1) the ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint 2025 (AEC); (2) the ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint 2025 (APSC); and (3) the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint 2025 (ASCC) (Aekaputra 2011). By 2025, according to the ASEAN secretariat (2015), member states should be working together to achieve the vision of these three blueprints, including the following: (1) to strengthen an integrated economy, (2) to ensure peace and a strong shared sense of togetherness, and (3) to promote a sustainable community and a shared sense of ASEAN identity.

However, there is ample evidence that these visions have not yet been accomplished. Regarding the first pillar, the ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint 2025 (AEC), Rillo (2017) states that the ten member states have faced difficulties in achieving economic integration. The existing literature reveals that about half of the respondents in the extant studies engaged in small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in Cambodia and about 20% of the respondents working in manufacturing in Indonesia appeared to lack awareness of the AEC (Thangavelu et al. 2017; Anas et al. 2017). The SMEs in Lao were not seen to be closely linked to regional economic integration (Kyophilavong et al. 2017), and most of the SMEs in the Philippines have not recognized the impact of the AEC on their business performance (Aldaba 2017). Additionally, the Gen Y Malaysian population reported a strong sense of economic nationalism and at the same time the possibility of disagreement with the idea of regional economic integration in the ASEAN (Benny 2016).

As for the second pillar, the ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint 2025 (APSC), some member states have not yet achieved its vision of peace and security. Thailand's southern insurgency has also contributed to a sense of insecurity and distrust between the leaders of Thailand and Malaysia (Zha 2016, 2017; na Thalang 2017). With the last pillars, the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint 2025 (ASCC), the issues of humanitarian crises that have systematically crushed the ethnic minority and religious identity of the Rohingya, for example, have impeded the process of promoting ASEAN Community integration (Paik 2016).

As pointed out above, various problems still occur within this community. Therefore, the question remains whether the ASEAN Community can reach its visions and whether the people of the ten member states will feel this sense of community. To date, only one study has examined the sense of belonging to the ASEAN Community among its citizens, and it was discovered that about 75% of the respondents from the ten member states reported a moderate to strong sense of belonging to the ASEAN Community. Out of 2322 respondents, only 69 reported a very low sense of ASEAN citizenship and belonging (Intal and Ruddy 2017). However, no study has looked into the influence of communication factors on developing a sense of community in the ASEAN (Dawson 2006). Section 75.2 provides a comprehensive review of the literature and empirical research on the concepts and definitions of community across the disciplines of sociology, community psychology, and development communication. The roles of communication tools in community development are also discussed in this section. Section 75.3 explores the factors that predict a sense of community in a general context. The crucial factors that can enhance a sense of community in the ASEAN are identified in Sect. 75.4. Section 75.5 presents a concise summary of the key factors predicting a sense of community in the ASEAN. Finally, the future directions for member states in developing a sense of community in the ASEAN are proposed in Sect. 75.6.

75.2 Sense of Community and Communication for a Sustainable Community

75.2.1 Definition of Community

The definition of "community" is often ambiguous (Giddens and Sutton 2017). For several decades, sociologists, along with psychologists, have been working to construct a definition of "community" (Hutchison 2008). Attempts have been made to define "community" in the field of sociology. Hillery (1955), for example, examined 94 studies and found that the definition of community included three common elements: geographic area, social interaction, and common ties.

Community psychologists also have highlighted the importance of the sense of community (Hughey and Speer 2012; McMillan and Chavis 1986; Sarason 1976). Among the concepts discussed in this connection, the most prominent framework of the community is the idea of the "psychological sense of community" developed by McMillan and Chavis (Flaherty et al. 2014). The sense of community comprises four dimensions: (1) membership, (2) influence, (3) integration and fulfillment of needs, and (4) a shared emotional connection. The first dimension, *membership*, refers to a sense of belonging or personal relations, which has five elements: (1) boundaries, (2) emotional safety, (3) a sense of belonging and identification, (4) personal investment, and (5) a common symbol system. The second dimension, *influence*, is the perception of individuals of their contribution to the community and a sense of cohesion with people in the community. The third dimension,

integration and fulfillment of needs, refers to the perceived fulfillment of an individual's needs through the resources available in the community, such as membership status and the reputation of the community. The last dimension, *shared emotional connection*, is a bonding between people or a group with a shared emotional connection, history, place, time, experience, as well as spirituality (McMillan and Chavis 1986).

75.2.2 Communication for a Sustainable Community

The community concept can also be seen to have roots in the development of the communication approach. Servaes (2008) pointed out, for example, that communication for sustainable social change has become an influential paradigm, and from his standpoint, it is crucial to examine the "changes from bottom-up, from the self-development of the local community." Servaes and Malikhao (2016) further proposed five levels of communication strategies for development and social change as listed below:

(a) *Behavior change communication* (BCC): mainly interpersonal communication
(b) *Mass communication* (MC): community media, mass media, online media, and ICT
(c) *Advocacy communication* (AC): interpersonal and/or mass communication
(d) *Participatory communication* (PC): interpersonal communication, community media, and social media
(e) *Communication for structural and sustainable social change* (CSSC): interpersonal communication, participatory communication, mass communication, and ICT

In particular, Servaes and Malikhao (2014) have stated that CSSC should come to the forefront for the social and sustainable development of the ASEAN Community, and sustainable development should be accomplished via a combination of communication and other dimensions, including structural, organizational, cultural, demographic, sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and physical environmental factors. Furthermore, Servaes and his students (2016a) formulated sustainability indicators for evaluating the influence of communication on development projects. One of the indicators suggests investigating a variety of media, including face-to-face communication, print, radio, television, ICT, and mobile phone. Therefore, the next section will provide a review of the literature on the disadvantages and advantages of the media regarding community development and the role of each type.

The mass media, for example, have been criticized for being one-way communication oriented and for overestimating the importance of audience exposure to the mass media without considering the content or sources of messages (Melkote and Steeves 2015). Similarly, one of the disadvantages of community media is that they are small-scale organizations which fail to reach a large audience (Carpentier et al. 2003).

In contrast, social media and face-to-face communication have several advantages when compared to mass media and community media. Social media have been seen to foster the relationships between citizens and government organizations (Criado et al. 2017) and to provide opportunities for civic engagement and building trust among citizens, which leads to high trust in an institution (Warren et al. 2014). Likewise, face-to-face communication that focuses on receiver-oriented and horizontal communication is crucial for building a sustainable community. According to the communication for social change paradigm, it is important to build communication networks for sharing knowledge and information among key stakeholders, including academic scholars, communication practitioners, field-specific professional, NGOs, and community members (Servaes and Lie 2015). During their interaction period within networks, mutual trust and honesty have increased, and this has triggered information flows and true participatory action, which eventually leads to the success of the community building effort (Servaes and Malikhao 2008). Thus, focusing on the local community's viewpoint and building trust among the people in the community through collaboration between local and international stakeholders are crucial for reaching community sustainability (Servaes 2016b).

75.3 Factors Predicting a Sense of Community

The first predictor begins with the perceived physical environment, and several studies have demonstrated an association between this and the perceived sense of community. For example, it has been suggested that perceived neighborhood safety is positively associated with a sense of belonging to the community (Gonyea et al. 2017), and a safe physical environment, pedestrian facilities, and recreation areas have been seen to promote a sense of community (French et al. 2014). In particular, the sense of belonging among the citizens of the ten ASEAN member states has been seen to be derived from the geographical setting (Intal and Ruddy 2017).

Apart from the physical environment factor, there is also a social interaction factor that plays an important role in the prediction of a sense of community. Jabareen and Zilberman (2017) developed a social interaction methodological framework that emphasized the physical environment, transportation, and social interaction as predicting factors in promoting a sense of community. Evidence from previous studies also supports this framework; that is, the availability of public spaces can promote face-to-face interaction among people in communities (van den Berg et al. 2014). Likewise, Wood et al. (2010) found that communities with pedestrian-friendly streets strengthened the social interaction among residents.

Reid (2015) also found that the perception of living in a safe physical environment with common facilities increased opportunities for social interaction and enhanced the sense of community among the residents of multi-owned properties in Australia. Likewise, Seo and Lee (2017) demonstrated that the Crime Prevention

Through Environment Design project in Korea, which renovated the pedestrian environment for safety and established crime protection devices, increased the residents' perceived quality of the environment by 13.7–18.5%. As a result, the residents have increased their participation in several types of social activities, including social gathering and joining a children's playground. Consequently, their perceived sense of community rose by 5.4–7.9%. Thus, a high-quality physical environment, or the perception of living in one, can be seen to promote a sense of community through the availability of opportunities for formal and informal interaction between the members in the community.

The role of social interaction itself is also important. Drawing on McMillan and Chavis's sense of community concept, Garrett et al. (2017) proposed co-constructing a sense of community model which highlights the importance of the relationship between participating in community activities and the sense of community. According to this model, community members develop their sense of community through their interaction during daily routines and social events. For young people, engaging in sports and recreational and religious activities strengthens a sense of community and identification with the community (Cicognani et al. 2008).

In communities where various social activities have been organized, community members have plenty of opportunities to spend time together. Consequently, they are able to develop social connectedness, neighborhood-based friendships, and social relationships with other people in the community (Lenzi et al. 2013). Along the same lines, the results of previous study have demonstrated that leisure activities, sports, and cultural activities have been seen to significantly predict the social connectedness of older people through social gatherings with family and friends from within and outside the neighborhood (Toepoel 2013).

A more specific social gathering has been discussed by Rosenthal et al. (2007), who stated that people that report spending time with others through religious activities have a higher level of perceived connectedness to the people in the city than those that have not participated in any activities because they know their source of emotional support. Similarly, Sohi et al. (2017) found that the more that people participate in ritual activities, the more likely they are to have a greater sense of community. Because the members of a ritual community have worshiped together, they are bonded together. Thus, their sense of membership and a shared emotional connection are developed.

Another factor that previous studies have highlighted as a possible determinant of the sense of community has to do with the information from different sources – there is evidence that community members develop their sense of community through the information gathered from the various sources of media in the community. For instance, a case study of the success a local initiative against the carbon dioxide capture and geological storage in a Canadian community demonstrated the importance of information sources in developing a sense of community. Boyd (2017) investigated this case and found that strong community attachment was one element of a sense of community that was derived from the communication networks in the community. Sharing cooperative connectedness, gathering information through online media and mass media, and disseminating the information via face-to-face

communication helped the community members succeed in their opposition to the carbon dioxide capture system in this Canadian community.

Information sources such as face-to-face communication, participatory communication, ICT, and mass communication have been viewed as crucial tools for sustainable social change (Servaes 2017). Out of these tools, online media, such as digital media and mobile phones, have become prominent forms of communication for social change projects (Servaes and Lie 2015). ICTs help people develop social contact with friends and family, enhance economic performance, and increase the sense of security and peace (Baqir et al. 2011). It was for this reason that Hoffman (2017) suggested distributing information concerning community activities across social media channels (e.g., Twitter and Facebook) in order to enhance the perception of the importance of community service activities and to strengthen the sense of connectedness with the community. Another tool that has been posited to serve community development is community media (Carpentier et al. 2003), which are accessible sources of information, education, and entertainment for the local community, according to Berrigan (1979).

The role of information sources in community development is crucial in many ways, not only for sustainable social change but also for fostering a sense of community. Friends and radio were the desired sources of information that were able to establish a sense of community among Trinidadians and Jamaicans living in Washington, D.C. The more that information was gathered from friends at work, meetings, and with the telephone, the more were the immigrants likely to have a greater sense of community. Thus, exposure to online media, community media, mass media, and face-to-face communication are one of the factors that predict a sense of community (Regis 1988).

In order to understand the sense of community in the ASEAN, a prediction model is proposed. As shown in Fig. 1, the perceived sense of community among the citizens of the ASEAN Community may be a result of the perceived physical environment, social interaction, and exposure to information sources.

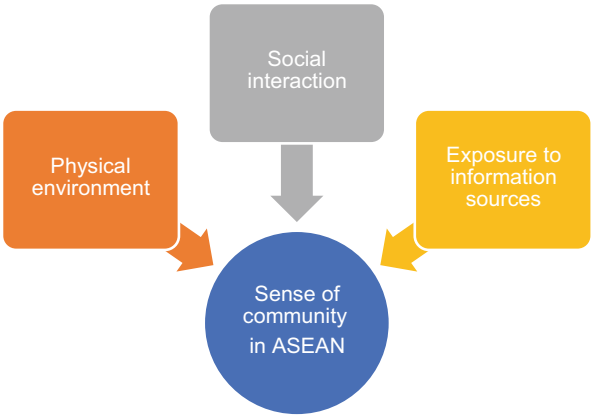

Fig. 1 Predictors of a sense of community in the ASEAN

75.4 Sense of Community in ASEAN and Its Predictors

To explore the factors that predict a sense of community among the citizens of the member states (Fig. 1), a survey was conducted in six provinces across three geographical regions of Thailand: the northeast, north, and south. These setting are unique and located along three special border economic zones, including the Thailand-Laos border, the Thailand-Malaysia border, and the Thailand-Myanmar border. According to the Official Statistics Registration System of Department of Provincial Administration (2015), the total size of the populations in the 6 selected provinces was 5,358,866, comprising Chiang Rai (1,282,544), Tak (631,965), Nakhon Phanom (716,873), Nong Khai (520,363), Songkhla (1,417,440), and Narathiwat (789,681). A total of 1200 respondents residing in 6 selected provinces were recruited to fill out the survey, employing the quota sampling method with a proportional allocation of 400 samples for each region. Each of the predictors is explored. An exploration of perceived sense of community in the ASEAN and its predictors are demonstrated below.

75.4.1 Perceived Sense of Community in the ASEAN

The citizens of the member states have a strong sense of community in the ASEAN (Mean = 3.54). Further examining the sense of community dimensions, the highest average score went to "membership" with a mean score of 3.65. The membership questionnaire items that measured the feeling of who is a part of the ASEAN community and a recognition of the common symbol system received a higher mean score than all others. The lowest average score went to the integration and fulfillment of needs dimension with a mean score of 3.46. The lowest-scoring question item assessed whether the ASEAN community would succeed in fulfilling the needs of its citizens. (Appendix 1, Table 2).

75.4.2 Factor Predicting Sense of Community in the ASEAN

The perception of the citizens of the ASEAN member states toward border environmental features, such as cross-border connecting roads, public transportation, and commercial areas, was high, with a mean value of 3.54, 3.49, and 3.48, respectively (Fig. 2).

Regarding their social interaction with people that were residing in ASEAN member states, the citizens of the ASEAN Community were more likely to exchange greetings (e.g., "hello" and "smile") than to engage in cross-border spiritual activities, have conversations, and get together with friends (Fig. 3). In addition, the citizens of the member states reported that their main sources of information about the ASEAN Community were online media such as websites, Google, Line, Facebook, and YouTube. The second most common information source for exposure

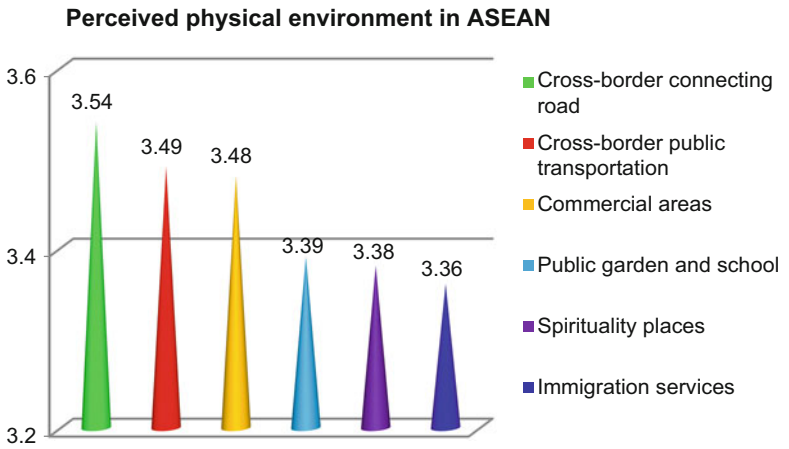

Fig. 2 Perceived physical environment in the ASEAN. (Data were collected for this study**.** The respondents were asked to rate the items using a five-point Likert scale, measured on the basis of a 7-item questionnaire derived from Cerin et al. (2009).)

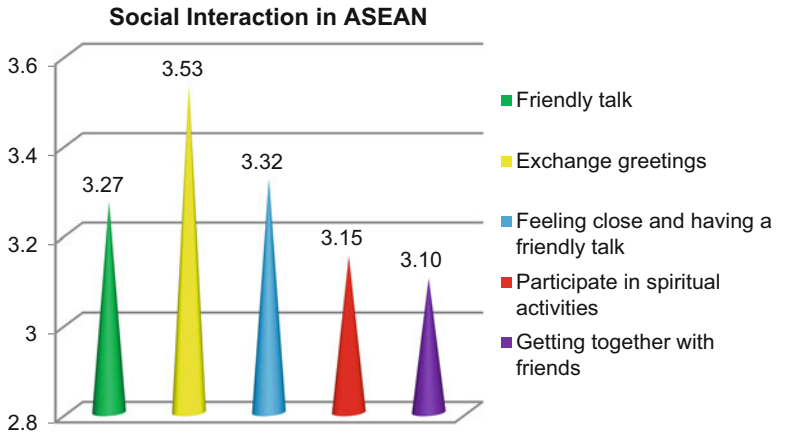

Fig. 3 The level of social interaction among the citizens of the ASEAN Community. (Data were collected for this study**.** The respondents were asked to rate the items using a five-point Likert scale. The 5-item questionnaire on perceived social interaction was adapted from Mendes de Leon et al. (2009).)

was the mass media, followed by community media. The least-used information source was face-to-face communication, which scored on average 3.35 (Table 1).

As shown in Fig. 4, the model for predicting a sense of community in the ASEAN was developed using the stepwise regression technique. The analysis showed that the combination of perceived physical environment, social interaction, exposure to face-to-face communication, and exposure to online media explained 58.7% of the perceived sense of community ($R^2 = .587$) (Appendix 1, Tables 2, 3). The

Table 1 Exposure to information sources among the citizens of the ASEAN Community

Information sources	Mean
Online media (websites, Google, Line, Facebook, and YouTube)	3.81
Mass media (television, radio, newspapers, and magazines)	3.55
Community media (cable television, community radio, and local newspapers)	3.51
Face-to-face communication (family, teachers, government officers, and community leaders)	3.35

Source: Data were collected for this study. The respondents were asked to rate their level of exposure to information sources on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "highest level of exposure" to "lowest level of exposure"

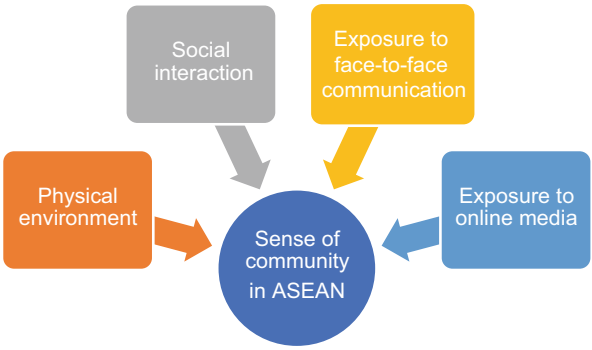

Fig. 4 Predictors of a sense of community in the ASEAN

standardized coefficients for perceived physical environment ($\beta = .360$; $p < .001$), social interaction ($\beta = .309$; $p < .001$), exposure to face-to-face communication ($\beta = .171$; $p < .001$), and exposure to online media ($\beta = .136$; $p < .001$) were significant. This explained that these factors were variables that predicted the perceived sense of community in the ASEAN. The strongest predictive contribution was the perceived physical environment variable ($R^2 = .459$; $R = .678$); however, exposure to community media and mass media did not significantly predict the perceived sense of community.

75.5 Summary

This is just the early period of establishing the ASEAN Community. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the sense of what the ASEAN Community is and the social interaction and media exposure among the citizens of the community so that the ten member states can accomplish the three-pillar visions. This study provides an understanding of the sense of community in the ASEAN.

The perceived physical environment was the strongest predictor of the perceived sense of community in the ASEAN, accounting for 45.9%. The citizens of the ASEAN Community perceived that they could easily commute across the borders

of the ASEAN member states using individual and public transportation for the purposes of education, business, and ritual practices. Thus, living in a community with a "walkable" space, a recreation area, and high availability of public transportation engenders a real sense of community (Francis et al. 2012; Gonyea et al. 2017; Wood et al. 2010; French et al. 2014). The member states of the ASEAN Community are obviously situated in close proximity, and this leads to an increase in the sense of belonging (Intal and Ruddy 2017).

In particular, public spaces and facilities can promote social interaction among the people in communities (van den Berg et al. 2014). A sense of community is developed after engaging in social interaction and social activities in the community (Garrett et al. 2017; Cicognani et al. 2008). The more people engage in spiritual activities, the more likely they are to have a greater sense of community (Rosenthal et al. 2007; Sohi et al. 2017). The physical environment, together with the social interaction variables, explained 54.2% of the perceived sense of community: greater accessibility to transportation, infrastructure, and public facilities led to a higher level of engagement in social activities on the part of the ASEAN Community citizens. Social interaction such as friendly talk with people from member states, exchange greetings, and participating in spiritual practices can enhance their sense of community in the ASEAN.

Exposure to face-to-face communication and online media were also found to predict the sense of community in the ASEAN. As emphasized by Servaes and Malikhao (2014), the communication for sustainable social change (CSSC) should be central to the sustainability development initiatives of the ASEAN Community, and in particular, the current study demonstrated that face-to-face communication is one of the crucial information sources for strengthening a sense of belonging to this greater community. Moreover, Servaes and Lie (2015) have stated that communication networks including academic scholars, NGOs, and community members are drivers of social change: as information regarding community development is exchanged during social interactions, mutual trust is established, and, consequently, a community is developed sustainably (Servaes and Malikhao 2008; Servaes 2016b). Additionally, social media channels (e.g., Twitter and Facebook) and ICTs are crucial tools for fostering relationships between citizens and government agencies (Criado et al. 2017; Warren et al. 2014) and for strengthening a sense of connectedness with the community and developing a sense of security (Hoffman 2017; Baqir et al. 2011).

In spite of the fact that the citizens of the member states have a high level of exposure to mass media and community media, these factors failed to predict the perceived sense of community within the ASEAN. This may be explained by the weaknesses of these types of media: the mass media focus too heavily on one-way communication but ignore content (Melkote and Steeves 2015), and the community media have low capability to reach large audiences (Carpentier et al. 2003).

According to the idea of Servaes and Malikhao (2014), sustainable social change is not only the result of exposure to the media; it can also be achieved through the integration of communication factors and other factors such as the perceived

physical environment. The model that is the most successful predictor of the perceived sense of community must include the perceived physical environment and exposure to online and other media.

The citizens of the member states recognized the beginning of the establishment of the ASEAN Community through their exposure to face-to-face communication and online media. In dealing with community issues, the members of the community tended to obtain information from different sources. They then passed this information through face-to-face interaction, and this in turn created strong community attachment and a sense of community (Boyd 2017). Thus, the more frequently that the respondents were exposed to these information sources (e.g., face-to-face communication and online media), the more was information regarding the ASEAN Community distributed and the more this led to social interaction. Additionally, the respondents live close to other ASEAN member states along the borders, and this close proximity increases opportunities for social interaction and eventually develops a sense of belonging to the greater community.

75.6 Future Directions

The ten member states of the ASEAN Community have faced challenges in accomplishing the visions of the three pillars. It is important to gain insight into the key factors that can predict the ASEAN citizens' sense of community. As mentioned, the geographical proximity advantage was seen to be a major predictor of this sense of community; however, the communication aspects, such as the social interaction among the citizens of member states, along with exposure to online media and face-to-face communication, were also seen to be crucial keys in fostering a sense of community.

This study suggests future directions for exploration. Given the partial roles of exposure to online media and face-to-face communication, emphasis should be placed upon the use of online media (e.g., websites and Facebook Fan Pages) as a major tool for the promotion of the ASEAN Community's visions in fostering integration and trust among its citizens. Along with online media, the ten member states should convey information regarding these visions through government officers, community leaders, teachers, and local people because they are the most important sources of information in many border communities in the ASEAN Community. Although in this study exposure to the mass and community media was not seen to effectively predict the perceived sense of community, these cannot be dismissed as unimportant channels for the ASEAN Community Awareness Campaigns. As the final level of strategic communication for sustainable development is communication for sustainable social change (CSSC), this suggests incorporating interpersonal communication, participatory communication, mass communication, and ICT into development communication campaigns (Servaes and Malikhao 2014).

Appendix 1: Survey from a Citizen of ASEAN's Member States

Table 2 Mean for the perceived sense of community in the ASEAN

Perceived sense of community in the ASEAN	Mean
Membership	3.65
Influence	3.50
Integration and fulfillment of needs	3.46
A shared emotional connection	3.50
Total	3.54

Sources: Data were collected for this study. The respondents were asked to rate the items using a Likert scale. The questionnaire on the perceived sense of community was adopted from Chavis et al. (2008). Permission to use this questionnaire was obtained from Community Science.

Table 3 Model summary of linear stepwise regression analysis

	SOC	PE	SI	O	F	M	b	β	SR^2 incremental
PE	0.678						0.347***	0.360	0.459
SI	0.674	0.683					0.270***	0.309	0.084
O	0.369	0.304	0.265				0.130***	0.171	0.027
F	0.493	0.383	0.487	0.247			0.082***	0.136	0.016
M	0.364	0.328	0.299	0.227	0.592		–	–	–
C	0.335	0.341	0.353	0.329	0.515	0.611	–	–	–
							Intercept		0.710***
Mean	3.541	3.446	3.278	3.811	3.354	3.512			
SD	0.669	0.694	0.766	1.106	0.878	0.846			
							R^2		0.587
							R^2_{adj}		0.585
							R		0.766***

SOC sense of community, *PE* physical environment, *SI* social interaction, *E* exposure to information sources, *F* face-to-face communication, *O* online media
***$p < 0.00$

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Part XII

Case Studies

Entertainment-Education in Radio: Three Case Studies from Africa

76

Kriss Barker and Fatou Jah

Contents

76.1 Introduction 1344
76.2 Background 1344
76.2.1 Theoretical Underpinnings 1344
76.2.2 Program Development 1345
76.2.3 Research-Based Programs 1345
76.2.4 Formative Research 1345
76.2.5 Service Points Monitoring 1346
76.2.6 Summative Evaluation 1346
76.2.7 Case Studies 1346
76.3 Conclusion 1352
References 1352

Abstract

This chapter presents the findings from three radio dramas in Africa (Nigeria, Burundi, and Burkina Faso) developed using Population Media Center's unique entertainment-education methodology.

Each case study is presented in detail, including background on the country or region where the program was implemented, a description of the program design, and highlights of the results obtained by the program in question.

Keywords

Entertainment-education · Social and behavioral change communication · Behavior change · Case studies · Africa · Nigeria · Burundi · Burkina Faso

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76.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from radio programs in three African countries that were developed using a specific entertainment-education methodology, applied by Population Media Center (PMC). Over its 20-year history, PMC has developed over 50 entertainment-education serial dramas in over 54 countries, reaching over 500 million people worldwide.

76.2 Background

Radio serial dramas using entertainment-education have been shown in numerous settings to increase use of family planning, increase spousal communication about fertility and family planning, motivate HIV testing, and change attitudes toward girls and women (Piotrow et al. 1990; Nariman 1993; Rogers et al. 1999; Ryerson 2010; Bertrand and Anhang 2006; Singhal et al. 2004; Smith et al. 2007; Vaughan and Rogers 2000; Westoff and Bankole 1997; Barker 2012). Though "the mass media alone seldom effect individual change" (Papa et al. 2000, p. 33), it can influence social norms and stimulate community dialogue and discussion on important social and health topics (Papa et al. 2000; Rogers et al. 1999; Vaughan and Rogers 2000). As a result, even those who have not tuned into a program can examine previously held beliefs, consider options, and identify steps to adopt novel behaviors and attitudes attained through interactions and discussions with the primary audience of an entertainment-education drama (Rogers 2004).

76.2.1 Theoretical Underpinnings

Audiences across the globe have experienced such transformations thanks in part to the use of PMC's entertainment-education methodology which is based on an integrated multidisciplinary theoretical framework that uses a long-running serial drama format (Nariman 1993). A long-running format lends to audience behavior change because it allows time for (1) audience members to identify with characters, (2) characters to change their own attitudes at a believable pace, and (3) audience members to test the attitudinal and behavior changes themselves (Ryerson 2010). Each aspect of a PMC methodology drama is developed according to a theoretical and empirical research-based formula in order to reinforce a coherent set of interrelated values that is tied to specific prosocial behaviors. Social cognitive theory (SCT) and other theories in entertainment-education (Barker 2012; Sood et al.2004) play a prominent role in the PMC methodology via the use of role-modeled behaviors. According to SCT theory, learning can occur via mediated role models who inspire increased confidence or self-efficacy to perform a specific behavior. Not only can new behaviors be learned from such models, but many cognitive and affective responses to a behavioral situation can be learned as well (Bandura 1986).

76.2.2 Program Development

The PMC methodology for developing dramas for social change is a well-tested entertainment-education methodology, based on role modeling rather than dictating. PMC-style dramas consist of positive, negative, and transitional characters to model behaviors, with the latter characters being crucial to the promotion of positive behavior change. Characters may begin these long-running series exhibiting the antithesis of the values being promoted, but through interaction with other characters, twists, and turns in the plot, and sometimes even outside intervention, they come to see the value of the program's underlying messages. The audience observes the positive benefits enjoyed by these characters resulting from their new attitudes and behaviors and is motivated by their emotional ties with these characters to adopt similar values. The high entertainment value of such dramas leads to widespread popularity and significant audience share. The resulting large audience following along each week, adjusting their behaviors and values, make this approach the most cost-effective method of behavior change communications, on a per-behavior change basis.

Good dramas have to be local and relatable. PMC hires and trains local producers, writers, directors, and actors to create social and behavior change communication (SBCC) programs that are culturally sensitive and appropriate on radio or TV in the form of a serial drama. The issues addressed in each program are based on the concerns and policies of the host country and the findings of thorough research on the values, norms, and customs of the people of that country.

76.2.3 Research-Based Programs

PMC's methodology for developing social content serial dramas is grounded in thorough research (qualitative and quantitative research), which is conducted prior to (formative), during (monitoring), and after the program (summative evaluation). PMC contracts with independent local research firms to conduct all research activities for its programs.

76.2.4 Formative Research

Cognizant of countries' diversity in culture, values, languages, media markets, and constantly changing contexts, PMC dramas begin with extensive formative research based on qualitative approaches. Focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews are conducted within the community to identify health and social processes of concern and to assess potential audience members' attitudes toward these issues. The formative research also helps to identify country laws and policies and the availability of health, social, and environmental services that are critical to any social behavior change program. It also assesses media habits and ideal listening/viewing times of potential audience members and includes a pretest of preliminary versions of the first four episodes of the drama. Thus the formative research enables the creative

team to design appropriate, realistic, and credible characters, settings, and story lines that are realistic and engaging to members of the target audience. Local staff establishes a production advisory committee to assure high-quality and appropriate content of the program.

76.2.5 Service Points Monitoring

Quantitative monitoring surveys of service points around the final quarter of a drama broadcast are one of several monitoring activities that PMC employs. The objectives of the clinic monitoring research are to evaluate (1) whether the drama program influenced listeners in the broadcast areas to seek services (health, social, or environmental) that were promoted by the program and (2) the popularity of the drama. The contracted local research firm conducts the survey with a convenience sample of service points drawn from both urban and semi-urban/rural segments of the broadcast areas, including government-operated, private, and nongovernmental organization (NGO) service points. Clients are randomly selected as they exit the facilities and interviewed on (1) their motivation to seek services that day, (2) whether they listen to the drama or not, and (3) whether people in their community/village listen to the drama or not.

76.2.6 Summative Evaluation

The summative or end line evaluation is conducted at the end of broadcast and draws on a mixed-methods (quantitative and qualitative) approach to assess the impact of the drama. Primary data collection for the quantitative end line survey includes individual face-to-face interviews with a statistically representative sample of the target audience. The purpose of the end line survey is to generate information on socioeconomic, demographic and health, and environmental indicators that can be used for measuring progress in achieving project objectives and to evaluate the overall impact at the end of the project period. An additional exposure module that contains questions about frequency of listening, appeal, and character recognition is included in the survey instrument. The impact of the drama is determined by making statistical comparisons between respondents who report listening to the program versus those who did not on key indicators controlling for potentially influential sociodemographic factors. Exposure to a drama is the independent variable and is derived from respondents that listened to a drama one or more times weekly.

76.2.7 Case Studies

76.2.7.1 Nigeria: *Ruwan Dare* (Midnight Rain)

Nigeria is one of the most unique, and most challenging, countries in the world. It is the most populous country in Africa (Population Reference Bureau 2018), and its

borders encircle peoples of many different ethnicities, cultures, and languages. The states of northern Nigeria, which are remote and desolate, have historically been a difficult place to work, especially for social service and development agencies. However, it is here that one finds the poorest health and socioeconomic indicators in Nigeria (NPC and ICF Macro 2009). PMC produced *Ruwan Dare* (Midnight Rain) in Nigeria. This 208-episode radio serial drama aired July 2007 through July 2009 in four northern states in Hausa, the most widely spoken and understood language in that area. It was also rebroadcast from July 2009 through November 2010. In addition to the radio serial drama, PMC used its whole society strategy to create a radio talk show aimed at engaging listeners. The radio talk show allowed people to phone in and talk about the issues addressed in *Ruwan Dare*.

The northwest region of the country, including Kano, Kaduna, Katsina, and Sokoto states, was identified as the target region for broadcast because this region has the lowest levels of knowledge of contraceptive methods, ever use of contraceptives, education, and exposure to family planning messages in Nigeria. These states also have the highest fertility rates, largest desired family size (between six and ten children), highest population growth rates, and highest rates of unmet need for contraception in Nigeria (NPC and ICF Macro 2009).

Clinic Monitoring

To monitor the effects of the program on listeners' behaviors, PMC established 11 clinic research sites in the 4 states and conducted 4 rounds of clinic exit interviews with a purposive sample of new clinic clients. Results found *Ruwan Dare* increasingly motivated new clients to seek family planning and reproductive health services with the last round of interviews indicating that 67% of new clients named *Ruwan Dare* as the direct or indirect source of influence to seek family planning and/or reproductive health services for the first time.

Impact Evaluation

Multivariate analysis that controlled for influencing factors of age, marital status, urban/rural location, education, and sex revealed that exposure to the program had an impact on listeners.

Figure 1 presents results of the evaluation in adjusted odds ratios derived from multivariate analysis. Results found that *Ruwan Dare* impacted several of the indicators measured in the evaluation, including knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors. In terms of behaviors, listeners were 2.4 ($p \leq 0.05$) times as likely as non-listeners to say they "currently use something to delay or avoid pregnancy" and listeners were 1.7 ($p \leq 0.05$) times as likely as non-listeners to say they "discuss family planning with others." Similarly, attitudes relating to attitudes were impacted by the drama, especially the indicators measuring gender attitudes/women's empowerment. Thus, attitudinal indicators (four in all) were the most impacted followed by behaviors (two indicators), with knowledge indicators being the least impacted. These results are promising given that a change in attitudes precedes any form of behavior change.

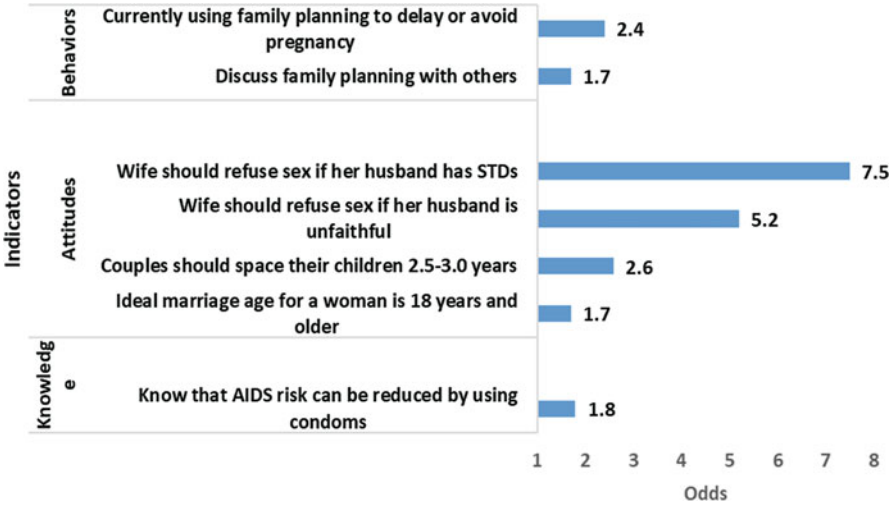

Fig. 1 Multivariate effects of listening to *Ruwan Dare*, 2009 adjusted odds ratios comparing listeners and nonlisteners at least $p \leq 0.05$

Ruwan Dare was not only successful in changing behaviors and attitudes, but it was also one of PMC's most cost-effective dramas. With 70% of the population in the broadcast area listening, *Ruwan Dare* proved to be a remarkably popular series. After adjusting for age (using 2007 state-level census estimates for Nigeria), it was determined that approximately 12.3 million people in the four states listened to *Ruwan Dare*. It catalyzed 1.1 million new family planning users with 60% of listeners agreeing that *Ruwan Dare* was both "entertaining and educational." The cost per listener was calculated to be $0.08 US cents, and the cost per behavior change (new adopter of family planning) was only $0.30 US cents.

76.2.7.2 Burundi: *Agashi* (Hey, Look Again!)

Burundi is a small landlocked country in East Africa, about two-thirds the size of Switzerland with a population of about ten million (PRB 2017). Today, Burundi is one of the five poorest countries in the world (World Bank 2017), and the Population Institute has ranked Burundi the fourth most vulnerable state in their 2015 Demographic Vulnerability Report. Burundi's annual population growth rate is 3.21%, which, if unchanged, means its population is projected to double in 22 years. PMC produced *Agashi* ("Hey! Look Again!") in Burundi. This 208-episode radio serial drama aired from January 2014 to January 2016 in Kirundi, Burundi's national language.

Clinic Monitoring

Figure 2 shows the results of two rounds of exit surveys that were conducted in randomly selected facilities in September 2014 (Round 1) and from September to October 2015 (Round 2). Sixty percent of 1,224 clinic clients surveyed reported

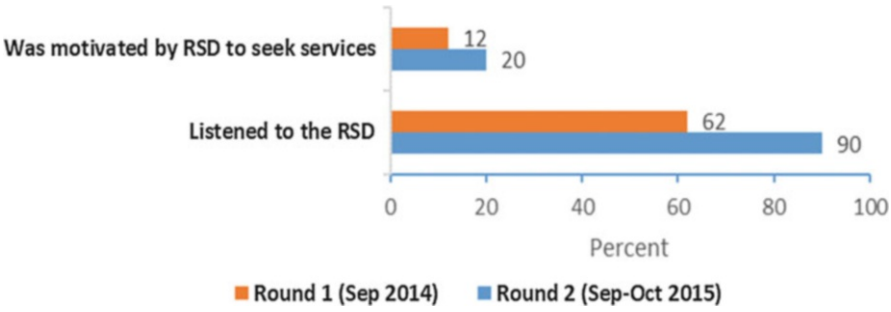

Fig. 2 Clinic monitoring survey of FP/RH services Burundi radio serial drama, *Agashi* 1.0

listening to *Agashi*; this figure increased to 90% of 1,236 clients surveyed in 2015. In 2014, 12% of the 1,244 clients surveyed cited the program as their primary motivation for attending the clinic; this figure increased to 20% of clients in 2015, meaning that 1 in 5 clients sought health services as a result of the program (see Fig. 2).

Impact Evaluation

Figure 3 shows the effects of the Burundi radio serial drama *Agashi* in adjusted odds ratios from multivariate analysis. Like *Ruwan Dare*, *Agashi* impacted many indicators measured in the evaluation, including indicators not only in the knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors categories but also an indicator in the self-efficacy category (see Fig. 3).

In terms of behaviors, listeners were 2 ($p \leq 0.007$) times more likely than non-listeners to say they treated childhood diarrhea with homemade oral rehydration solution (ORS) recommended by government and 1.7 ($p \leq 0.025$) times more likely than non-listeners to say they visited a health facility for information on the secondary effects of family planning in the past 12 months. Regarding self-efficacy, listeners were 1.7 ($p \leq 0.007$) times more likely than non-listeners to say they can confidently negotiate condom use with their sexual partner. Unlike *Ruwan Dare* where attitudinal indicators were the most strongly impacted, the most strongly impacted indicators by *Agashi* fall under the knowledge category (bottom of Fig. 3).

The evaluation also found *Agashi* to be very popular and cost-effective. Eighty-one percent listened to the series at least once weekly, which translates into an estimated national audience size of 2.25 million Burundians. The cost per listener of $0.74 cents (US) is higher than found for *Ruwan Dare* but still cost-effective, and the average cost per behavior change (over five behaviors) attributable to *Agashi* is $6.70 (US). Cost per adopter of voluntary HIV testing is $1.13 (US) and per adopter of ORS is $2.11 (US).

76.2.7.3 Burkina Faso: *Yam Yankré* (The Choice) and *Here S'ra* (The Road to Happiness)

Burkina Faso is a country approximately the size of New Zealand with a population of almost 16 million located in West Africa. The fertility rate in Burkina Faso is the

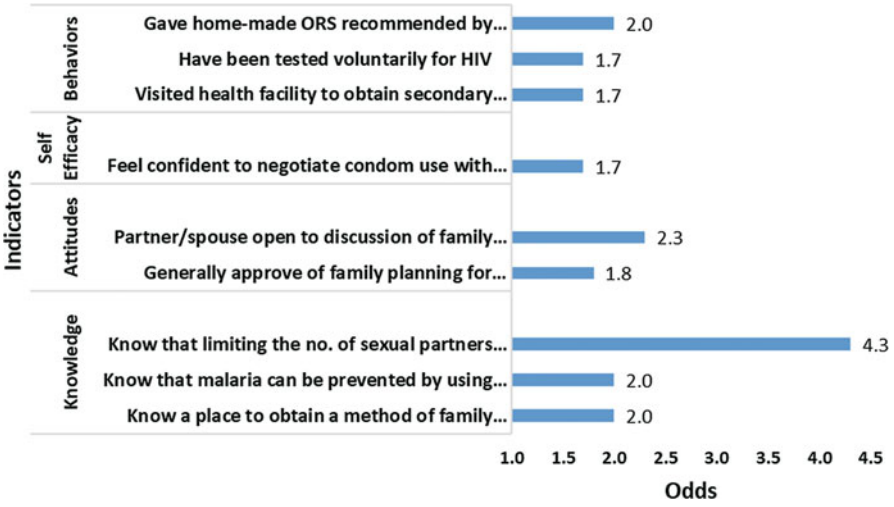

Fig. 3 Multivariate effects of listening to *Agashi*, 2015 adjusted odds ratios comparing listeners and nonlisteners at least $p \leq 0.05$

seventh highest in the world (PRB 2017), driven by large family size. In general, men and women want large families, but 24% of married women ages 15–49 reported that they would like to space or limit births, but they're not currently using any method of family planning (INSD and ICF 2012). The top reasons married women cited for not using a modern method of contraception are the desire for more children (18%); personal, partner, or religious opposition (17%); fear of health effects (10%); and not knowing a method or a source (10%). Cost is cited by 2.5%, and lack of access is cited by 0.7% (StatCompiler 2017). To address these issues, PMC produced *Yam Yankré* (The Choice) in Mooré and *Here S'ra* (The Road to Happiness) in Djoula, two unique radio serial dramas of 156 episodes each, which aired from September 2012 through March 2014.

Clinic Monitoring

Clinic monitoring results show an increased uptake in family planning and reproductive health services during program broadcast, and the program was a contributing factor to the observed demand for services. Results found that 25% of new family planning and reproductive health clients surveyed said they sought services because of a radio program.

Impact Evaluation

Results of the summative evaluation in adjusted odds ratios using multivariate analysis are presented in Fig. 4 above. Results reveal that the program succeeded in positively changing audience knowledge, attitudes, intentions, and behaviors regarding family planning, child health/nutrition, female genital mutilation (FGM), HIV/AIDS, and sustainable environmental practices. With respect to knowledge, the

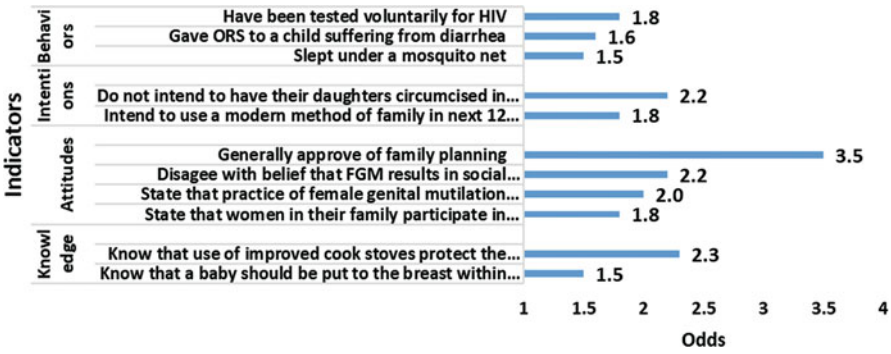

Fig. 4 Multivariate effects of listening to *Yam Yankre* or *Here S'ra,* 2014 adjusted odds ratios comparing listeners and nonlisteners at least $p \leq 0.05$

dramas impacted two new thematic indicators not observed in the Nigeria and Burundi case studies, including the environment and child health/nutrition. Listeners were 2.3 ($p \leq 0.004$) times more likely than non-listeners to say that the use of improved cook stoves can protect the environment and 1.5 ($p \leq 0.004$) times more likely than non-listeners to know that a baby should be put to the breast within an hour of birth. Similarly, under the intentions category, two thematic indicators not impacted by *Ruwan Dare* nor *Agashi* were found to be positively impacted: listeners were 2.2 ($p \leq 0.038$) times more likely than non-listeners to say that they do not intend to have their daughters circumcised in the future and 1.8 ($p \leq 0.005$) times more likely than non-listeners to say they intend to adopt a modern method of contraception to limit the number of children. Regarding behaviors, while two (voluntary testing for HIV and treating diarrhea with a homemade solution) of the three indicators influenced by the dramas are not new, the third is. It relates to maternal health where listeners were observed to be 2.2 ($p \leq 0.016$) times more likely than non-listeners to say that they slept under a mosquito net the night before. As observed with *Ruwan Dare*, the effects of the dramas are strongest under the attitudes domain, with four indicators impacted. For instance, listeners were 3.5 ($p \leq 0.007$) times more likely than non-listeners to state that they generally approve of family planning. The other three indicators pertain to gender and reproductive health issues. On these indicators, results indicate that listeners, when compared to non-listeners, were 2.2 ($p \leq 0.046$) times more likely to state that they disagree with the belief that FGM results in social acceptance, 2 ($p \leq 0.014$) times more likely to state that the practice of FGM should disappear, and 1.8 ($p \leq 0.014$) times more likely to state that women in their family participate in decisions regarding the education of children.

Clinic monitoring estimated listenership to the two programs at approximately six million people. Regarding cost-effectiveness, the evaluation research on the impact of *Yam Yankré* and *Here S'ra* revealed that the cost per listener was $2.00 (US). While this cost per listener is higher than those found for *Ruwan Dare* and *Agashi*, the cost per adoption of behavior attributable to one or both dramas is relatively low.

It is $3.00 (US) for treating childhood diarrhea with ORS and $4.00 (US) each for voluntary HIV testing and for sleeping under a mosquito net.

76.3 Conclusion

As has been proven in other parts of the developing world, the above three case studies (Nigeria and Burkina Faso from West Africa and Burundi from East Africa) indicate that PMC's serial drama methodology is replicable. The case studies also indicate that while each drama follows the same production process, the outcomes are anything but formulaic, yielding unique and powerful stories capable of generating social and behavior change. This is because the linchpin of the methodology is its thorough qualitative and quantitative research of the local context prior to program development. The methodology places the audience at the heart of the program, using formative audience research prior to the first broadcast and monitoring research with audience participation during the entire broadcast. Thus, the creative team is able to gain insights into audience responses to the characters and story lines during the creative process, resulting in a feedback loop that allows for adjustments by the creative team, which ultimately leads to audience engagement, realism, and authenticity. Of note is the methodology's ability to address very sensitive issues that are usually shrouded in secrecy as evidenced by the indicators being investigated here. Finally, the observed level of cost-effective impact proves the efficiency of such an extensive communication campaign designed to promote long-term behavior changes.

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The Role of Participatory Communication in Strengthening Solidarity and Social Cohesion in Afghanistan

77

Hosai Qasmi and Rukhsana Ahmed

Contents

77.1 Introduction 1356
77.2 Country Context 1357
77.2.1 Program Context 1357
77.3 Role of Participatory Communication in Strengthening Solidarity and Social Cohesion 1358
77.4 Conclusion 1362
77.5 Cross-References 1363
References 1363

Abstract

Participatory communication is an important consideration in the development process (Tufte and Mefalopulos 2009). Communication plays an important role in empowering people to influence the decisions that affect their lives and to strengthen solidarity and social cohesion among them (Noorzai 2006; Tufte and Mefalopulos 2009). The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the role of participatory communication in strengthening solidarity and social cohesion through development programs in Afghanistan. Primary interview data facilitate discussion of how participatory communication approach of development programs can be effective in increasing unity and solidarity among members of the Afghan society. Nevertheless, of note is that ethnic diversity and power relations at the community level could affect solidarity among people, both in negative and positive ways. As such, people's participation in development activities can

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contribute to achieving equality, providing them the ownership of their development can help reduce conflict and thus increase collectiveness.

Keywords
Afghanistan · Community development · Development communication · Ownership · Participatory communication · Solidarity · Social cohesion · Trust

77.1 Introduction

After decades of conflict and fall of the dark regime of the Taliban in 2001, Afghanistan entered the period of development, reconstruction, and rehabilitation. To succeed in the process of reconstruction, rehabilitation, and development, the newly established government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan had to reach rural population of the country, expand opportunities to marginalized communities, and promote a sense of solidarity and unity among people. To achieve the goals, the government of Afghanistan, and its international partners, developed a community-driven development (CDD) program. As Beath et al. (2018) state, community-based development or community-driven development programs stress on community members' participation and bottom-up approach to development that allows people to specify and prioritize their needs and address them. Such projects are effective in terms of increasing participation and building social capital among community members by allowing them to select and manage projects based on their needs and priorities (Beath et al. 2018). Participatory development empowers beneficiaries that previously had limited control over their development decisions (Cooke and Kothari 2001). Considering the importance of people's participation in their development process, the National Solidarity Program (NSP) was implemented in Afghanistan to grant community members the ownership of their development (National Solidarity Program 2012) and to increase the state's administrative reach to the rural population (Beath et al. 2018).

Since the NSP is based on community-driven development approach that emphasizes two-way communication and participation, this chapter discusses the role of communication for development strategy through the community-driven development program NSP in strengthening social cohesion among people. Likewise, Beath et al. (2018) argue that CDD programs increase participation and build social capital among community members; it is valuable to explore the case of National Solidarity Program in Afghanistan that is considered as one of the largest and most successful programs in the country (National Solidarity Program 2012) and second largest in the world (Kakar 2005). Hence, the purpose of this chapter is to discuss the less studied role of interpersonal communication and participation in social change. Specifically, this chapter focuses on the case of Afghanistan's community-based program that used communication for development through a participatory approach to strengthen solidarity among people. Against this backdrop, preceded by an overview of the country and the program contexts, this chapter discusses the role of participatory communication in strengthening solidarity and social cohesion in Afghanistan

informed by thematic analysis of primary interview findings within a development communication theory framework. The chapter ends with concluding remarks.

77.2 Country Context

Afghanistan is known in the international media either for the Soviet invasion during the 1970s and 1980s or for the Taliban regime. Focus on one part of the history of the country has resulted in a biased view toward the country and its people (Emadi 2005). However, Afghanistan, like any other country on the globe, has a diverse geography, people, and civilization (Emadi 2005).

Afghanistan is a landlocked country that depends on agriculture and livelihoods. A major part of the population lives in rural parts of the country (Beath et al. 2018; Torabi 2007). The rural life of the country has a collective structure (Noorzai 2006). Afghanistan is a diverse state where different ethnic groups, religions, and tribal communities live together treasuring its unique tradition (Emadi 2005; Murtazashvili 2009).

Due to the decades of conflict in the country, the central government has had weaker intervention in the rural areas of the country; therefore, rural communities function on the bases of customary local governance mechanism called *Jirga* or *Shura*, i.e., a participatory council led by village male elders (Beath et al. 2018). For villages to connect with the central government, there is mostly a mediator termed Malik, Arbab, or Qaryadar who connects the village with the provincial and central authorities (Beath et al. 2018). However, Jirga or Shura is a participatory mechanism; it is still not fully participatory because it does not include women (Boesen 2004). Likewise, throughout the history, reforms and development in Afghanistan had a top-down approach which most of the times conflicted with the values and norms of people (Noorzai 2006). Reforms were mostly centralized; development programs and initiatives were designed and planned at top levels without involving local perspectives (Noorzai 2006).

77.2.1 Program Context

In 2001, after the fall of the Taliban the then established transitional government in Afghanistan and its international partners acknowledged the need to be visible and to gain the trust of the rural population, which encompasses approximately 80% of the country's population; thus, the National Solidarity Program (NSP) was designed with the objective of reaching the rural population, gaining their support and trust, and involving them in the rehabilitation process of their country (Torabi 2007). The NSP, being facilitated by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), allows the program to profit from knowledge, experience, and expertise of the NGO sector in Afghanistan buildup during more than the two decades of conflict in the country (Beath et al. 2018). Adapting the bottom-up approach to development, the NSP, as the largest development program in Afghanistan, has been able to introduce CDD in

all 34 provinces of Afghanistan and thereby overcome challenges such as insecurity, dominant gender norms, and mistrust of the central government (Beath et al. 2018). As argued by Murtazashvili (2009), the Afghan Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development (MRRD) was successful to gain the international donors support for the program by highlighting the need of building the social capital among people in rural areas as the NSP is based on the Afghan tradition of "Ashar" that refers to working together voluntarily.

The NSP is a community-driven development program in Afghanistan that gives local communities the ownership of their development. The National Solidarity Program [in Dari, Hambastagi Milli; in Pashto, Milli Paiwastoon] was developed in mid-2003 (Torabi 2007). MRRD executes the program, and the World Bank funds the program through bilateral donors funding pool and is facilitated by national and international NGOs (Beath et al. 2018). The program involves two main steps, first the election of Community Development Council (CDC) that should involve both men and women, and second, provision of block grants that is a specific amount of fund allocated to each villages based on the number of households living there (Beath et al. 2018). The block grant is utilized for community development projects selected by CDCs in consultation with village members (Beath et al. 2018). The process of the NSP implementation in each village is a three-year-long process during which CDCs select projects, design projects in consultation with villagers, submit their proposals to receive funds, and once funding is received, implement the projects (Beath et al. 2018). Such programs have been designed and implemented in many other countries for the reconstruction purposes. In Rwanda and East Timor, this model was implemented as a participatory peace-building program (Torabi 2007). However, Torabi (2007) believes that the East Timor project was not as successful due to its structure that opposed social and local norms of the communities. Torabi (2007) further explains that the Afghan National Solidarity Program (NSP) had strong input from local authorities throughout its design and implementation. The NSP is the Afghan government's only program that functions almost all over the country (Nagl et al. 2009).

77.3 Role of Participatory Communication in Strengthening Solidarity and Social Cohesion

In order to understand the role of participatory communication in strengthening solidarity and social cohesion through development programs in Afghanistan, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with ten participants from the Khost province of Afghanistan, which is located in the Eastern part of the country bordering with the Northern Waziristan in Pakistan. These participants constituted three groups, one nonprofit organization as a facilitating partner (CARE International) that implements the NSP in the village, three CDC members, and six community members. The interview findings show that participatory communication approach helped strengthen solidarity and social cohesion among the Afghan people by instilling in them a sense of acceptance, ownership, and trust.

Connection between social cohesion and sustainable development, in recent years, has received augmented attention in both development theory and practice (King et al. 2010). Some studies (for example, Easterly et al. 2006; Ritzen et al. 2000) have exhibited a strong connection between social cohesion and development (King et al. 2010). Solidarity is visible among people when they show a desire to work together for achieving a common goal. Paulo Freire (as cited in Tufte and Mefalopulos 2009) believed in giving voice to a marginalized population of society by giving them power, time, voice, and space to define their problems and find solutions for them. Free and open dialogue is the main element of participatory communication (Tufte and Mefalopulos 2009); similarly, the NSP, through its participatory approach, has given marginalized populations an opportunity to identify their needs and problems by allowing them to come together and communicate. Maynard (2007) argues that the NSP is designed in a way that promotes solidarity among people. The NSP's participatory approach encourages community members to be involved in their own development projects by working together. The NSP requires peoples' involvement and support in all the steps of the project implementation process. Their collective action is visible by their participation in different activities of the NSP. Collective action and involvement starts from the first step of the program that is the election process of CDC members as representatives of their community. Community members collectively make decisions on their community development projects, including project implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and audit. The NSP requires community members to meet regularly, interact, and communicate frequently.

The participatory approach does not only promote collective action among people it also likely reduces conflict. In some cases, the NSP has shown that people put aside their conflict and issues to achieve their development goals and they likely give importance to their collective good more than their conflicts for the sake of community development and betterment. Community members demonstrated their desire and willingness to work together that would benefit everyone.

Participatory communication ensures inclusion of all the stakeholders, especially, the most marginalized by providing them a voice (Tufte and Mefalopulos 2009). To have a dialogic communication, a catalyst is required to facilitate the process (Tufte and Mefalopulos 2009), and in the NSP program, the CDC is the catalyst that facilitates the process. Tufte and Mefalopulos (2009) further argue that in addition to dialogue and reflection, participatory communication is also strongly action-oriented, which is demonstrated in the NSP program by encouraging and authorizing communities to execute every step to facilitate development of their own community.

Colletta and Cullen (2000) consider social cohesion an important element for sustainable peace through strengthening interpersonal and intergroup networks, trust, and reciprocity. As such, two-way communication is necessary to reunite different perceptions and prioritize development plans (Tufte and Mefalopulos 2009). Similarly, the participatory approach of communication adopted by the NSP likely increases interaction among community members by requiring them to have frequent meetings. Furthermore, the dialogic approach of participatory

communication values communication in revealing oppressive conditions to encourage collective action (Wilkins 2008). Communication articulates social relations between people, and therefore participation is not possible without communication (Serveas 1999, as cited in Msibi and Penzhorn 2010). According to Msibi and Penzhorn (2010), there can be true participation only when there is involvement of people and development planners throughout the decision-making process, a genuine dialogue, and when people are empowered to control the actions taken.

The NSP not only gives communities the ownership of their development but also responsibility for their development. Communities decide and take the control of their decisions. One of the components of development communication theory is to allow people to take ownership of their own development. Development communication allows individuals to make the decisions that affect their lives. Siddique (2001) states that social cohesion is built when people consider themselves the stakeholders of their society. Tufte and Mefalopulos (2009) also assert that genuine participation and engagement by local people increases a sense of ownership among them. According to them, participatory communication empowers people to engage in their communities, feel committed to, and be able to have the ownership of problems (2009). Development communication claims that ownership of development projects by participants help sustain the project in the longer run. Similarly, the participatory approach of the NSP allows local people to take responsibility and ownership of their development projects. By achieving the ownership, they take the responsibility to sustain and protect their projects from failure or any risks.

Social cohesion and solidarity also require a sense of acceptance among people. Solidarity requires cooperative action, and cooperative action requires people to work together and respect each other's views (USATAA 2013). According to the Council of Europe (2001), "acceptance of diversity and the interaction between cultures foster harmonious relations between people, enrich their lives and provide them with creativity to respond to new challenges. It is not the denial, but rather, the recognition of differences that keeps a community together" (p. 11). Through active participation, people in a society will most likely to develop a sense of acceptance, resolve tensions, and respect each other's views. Further, working together and interacting with each other more often increases the understanding among people. A participatory approach will likely not only promote working together for a common objective but also resolve issues that arise when implementing projects. The NSP, through its participatory approach, was able to increase communication among community members. However, conflict resolution in a collective manner is part of Afghan culture and etiquette. Afghan cultural values are carefully integrated into the design of the NSP program that is also a contributing factor of its success and acceptance of this program. The NSP's bottom-up participatory approach enables people to communicate and interact more frequently, which more likely increase a sense of acceptance among them. Fearon et al. (2007) also argue that through the participatory approach of a community-driven program with a successful community mobilization, it is possible to reduce tensions present in a community and encourage collective action. Through the establishment of the CDCs, community members are now connected to their CDC representatives besides having different

roles and responsibilities in their particular community. Community members are bound together for their community's development. Regular meetings held by the CDCs with community members increase interaction among them.

Furthermore, trust is an important factor in building and strengthening solidarity among people. According to the opinion survey by the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (2005–2007), a meaningful relationship is developed as a result of trust among people. Trust helps to encourage people to work together for achieving mutual goals and increase the effectiveness of community projects, and reciprocity, responsibility, and moral obligations help to develop trust among people. Wlech et al. (2005) believe that trust is important in mobilizing individuals, encouraging them to work toward a common goal, and making community projects more effective. Likewise, the World Bank, Communication Initiative, and Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations report (2007) posit that development communication is about "seeking change at different levels, including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skill, building policies, debating and learning for sustainable and meaningful change" (p. xxxiii). Thus, trust is an important component in development communication. Trust is required among people to work together for the sustainable development of their society.

Individual honor, loyalty to colleagues and friends, tolerance to others, and directness are some cultural qualities that most Afghan share (Dupree 2002). Accordingly, trust, loyalty, and respect are important fabrics of the Afghan culture (Emadi 2005). The first step of the NSP is to elect community councils, i.e., CDC members, through voting. Community members elect those whom they trust to represent them accurately, understand their needs, and those who are transparent. However, rural communities in Afghanistan have Jirga or Shora, an informal institution that come to gather at times to resolve a conflict in the community. Jirga or Shora members are not elected but are elders of the community. However, CDC members are elected in a democratic voting. Election of CDC members is a new shift that allows community members to designate those they trust and want to represent them. Additionally, people also have a role in monitoring the work; therefore, CDC members have to be truthful while reporting to people. Community members are involved in every step of the project; therefore, there is no room for misleading reporting. As mentioned earlier, honesty and integrity are important cultural values of the Afghan society and particularly among rural population that is dominantly characterized by communal and tribal life style. Additionally, people trust each other when there is transparent information sharing among them, and thus truthfulness can strengthen the bond among people. Therefore, communication can play an important role in building trust among people.

The NSP program's social audit approach has the purpose of reducing corruption and increasing the transparency, where monitoring and auditing are performed transparently with the involvement of community members. Furthermore, a CDC member would want to display his/her honesty and transparency to community members and be truthful to them and to maintain their respect, as dignity is one of the more visible cultural traits in the Afghan society (Dupree 2002).

People's involvement and engagement is crucial in community-based projects, and development communication emphasizes participation and members' engagement in their own development process. One of the objectives of the NSP, through its participatory approach, is to increase Afghan rural populations' involvement and engagement in their development. Through the NSP, people are not only engaged in the development of their community but also developing trustworthy relations among each other to work together. Communication and interaction foster trust and thereby promotes cooperation. In some communities, the participatory communication approach of the NSP has been able to reduce the chances of conflict, increase the level of trust among community members and their CDCs as well as a sense of acceptance among people. However, the NSP still needs to reach the goal of strengthening 'intercommunal' solidarity and social cohesion, i.e., solidarity at a larger level. Although the NSP's success can be seen in building solidarity and social cohesion among people in small and homogenous groups and communities, the goal of strengthening solidarity and social cohesion at the national level is yet to be achieved.

77.4 Conclusion

In summary, reconstruction and development through participation by the NSP appear to be a promoter of solidarity and social cohesion among people in a small community of the Khost province of Afghanistan. In general, the process of participatory communication seems to reinforce the consciousness and willingness of communities regarding cooperation and contribution to reconstruction and development. The process of participation and communication can help to reduce conflicts and promote cooperation among people. Participatory communication, through the NSP, seems to promote intercommunity cooperation among people in the villages in Afghanistan. This participatory process of the NSP is a key to empowerment of rural population. Participatory communication through the NSP has the potential to reduce conflicts and increase solidarity and social cohesion among people in Afghanistan. CDCs play an important role in encouraging people to participate in community development and work in collaboration for their community development.

The establishment of the NSP in 2003 was an initiative to develop the rural side of Afghanistan, where the majority of the population resides, and provide an opportunity for people to work together for their development. Through the NSP, the rural population can decide and design their development projects according to their needs and priorities by working together. The NSP is one of the most successful programs in Afghanistan that is functioning all over the country. One of the reasons behind the success of the NSP is its design. People have accepted it because the notion of working voluntarily as "Ashar" and consulting each other as "Jirga" is present in their culture. The NSP is a community-driven development program that allows development from a bottom-up approach. The NSP has been able to communicate its message of strengthening solidarity and social cohesion through its

participatory communication approach. For Afghanistan, the reconstruction of social damages of war and conflict is as important as rebuilding physical infrastructure.

Social cohesion and development have strong ties. Development brings people together and motivates them to achieve a mutual goal. Working together for a common goal is an indicator of strong bond among people. In the meanwhile, meaningful development requires people's participation at every step, the involvement of all groups, and providing an opportunity to voiceless groups. People should be the agents of change in their communities and societies. People's engagement and interaction with each other is crucial for reducing tensions, building trust, developing social cohesion, and establishing social relationships.

77.5 Cross-References

- ▶ A Community-Based Participatory Mixed-Methods Approach to Multicultural Media Research
- ▶ A Threefold Approach for Enabling Social Change: Communication as Context for Interaction, Uneven Development, and Recognition
- ▶ Asian Contributions to Communication for Development and Social Change
- ▶ Communication for Development and Social Change: Three Development Paradigms, Two Communication Models, and Many Applications and Approaches
- ▶ Development Communication as Development Aid for Post-Conflict Societies
- ▶ Multiplicity Approach in Participatory Communication: A Case Study of the Global Polio Eradication Initiative in Pakistan
- ▶ Multidimensional Model for Change: Understanding Multiple Realities to Plan and Promote Social and Behavior Change
- ▶ Participatory Development Communication and Natural Resources Management

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Sinai People's Perceptions of Self-Image Portrayed by the Egyptian Media: A Multidimensional Approach

78

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Contents

78.1 Introduction 1366
78.2 The Beginnings That Matter 1367
78.3 Development That Is Sung For 1370
78.4 The Politics of Image 1374
78.5 Conclusion 1378
References 1379

Abstract

The media's marginalization of the Sinai Bedouins in Egypt could explain the popular image of them as being considered second-class citizens or just as smugglers, arms dealers, or human traffickers.

Little or no benefits have reached the local inhabitants from the development of the Sinai's tourism industry, and Bedouin communities are largely prevented from working in these luxury resorts. A career in the army is also prohibited, given the Egyptian military's tendency to restrict Bedouin conscription. Any response to the Sinai's current troubles must however address the socioeconomic inequalities affecting the local inhabitants and avoid repeating past mistakes that have essentially tended toward securitization of the issue. Although the officials of the Egyptian authorities introduced many symbols and discourses of unity to Sinai people, quick observations show that the development of a sense of belonging at their significant level is almost nonexistent. By drawing upon the established social identity theories, risk perception scales, this chapter takes the

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investigation back to basics. How Sinai people interpret mediated messages about themselves and how these messages can help enhance their feeling of risk in a country they even don't have legislation to be the owners of their homes, anxiety, and belonging? Is the media involved in getting some citizens of the Egyptians feel indeed Egyptians and others do not?

Keywords

Sinai · Marginalization · Self-image · Egyptian media · Development

78.1 Introduction

Having suffered for many years from miserable, risky, and isolating socioeconomic challenges, the Sinai's 61,000 km^2 peninsula is one of Egypt's least developed regions, with the highest rates of unemployment and poverty.

Major bombings occurred in 2004, 2005, and 2006 and repeatedly in severe and terrifying terroristic attacks in the last few years, ended by the most brutal attack in November 2017 on one of the most prominent mosques there (Al-Rawda Mosque) and in a praying time which resulted in killing more than 300 persons.

More than 2500 people were imprisoned as a consequence of the repeated attacks, and many of them were detained for years without charge while being prevented visits by their family members or lawyers. However, each time, the political regime responds with a security-first strategy, sending in the army to conduct punitive sweeps and mass arrests (Dessì 2012).

These harsh measures only added to the widespread marginalization of the Sinai people among the Egyptian society, being considered as second-class citizens or just as smugglers, arms dealers, or human traffickers (Abdel-Meguid 2012).

And once again, comprehensive development is forgotten, every time, only for an argument to be revived when the next terrorist attack occurs!

Rarely done in the context of the social identity theory, or in the context of broader research of media effects on self-image and others' image, the first-hand analysis of this study can explain the difficulties with the formation of the Sinai people's identity, their self-image, their mediated image, or their feeling of risk or security.

However, such analysis will not solely depend on what's in the media but what's around the media that matters to Sinai people. Meso- and microlevel analysis that affects the making of their image, their understanding of messages in programs, and ultimately their sense of who they are will come to play a crucial role in contextualizing the Sinai's people image. On the meso-level of the Sinai people self-image, some factors shape the process: military, economic, social, and long years of marginalization.

The microlevel of analysis refers to the Sinai people being Egyptians: what they do, with whom they engage in everyday life, and how they feel about their safety in a country they even don't have legislation to be the owners of their homes!!

Only after that, we could ask about the media they watch on media, how they interpret mediated messages about themselves, and how these messages can help enhance their feeling of risk, anxiety, and/or belonging!

However, the rigorous question for the current analysis will be based on the media involved in getting some citizens of the Egyptians feel Egyptians indeed, and others do not.

78.2 The Beginnings That Matter

To fully understand the meaning of the events in Sinai, we need to look back elsewhere.

> The fate of the Sinai's people as 'nomad' was sealed for good with the signing of the Sykes-Picot agreement in 1916. The agreement divided the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire outside the Arabian Peninsula into areas of British and French control or influence. (Serhan 2012)

As a roaming people whose livelihood depended on seasonal movement from pasture to another, cementing the border left them with no choice but to become sedentary. This cutoff from "fundamental elements in their economic, commercial and social universe" (Dawn 1986, 30) exposed Sinai to a whole new level of poverty. The fact that the people were excluded from the Egyptian army at the time, a major force for upward mobility, did not help their case either. But worst of all, they were denied identification cards long after their compatriots had received them (Cole 2003, 250).

All these combining factors are not just pushing toward underestimating the Sinai's people and not just to obliterate their way of life, but it created a sense of erasing them from existence altogether. The 400,000 Bedouins of Sinai thus never fitted into the Egyptian nation-building project, from which they were marginalized from the outset.

However, what is considered, very generally, as "Bedouin" is a mosaic of populations that reflect the complicated settlement history of the peninsula, with clear distinctions regarding origins, traditions, economic activities, and even language (Middle East/North Africa Report 2007, 10).

From 1979 to 1981, the years in which Egypt was under the presidency of Anwar Al-Sadat and regained control of Sinai from Israel and during which Egypt also faced its first – and arguably most threatening – Islamist insurgency, another phase began. These two processes are elaborately linked, which didn't end by the assassination of Al-Sadat in 1981 (Goldberg 2015).

Under the 1979 peace treaty with Israel, it was supposed that Egypt had got back its control over the Sinai Peninsula. This was a time during which Sinai was actively introduced into Egyptian public knowledge as a symbol of pride and dignity. The return of the Sinai was presented to the Egyptians as military and social will's victory, something that the Mubarak regime was keen on tapping into. On an almost daily basis, national television aired footage of then President Hosni Mubarak

raising the Egyptian flag on "Taba," the last point handed over to the Egyptian army on April 25, 1982. In the background, the voice of the Egyptian famous singer "Shadya" rang out, "All of Sinai has returned to us. Egypt is rejoicing today and forever after!"

Sinai was the focus of attention during those years, but despite all the media hype, it was still unrecognized terra for most of the Egyptians. Sinai existed in its national symbolism rather than in its developmental or cultural continuity with the homeland. It was hardly an attractive place for either strategic inhabitation except for a few nomadic Bedouin tribes with whom most Egyptians rarely had any direct contact with or through well-established industries. It has kept on being far away, dryish, and poorly connected to the rest of the mainland (Hosni 2013).

The tribe is the building unit of Bedouin life. It can include any number between 20 and 20,000 people. Social roles are determined by age, sex, and seniority and work best in the absence of social differentiation. "The more similar people are in other respects, the more fully kinship, sex and age can differentiate their roles") Sivini 2007, 447).

The fighting capabilities of the tribe are fundamental to maintain the strength, necessary for survival and loyalty. It is of topmost importance. For this reason, they are commonly viewed not as individuals but as groups.

These tribes have their political structure and laws known as *Ourf*, meaning what is known, or what has become a custom. In the case of any disgraceful behavior, for example, the Bedouin sheikhs convene and try the perpetrator/attacker in a Bedouin court. Unlike civil penal law, which is based on punishments, Bedouin law is based on retribution. "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" is the gist of their sense of justice.

Sinai's people feel that their customs and tribal laws have been largely overlooked in the development of the peninsula. This has been exacerbated by the government's heavy-handed, security-focused approach to the region in response to terrorist attacks since the mid-2000s (Stothard 2014).

From 1982 onward, Egypt thought of the Sinai question as above all a matter of population settlement. Increasing the population was an essential element in the way to control and integrate the peninsula. The "Egyptians," as they are called locally (even by themselves), come from the entire Nile Valley, including the Delta and Upper Egypt cities. They comprise distinct groups, distinguished by accent and economic activity, and most often settle together in clusters or associations according to their village or governorate of origin. For example, in North Sinai, families from Monufia (a governorate in the Delta) are essential. The government greatly encouraged people of this governorate (from where current president Sisi and former President Mubarak and even the late president Sadat originate) to migrate, including by offering different incentives like attractive salaries and fixed public sector employment (International Crisis Group 2007, 11).

Although the government has undertaken development initiatives in the Sinai, they had been poorly funded, of limited scope, and managed by disengaged Cairo-based residents. The lack of real work opportunities in the Sinai is such that many would inevitably make a living through illegal activities or the shadow economy.

The development in the Sinai has centered primarily on the tourism industry in the south. South Sinai with about 160,000 people is lightly populated, but it has world-class beaches, scuba diving, and hotels.

Settlements grew in tandem with the tourism industry from the 1990s onward. Although some of South Sinai's people benefited from tourism activities, employers primarily recruited Egyptians from the Nile Valley. Bedouin communities are largely prevented from working in these luxury resorts which considered open discrimination against Sinai residents (The tourism sector accounts for approximately 11% of Egypt's gross domestic product).

Foreign mass tourism in Egypt is a post-Sadat phenomenon, and it has provided regime opponents with a soft target. The most famous and still the most deadly incident is the 1997 attack on Hatshepsut's Temple in Upper Egypt in which 68 people (including 6 attackers) died. The attack was carried out by members of the Islamic Group who opposed a truce some of their leaders had arranged with the Mubarak government. In 2004, 2005, and 2006, hotels and tourist attractions in Taba, Sharm el-Sheikh, and Dahab in South Sinai were attacked, and more than 150 people killed in total.

However, tourism has not done well since 2011 as revenues have shrunk from over $14 billion to under $ 5 billion a year due to the disturbing political scene and deteriorating security circumstances.

With no stable source of income and exclusion from fundamental and indigenous rights in Sinai, such as the right to register land and property they own that thus remain without any legal guarantees, the peninsula could become a safe haven for foreign jihadists. If South Sinai remains a tourist destination, attacks there may be a "red line" for the Egyptian government, and the tourism industry may further collapse.

North Sinai has never been the object of much investment by Egyptian governments. It has suffered an even more catastrophic economic collapse than the south. Although North Sinai is also lightly populated, with 420,000 people and it is much larger than the south.

The region's economy would inevitably orient toward being a large market for Palestinian people. Moreover, the North Sinai's economy includes human trafficking. According to some estimates, tens of thousands of Eritrean and other African citizens have attempted to enter Israel through the Sinai border crossings illegally.

Since the 2011 revolution against the Mubarak's regime in Egypt, there has been increasing instability in the Sinai Peninsula. Sinai's population retaliated against the security state, but the cause of violence in the peninsula soon transitioned from Bedouin grievances to Salafi jihadism. Hard-line militant factions used Sinai as a launch point for attacks against the Egyptian state for its way of handling the struggle with their fellow Muslims. After the July 2013 events against former President Mohamed Morsi, who is a Muslim Brotherhood leader, attacks in and from Sinai noticeably increased. Even when the Egyptian military launched large, sustained operations to counter the threat, Sinai's Salafi jihadists expanded their fight: by attacking Egypt's "mainland" with car bombs, carrying out an assassination campaign against Egyptian security officials, and using advanced weapons to take down a military helicopter.

Until recently, Sinai's Salafi jihadist groups' primary targets were Egypt's security establishment. The growing concern that their targets would continue to shift, however, became more justified with a February 2014 attack on tourists. Such a trend puts Western interests, including tourists, foreign embassies, and perhaps even ships in the Suez Canal into their sights.

Unfortunately, the comprehensive reactive approach from the different Egyptian political regimes and their practices usually aims merely to prevent the next attack, instead of finding profound solutions to the underlying problems that fuel militancy and terrorism inter-generationally (Gold 2014, 19).

Now, it seems more apparent that an overarching theme of Egyptian policy toward Sinai has been the focus on Sinai as a "security" issue.

The successive periods have differed in the intensity of Cairo's response to Sinai's impact on national security, but there has been a little and judicious attention of Sinai in any other context. "Since Mubarak's ouster, successive governments have spoken of the need to address Sinai's economic, developmental and unemployment problems, but no major projects have been implemented" (Gold 2014).

78.3 Development That Is Sung For

Although three times the land mass of the Nile Valley and Delta, Sinai's residents comprise less than 1% of Egypt's population (Afifi 2014).

For the sake of immediate necessity, it is supposed that the increasing size of the Egyptian population would primarily rely on relocating a sizeable portion of the population from the Nile Valley and Delta and Suez Canal governorates to Sinai.

The size of the population in North and South Sinai (including those originally from other governorates which are working in Sinai) is less than 600,000 people or less than 0.7% of Egypt's population, and it has a population density of fewer than 10 people per square kilometer (Al-Najjar 2014).

The number of schools in Sinai is 767 schools distributed among 533 schools in North Sinai, which accommodate 98,235 male and female students and 234 schools in South Sinai, which serve 21,881 male and female students.

Thus, it could be noted that in the Sinai Peninsula, which is characterized lack of population density per region, the rate of learners per class decreases as does the percentage of learners per teacher and the proportion of teachers covering the teaching load compared to the target rates. A phenomena that affects providing educational service with appropriate investment and operational efficiency.

Despite the success of educational policies in their ability to absorb, still, we find that the retention of students until the completion of the three stages of education still needs improvement. The dropout rates in Sinai exceeded the average dropout rate in the other governorates of the Republic. Moreover, it increases among female students compared to male students of the same stage as well as in Bedouin communities compared to urban ones. The solution to eliminating the phenomenon of dropout from education requires a package of interventions based on geographical targeting, conditional cash transfers that combine financial support for families,

literacy programs, education and training in the skill-building programs needed by the labor market, as well as awareness of the importance of education, especially for females.

The low dropout rates not only decrease the waste of resources, but it also represents a drying of the sources of illiteracy. The illiteracy rate in North Sinai reaches 19.1%, and the rate of illiteracy among males reaches 13.2% while 25.4% among female. However, the illiteracy rate in South Sinai reaches 17.1% as it reaches 14.5% among men, whereas 22.6% among women and the majority of illiterates are in Bedouin areas and communities. This problem could be due to reasons related to shared cultural and religious values. Moreover, it is relevant to the nature of business distribution within the family in the desert and the degree of demand for them, as well as due to the high poverty rates (over 50% of Sinai Bedouin live in poverty). Needless to say, the majority (80%) of those who did not join schools are mainly girls in Bedouin areas.

Therefore, the status of education in the Sinai is still suffering from various problems, both at the level of lack of schools and shortage of teachers and the qualified characters. In addition to that, the government does not support education in remote places in Sinai where it is difficult to reach out the schools due to the lack of transportation that helps the teachers to reach their schools daily.

The reality of health services in different areas of the Sinai does not differ too much from their previous conditions in education. The absence of the efficient medical staff working in these institutions and the lack of access to medicines and diagnostic devices profoundly contributed to the low level of existing health services and even its total absence from some Bedouin communities.

Numerous declarations on investments in infrastructure and aid for the marginalized Sinai's population have been heard recently, and meetings have been held between the Egyptian interior minister and Sinai's sheikhs representing their tribes. But it takes more to regain the trust of people who – for decades – have been treated as if they were opponents working against the state.

A lack of legitimate economic opportunities, underdevelopment, and the denial of land claims has firmly established long-standing grievances with the Egyptian government. Combining these issues with high levels of unemployment has meant that smuggling and trafficking are, for many, the only source of income. Within the security vacuum that has developed in North Sinai, this and other serious forms of organized crime will increase.

The expansion of tourism has influenced the local Bedouins in that they increasingly interact with other cultures and struggle for their livelihood as they transform from a pastoral community to a residential one. This transformation has emerged in the type of jobs they acquire at present, and therefore they have started to move to a more modern lifestyle.

During the Mohamed Morsi's former presidency, a mixed approach was again employed. Morsi indicated his readiness to respond to the socioeconomic grievances of Sinai people and initiated talks with the Sinai's armed groups, mediated by Salafists and former Salafist jihadists. He also supported a relaxing of the overground movement of people and goods into Gaza. Despite these efforts, however, fighting in the Sinai continued, prompting a return to a military response.

However, the political transformation that had occurred in Egypt recently and the new roles assigned and connected to youth challenged many patriarchal powers in Sinai and even more the state authorities. Accordingly, the influence of the old sheikhs is not what it used to be. The old sheikhs no longer have their traditional patriarchal control over the various segments of their tribes. These further alterations left the new social powers in Sinai more attracted to radical Islam (Tuastad 2013).

Unlike other equally impoverished areas of Egypt, Sinai in the wake of the 2011 uprising did have one important economic sector: illegal trade. It was precisely its illegality that made it rewarding. Illegal business (in the north) and tourism (in the south) are important drivers of the economy and politics in these two areas.

It was briefly highlighted here that Sinai's people don't have the right to own their lands. However, what is worst is the recent displacement policies that the government decided to implement after the recent severe terroristic attacks from Sinai's area. Here we come with "Loss of Home" new grievances!!

In 1963, thousands of Nubian families were displaced for the sake of building the High Dam in Aswan. At the time, the events were framed as a sacrifice for the nation, a small price Nubians had to pay for the sake of a substantial national project that was going to change Egypt's future.

Before 1979, when the Egyptian government re-controlled a narrow strip of land adjacent to the Suez Canal, the governor of Sinai began to plan for development. These plans reflected the input of many interest groups with the military on the top, the most famous industrialist families, the ministers, and members of the governing political party. (Lavie, 75).

In 1975, the office of the Sinai governor was filled with petitions, requests, and demands from who claim property and other interest groups in Sinai that the governor published an open letter in one of the most Egyptian influential newspapers (Al-Ahram) asking for moderation.

However, once a consensus was reached about a particular project, the governor unilateral announces the plan for it without any public debate or agreement.

In 1980, "Law 104" casted the interplay of elite interest groups by the government's consistent behavior in publicizing and implementing its plans. Further, steps were made including plans which allowed the state ownership of desert land and thus making the whole Sinai a governmental property and changing the permission of private ownership totally for the benefit of some elite groups. The law had some devastating effects on the Bedouins. Their land claims were not legally recognized, and they were subsequently displaced with no government compensation (Lavie, 76). In their place, the land was repopulated with peasants to solve the unemployment problem in the urban center (Serhan 2012).

In 2014–2015, the same discourse repeated once again to justify the displacement of over 1,000 families in Rafah/Sinai to create a buffer zone at the border, which the state insists is necessary for national security. However, the correlative damage – which has severe social and, potentially, security consequences – is largely ignored (Afify 2014).

The people of Rafah have been living under a stifling 4 p.m. curfew for more than 3.5 years now. They have been living in the midst of military operations that locals report have taken civilian casualties.

Debates about whether this is a good move or not are almost nonexistent. A campaign widely backed by a media establishment moved in lockstep with official policy line. Reports in mainstream media emphasized that the people of North Sinai are willing to face relocation for the good of the country (Esterman 2014).

However, demolition began, and pictures were circulated. Photos of buildings splintered in the air great clouds of smoke appeared under headlines declaring, "Sinai sacrifices for the sake of Egypt," as the privately owned newspaper *Al-Masry Al-Youm* put it.

The human cost of these state measures is continuously represented as a piddling "price that has to be accepted, even overlooked, for a higher purpose. Accordingly, the media coverage of the recent Rafah operation has blatantly ignored the human factor, only covering the state's security perspective" (Afifi 2014).

Newspapers this week led with reports of President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi's meeting with Rafah community leaders, where he expressed his desire to compensate the recently displaced residents promptly. This is in addition to his pledge to plan development projects for the area.

Meanwhile, Sinai residents have complained in the Egyptian media about human rights abuses and the feeling of being treated with suspicion by the rest of the country. On 25 January 2013, 13 domestic human rights groups wrote an open letter to the Egyptian government, advocating a comprehensive approach which states that addressing terrorism requires that a more comprehensive vision should be adopted, a vision that should take into consideration the economic, social, and political circumstances in which terrorism emerges and spreads.

From a developmental perspective, the history of Sinai is a series of interconnected programs that hold many promises by statements of needs and field reports. The first was a report conducted by the firm Dames and Moore between 1980 and 1983 for the Ministry of Housing and Development. There was also the Ministry of Reconstruction Plan of 1981 and the National Plan for the Development of Sinai issued by the Ministry of Planning in 1992)Hosni 2013).

Then the European Union funded South Sinai Regional Development Program (SSRDP) in 2001. Then, following the ousting of Mubarak in 2011, the troubled security situation in North Sinai revived the development discourse. In 2012, the government submitted a draft bill that should lead to the foundation of a "permanent" Sinai development agency. A step that hadn't been finalized yet!!

What these development plans had in common was a commitment to tourism, both as a means for development and a dream in itself. The overall futurity was fit out toward the turning of Sinai into a tourist destination of international import. Large strips of coastland in the southeast were sold to investors for low prices. The Gulf of Aqaba coast was labeled the "Red Sea Riviera." Each one of these development plans was an update of the previous one (Hosni 2013).

We could argue that much of the violence and disorders that erupted since 2011's revolution is more of a reaction against the government's attempts to bind the underground economy (by destroying the tunnels) than an ideologically motivated plan as it is usually presented. However, the peninsula is compounded by a long history of marginalization and poverty; so it looks like a time bomb, even without

taking into account the complex politics on the other side of the border. The situation in the peninsula is a reflection of an endemic illness and oppression which is not limited to the border region (Hosni 2013).

These circumstances bring us to our main argument: Who is responsible for producing these images? And are they intrinsic to Sinai's nature, or carefully constructed by external forces to serve specific interests?

78.4 The Politics of Image

Based on the assumptions of social identity theory, promoting certain media representations which feature particular aspects of specific groups and ignoring others plays a role in creating shared norms and activating the use of these constructs in subsequent evaluations for this group/s (Mckinley et al. 2014, 2). "In particular, media messages have the potential to (1) influence the importance/relevance of, and ability to prime, different group memberships; (2) contribute to viewers' perceptions about the features/dimensions that characterize different groups; (3) provide norms of treatment for different groups; (4) define the status and standing of different groups; and ultimately (5) normalize these notions by suggesting that media representations are consensually accepted" (Mckinley et al. 2014, 3). Similarly, the current contribution argues that the Egyptian media was an essential tool for self-perceptions and others' perceptions of Sinai people. But before getting into the various self-perceptions that were gathered throughout the current contribution (The current data and statistics were gathered from (343) inhabitants of North Sinai's governorate between 1 December 2015 and 22 January 2016), it is worth passing by some of the literature that dealt with the Egyptian media's representations of Sinai's people in more details.

In 1987 Egyptian public television aired the soap opera Sonbol Ba'd al-Milyon (Sonbol after the Million), a comically exaggerated series of sorts starring the famous Egyptian comedian Mohamed Sobhy. It came as a continuation of a popular first part titled The Million Pound Journey, in which Sonbol, the series' main character, rises the social ladder, despite his poor origins. Sonbol was an ambitious self-made young man from the Nile Delta who decided to invest his savings by reclaiming desert land in the Sinai Peninsula. Sonbol bought a piece of land from the government and set out to build a farm) (Hosni 2013).

Sonbol's journey was the first and most prominent representation of Sinai in Egyptian popular culture. There is a reason why Sobhy chose Sinai and the theme of land reclamation as the center of his plot.

Looked down upon with fear and suspicion, Sonbol symbolized this tense relationship (or rather non-relationship) with the land. It was arguably the first time the figure of the Bedouin is represented with some detail, albeit not favorably most of the time.

Eventually, the two groups reconcile; Sonbol won the tribe's confidence and gained their approval to marry Ziba and settle on the land.

In 1987 Sinai seemed so distant, but Sonbol showed it could be otherwise. He appeared as a man of the frontier, who brought the territory under his dominion and tamed its unruly and insurgent population.

In the case of Sinai, the notion of collective identity was the key to producing many of its people's stereotypes. By grouping all Bedouins into one undifferentiated lot, the *Badu*, many beneficiaries were able to generalize and thereby sidestep the particularities that make the Bedouin a living being. It allowed abstraction and left no room for other representations or renegotiation.

Egyptian media coverages of Sinai give a perfect example that encounters with this old-new other: the other land and its other peoples. It played out the old typical and ideal archetype of Egypt versus its age-old desert strangers. The desert is the avoided unknown, and its people, the Bedouins, are semi-mythical.

Generally, the image of the Bedouin as an "outlaw" became an official government coin, with no way of climbing the social or the economic ladder.

The logic was, if the state treated us as outsiders, then we might as well exist outside the law, thus supporting Sinai's reputation as a "lawless frontier."

After a while, the "outlaw" image temporarily took the backseat, and a new image topped the scene, driven by Israeli interests in South Sinai. To win the Bedouins' loyalty, Israel built a whole new platform for communication based on the Bedouins as "Children of Israel." According to the Hebrew Biblical reference (Serhan 2012).

In spite of all the Israeli efforts, Israel was still viewed as an occupier by the Sinai. One way for the Sinai to mark their territory was to come up with an image that would help identify and differentiate them. Here we came, the "Muslim Bedouin." The issue of self-identification became an urgent one when relations with outsiders conducted exceptionally through sheikhs and Bedouins came into increasing contact with the West. They felt that all Westerners, whether tourists or soldiers, Israelis or Europeans, Jews or Christians, invaded their privacy and threatened their traditions and customs (Lavie 1990, 72).

In response, the Bedouins encouraged an Islamic revival of a very paradoxical nature. They still work in tourism and came into contact with tourists every day, but all the money made was "purified" by bestowing generously on mosques and shrines of saints and extreme manifestations of religious enthusiasm. "'We are Muslims;' (they said) 'they are the Jews'" (Lavie 1990, 68).

Returning back to the current study's results, the Islamic identity came at the first response by Sinai people when asked to arrange their core identity as they feel it; 27.9% of the respondents confirmed such a choice and then came the Egyptian identity 26.6% and the Arab identity at the third rank 19.5%, while both the Sinai identity and the tribal one came at the end by 15.5% and 10.2%, respectively.

However, a decade later, this "Muslim" image faced a new set of challenges as the whole of South Sinai was once again part of the Egyptian land after 15 years under Israeli occupation.

One could imagine that an Islamic spirit in the Sinai would have helped bridge the gap between the Egyptian state and the Bedouins – but that was not the case.

Although President Sadat was popularly known as the Muslim president, "state-supported Muslim institutions, such as Al-Azhar University, invested this official policy with an Islamic sanction" (Smadar, 74).

"The fact that Egypt signed a peace treaty with Israel did not help bridge the gap either. Were the Bedouins to be viewed as fellow Egyptian returning from exile or were they, treacherous collaborators?" (Serhan 2012). More importantly, which of these images was more beneficial to the state?

To realize its development plans in South Sinai, the state decided to make the best use of the latter. Once again, the image of the "lawbreaker" was popped up and given a face-lift, and "the villain" was reborn, an all-encompassing figure who stood for many deficits all at once (Serhan 2012).

They were portrayed as the uncivilized, lawbreakers, treacherous, and dangerous. The most important thing for the state was to cater to the economic interests of Cairo's elite in the Sinai.

In the face of all these depictions, judgments, and marginalization, one image had come to simultaneously "embody and subvert all Bedouin stereotypes, all the paradoxes of the local South Sinai hybridization: the traditional Muslim nomad pastoralist ideology and the western culture imposed on (them) by international interventions: The Sinai man is the 'Jack of all trades'," (Serhan 2012).

The question now is: will the ever held negative image of Sinai's people held by different parties found its resonance by the Sinai people themselves?!

Previous studies indicated that every Bedouin stereotype out there has been readily absorbed and exploited by the Sinai people themselves. They have become these stereotypes. They exploited "the sheikh" to make connections with the government, they have exploited "the lawbreaker" to get rich, and they line the coast with fake palm-frond huts to export an "exotic" image to backpacking tourists!! (Serhan 2012).

On the contrary, the current study results showed that the majority of the sample asserted the responsibility of the Egyptian media representations through most of its news reports and programs for transferring and exporting such images to the rest of Egyptians.

More than 80% of the sample had beliefs that the Egyptian media coverage depicts negative images of them. Moreover, they went further, giving reasons for that. As Table 1 shows below, the majority of the sample confirmed that the brutal terrorists' attacks on Egypt's security forces, as well as the connections of Sinai's violent groups to international Salafi jihadist networks, including Al-Qaeda (AQ), are behind most of the exported image of Sinai.

This begs many questions concerning governmental transparency that expose the facts about what happens in Sinai and what is being done to confront the threat of terrorism there. Information monopolizing about Sinai and its inhabitants limits the credibility of media coverage and provides a fearful hole for inaccurate speculations (Akl 2015).

Table 1 Sinai people's justifications for/perceptions of self-image portrayed by the Egyptian media

Reasons	Frequency
The coverage focuses on the destructive actions of the terrorists	57.4
The coverage relies on the governmental news sources only	34.7
The coverage is influenced by the state's high policies	25.7
The coverage rekindles sedition and rumors against us	24.8
The coverage discloses the real ugly reality of Sinai	9

However, it was astonishing that 84.5% of the study's sample mentioned that they have friends and relatives all over Egypt and they don't find any kind of problems contacting and living with them. The main severe obstacle that resulted from such circulated negative images is the economic consequences that hit their incomes and everyday life activities. 86.9% confirmed that they feel paralyzed after the stifling enforcement and security campaigns. It is worth noting here that the government had imposed the emergency law procedures at the peninsula for more than 5 years now.

They complained the government ignorance of providing them with the promised financial aid to people affected by military operations:

> Since our news had been continuously stigmatized in the media, our ethnic and tribal dimensions remain underrated and incorrectly handled, and we've been treated as less-fledged compatriots under different political regimes, latent anger and frustration, grievances, and low self-esteem are escalating.

For the people here, reaching out to the tribes of Sinai never exceeded a ritual process or a protocol of gatherings of state officials with tribe leaders on an irregular basis. The ongoing results of such meetings usually never surpassed flashy statements and news headlines to the media highlighting future avenues of cooperation, ones that never came to be accomplished!! (Akl 2015).

Moreover, even as the Egyptian government launched large, sustained operations to counter the terroristic threats in Sinai, 79.3% of the respondents reported that they fear of being victims personally or any of their families because of the violence around them.

The growing and great concern that their interests and living conditions would get worse lets 64.7% of the sample say that they feel collectively insecure and they do fear significantly about the future of their children.

When it comes once again to the role of Egyptian media portrayals of Sinai, the research responses revealed many negative and annoyed attitudes of Sinai people toward the media.

The first criticism of the media was that it lacks enough, sustainable, and multiple angles of Sinai life and its people. 78.4% bitterly said that the media don't genuinely know the real importance of the Sinai territories.

While that was the first attitude, the worst one was mentioned by 68.5% of the sample who said that "The Egyptian media always oppressing us by the repeated accusations of spying, infiltration, and treason"!!

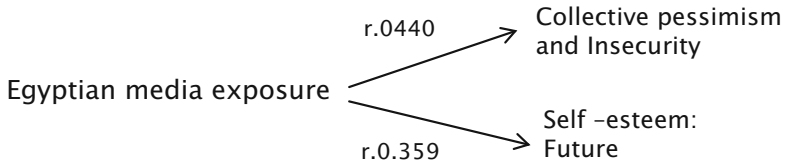
They elaborated further, blaming the Egyptian media for not hosting Sinai's people themselves to talk about their real problem, living conditions, customs, etc., instead of depending on the official sources only that always work only when there is a catastrophe that hit the peninsula!!. "Our news is mostly bloody." "Egyptian media coverage of Sinai is a mere reflection of the official marginalization, irresponsibility, and ignorance of Sinai!!"

It is worth noting here that Egypt has six local TV channels that cover the country's prominent regions like Alexandria channel, Delta channel, Upper Egypt channel, and Tiba channel. However, no single media outlet is explicitly concerned with Sinai region despite the exceptional social, environmental, political, and cultural circumstances that surround the peninsula.

"The media always present us as caring only for our tribal matters and belonging without paying any sincere devotion or belonging to our country as a whole," confirmed 60.9% of the sample.

Egyptian media seems to continue and strengthen the isolation strategy of Sinai's people to the extent that pushed 58.9% of them to say: "When we watch the Egyptian media, we feel like being second-class citizens who lack the simplest rights to live and to respect our privacy and customs"!

We could end addressing Sinai people status quo by the significant positive relationship between watching media covering their life and both their feeling of pessimism, anxiety, and collective insecurity and thinking of taking new cautious steps toward their future and their sons also ($p < .01$).



78.5 Conclusion

This chapter sought to analyze the portrayals of Sinai people in the Egyptian media as it pertains to the people themselves. It started by giving the reader an overview of the current Sinai's social, security, and economic status quo and structures. Then, it examined how image building could be or not an essential tool for political control over Sinai; before moving into how and why specific people's images are constructed and deconstructed by the mass media and how this is affecting and affected by the different and multiple aspects of development.

While many Arabic and Western studies tackled the Sinai Peninsula issues, yet almost no single research focused on the people themselves: How they perceive their own identity?! How they evaluate their image in other Egyptian's eyes?! And how they judge what is being presented to them via Egyptian media?!

A quick glance at the development measures that could boost the integration of Sinai's people into the formal Egyptian economy and provide alternatives to smuggling, we would easily realize that "the poor state of Egypt's public finances and the myriad challenges facing the country as a whole could mean that the needs of the Sinai may continue to be neglected despite the promise to invest" (Watanabe 2015).

Bright promises only follow almost every terroristic attack and then fade out. Although the officials quickly introduce many symbols and discourses of unity to the people there, quick observations more quickly show that the development of a sense of belonging at their popular level is slow.

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Protest as Communication for Development and Social Change in South Africa

79

Elizabeth Lubinga

Contents

79.1 Development and Social Challenges in South Africa 1382
79.2 Using Protest as Communication for Change 1386
79.3 Service Delivery Protests: The Case of Ses'khona People's Rights Movement in the Western Cape and Vuwani in Limpopo Provinces 1387
79.4 Protests for the Delivery of Health Services: The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) 1388
79.5 Gender-Related Protests: Societal, Institutionalized, Corrective Rape, and Gender Violence 1388
79.6 Protests for Affordable Access to Tertiary Education: "#MustFall Movements" 1390
79.7 A Critical Analysis of Protest Action in South Africa: Successes and Limitations ... 1391
79.7.1 Successes 1391
79.7.2 Limitations 1393
79.8 Conclusion 1395
References 1396

Abstract

South Africa has one of the highest rates of protest in the world. The country experiences a strong protest culture, with more than two million people protesting every year (Plaut, Behind the Marikana massacre. New Statesman. Retrieved from https://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/world-affairs/2012/08/behind-marikana-massacre, 2012). Such frequent occurrences of protest action make some critics assert that the country may be the protest capital of the world (Bhardwai 2017, Runciman, SA is the protest capital of the world. Pretoria News, 22 May 2017. Retrieved 26 Oct 2017 from https://www.iol.co.za/pretoria-news/sa-is-protest-capital-of-the-world-9279206, 2017).

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The development and social challenges confronting post-1994 South Africa, after the country achieved democracy, are mostly responsible for fuelling protest action with mass mobilization for social change often taking the form of visible street protests. Yet protest as a tool for communication is not new to the South African arena. It is rooted in a history of mass action against the pre-1994 government as attested to by among others, the 1976 Youth Uprising against the then proposed education policies. There is an increased use of protest as communication for change as evidenced by the sheer volume of protests, with three protests and labor strikes recorded per day (Institute for Security Services, At the heart of discontent: measuring public violence in South Africa. Retrieved from https://issafrica.org, 2016).

This chapter identifies some of the core development and social challenges confronting the country and outlines how protest has been used to draw the attention of stakeholders including policy makers to the problems. Exemplars of protest action used in the areas of health, housing, education and literacy, gender and other human rights, social justice, and access to social service provision in communities are provided. Finally, the chapter offers a critique of protest action in South Africa, by discussing their success stories and limitations.

Keywords

Protest action · Development and social challenges · Service delivery · Communication for change · Protest communication strategies

79.1 Development and Social Challenges in South Africa

South Africa has a deeply entrenched protest culture. In order to gain insight into how protest action has been used in the country to address development and social change in many areas, it is relevant to begin with a discussion of some of the prevailing developmental and social challenges in South Africa. The discussion premises from the fact that many of the developmental and social challenges responsible for protest action in South Africa today are legacies of the pre-1994 apartheid era. This view does not negate the possibility that other protests may have emanated from public discontent towards post-1994 government inadequacies. In fact, Bedasso and Obikili (2016) posit that unfulfilled expectations with respect to one's own human capital accumulation have had the biggest effect on the propensity for militant protest, not only at the individual level but at the municipal level too. Mpofu (2017) points out that in disrupting the world around them, the poor and marginalized majority in South Africa seek for authorities to address their grievances through strategic and effective communication.

From a sociological point of view, Burawoy (2017) proposes two types of social movements. Movements based on unequal inclusion in major institutions of society, such as labor, and those based on forcible exclusion from the same institutions, manifesting in service delivery deficiencies electricity, water, healthcare, and sanitation. The latter type breeds the kind of protest action that this chapter addresses.

A brief contextualization of prevailing challenges, followed by exemplars in areas responsible for most of the recent protest action namely: settlement (housing), health-related issues, local government service provision, access to education; unemployment, human rights – gender, racial, labor, LGBTQI rights, and economic equity, follows.

Poverty, unemployment, and inequality. During the first quarter of 2017, the unemployment rate rose to a 14-year high of 27.7% – the highest figure since September 2003 later decreasing to 26.7% at the end of the year (Stats SA 2018). Such a high rate inevitably translates into competition for scarce resources between citizens-vs-citizens, but mostly, citizens-vs-foreign nationals, with the latter perceived as threats to access to socioeconomic resources.

In 1994, the government identified poverty as one of the greatest challenges to socioeconomic development. A Stats SA (2017) Report on trends in South Africa reveals that poverty is on the increase in the country. In 2015, 55.5% or more than half of the country's population, equivalent to 30.4 million people were living in poverty in 2015, rising from 53.2% in 2011. Over the years, the government has devised various policies in an attempt to alleviate poverty, from the Reconstruction and Development Programme to the more recent, controversial proposed Radical Economic Transformation Policy.

Access to land. Land and agricultural-related labor are some of the important areas of economic development in any society. Historically, The Natives Land Act of 1913 and 1936, which set aside 13% of the land in South Africa for citizens categorized as blacks, also restricted them to areas of their cultural origin, with minority whites having access to 87%. By 2012, postapartheid land reform had transferred 7.95 million hectares into black ownership, equivalent to 7.5% according to the University of the Western Cape's Institute for Poverty, Land, and Agrarian Studies (Naki 2017). The consequences of these legislations then, were: many families lost their land and faced restrictions to providing labor in areas lying outside of their "homelands." Today, land expropriation remains a controversial "bone" of contention among various demographic groups in South Africa, with the December 2017 ANC National Conference provoking a flurry of divergent discussions on proposing that land should be expropriated without compensation.

Provision of basic services. Since 1994, government has made significant headway in the provision of basic services to previously disadvantaged communities through the RDP strategy, which not only emphasizes sustainable but also equitable access to social services. Between 1993 and 2000, local governance underwent fundamental transformations in a bid to tum it into an effective and efficient service delivery tool. Previously, disadvantaged sections of the population appear to have benefitted from the provision of basic services by the post-1994 government. A 2016 General Household Survey indicates that households with inadequate or severely inadequate access to food decreased from 23.9% in 2010 to 22.3% in 2016. The percentage of households that experienced hunger decreased from 23.8% to 11.8%, while the percentage of individuals who experienced hunger decreased from 29.3% to 13.4% over the same period (Stats SA 2017).

Table 1 Percentages of households with access to basic services

Year	Piped or tap water	Electricity	Housing (fully owned)
2004	86.9	80.9	54.7
2006	88.9	80.7	59.2
2008	88.8	81.9	61.4
2010	90.0	82.9	57.5
2012	90.8	85.3	54.5
2013	90.8	85.4	

Table 1 shows that access to basic services has generally increased over the years. In late 1993 and early 1994, 53.6% of households had access to electricity (Wilkinson 2015), although in 2012, the then Minister of Energy Dipuo Peters allegedly claimed that only 30% of households had access to electricity in 1994. To date, more than 85% of households in the country have access to the service.

In terms of the improvement of sanitation, while the Western Cape (94.8%) and Gauteng (90.2%) have greatly improved, some rural provinces such as Limpopo (50%), Mpumalanga (62%), Eastern Cape (71.2%), and Kwazulu Natal (73.9%) still fall short of the national rate of improvement of 77.9% (Stats SA 2017).

For some communities, the use of bucket toilets as a form of sanitation prevails. The Nelson Mandela Bay Government in the Eastern Cape Province, for instance, in 2013 made progress in reducing the number of consumers using bucket toilets from a high of 30,202 to 16,317 in 2016, yet the system remains a repugnant reality for many residents. In May 2016, frustration over bucket toilets erupted into a violent service delivery protest by Missionvale residents within the city following in the wake of bucket-system protests by residents of Khayelitsha in the Western Cape in 2013 and Soweto Township in Gauteng Province in 2014, among others. A 2016 census of municipalities by Stats SA (2017) reveals that of the 68, 028 consumer units in South Africa using a bucket toilet in 2016, 24% were located in Nelson Mandela Bay. Possibly, the country has not witnessed the end to such protests, given that by 2016, 45 of South Africa's 278 municipalities, including Free State (44%), Eastern Cape (33%), and Northern Cape (15%), were still providing communities with the bucket system instead of portable or permanent flush toilets (PFTs) (Fig. 1).

Health services. The government has invested a lot of money into redressing health inequality in the country. Healthcare was the fourth largest item of government expenditure (totalling R157 billion – 11 cents out of every rand, spent by government) in 2014/15. HIV/AIDS and related diseases such as tuberculosis remain responsible for consuming a large portion of the health budget. For example, the number of people living with HIV in South Africa increased from an estimated 4.94 million in 2002 to 7.06 million by 2017 (Stats SA 2017). As Venter et al. (2017) reveal:

> . . . for 2014–2015, USD350 million was spent on ART for just <3 million people living with HIV, most of it on first-line treatment. From mid-2016, the number of people on ART increased to 3.4 million, with approximately 145,000 of them on second-line treatment and just 700 on third-line treatment. The increase in public spending is expected to continue. . .the national Department of Health (DoH) announced a drop of the previous

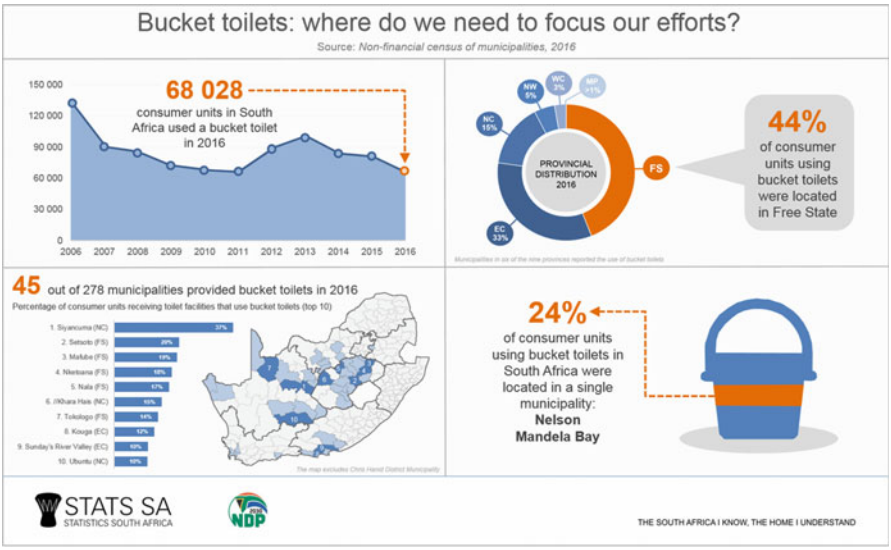

Fig. 1 2016 statistics showing the prevalence of the bucket system in South Africa

CD4 thresholds for ART initiation from September 2016, theoretically doubling the number of people eligible for ART to >6 million people (p. 28).

In South Africa, the burden of the provision of health services largely falls onto the public health system, with as many as 45 million, or 82 out of every 100 - South Africans, falling outside the medical aid net, and are therefore largely dependent on public healthcare. Only 17 in 100 South Africans have medical insurance, guaranteeing access to private healthcare (Stats SA 2017). Yet, as Mayosi and Benatar (2014) point out, many of the state-run hospitals in South Africa are in a state of crisis, with much of the public health care infrastructure run down and dysfunctional as a result of underfunding, mismanagement, and neglect. Such existing health challenges serve to underscore that health equity and provision of adequate health services are yet to be achieved in South Africa. Schiavo (2014) conceptualizes health equity as a guiding principle to eliminating disparity in health, by minimizing or reducing differences in the well-being and health status of diverse populations and groups.

Racial inequality and participation: transformation/access to university education. Historically, access to tertiary education, especially at elite universities also referred to as historically advantaged institutions (HAIs) was limited to wealthy white minority and the middle class. Although under post-1994 governance, higher education continues to be transformed, a number of students from poor and low-income backgrounds continue to face serious challenges in pursuing and successfully completing higher education degrees. The National Student Financial Aid Scheme Act, 1999 (Act No. 56 of 1999) was established to provide for the granting of loans and bursaries to eligible students attending public higher education and training, yet to-date tertiary institutions still hemorrhage students.

Protests in the field of education, especially higher education, have not solely focused on the lack of access by economically disadvantaged masses, or related financial constraints evidenced by the #FeesMustFall (#FMF) movement, but have also addressed the decolonization of education through the #RhodesMustFall (#RMF) movement that began at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in March 2015.

Economic racial inequality and participation: economic empowerment. Economically, attempts to redress the legacies of economic inequality in South Africa were made through the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) Act, amended in 2013, put into place to achieve greater participation in and control of the economy by black South Africans. The policy has since been criticized for benefitting a small elite group of black middle class, with the envisaged economic transformation not filtering down to the poor masses. Southall (2007) points out that B-BBEE has become highly controversial, that it serves as a block to foreign investment, encourages a re-racialization of the political economy and promotes the growth of a small but remarkably wealthy politically connected "empowerment" elite.

Gender-related issues. Socially, gender issues may not have been a direct legacy of the apartheid system; however, they too have been responsible for a number of protests in society. Protests have resulted from gender violence including societal rape of vulnerable groups such as children and women, institutionalized sexual abuse at institutions such as universities, as well as hate crimes against the formerly Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) now LGBTQIA (adding Queer, Intersex, and Asexual/allied) community. Accurate rape statistics in South Africa are not readily available. Publicly available police crime statistics may reveal how many rapes are reported but not how many are committed. A 2017 Press Release by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) argues that "the data is certainly an undercount as many women are too afraid to report rapes. . . in 2015/16 alone, 20 254 children were reported to have been victims of rape and sexual assault (p. 1)."

Hate crimes against the LGBT community occur even though the 1996 South African Constitution globally recognized as being the first jurisdiction in the world to provide constitutional protection to LGBT people, under Section 9(3) disallows discrimination on race, gender, sexual orientation among others. A country-wide survey among over 2000 members in South Africa by Out LGBT Wellbeing (2016) reveals they experienced hate crimes ranging from murder, corrective rape and sexual abuse to being verbally insulted.

In sum, it is impossible to map out the entire gamut of the causes of protests in South Africa. In what follows, some exemplars of the use of protest as communication for social and development change are highlighted.

79.2 Using Protest as Communication for Change

A variety of protest communication strategies have been used to raise the awareness of society and policymakers such as government and other institutions, to various areas of discontent by citizens in South Africa. Bond and Mottiar (2013) suggest that different protesters prefer to use specific tactics. In community protests related to

service delivery and political accountability, burning tires and barricading roads seem to be the most favored tactics. For workers, strike action often includes, marching, demonstrating, and picketing. Student protests favor strikes and boycott, as well as marching, demonstrating, and picketing, including destruction of property and vandalism, in addition to intimidation and disruptions. Protest action is evolving. Recently, protest action increasingly encompasses destruction of public infrastructure such as schools, public libraries; destruction of local government representatives' property and possessions such as houses and cars; dumping of rubbish and human waste as well as nudity or baring of body parts in public places.

Yet as Brown (2015) argues, whether the sites that citizens use to express their political agency and to express their demands for social citizenship or effective democracy are situated within, outside of the state, or at grassroots, the scope revolves around articulation of claims for proper healthcare, access to education, housing, and basic services such as water, electricity, or sewage removal.

79.3 Service Delivery Protests: The Case of Ses'khona People's Rights Movement in the Western Cape and Vuwani in Limpopo Provinces

Occurrence of service delivery protests in the country has been both localized in communities, but has in some cases, been taken to the public arena, rendering it debatable as to which protest communication modality is more visible. For instance, in June 2013, members of the Ses'khona People's Rights Movement in the Western Cape engaged in an internationally visible protest against being provided with portable rather than flushing toilets by the Provincial government. Protesters dumped human waste and raw sewerage at the Cape Town International Airport disrupting domestic and international services. The group had previously engaged in a similar "feces war," dumping human waste on the steps of the Western Cape Provincial legislature in Wale Street, outside provincial offices in Greenmarket Square and on a convoy of vehicles in which the then Premier of the Province, Helen Zille was travelling to a Green Economy event (Dano and Barnes 2013).

At the local community level, it would be a misnomer to classify the 2015–2016 Vuwani community protests, responsible for a complete shutdown of services in the area as service delivery protests. This is because residents revolted against municipal boundary demarcation. However, what was prominent about these protests is that they led to a complete shutdown of services in the community, leading some to classify them as service delivery protests. Relevant to the discussion, is that they can be indirectly traced back to demarcations imposed by the pre-1994 government, on the black population. As Buccus (2016) notes, the struggle over the demarcation was shaped by old Bantustan borders and identities and therefore became an ethnic conflict. In contextualization, the Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB) in 2016 made a decision to incorporate Vuwani into a new Malamulele Municipality (a different tribal group based on apartheid restrictions) from the community-favored Makhadho Municipality.

79.4 Protests for the Delivery of Health Services: The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC)

Civil Society Group, Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) often credited with ensuring health policy change in South Africa, was cofounded by Zackie Achmat in 1998, with the primary aim of campaigning for equitable treatment access for all people living with HIV/AIDS (Sabi and Rieker 2017). The organization engaged in demonstrations in Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg in March 1999, specifically advocating for Prevention of Mother-to-Child Transmission (PMTCT) by provision of AZT (an antiretroviral – ARV) at birth. Organization members went to various public places such as malls, hospitals, clinics, and schools, to solicit signatures from people from different occupations, in support of the cause. On South Africa's Human Rights Day (21 March 1999), another campaign "Fast to save lives," which spread countrywide, was held at one of South Africa's largest hospitals, Chris Hani Baragwanath in Johannesburg. It attracted people living with HIV/AIDS, medical doctors, traditional healers, other civil society, and political groups such as the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Johannesburg branch of the South African Communist Party who pledged to support the movement (TAC 2010). At a personal level, TAC cofounder Zackie Achmat who is also HIV positive, pledged to abstain from using ARVs until the treatment was available to the public (Achmat 2004).

Today, the organization engages in activism intended to strengthen the South African health system, monitors TB and AIDS response, advocates for access to quality and affordable medicine, and builds local activism (TAC 2017). For instance, in September 2016, 500 members of the TAC held a picket outside a hospital in Vosloorus in the Gauteng Province to highlight problems such as negligence, poor staff attitudes, overcrowded and dirty facilities, long waiting times, and even patients being turned away. On 24 October 2017, over 1000 TAC and 36 patient groups marched to the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) in support of government's efforts, in a #FixThePatentLaws protest. The campaign focused on advocating for access to cheaper generic cancer medicine.

79.5 Gender-Related Protests: Societal, Institutionalized, Corrective Rape, and Gender Violence

The use of the body, specifically semi/nudity, has become popular in South Africa as a strategy of protest mostly against but not excluded to gender-related issues. In May 2017, over 100 female students from the University of Pretoria held a topless protest against rape and sexual harassment allegedly taking place at the University campus and on their commute between the University campus and their residences (Chauke and Keppler 2017). In a similar protest in 2016, students at Rhodes University protested while topless against the rape culture at the institution and rape in general.

Nudity resurfaced as a protest tactic in November 2017, when some female students at UCT protested in full nudity during #FMF protests (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2 2017 #FeesMustFall protest at UCT. (Image: Twitter/VernacNews)

Thompson (2017) argues that globally, South Africa included, bare breasts have for long been sexualized, and feminists have long known that there are few things more powerful and important than their own bodies in the fight against oppression and patriarchy. He notes that many women have pushed to desexualize the breast and female body adding that one spin-off of this is the increasing prevalence of topless protests in countries throughout the world. However, in South Africa, not every protest against gender-related issues such as rape has used (semi)nudity as a strategy or solely involved female participants.

In August 2017, a mixed-gender one-day silent protest against victims raped and murdered through gender-based violence was held at the UCT (as well as the University of Witwatersrand). Organized by the Aids Healthcare Foundation, UCT survivors and UCT Sexual Assault Response Team, protesters taped their mouths and marched in silence through the University campus and broke the silence with shouts demanding for justice (Jacobs 2017). On 20 May 2017, a large group mostly made up of men and some women named hashtags #NotInOurName and #StopItNow, organized by several NGOs and civil society groups, marched in Pretoria to protest against killings of women and children in the country.

South Africa has also witnessed protests against homophobic violence, especially the corrective rape of lesbians. Corrective rape involves men raping lesbian women to "turn" them straight or "cure" them of their sexual orientation (Koraan and Geduld 2015). On 5 January 2010, South African volunteer anti-rape advocacy group, Luleki Sizwe from the townships of Cape Town petitioned the Ministry of Justice to address corrective rape. They collected more than 100,000 signatures from 163 countries asking the then Justice Minister Jeff Radebe to combat "corrective rape," which they felt was on the increase. The signatures were sent by email circulation through international platform for change: change.org (Nkalane 2011).

79.6 Protests for Affordable Access to Tertiary Education: "#MustFall Movements"

Student-led protests are not new to South Africa, dating as far back as the 1976 protests. Post-1994 student protests have been occurring at various institutions, especially at historically disadvantaged institutions (HDIs). For example, at the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT Soshanguve Campus), it is estimated that more than once every year between 2005 and 2010, 28 student protests took place against academic exclusion, access to basic services, insufficient funding and financial exclusion (Vilakazi 2017). Critics argue that from 2015, university student protests gained visibility only because, they were engineered from HAIs, but that they had for long been taking place at HDIS (Malabela 2017a; Nyamnjoh 2016).

Different from previous episodes, October 2015 to 2017 University protests were nationwide, yet they were not homogenous to all the universities. For example, even though #FMF protests were geared towards achieving a 0% increment in University fees, the actual issues of contention differed across and were specific to individual universities, or were even campus-specific. While, the #FMF protests stemmed from the University of Witwatersrand, some institutions such as the University of Zululand (UNIZULU) and the University of Limpopo (UL) did not experience any/as massive protests as some HAIs and HDIs (Malabela 2017a; Edwin 2017). Furthermore, issues within institutions as Malabela (2017b) points out that at the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS), the 2016 movement although not as prominent as it was in 2015, was more about challenging the status quo and it centered around the decolonization of the university rather than on free fees.

At some institutions, campus-specific causes ensured that the level of violence varied between campuses. At the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), Kujeke (2017) notes that Durban-Westville's violent protests were linked to its history as a historically black university. Students interviewed at Durban-Westville strongly felt that resources allocated to their campus were inferior compared to those allocated to the Howard College campus, which is historically a former white campus under the former University of Natal. At some of the merged institutions, students viewed the inequalities to be highly entrenched and resistant to any transformative initiatives. Post-1994 mergers between former white and black universities thus did not seem to resolve the racial and class inequalities that existed prior to 1994 (Robus and Macleod 2006).

In relation, the #RMF movement attempted to fight against physical and epistemological colonial symbols, such as statues, names, resources, and curricula. The #RMF spread across many universities too, addressed a different aspect of tertiary education: decolonization of education, and initially included other stakeholders such as academics, alumni among others. It targeted the desecration and/or destruction of symbols associated with colonialism, sentiments of which are captured below (UCT #RhodesMustFall mission statement 2015):

> This movement is not just about the removal of a statue. . . Its removal will not mark the end but the beginning of the long overdue process of decolonising this university. In our belief,

> the experiences seeking to be addressed by this movement are not unique to an elite institution such as UCT, but rather reflect broader dynamics of a racist and patriarchal society that has remained unchanged since the end of formal apartheid. (p. 6)

Like #FMF, the #RMF decolonization movement played out differently at different institutions and different campuses. The focus may have been on destruction/removal of colonial statues at UCT and UKZN, yet at Rhodes University, protesters demanded for change of a name viewed to be a legacy of the colonial past. At Stellenbosch University, the focus was on the (alienating) role of Afrikaans as the language of instruction, with some of the black students talking about their lived-experiences of racism in lecture halls and residences in a video gone viral, *Luister*. Again, at some HDIs such as UNIZULU and UL, students were reluctant to participate in the countrywide student movements. For example, students from UL criticized "the perceived arrogance of previously white universities like Wits, which have the power to capture news headlines," adding that the struggles waged in previously black universities do not grab headlines, unless there is a death or something of that nature (Malabela 2017a).

79.7 A Critical Analysis of Protest Action in South Africa: Successes and Limitations

The fruits of protest action in South Africa post-1994 have been several and varied. Protests have produced success stories, but they have also highlighted limitations to its use as a tool for communicating development and social change.

79.7.1 Successes

79.7.1.1 Opens Channels of Communication

Some researchers have argued that the very fact that protests take place reveals that formal channels of communication are blocked or non-existent. Municipal IQ (2016) points out that a large part of the problem sparking protests in South Africa has been very poor communication between representatives of metros and communities, essentially a task of ward councillors and local officials. Protest action thus gives protesters a voice to highlight their grievances with a possibility of opening avenues for policy makers or government to participate in finding solutions to problems.

79.7.1.2 Creates Awareness About Existing/Underlying Problems

Protest action creates awareness about existing social and developmental problems. The #RMF Movement, by illustration, which started at UCT unearthed deeper underlying problems at university level. As Chaudhuri (2016) argues, while the protest action may have started with demands to remove the statue of Cecil Rhodes from prominence at UCT, what was at stake was much deeper. At the center of the widespread protest, as Chaudhuri (2016) aptly states, was an ethos that gives

"academic" space and even preeminence to such a figure (Cecil Rhodes) and hesitates to interrogate Rhodes's legacy.

79.7.1.3 Partial/Full Achievement of Goals of Protest Action

When protest action takes place, it is often able to achieve some or most of the goals that initially inspired the action. For example, under #RMF, students and some members of staff at Stellenbosch University demanded for change regarding the use of Afrikaans as the language of instruction. On 12 November 2015, the University of Stellenbosch's Rector's Management Team recommended a new language policy in line with Open Stellenbosch's (protest) demands; specifically, the adoption of English as a lingua franca (De Villiers 2015). At UCT, #RMF's origin, members of the university community were invited to motivate their positions on whether the Rhodes statue should stay or be removed. On 9 April 2015, the UCT Convocation, senate, and council authorized the removal of the Cecil Rhodes statue created in 1934.

In the health sector, the DoH's success in reducing the mother-to-child transmission (MTCT) of HIV is partially attributed to the TAC. The TAC set up a court case against government regarding provision of ARVs for PMTCT. A Constitutional Court monumental judgement compelled the DoH to make the ARV Nevirapine available to pregnant women in the public healthcare sector in 2002 and paved the way for the introduction of ARV treatment for all South Africans. In 2015, HIV transmission from mother-to-child in South Africa fell to just 1.5% in 2015, down from 30% in the early 2000s, exceeding the projected national target of 1.8% (AVERT 2015).

In local governance, Von Holdt et al. (2011) state that at times, protests would result into high visibility responses by the ruling parties' senior African National Congress (ANC) officials or even Cabinet Ministers as was the case of the protest in Vuwani in Limpopo Province and probes into municipal management and/or suspensions of municipal staff would ensue.

The #FMF and #RMF movements that swept across universities in South Africa may not have achieved free education for university students or immediate decolonization of education, as the goals were. In the short-term, at a communicative level, they collectively brought the issues of decolonization and transformation back into South African discourse (Malabela 2017b), in addition the President established a Commission, following the 2015 and 2016 #FMF. While free education for all was not yet feasible in 2017, the free university education matter was still under consideration by the Presidency, with a view to finding a feasible long-term solution. In December 2017, then President Jacob Zuma announced that government would provide subsidized tertiary education for the poor.

79.7.1.4 Creates Legacies to the Cause of Protest

Results are not always restricted to local sites of protest action, they have shown the potential to spread from local to national or even international level. The #RMF movement, which started at UCT, spread to other South African Universities, became as far-reaching as Oxford and Edinburg universities in the UK and the

University of California, Berkeley, in the USA (News24 2015). According to the Herts and Essex Observer (2015) at the University of Oxford, students called for a statue of Rhodes to be removed from Oriel College. They also started a movement at the university to better represent non-white culture in the curriculum as well as to combat racial discrimination and insensitivity (Aftab 2015; Rhoden-Paul 2015).

The legacies of one problem may spread to other social issues. At TUT Soshanguve, a new student movement, Black First Land First, not aligned to the Student Representative Council or political parties emerged during #FMF. In addition, whereas the #RMF movement emanated from an academic environment, it spread into local governance, with South African political party Economic Freedom Front (EFF) calling for the removal of other apartheid-era statues situated in various municipalities. At UCT, subsequent to #RMF, UCT fallists effected various other programs including protests and art installations on 16 August 2015 to mark the third anniversary of the Marikana massacre, demonstration under #PatriarchyMustFall, which confronted UCT's institutionalized misogyny, queerphobia, and transphobia as well as demands for the insourcing of outsourced workers (Langa et al. 2017).

79.7.1.5 Fast-Tracks Crafting of Solutions to Longstanding Social and Developmental Problems

Many of the legacies of apartheid have been long-standing and have/will take time to solve. However, as a result of some of the protests, there has been fast-tracking of the crafting the necessary solutions. As Duncan (2016, p. 1) points out, protests hold the capacity to "wake society up from its complacent slumber, make it realize that there are problems that need to be addressed urgently and hasten social change."

79.7.2 Limitations

79.7.2.1 May Deviate Attention from the Legitimacy of/or the Cause

The use of shock tactics such as semi/nudity may be legitimate in protest; however, they may distract attention from the genuine causes that initiated the protest. In November 2017, for example, some of the UCT students who were arrested as part of the #FMF protests, meant to demand free university education, instead appeared in court on charges of public indecency. The media conducted intensive coverage of nudity used by some female students, while videos circulated on the social media focusing on the use of police brutality in arresting the naked students.

In addition, criminal elements have often been known to "hijack" legitimate social protests, turning them into xenophobic destruction "movements." Bond and Mottiar (2013) refer to these as "popcorn" protests in view of their tendency to flare up and settle down immediately. "While 'up in the air', protesters are often subject to the prevailing winds, and if these were from the right, the protests could – and often did – become xenophobic" (p. 289).

79.7.2.2 Overturning the Gains of Democracy/Failure to Achieve Long-Term Goals

The destruction of public roads, schools, libraries, clinics, and other infrastructure characteristic of many of the service delivery protests may reverse the gains of democracy. The lengthy Vuwani Community protests witnessed the burning down of more than 30 schools, with books and school records. Section 27, a non-governmental organization (NGO) that had been working for several years in the Vuwani area to ensure the construction of schools, provision of textbooks among others, pointed out that the strike negatively affected the rights of 42,664 pupils' access to education. The costs for the reconstruction of the schools was estimated at over R400 million, which only covers the buildings, almost half of the total Limpopo Department of Education's 2016/2017 budget that caters for all the province's 4062 schools is R930 million.

79.7.2.3 Danger of Becoming the "Dreaded Vice" that Originated the Protest

Social movements often face the danger of becoming the very "thing" they are fighting against, as was the case of the #RMF student movement where "alienation of the other" arose (Nyamnjoh 2016), in a protest against alienation of black students and institutional racism. At UCT, members of the #RMF Movement (fighting against discrimination amongst others) took over the food service in Fuller Hall's dining room and discriminated against white, colored, and Indian students by barring them from entering the hall, where they served food to black students only. One of the students is quoted as saying that the protesting students "took something that was pure and good and turned it into a fight: Black against white. . ." (Huisman 2016).

In December 2017, Rhodes University banned two student females for life after they were convicted of committing acts of criminality by dragging male students (alleged to be rapists) out of their rooms, during a protest against rape at the university.

Nyamnjoh also criticizes measures proposed to solve decolonization of the currirulum at Universities by protesters:

> When one claims that black lecturers will channel the 'politics of being black' in their disciplines. . .It seems to suggest an experience particular to an identity that all others who identify with said identity possess. It gives the impression that more black representation in the academic staff is sufficient for the decolonisation of an otherwise alienating curriculum. . .One could reasonably end up with their worst nightmare – a prospective black lecturer whose neurotic obsession with Kant precludes possibilities of Africanisation (p. 263).

79.7.2.4 Co-constructed Violence

Violence during the student protests at UCT over the 2015/16 period was co-constructive (Langa et al. 2017) whereby ". . .violence reproduced violence in a game of disruption and destruction between the students and the university, the latter through the security apparatus of the police services as well as private security

(p. 74)". The students used symbolism, damage to property, art installations and the disruption of physical space as modalities of protests, punctuated with traditional modes of protest such as mass toyi-toying animated by dancing and the singing of struggle songs, stemming from pre-1994 era (Bond and Mottiar 2013).

Violence turned personal during the #MustFall movements, when students retaliated against representatives of institutions perceived to be perpetrators of violence. Langa et al. (2017) report that in 2016, a private security officer was seriously injured when students dropped a rock on his head from an elevated position. Students at UCT physically assaulted the vice-chancellor on two occasions. In 2015 during a senate meeting, a student threw a bottle filled with water that hit Price on his forehead, while in 2016 outside the Bremner Building, a student reportedly struck Price on his abdomen while he was addressing the students' demands.

But media's coverage of protests often depends on who is involved and whether or not the protest is violent. Media tend to focus mainly on violent protests, which creates a perhaps erroneous impression that protests in South Africa are inherently violent. Von Holdt et al. (2011), in a Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) Report on Collective Violence, quote violent protesters:

> Violence is the only language that our government understands. Look we have been submitting memos, but nothing was done. We became violent and our problems were immediately resolved. It is clear that violence is a solution to all problems (p. 28).

79.8 Conclusion

The development and social challenges as well as exemplars provided in the chapter are but a meagre representation of the numerous protests that take place on a daily basis in South Africa. For instance, prominent protest action towards contemporary problems, such as the enduring citizen noncompliance towards payment of tollgate levies in Gauteng Province and countrywide 2017 #BlackMonday protests against growing farm attacks and murders have not been covered.

Also, whereas protest as a tool for CDSC in South Africa has been largely successful in some instances, its successes and limitations indicate that successful achievement of long-term goals to protest action cannot solely attributed to protest action. Violent protest, if or when used as a means of communication, should work in conjunction with other tools, not only in order to achieve short-term but also long-term goals. With the massive volume of protests, that become increasingly more violent in order to gain visibility in the media and in society, the possibility exists that different, yet effective communication strategies may have to be crafted. Peaceful means could be a solution. They too, though rarely used in South Africa, have been shown to be successful in drawing the attention of stakeholders such as policy makers, responsible for effecting the necessary social change, a case in point being the 100,000 email campaign against corrective rape.

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Case Study of Organizational Crisis Communication: Oxfam Responds to Sexual Harassment and Abuse Scandal

80

Claudia Janssen Danyi

Contents

80.1 Introduction 1400
80.2 Crises and the Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT) 1400
80.3 Case Study: Oxfam in Crisis 1402
80.3.1 Organizational Background 1402
80.3.2 The Crisis Situation and the Consequences 1403
80.3.3 Oxfam Responds 1403
80.4 Conclusion 1407
References 1408

Abstract

The #MeToo movement has put a spotlight on sexual abuse in a wide range of industries and organizations, including the aid sector. In February 2018, Oxfam GB faced a severe organizational crisis after news reports alleged a cover-up of sexual abuse and harassment perpetrated by its staff in Haiti from 2010–2011. This case study applies crisis communication theory to analyze Oxfam's response to the scandal. The analysis shows that Oxfam's initial response focused on explaining and justifying its past decisions fell short to address the public issues at hand. As the organization quickly shifted strategies toward full apology and corrective action, inconsistencies and misstatements continued to undermine its messages. The case study points to unique crisis communication challenges for global NGOs in the #MeToo era and the importance of crisis preparedness and training for NGOs.

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Crisis communication · #MeToo movement · Oxfam · Scandal · Sexual abuse and harassment · Strategic communication

80.1 Introduction

NGOs provide vital services to communities in crises. Yet, sometimes they face crises of their own (see Gibelman and Gelman 2004). On February 9, 2018, Oxfam GB came under intense public scrutiny after *The Times* (O'Neill 2018a, b) alleged that the organization had covered up sexual harassment and abuse perpetrated by its staff in Haiti from 2010 to 2011. The crisis led to parliamentary hearings, official investigations, resignations of Oxfam executives, and the loss of 7,000 regular donors, among others (BBC 2018).

The #MeToo movement has gained momentum after prominent women broke their silence about sexual harassment and abuse in the film industry in October 2017. Following, women across the world took to social media to share their stories and named abusers (Zacharek et al. 2017). In consequence, beside powerful individuals, corporations, and public authorities, NGOs have also been at the center of a wave of scandals (Beaumont and Ratcliffe 2018). These crises critically undermine trust in NGOs, which commonly provide services to the most vulnerable populations, including women and children. What's more, because they depend on the support of multiple stakeholder groups, including governments, donors, partner organizations, and volunteers, organizational crises caused by misconduct can be particularly severe for NGOs.

While organizational wrongdoing ultimately demands change and corrective action, effective and ethical crisis communication is essential. The practice of crisis management focuses on alleviating impacts of crises on the organization and others. This includes crisis prevention and preparedness, crisis response, and postcrisis management (Institute for Public Relations 2007). This case study applies crisis communication theory, particularly the Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT), to analyze how Oxfam addressed the recent sexual harassment and abuse scandal. More specifically, it focuses on the organization's response and provides insights into important considerations for NGOs in crisis.

80.2 Crises and the Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT)

Coombs (2012) defined crises as "the perception of an unpredictable event that threatens important expectancies of stakeholders and can seriously impact an organization's performance and generate negative outcomes" (pp. 2–3). According to the premise that crises are perceptual, they arise when enough stakeholders view a situation as problematic, whether the organization agrees or not. Other scholars

have focused on crises as revolving around so-called legitimacy gaps (Sethi 1977), which occur when publics perceive that the organization's actions are not aligned with their expectations, norms, and values. The wave of recent scandals around past cases of sexual abuse and harassment indicates a change in public expectations toward organizational behavior and policies. Once legitimacy gaps arise, organizations need to find ways to realign themselves with norms and values they are perceived to have violated (for instance, Hearit 1995).

The Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT) developed by Coombs (2007) continues to be the most influential crisis communication framework to date (see Ma and Zhan 2016). SCCT holds that if the level of attribution of responsibility toward the organization for a crisis is high, then the reputational threat to the organization is high and vice versa. In other words, if the organization is viewed as at fault, the crisis will have a bigger impact on its reputation. SCCT then clusters crises into three crisis types on a continuum from low to high levels of responsibility: victim, accident, and preventable crises (Coombs 2012). When attacked by hackers, for instance, the organization may be viewed as bearing little responsibility for the situation (victim). A tragic fire may not have been caused by wrongdoing or neglect (accident), and when organizational members commit fraud, the crisis would have been preventable.

In any crisis, SCCT advises organizations to prioritize messages that (a) prevent harm to people and the environment and (b) explain how and why the situation occurred and what the organization is doing to prevent similar situations from occurring in the future. To restore an organization's reputation, however, the theory asserts that response strategies be selected according to crisis type to be effective (see Coombs 2007). Specifically, Coombs' (2012) drew on established rhetorical strategies of image restoration (see Benoit 1997) and categorized them according to the level of responsibility they accept. First, *denial postures* include messages aimed at attacking the accuser, denial, and scapegoating. These messages accept the least amount of responsibility and are most appropriate for crises caused by unfounded rumors, among others. Second, *diminishment postures* focus on excusing and justifying, which includes "minimizing the organization's responsibility" and "the perceived damage" (p. 155) and are best suited for accident crises. Third, *rebuilding postures* focus on apology and corrective action. They accept the highest amount of responsibility and are most appropriate for preventable crises. Finally, *bolstering postures* remind stakeholders of the value of the organization's work, praise stakeholders, and/or emphasize how the organization is also a victim. These strategies can be used in combination with other strategies. However, victimage postures are only appropriate when the organization faces a victim crisis (Coombs 2012).

Finally, SCCT established two intensifying factors – crisis history and prior reputation – that also influence the attribution of responsibility toward an organization. Accordingly, if an organization has a negative reputation and/or a history of similar crises, it will be less likely perceived as bearing low levels of responsibility, even in a genuine victim or accident crisis. In such cases, stakeholders tend to treat a victim crisis as an accident crisis and an accident crisis as a preventable crisis. Thus, depending on their prior reputation and crisis history, organizations have more or

less latitude when crafting crisis responses (Coombs 2012). Indicating the complexity of crisis situations, scholars have further identified additional variables that impact the effect of crisis messages, such as communication channels (Liu et al. 2011) or individual's locus of control (Claeys et al. 2010).

Overall, empirical studies have provided strong evidence for the tenets of SCCT (for instance, Coombs and Holladay 2002; Jeong 2009). Recent research, however, indicates that even well-matched crisis responses have comparably lower effects on organizational reputation than the type of crisis (see Ma and Zhan 2016). Yet, a poor crisis response, or lack thereof, can cause severe additional damage (see Coombs 2016; Grebe 2013). While SCCT thus provides important guidelines, initial crisis communication tactics should not be viewed as magic bullets that replace long-term efforts to rebuild trust.

80.3 Case Study: Oxfam in Crisis

80.3.1 Organizational Background

In 1995, Oxfam was founded by several NGOs to increase their "impact on the international stage to reduce poverty and injustice" (Oxfam n.d., para 1). Beside its International Secretariat (or Oxfam International) headquartered in Oxford, its member organizations, including Oxfam GB, operate independently in 20 countries. The organizations' work focuses on combatting poverty and hunger through empowerment, providing disaster relief and emergency response, as well as advocacy for social justice, including equality, sustainability, and women's rights.

Oxfam GB employs approximately 5,000 people (Oxfam 2017). In 2015/2016, more than 31,000 volunteers supported its work (Oxfam n.d.). Donations and retail operations each made up approximately 28% of its total 2016/2017 income of £406.8 million. 43% was generated from governments and public authorities (Oxfam 2017). At the onset of the crisis, Oxfam GB's most visible spokespersons included CEO Mark Goldring and the Chair of the Board of Trustees Caroline Thompson. Chief Executive Director Winnie Byanyima represented Oxfam International.

Headlines had come to question Oxfam's legitimacy before. In October 2017, after the release of Oxfam's annual report, several news articles (Bacchi 2017; Watt 2017) reported the dismissal of 22 Oxfam staff members "over allegations of sexual abuse" (para 1) and "87 claims of sexual exploitation and abuse involving its workers" (para 5). These reports, however, did not create a crisis for the organization back then. In 2014, Oxfam GB's former counter-fraud director was convicted of fraud. He had enriched himself with payments adding up to £65,000 (BBC 2014). Fraud has also been a repeated issue as several of its annual reports showed lost funds of over £400,000 due to fraudulent activities (for instance, Austin 2018). The crisis history likely created a perception of a potentially problematic organizational culture at the onset of this crisis.

80.3.2 The Crisis Situation and the Consequences

On October 5, 2011, Oxfam International issued a little-noticed press release. The organization reported the results of an internal investigation, which had found that "a small number of its staff members working in Haiti" (para 1) had violated the organization's code of conduct, undermined the organization's reputation, abused power, and engaged in bullying**.** While the press release did not specify the type of misconduct, it stated that these employees had already left Haiti and no longer worked for Oxfam (Oxfam International 2011).

Seven years later, on February 9, 2018, *The Times*' cover read "Top Oxfam staff paid Haiti survivors for sex. Charity covered up scandal in earthquake zone. Girls at 'Caligula orgy' may have been underage" (O'Neill 2018b). Below the headline, the newspaper placed a large picture of the director of Oxfam's operations in Haiti, Roland Van Hauwemeiren, who was at the center of the scandal. Oxfam thus faced a preventable crisis caused by organizational decisions and actions on two levels: first, sexual misconduct by employees and, second, mishandling of the misconduct by the organization.

Initial consequences included the resignation of Oxfam's Deputy Chief Executive Penny Lawrence, official investigations by the British Charity Commission and Haiti's government, and threats from the European Commission to withdraw its funding. Haiti suspended Oxfam GB from operating in the country for the duration of its investigation (Almasy 2018), and Oxfam's leadership agreed to abstain from applying for public grants in the UK until it could show significant improvements (Slawson 2018). What's more, Desmond Tutu and Minnie Driver publicly cut all ties with the organization, Oxfam's leadership testified in front of the International Development Committee, and the organization lost approximately 7,000 regular donors within just 11 days (BBC 2018). While the Charity Commission's inquiry is still ongoing at this time, Oxfam CEO Mark Goldring announced his resignation by the end of the year in May 2018 (Rawlinson 2018).

80.3.3 Oxfam Responds

Phase 1: Explanations and Justifications. Best practices of crisis communication include timeliness, honesty, and consistency (Coombs 2012). Oxfam GB and Oxfam International responded within hours of the publication of *The Times*' article. The early responses, however, indicate that Oxfam's leadership may have underestimated how the public and the press viewed this crisis. They also showed a lack of consistency between Oxfam International's and Oxfam's GB's statements. Oxfam GB's (2018a, b) first statements condemned the misconduct as "totally unacceptable" and focused on explaining and justifying how the organization had handled the incidents in 2011. In addition, the statements informed the public about measures, which had been put in place as a direct result of the 2011 investigation; a safeguarding team and a whistle-blower hotline. Stating that Oxfam GB (2018b) "hopes that they (our supporters) will be reassured by the steps we have taken" (para 7),

the organization indicated that it believes it had sufficiently addressed any past shortcomings. Oxfam International's (2018a) February 9 press release applied a less defensive strategy and acknowledged failure, which undermined Oxfam GB's message. After condemning sexual misconduct and reiterating the organization's stance against exploitation and abuse, the statement admitted that "[. . .] we have not done enough to change our own culture and to create the strongest possible policies to prevent harassment and protect people we work with around the world" (para 4). In addition, it mentioned that more cases of sexual harassment have recently surfaced at Oxfam.

Its global structure composed of Oxfam International and its independent national organizations resulted in several spokespersons from two structurally separate entities engaging in a public response at the onset of the crisis. Adding to inconsistencies and a multitude of voices was Oxfam GB's former CEO Dame Barbara Stocking who appeared on BBC Newsnight (2018) on February 10. Stocking had headed the organization in 2011 and fiercely defended the decisions made at the time without showing a hint of regret to the visible disbelief of the interviewer. Meanwhile, Oxfam's current CEO Goldring also gave press interviews. Still refusing to acknowledge that the misconduct had been addressed insufficiently, he issued a first narrow apology that mirrored sentiments of the statements from the prior day. "What I'm apologizing for," Goldring (cited from Guardian News 2018, 0:17) stated in off-the-cuff remarks, "is that nine Oxfam staff behaved in a way that was totally unacceptable and contrary to our values."

These first statements did not settle the situation. The public and press primarily seemed to judge this crisis as preventable, based on the perception that Oxfam had failed to handle sexual harassment and abuse appropriately and seriously enough. Oxfam GB's early focus on justifications and excuses – strategies most appropriate for accident and victim crises – did not address these concerns. Goldring (cited from Aitkenhead 2018) himself reflected on this dynamic in a now infamous interview; "What I felt really clearly is many people haven't wanted to listen to explanations" (para 4).

Crises can be fast-paced, dynamic, and unpredictable. Oxfam soon found itself facing a constantly shifting rhetorical situation. During the following two days, the organization issued two more statements (Oxfam International 2018b, c) in response to news reports, which had cast further doubt on the organization's handling of sexual harassment and abuse. *The Times* (O'Neill 2018c) reported that the employees who had resigned and were fired in 2011 simply took jobs with other aid agencies. News also surfaced that Van Hauwemeiren had been accused of similar misconduct on Oxfam's premises in Chad in 2006 (Ratcliffe and Quinn 2018). Adding to these revelations, the Charity Commission for England and Wales (2018), which registers and regulates charities, publicly responded to the emerging scandal; "Our approach to this matter would have been different had the full details that have been reported been disclosed to us at the time" (para 3). This statement cast further doubt on Oxfam GB's assurances that it had handled the incidents appropriately. Under mounting pressure, Oxfam shifted its response from a diminishment to a rebuilding posture.

Phase 2: Corrective Action, Apologies, and Resignations. On February 11, the Chair of Oxfam GB's Board of Trustees (cited from Oxfam 2018g) admitted in a press release that further improvement was necessary. Thompson apologized "unreservedly" (para 2) and assured that Oxfam would "fully learn the lessons of events in 2011" (para 3) by strengthening staff vetting and training and by extending reviews of its practices, among others. Oxfam International Executive Director Winnie Byanyima published a video statement that mirrored the acknowledgement of shortcomings and announced new initiatives (Oxfam International 2018e). These were later spelled out in a "comprehensive action plan to stamp out abuse" (Oxfam 2018d) aimed at increasing transparency and accountability as well as improving Oxfam's policies, practices, and culture (Oxfam International 2018f). Among others, these measures included an independent commission headed by women's rights activists (Oxfam International 2018g). The acknowledgments and repentant tone were promptly supported with the resignation of Oxfam GB's Deputy Chief Executive. "As programme director at the time," Penny Lawrence was quoted in two identical releases (Oxfam 2018c; Oxfam International 2018d), "I am ashamed that this happened on my watch and I take full responsibility" (para 4).

The organization followed up on the high-profile resignation with an open letter of apology signed by Goldring and Thompson and published in *The Guardian* and *The Times* on February 17, 2018 (see Sampson 2018). The letter was also posted in Oxfam stores (Ferguson 2018). The leaders explicitly apologized to "Oxfam supporters, friends and volunteers, [...]" as well as "to the people of Haiti and other places where the conduct of Oxfam staff has been reprehensible" (para 1) for misconduct and for the organization's failure to report the incidents accurately. Stating in bold letters that "We are listening" (para 4), they assured readers that Oxfam continues to work "hard to rebuild" (para 5) trust and reiterated the major initiatives to prevent similar wrongdoing in the future. In closing, the letter applied a strategy of bolstering by praising the "amazing, brave, committed staff and volunteers who are making remarkable life-saving, life-changing work happen in desperate situations" (para 9) and reminding readers of Oxfam's good work.

Placing a full-page ad in a high-profile newspaper is a risky choice for an NGO in a crisis. An ad provides full control over the content. However, spending a charity's money on what may be perceived as "just PR" could lead to further backlash during crises. Oxfam addressed possible concerns with a disclaimer on the bottom of the letter; "Private donors who wish to remain anonymous have kindly paid for this message" (para 13). What's more, Liu et al. (2011) have shown that publics are least likely to accept accommodative (or rebuilding) crisis messages when they are delivered via traditional media.

According to SCCT, rhetorical strategies of apology paired with corrective action are more appropriate to address this preventable crisis. Inconsistencies, however, continued to undermine Oxfam's attempts to restore its reputation. Particularly, Goldring's (cited from Aitkenhead 2018) statements in an interview with *The Guardian*, which preceded the open letter of apology by a day, further fueled the crisis:

> The intensity and the ferocity of the attack makes you wonder, what did we do? We murdered babies in their cots? Certainly, the scale and the intensity of the attacks feels out of proportion to the level of culpability. I struggle to understand it. You think, 'My God, there's something going on there.' (para 11)

This unfortunate quote quickly made headlines (for instance, Swinford and Bird 2018). It distracted from the official apology, and the posture of victimage and articulated lack of understanding for the public outrage directly contradicted any official expression of remorse. It hence cast a shadow on the sincerity of Oxfam's public apologies, and Goldring's interview had created an additional preventable issue that now needed to be addressed.

Despite the public outcry over this statement, Oxfam continued its rebuilding strategy. Leading up to the parliamentary hearing in London, the organization published its 2011 report (Oxfam 2018f), apologized to Haiti's government, and met with government officials in the country. The report revealed that Oxfam staff members under investigation had physically threatened witnesses. A few days later, Haiti suspended Oxfam's operations in the country for the duration of its own investigation (Almasy 2018).

When Goldring, Byanyima, and Thompson faced the parliamentary commission on February 20 (see International Development Committee 2018), the organization was still under intense public scrutiny and criticism. The three leaders reiterated their apologies, committed to measures of improvement, and shared recently reported information on additional cases of sexual harassment within the organization. Prompted by a committee member, Goldring also apologized for his prior remarks in *The Guardian*. This part of the hearing captured significant media attention (for instance, Reuters 2018; Smout 2018).

While public attention to the scandal peaked on February 12, the intensity slowly decreased after the parliamentary hearing on February 20 (see Fig. 1) and remained

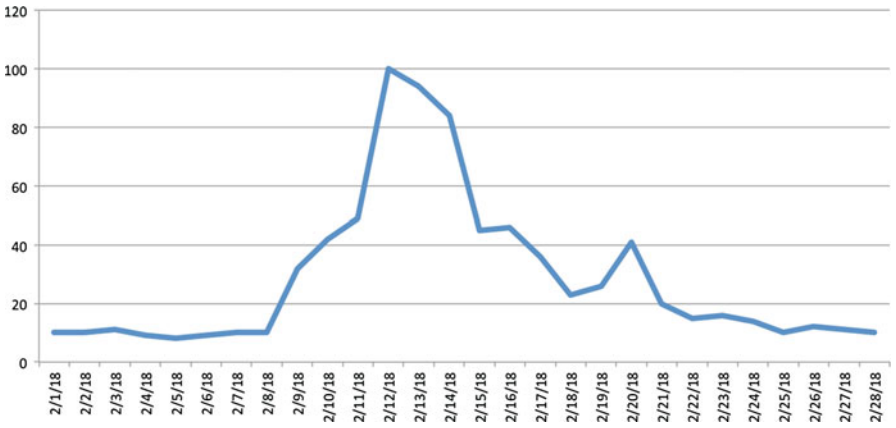

Fig. 1 Interest over time relative to the maximum search interest (100) based on google searches for "Oxfam" in the United Kingdom from February 1 to 28, 2018

low. This, however, did not mean that Oxfam could go back to business as usual as its reputation had significantly suffered. What's more, other NGOs had now also come under scrutiny for similar issues (Beaumont and Ratcliffe 2018). Addressing the sector-wide issue, Goldring signed an open letter of apology with leaders from 21 other UK aid agencies, including Save the Children, UNICEF, and World Vision. The letter, published in the Huffington Post, stated:

> As aid agencies we will take every step to right our wrongs and eradicate abuse within our industry. We are truly sorry that at times our sector has failed. We must and will do better. (Goldring et al. 2018, para 1–2)

The organizations further announced joint efforts to improve safeguarding, referencing systems, and reporting to authorities and agencies. In addition, the leaders reiterated their intentions to work with regulators to overcome "barriers to rigorous background checks in the UK." (para 7). Joining a large group of affected NGOs and communicating jointly allowed Oxfam to transcend its isolated status in the public arena.

Oxfam now also had to follow up on its promises. In March, Oxfam International (2018h) appointed the co-chairs and members of the Independent Commission charged with developing recommendations for creating "a culture of zero tolerance for any kind of sexual harassment, abuse or exploitation" (para 8) within the organization and industry. In addition, both Oxfam International and Oxfam CB continue to report updates about ongoing efforts on their websites (Oxfam International 2018f, i; Oxfam 2018e).

While April and March remained relatively calm, Goldring announced his resignation on May 16 by the end of 2018 (Rawlinson 2018). Indeed, while he had joined Oxfam two years after the incidents and internal investigation in question, the few but prominent errors at the onset of the crisis damaged his credibility. This, in turn, likely undermined his ability to lead efforts to restore Oxfam GB's reputation as one of its most visible spokespersons. Whether remaining in this role until the end of the year will be beneficial for the organization's recovery in the public eye or not remains an open question.

80.4 Conclusion

In our current times, many organizations will need to revisit their past and present policies, actions, and decisions regarding sexual harassment and abuse. The case of Oxfam's crisis shows that NGOs can face high-stakes crises even around issues that they may view as matters of the past. Oxfam GB initially got overwhelmed with the sudden scandal over its handling of sexual abuse and harassment in 2011. Its early messages focused on excusing and justifying past decisions and fell short to address the core of the preventable crisis. Under growing pressure, the organization eventually had to apologize and focus on corrective action.

Early inconsistencies caused by shifting strategies, multiple spokespersons and postures of victimage, however, continued to undermine the organization's ability to get a handle on the situation and regain trust. The early statements came to provide a backdrop upon which any apology would be interpreted. Further, with public interest peaking three days after the onset of the scandal, stakeholders might remember Oxfam's earlier messages more than its official apology. Had the organization been able to accurately assess the situation as a preventable crisis and responded with a consistent rebuilding strategy right away, its crisis communication might have been more effective.

Oxfam's structure with many independent affiliate organizations, not too different from other global NGOs, increased challenges for consistent crisis responses. At the same time, stakeholders will be unlikely to distinguish separate entities under the same "brand." A crisis for one member organization might quickly undermine the reputation of all affiliates and require each to communicate within their areas of operation. NGOs are thus well advised to develop strong crisis protocols and invest in crisis preparedness beyond the boundaries of each individual member organization.

Oxfam's errors also underline necessary crisis communication expertise. NGOs, particularly charities, are more constrained when seeking external crisis counsel, as investments in "public relations" may be perceived negatively and further fuel the crisis. As part of proper pre-crisis planning and preparedness (see Coombs 2006), NGOs should ensure that their leadership and communication staff are well-versed, trained, and experienced in crisis communication.

Finally, crises also provide opportunities for renewal and social change. Transitioning into a phase of postcrisis communication (Ulmer et al. 2007), Oxfam can now better itself as it continues to regain trust. To prevent future crises and beyond, other NGOs should take the wave of recent scandals as an impetus for reflection on their own cultures and policies.

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Communication and Culture for Development: Contributions to Artisanal Fishers' Wellbeing in Coastal Uruguay

81

Paula Santos and Micaela Trimble

Contents

81.1 Introduction 1414
81.1.1 Social Representations as Determinants of Wellbeing 1415
81.1.2 Raising the Voice for Development 1417
81.2 Case Study with Artisanal Fisheries in Piriápolis, Uruguay 1418
81.2.1 The POPA Group of Piriápolis and the First Fisheries Festival 1418
81.2.2 Fishers Communicating for Development 1420
81.2.3 Methods and Analysis 1422
81.3 Results and Discussion 1422
81.4 Final Considerations 1425
References 1427

Abstract

The combination of the concepts of Wellbeing in Developing Countries (WeD) and social representations offers a relevant methodological framework to investigate how the exercise of the capacity of voice by vulnerable populations can alter positively aspects related to their wellbeing and aspirations. These alterations can contribute directly to development since they relate to people's "capacity of voice," in the sense of Arjun Appadurai. Using the First Artisanal Fisheries Festival in Piriápolis (coastal Uruguay, 2012) as a case study – an activity of communication for development arisen from a participatory action research group – we investigated how the exercise of fishers' capacity of voice promoted a

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change in the figurative nucleus of their self-representation. Semi-structured interviews with 12 informants were performed. The results show that the Fisheries Festival tackled at least four material aspects of wellbeing: catch, boat, fishing gear, and knowledge. Subjective wellbeing implications were also found as the Festival confirmed fishing as a way of life and added value to the existence of the fishers by recirculating positive values about them. In terms of relational wellbeing (the third dimension), the Festival approach to fishers' representation transcended to other sectors of society while enriching their original connection with the environment. In conclusion, there was a change in the fishers' terms of recognition, placing them in a more advantaged position to negotiate their own interests. This modification to existent cultural consensus about fishers in Piriápolis will have a positive effect in their future existence, thus contributing to development.

Keywords

WeD approach · Social representations · Aspirations · Capacities · Participatory research · Fisheries

81.1 Introduction

Artisanal fishing communities stand out for their knowledge of the sea. Their oral practices transmitted from generation to generation directly contribute to environmental sustainability and food security, among others. For different reasons, in Uruguay (and the world), these communities historically experience situations of vulnerability, and the richness of their practices remains ignored, particularly from the perspective of fishers themselves.

Communication and culture can play a key role in projects aimed at improving their wellbeing. Giving them "voice" (Appadurai 2004:62) could improve the terms in which they are recognized in society, thus favoring their repositioning in order to better negotiate their interests. This work offers an exploratory model for inquiring about the social change produced in a particular moment of a communication for development initiative in a specific time and space, at a given cultural scenario such as fisheries. The model was applied to the case study of the First Artisanal Fisheries Festival in Piriápolis (February 11–12, 2012), organized by the POPA Group (For Artisanal Fishing), a participatory research group formed by multiple stakeholders.

In general, results indicated that the fishers raised their "voice" to promote a new condition of "different" (Appadurai 2004:62) of themselves in direct relation with their own interests. This increased their ability to "navigate" in society more fluidly. In short, they were able to publicly express their visions and promote transformations in relation with their manifested aspirations of wellbeing. However, the persistence of the transformative process initiated in the social representation of fishers as of the Festival and its scope in the fisher population are presented as challenges to these transformations.

81.1.1 Social Representations as Determinants of Wellbeing

Social representations are a socially elaborated and shared form of knowledge. They are also defined as "common sense knowledge" or "natural knowledge" to differentiate them from scientific knowledge (Moscovici, in Jodelet 1997:53). Through them humans attempt to understand and explain the phenomena of everyday life. They contain a pragmatic or functional dimension, not only in terms of behavior but also in the transformation of the environment in which these behaviors take place. They allow an individual or group to take a stand against different situations, events, objects, and communications that concern them and to orient their action according to that position. Social representations are forms of constituted thought, as they constitute sociocultural products that intervene in social life as preformed structures that serve as a framework for interpretation. Meanwhile, they are forms of constituent thought, in the sense that they intervene in the elaboration or conformation of the same object that they represent, and in this way, they contribute to shape the social reality of which they are a part, determining in a different measure their effects in the daily life. This allows for understanding social representations as processes of construction of reality (Ibáñez 1988:37 in Araya 2002:30).

The social wellbeing approach was developed by the Economic and Social Research Council Research Group on Wellbeing in Developing Countries (WeD) at the University of Bath. The key lines of thought and research relating to social wellbeing arise within the approaches of economics of happiness, poverty and development, capabilities, gender, human rights, sustainable livelihoods, vulnerability, and social capital (Weeratunge et al. 2013), defined by the WeD group as the "state of being with others, which arises where human needs are met, where one can act meaningfully to pursue one's goals, and where one can enjoy a satisfactory quality of life." Viewed as a social process, wellbeing is composed of material, relational, and subjective dimensions that occur simultaneously in a specific time and space. The material dimension includes assets, social security (welfare), and quality of life. The relational dimension is divided into two spheres: the social sphere, social relations and access to public goods, and the human sphere, which refers to aspects-capabilities and attitudes in relation to life and personal relationships. Subjective aspects of wellbeing also have two dimensions: on the one hand, people's perception of their position (material, social, and human), and on the other, people's cultural values, ideologies, and beliefs. These different aspects of wellbeing are interlinked and cannot exist without the others. Wellbeing arises in the constant interaction of externally observable and verifiable aspects of reality, with their "subjective" perceptions and evaluations by subjects. Through this process, people build the meaning of their lives (White 2009:9). Wellbeing is then socially and culturally constructed. Therefore, if socially and culturally constructed knowledge is determinant of wellbeing, changes in social representations will produce changes in wellbeing.

The combination of these two concepts (social representations and wellbeing) is rooted in at least four common elements that regard the conceptualization of reality and the centrality of subjects in that reality (see Table 1). In particular, both concepts

Table 1 Common elements to the concepts of social wellbeing and social representation

	Reality		The subject	
A combination of two concepts:	A process (. . .)	(. . .) in constant change	Capable subjects (meaning having capacities) (. . .)	(. . .) act collectively/ intersubjectively
Social representation (knowledge)	Seen as processes of construction of reality	They contain a pragmatic dimension that makes the transformation of the environment possible	Through social representations, humans attempt to understand and explain the phenomena of everyday life	They contribute to shape the social reality of which they are a part, determining in a different measure their effects in the daily life
Social wellbeing (a state)	It is viewed as a social process with material, relational, and subjective dimensions that occur in a specific time and space	It is realized through the "work" people put daily into making meaning out of their lives	People act meaningfully to pursue their goals and enjoy a satisfactory quality of life	Understandings of wellbeing are socially and culturally constructed

consider reality as a process in constant transformation. Subjects, as capable beings, are active builders of reality. To do so, they rely on their subjectivity and on their capacity to objectivize aspects of reality intersubjectively, socially, and culturally.

Both concepts approach change, but at different levels. Social representations are abstract bodies of knowledge circulating and recirculating indefinitely in society in general, whereas the concept of wellbeing, defined as "state," shapes and re-shape itself throughout a specific time and space. It is in this subtle combination that micro-generation of social common sense matters for the collective conceptualization of wellbeing (under construction in a macro space and time).

A last justification to this combination of methodological frameworks is the possibility of investigating social change provided by the concept of social representation. The theory of the figurative nucleus of the social representation explains how discourse is structured and objectivized within the representation in a figurative synthetic and concrete scheme of lived clear images. These structured images are the figurative nucleus, a concentrated and graphic conceptual core that captures the essence of the concept. These simplified visions are what enables people to talk and understand things and other people more easily and become natural facts. This scheme or nucleus is the more stable and solid part of the representation. It organizes the representation as a whole and provides meaning to the rest of elements present in the field of the representation (Moscovici, 1979, 1981, 1984 a, b, in Araya 2002:35).

The theory of the figurative scheme has implications in social change, because only those actions intending to modify a social representation that are addressed to modify the nucleus will be successful, as the global meaning of the representation depends on it (Araya 2002:41).

Thus, the combination of both concepts provides a methodological approach to investigate change in social wellbeing as of the study of changes in social representations.

81.1.2 Raising the Voice for Development

In turn, the direct relation between the concept of social wellbeing and that of "capacity of voice" (Appadurai 2004:59–84), a cultural capacity originated in the concept of developmental capabilities of Amartya Sen (1985a, 1999 in Appadurai 2004:63), indicates that alterations in social wellbeing affect development.

Based on Hirschman (1970 in Appadurai 2004:63), Appadurai claims that the poor oscillate between the exit from society and the loyalty to norms that reproduce their vulnerability. Between these extremes, there appears the capacity of voice, a cultural capacity, as a means for overcoming this oscillation. This can be achieved because cultural consensus cannot be taken for granted (Fernandez, 1965, 1986, in Appadurai 2004:64). Appadurai finds also that future is implicit in factors central to society and culture (understood as specific and multiple designs of social life), such as norms, beliefs, and values that circulate in society, where cultural consensus is produced.

Therefore, according to Appadurai (2004), the capacity of vulnerable populations to exercise their voice to debate, challenge, and oppose directions is vital for living a collective social life according to their own interests. Not only because the capacity of voice is virtually a definition of inclusion and participation in any democracy but also because it is the only way they will be able to find possible local forms of altering what he calls "the terms of recognition" in any cultural regime. To strengthen voice as a cultural capacity, vulnerable populations should find metaphors, rhetorics, and ways of organizing themselves and acting publicly that better function in their cultural worlds. Appadurai has seen in various movements in the past that, when these work, a change takes place in the terms of recognition and in the cultural framework. This will increase their capacity to navigate in society more fluidly and consequently project their existence in time, to express their visions publicly and obtain results adapted to their own wellbeing and for development in general (Appadurai 2004:66).

Just as the combination of the concepts of social representation and social wellbeing is rooted in the coincidence of at least four conceptual elements, the concept of capacity of voice shares the consideration of reality as a process in constant transformation, where subjects, as capable beings, are responsible for building it socially and culturally and produce change.

An additional theoretical observation is made for methodological purposes regarding a particular contribution from the concept of social representation to the study of the capacity of voice. Based on Durkheim, Appadurai recognizes that "there is no self outside the social frame, setting, mirror." He says that "wellbeing

aspirations are never simply individual but formed in interaction and in the thick of social life" (2004:67). On his side, Moscovici had several years before proposed a step forward in the classic conception of "collective representations" of Durkheim, putting the focus on the individual (rather than the collective approach) and in the elaboration of representations in a process of intersubject exchange (Moscovici, cfr. Banchs 2000:8–9 in Araya 2002). According to this work, the concept of social representations offers the possibility of digging deeper in methodological analysis of the exercise of the voice capacity for wellbeing, finely tackling the very centrality of the subject in the process, and building upon the intersubject level.

In sum, the interweaving of these three concepts offers the possibility of investigating how the exercise of the capacity of voice can alter social wellbeing and how these alterations can be investigated through the study of the figurative nucleus of social representations to assess social change at the microlevel for further upscaling.

81.2 Case Study with Artisanal Fisheries in Piriápolis, Uruguay

In this research, we investigated the First Artisanal (or Small-scale) Fisheries Festival in Piriápolis (coastal Uruguay, 2012) as a case study (Stake, 1995 in Cresswell 2003, 2013:15).

Piriápolis is a tourist city in Maldonado Department (Uruguay), founded in 1890. Around 10,000 people live in Piriápolis throughout the year, but this number increases to 40,000 during the austral summer. At the time of this research, there were 50 fishing boats in the Piriápolis area, although some were disused or used only seasonally. Two to four fishers work on board boats that range in length from 4 to 8 m and use motors that vary from 8 to 60 horsepower (see Fig. 1). The fishing gear most commonly employed consists of bottom-set longlines and gill nets of varied mesh sizes to catch different fish species. Most of the catch is sold via middlemen, although some fishers have a fish stall (Trimble 2013).

Over the past 25 years, Piriápolis has received migrant fishers from other coastal localities during the high fishing season. At the time of this research, most artisanal fishers in Piriápolis were mobile ("nomads" or "migratory" in their own words): they move along the coast (either sailing or carrying their boats on a truck) in response to whitemouth croaker movements (one of the main commercial species). The number of fishers therefore varies greatly throughout the year (e.g., from 30 to 150 fishers) mainly due to resource availability. Some migrant fishers also have additional occupations seasonally. Their most common additional occupations are as construction workers, as crew on industrial trawler vessels based in Montevideo, as vendors in the fish market, as woodcutters, and as professional gardeners (especially during the summer).

81.2.1 The POPA Group of Piriápolis and the First Fisheries Festival

The POPA Group (POPA stands for "Por la Pesca Artesanal en Piriápolis" in Spanish, which is equivalent in English as For Artisanal Fisheries in Piriápolis) is

Fig. 1 (**a**) Fishing boat used by artisanal fishers (POPA photo-art show inaugurated at the First Fisheries Festival in Piriápolis). (**b**) Fishing gear (Gill Net) used in Piriápolis (POPA Group)

a participatory research group which originated in 2011 in the context of the PhD thesis of the coauthor of this chapter. The creation of a participatory action research group was proposed to analyze whether the foundations for fisheries co-management could be laid in that area (Trimble and Berkes 2013). To that end, in May 2011, artisanal fishers from Piriápolis, representatives of the state (National Fisheries Agency), academia, and civil society were invited to participate to contribute collectively to the solution of problems of artisanal fisheries in that location (Trimble and Lazaro 2014). Over the months, these different actors formed the so-called POPA Group. During the first year, the Group brought closely together 13 people from the local fishery, academia, civil society, and the state. The first author of this work was a member at the time of creation of the Group and design of the festival.

When discussing the problems of the fisheries, fishers and other Group members acknowledged that, despite representing a relevant economic activity and the way of life of many families, artisanal fishing was not valued by a large part of the inhabitants, who sometimes identify this activity as detrimental to a growing tourism (when in fact tourists show interest in learning more about fishing in the area). The time of greatest sale of fish is the austral summer (December to February), when Piriápolis receives many tourists (from Uruguay and abroad). In winter time, the fish sale decreases, since the permanent population in Piriápolis is much lower than in the summer (and Uruguayans have traditionally preferred beef).

Around 2010, the sale of fish caught by the artisanal fishing sector in Piriápolis began to be negatively affected by the increasing sale of Pangasius (also known as basa). This catfish began to be imported into Uruguay in 2008, coming from hatcheries in Vietnam at very low cost (being an aquaculture product). The sale of Pangasius in Piriápolis (and in the rest of the country) increased from that moment onward, be it in local markets, supermarkets, or restaurants, where it is often sold as if it were a species caught locally, deceiving the consumer. This problem of the sale of Pangasius in Piriápolis, together with the low social valorization of the fishery, was diagnosed by the fishers themselves, who were eager to be part of POPA Group. During a process of monthly workshops, the team discussed strategies to address this

social-environmental problem. As a result, the intersectoral and interdisciplinary group conformed opted for the organization of a communication activity.

Organized by POPA, the First Artisanal Fisheries Festival (Festival or Show) took place from February 11 to 12, 2012 in Piriápolis. It involved an organization process of approximately 9 months. The variety of actors that made up the group in the process favored the support of local, national, and international actors from the public, private, academic, and civil society sectors to the activity implementation.

The Festival offered five simultaneous proposals:

- Art show including varied manifestations: a photographic exhibition of 25 figures of the local fishery (taken by Group members), titled "A Day in the Life of an Artisanal Fisher"; an exhibition of 27 drawings by children of the state primary school of Piriápolis; posters with specific information on artisanal fishing also contributed content. In addition, national artists exhibited their works of art inspired by artisanal fishing and performed live oil painting of works in dialog with the public.
- An exhibition of fishing gear by artisanal fishers allowed the public to know the gill nets and longlines used locally and participate in the preparation (see Fig. 2).
- Health education workshops by a medical doctor focused on disseminating the nutritional properties of fish species caught in Uruguay.
- A gastronomy area, with participation of local chefs, a group of students of local international cuisine, an artisanal fisher, and an international chef, offering marine specialties.
- National music and dance groups offered their shows at specially prepared stage.

The Festival had the participation of approximately 3000 people. Several media disseminated it (before, during, and after its realization): television channels, radios, local newspapers, information center of Piriápolis, social networks on the Internet, and websites of the institutions that make up POPA. Local media and national media supported the proposal. Artisanal fishers were the sole spokespersons of the Group to announce, cover, and inform about the Festival. In general, artisanal fishers in Uruguay appear in the national and international media agenda in relation to fisheries problems. The Festival, however, allowed for an innovative vision of artisanal fishers in the media, repositioning them as agents in control of their condition, not without problems, but addressing them in a positive and constructive manner (see Fig. 2).

81.2.2 Fishers Communicating for Development

The Festival can be described as a communication for development activity. Tufte and Mefalopulos (2009:8) identify three main conceptual approaches to development communication: the diffusion model (one-way/monologic communication), the life skills model, and the participatory model (two-way/dialogic communication). The last two models are presented in contrast to the diffusion one. The life skills model is considered

Fig. 2 (**a**) Artisanal fishers interviewed by the media during the Festival (POPA Group). (**b**) Artisanal fisher sharing their practices with visitors (POPA Group)

an intermediate model of communication for development (Hendricks 1998, in Tufte and Mefalopulos 2009:9). It focuses on the development of personal skills. It originates in adult education, but in development it works connected to the exercise of rights, as well as to address the structural conditions that impede the development of skills. On the other hand, there is the participatory model based on the liberating pedagogy of Paulo Freire of the 1960s. It is characterized by being dialogical and horizontal. Instead of communicating the "correct" information to specific audiences, just as the diffusion model proposes, it is about articulating collective action processes and the reflection of relevant stakeholders. The center of attention is the empowerment of citizens through the active involvement in the identification of their own problems, the search for solutions, and the implementation of problem-solving strategies.

In relation to these conceptual models, POPA Group designed a communication activity spontaneously combining elements of the three models. On the one hand, through a positive approach to artisanal fishers, it addressed the structural problem of their terms of recognition in society, which prevent them from developing their full environmental, economic, and cultural potential as social actors. On the other hand, the strategy of action, which was set a priori by the participatory research model put in practice by POPA, was to empower the fishers through dialogic and horizontal exchange to solve a priority problem in an intersectoral and interdisciplinary manner. Lastly, and in contrast, the Group opted for a diffusion model of communication to tackle the problem identified.

The Festival applied a multitrack model of communication for development, which considers communication fundamentally as a horizontal and participatory process (Tufte and Mefalopulos 2009:14). This approach divides communication in two categories, monological and dialogic communication. Monological communication includes one-way communication approaches, such as information dissemination, media campaign, and other diffusion approaches, while dialogical communication refers to bidirectional exchange. This last category foresees open-ended processes and results and enables the exploration of topics and the generation of knowledge and problem-solving initiatives, instead of just transmitting information. The Festival combined both categories.

81.2.3 Methods and Analysis

The Festival, a communication for development activity, was an exercise of the capacity of voice of artisanal fishers from Piriápolis intended to reposition them in society. Evidence of change in the figurative nucleus of the social representation of the fishers in these three aspects would mean change toward repositioning themselves in society.

The proposed framework combining these different concepts allowed for qualitative analysis of the case by means of semi-structured interviews (Cresswell 2003:17–19), associative charts (Abric, 1994 in Araya 2002:60–61), and field participant observation. The reconstruction of the figurative nucleus of the representation of the fishers was facilitated by the open questions of semi-structured interviews and the use of associative charts. Spontaneity was the key feature provided by these tools to catch the core structural scheme of the representation. Closed questions double-checked findings.

Fieldwork for this research was conducted in Piriápolis from May 2012 to September 2014. The perceptions of (12) informants were registered. During the interviews with fishers (eight, four of whom were members of the POPA Group) and other fisheries stakeholders (three were members of the POPA Group representing the academy, the civil society, and the state and one external local journalist), the following topics were tackled:

- What ideas, values, and beliefs the Festival attributed to the artisanal fishers from Piriápolis?
- How these relate to ideas, values, and beliefs about artisanal fishers that circulate in the area of Piriápolis?
- Did the Festival contribute to improve the wellbeing of fishers from Piriápolis in any manner?

The data gathered was subject of two types of analysis. A primary analysis was based on the recovery of unit of analysis containing perceptions about what is an artisanal fisher and what wellbeing aspirations they have. This first part of the work gave rise to general categories, each of which was assigned to one of the three aspects of wellbeing they relate to. A secondary analysis on the categorized content assigned the wellbeing categories to one of three stages established by the research questions (see Table 2).

81.3 Results and Discussion

Results indicate that, as a consequence of the First Fisheries Festival, the figurative nucleus of social representation of the artisanal fisher of Piriápolis experienced a change in the number and content of social wellbeing categories (see Fig. 3). In some categories, their content was confirmed, whereas in others, innovations were incorporated.

Table 2 Stages of analysis of the figurative nucleus of the social representation of fishers from Piriápolis within the framework of the First Artisanal Fisheries Festival taking into consideration the three dimensions of social wellbeing

Stage	Description
1. Social representation of artisanal fishers from Piriápolis	Identification of material, subjective, and relational aspects of the figurative nucleus of the representation Categorized information from interviews with 8 fishers
2. Social representation of artisanal fishers from Piriápolis within the framework of the First Artisanal Fisheries Festival	Identification of material, subjective, and relational aspects of the figurative nucleus of the representation: Which ones were confirmed, which ones did not appear; comparative study of content Categorized information from interviews with 12 informants (including the 8 fishers)
3. Wellbeing aspirations of artisanal fishers from Piriápolis	Identification of material, subjective, and relational aspects of the wellbeing aspirations of the fishers Categorized information from 8 fishers

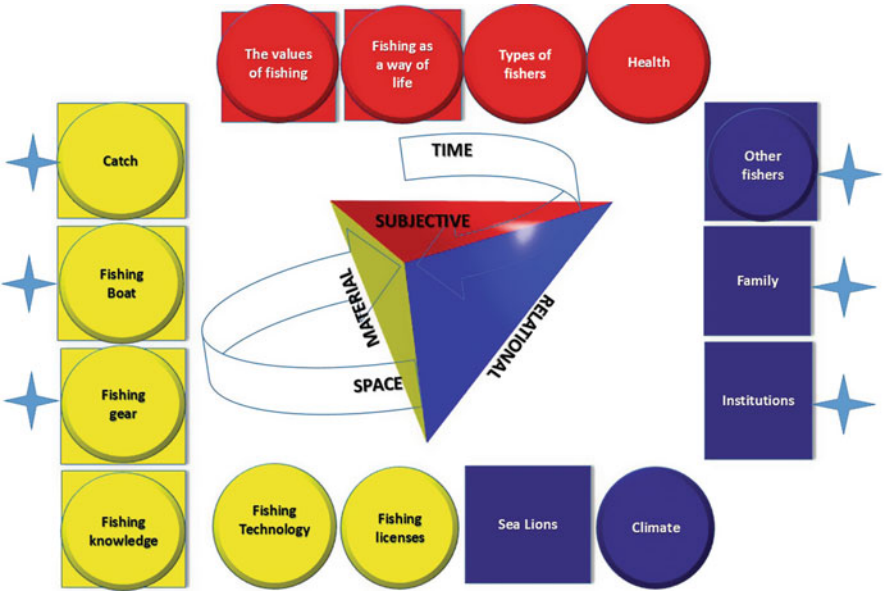

Fig. 3 Figurative nucleus of the social representation of the artisanal fisher from Piriápolis following White's presentation of the triadic dimensions of tridimensional wellbeing (2009). Circles indicate information categories of the self-representation of fishers. Squares indicate information categories of the representation of fishers incorporated by informants as of the Festival. A square around the circles indicates that the Festival confirmed the information category of the self-representation of fishers. Stars indicate those categories related to the personal aspirations of fishers

Regarding fishers' material wellbeing, the Festival confirmed the categories of catch, boat, fishing gear, and fishers' knowledge that were present in the nucleus of general self-representation of the fisher. On the contrary, technology used on the boats (such as the echo sounder) and the fishing licenses issued by the government were not mentioned when asked about the Festival.

Regarding aspects of fishers' subjective wellbeing identified within the nucleus, the Festival described fishers as of two categories, already present in their self-representation: fishing as a way of life (in contrast of a job) and the values associated with the fishing activity. However, a turning point was the change in their content, as it will be explained in the following paragraphs.

Lastly, when referring to relational aspects of wellbeing, the Festival added categories to the nucleus of the representation originally retrieved, namely, the family and the institutions (the state, the municipality, the military, and the media, among others, all of which supported the Festival in different modalities). These two categories do not appear in the general self-representation of fishers, who explicitly name themselves a Quixote or pirates, in contact almost exclusively with peers. The middlemen, who play a central role in the commercialization of the catch, did not appear in fishers' relations in any of the two moments analyzed (neither in the self-representation nor in the representation at the Festival). Nature was present in fishers' self-representation through their reference to the climate and the sea, but marine fauna was only mentioned when reflecting upon the Festival, through the presence of information about sea lions in particular.

Regarding the content of the categories found, the obvious centrality of the material category of catch appeared in both moments. However, the difficulties to obtain it, and a perceived decrease in the resource (noticeably reiterated in the self-description), did not arise when reflecting upon the Festival. The Festival recreated the boat and the fishing gear; informants remembered them positively as a possibility offered to visitors for boarding the boats (mainly kids) and for learning how to prepare the longlines for fishing.

With respect to subjective aspects of wellbeing, fishing as a way of life, as an adventure, as a legend, and as an act of freedom was also perceived at the Festival, but from a positive vision (on the contrary to the self-representation). As of the Festival, innovative content was retrieved. Fishers stated that they started to "exist" for society as of the Festival, that they "felt included" (in society), and even described themselves as being able to make others feel happy. When analyzing how fishers value themselves, the general self-representation pictures them as Quixote, pirates, as mentioned above, and even thieves or drug addicts. According to a non-fisher informant, the Festival achieved "a space for valorization, or at least a step towards a new value of fishers that not everyone recognizes." Informants also stated that the Festival brought forward the human aspect of fishing, the values of dignity, sacrifice, and honesty, as characteristics of the fishers' way of life.

Lastly, the Festival innovated also in the relational contents of the nucleus of the representation of Piriápolis fishers. It depicted them as having families and adding value to their representation through their presence. It showed "a different fisher," "one who has a family integrated in the fishing practices," according to a fisher informant.

Regarding their relationship with nature, the sea lions' category appeared when referring to the Festival, not in their self-representation in general. Although there is a conflictive interaction between the fishery and the sea lions, the Festival innovated in showing the fisher concerned and investigating about how to tackle the problem.

At a final stage, when comparing material, subjective, and relational categories of the nucleus of the self-representation in both instances, with the wellbeing aspirations of fishers, the communication process poses challenges and opportunities to the fishers. The Festival strengthened material categories present in the self-representation of fishers that are in direct relation with fishers' wellbeing aspirations.

"Progress," conceived as material growth by the fishers, is an aspiration for most of them, even though an informant defended the existence of a "subsistence fisher" that even gives away exceeding catch. Material growth can be "making a good wage," "being able to fish full time and not having to switch occupations." Both aspects are closely linked to the improvement of material assets: catch, boats, and fishing gear.

"Comfort," which stems from economic growth, is also an aspiration of fishers, together with the education of their children, housing, and social welfare. Neither the concept of "progress" nor the concept of "comfort" was mentioned when reflecting upon the Festival.

Regarding relational categories, there is evidence that the "destination" of fishers' aspirations is their families, but they also feel responsible for their peers. The Festival appears as a scenario that clearly contributed to the positive presence of the family and the importance of their peers, but also widens their relation to others (including institutions), which is also part of their aspirations.

Finally, the interviews showed a noticeable gap between the richness of subjective aspects in the self-representation and the absence of spontaneous reference to subjective aspirations. From the theoretical point of view, subjective aspects of wellbeing were confirmed as a component of the figurative nucleus of the representation and, therefore, matter for social wellbeing and development. Developing subjective aspects of fishers' representation should be an aspiration in itself for them as a means to improve their capacities and capabilities for achieving the "progress" and "comfort" they desire.

81.4 Final Considerations

This research indicates that valorizing the dimensions of wellbeing in the self-representation of vulnerable populations is key to repositioning them in society. However, this work calls the attention on lack of subjective aspects of fishers' wellbeing (the need for improving the society's perception of their position, for instance) when asked about their aspirations in general. This is a contradiction between their manifested material and relational aspirations of "progress" and "comfort," their aspiration to valorize their way of living (which motivated the Festival), and the need for valuing their own representation in order to achieve the state of triadic wellbeing. This aspect is particularly worrying, considering recent research in the area of Piriápolis concludes that "they feel neglected by state" and

that "they need to be made to feel that they are valued partners in the governance of fisheries and in coastal development" (Trimble and Johnson 2013:7).

Regarding the social and cultural process of Piriápolis fishers in space and time, and the historical milestone the Festival constituted to them, the first challenge was whether the positive transformations in fishers' representation would remain over time. In this respect, fishers and non-fisher informants stated that the Festival was a point in time. Therefore, despite this research shows a positive change in fishers' representation as of the communication activity, the question that arose was: would material, subjective, and relational dimensions valorized in the nucleus of Piriápolis fishers' representation finally have an impact in the material and relational aspirations they have? In 2017, the POPA Group turned 5 years of uninterrupted activity, having implemented two development and research projects with funding from the Ministry of Cattle, Agriculture, and Fisheries of Uruguay (approx. US$ 100.000):

- "Mitigation of the impact of interactions between sea lions and artisanal fisheries: a participatory research for the evaluation of fish traps as alternative fishing gear." (2013–2014)
- "Innovations for family production in artisanal fisheries of Piriápolis: improvement and evaluation of fishtraps as complementary fishing gear." (2015–2016)

Among the activities developed involving natural and social sciences research, both projects foresaw the continuity of communication for development components with the fishers as protagonists. When informally exchanging with the Group members on the success of the fund raised, they expressed that this can largely be attributed to the mobilization initiated at the Festival.

A second challenge was whether the effect of the change in the nucleus would transcend to other fishers from Piriápolis or abroad or even reach other sectors of society. Both projects abovementioned involved spontaneously fishers from other localities of Canelones, Maldonado, and Rocha (three of the six coastal departments of Uruguay), who approached specific project activities of the Group attracted by the results of its action. A milestone of the reach of the Group was the invitation received by the National Union of Sea Workers (SUNTMA, "Sindicato de Trabajadores del Mar") to the Parliament of Uruguay to discuss artisanal fisheries' priority issues with the National Congress Commission for Cattle, Agriculture, and Fisheries (Act of the Committee Session, July 8, 2014). Fishers of the Group accepted the invitation to present their views of fisheries situation in Piriápolis. However, it was also the opportunity for them to undertake the presentation of the project under implementation. Finally, the Group directly participates upon invitation or request at the meetings of the Fisheries Council of Piriápolis, a governance structure created by the Ministry of Cattle, Agriculture, and Fisheries in fishing locations of Uruguay. The last presence of the Group in the Council dates back to June 2, 2016.

Finally, at the general level, the value of this investigation is centered in the study of the transformations that the exercise of the capacity of voice by a vulnerable population can promote in the self-representation of subjects in a situation of vulnerability and how these changes relate to their wellbeing aspirations. This

research proposed a theoretical and methodological model integrating the concepts of capacity of voice, a cultural capacity, with the Wellbeing in Developing Countries (WeD), along with the concept of social representation, which helps assess alterations in cultural consensus. The research process could serve as an example or guide for evaluating communication for development actions in the field or actions focused on promoting the wellbeing of vulnerable populations.

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Fostering Social Change in Peru Through Communication: The Case of the Manuani Miners Association

82

Sol Sanguinetti

Contents

82.1 Introduction 1430
82.2 How Communication Played In 1432
82.2.1 How They Structured Communication 1435
82.3 What They Achieved 1436
References 1437

Abstract

Much has been done to formalize miners in Peru; since its inception in 2006 the Ministry of Environment passed laws to align mining policies with international standards. However, the combination of the necessity to have a source of income and the rapid acquisition of money that illegal and informal gold mining provides has proven a serious impasse for the Peruvian government; hence these mining practices keep growing. As part of the Initiative for the Conservation of the Andean Amazon II (ICAA II), the Manuani Miners Association in Madre de Dios, one of the regions more prone to illegal mining and bad environmental practices in Peru, started a land restoration, remediation, and reforestation process of the degraded rainforest. This chapter analyzes how a program within ICAA II used communication to promote this significant change in behavior, what communicational tools were used, and what is their possible further applicability in similar scenarios to foster positive change.

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82.1 Introduction

Historically Peru has always been a mining country, and extractive mining activities are an important part of its economy, currently accounting for "about 65% of Peru's export earnings" (mining.com 2017). Worldwide, Peru is the third largest producer of silver and copper, and seventh in gold (MINEM 2017), just to name some of the most significant metal products.

Informal economic activities are very common in Peru; as a CEPLAN Report informs, in 2013, 19% of the national gross product came from informal sources (2016, p. 12). It also states that Peru remains as part of the five countries with the most informal non-agrarian labor market in the Latin American and Caribbean regions, even though there was a reduction from 75% in 2004 to 64% in 2013 (p. 5).

As a combination of both of these tendencies, Peru faces informal mining activities throughout its territory. Despite the fact that mining is one of the two sectors that pay better (CEPLAN 2016, p. 22), there is still significant informal and illegal mining activities in Peru, where there is no application of any kind of labor benefits or taxation to revenues. Many efforts have been made by the government to change this, and new laws have been approved that are in par with international standards, but their actual implementation is still far from a reality.

Informal gold mining in the Amazon basin is increasing and constitutes a serious environmental threat; activities involved in this type of mining modify the landscape extensively, as waterways are shifted or blocked and hills and holes are created as a result of digging for gold, depleting forest cover, polluting land and water sources, destroying ecosystems, threatening local communities, and turning swaths of rainforest into barren waste sites (Aljazeera 2016). "Global demand for gold has led to a massive increase in mining activity around the world. During the last decade, gold mining grew significantly in the Amazon becoming a major driver for land degradation and heavy metal contamination" (VerticalNews 2016). Currently alluvial gold mining is the second anthropogenic driver after the expansion of the agricultural frontier due to settlement in forest areas.

In Peru, the Region of Madre de Dios is one of the most harshly affected by informal and illegal gold mining; it rests right in the Andes-Amazon transition, making it an area of remarkable biodiversity which still maintains significant primary forest cover (UF et al. 2010, p. 2):

> Madre de Dios, until the year 2011, had lost an area of 50,000 ha due to degraded soils by mining (Asner et al. 2013); to that we must add the daily utilization of approximately 175,000 gallons of diesel and gasoline and the shedding of about 1,500 liters of machinery oil into the rivers. This excessive depletion by mining brings direct detriment to our

> biodiversity and natural landscapes such as wetlands, swamps, primary-forests, among others, affecting the conservation of both forest and aquatic ecosystems. (MDDC 2016, p. 5)

As a response to this and other threats to the Amazon basin's biodiversity, the Initiative for the Conservation of the Andean Amazon II (ICAA II), from the US Agency for International Development (USAID), carried on the work started in its first stage since 2006. ICAA II was composed of several consortia, one of which was the Madre de Dios Consortium (MDDC) composed of five institutions that worked jointly with University of Florida (UF) as its prime partner. From 2011 to 2016 the MDDC worked directly on informal alluvial gold mining as one of its four thematic programs, focusing their work on capacity building on Peruvian mining legislation, adoption of clean technologies, and recuperation of degraded mining areas through reforestation (UF et al. 2010, pp. 8–9), as well as providing the foundation for training the beneficiaries to reduce environmental impact (MDDC 2016, p. 5).

One of the most successful experiences within the mining program was the work with the "Asociación de Mineros Artesanales y Agricultores de la Cuenca del Río Manuani (AMAAM)" (Artisanal Miner and Agricultural Association of the Manuani River basin) with which the MDDC worked on reforestation to mitigate and remediate the impact of alluvial gold mining in the Tambopata National Reserve Buffer Zone where AMAAM is located.

The remediation work started with ICAA II:

> The MDD Consortium, through its Mining Program, has been installing and monitoring experimental plots to develop a proposal for recovering degraded soils by mining with emphasis on native and pioneer species and in the application of bio-fertilizers in the Manuani Sector. (MDDC 2016, p. 5)

More specifically, the work the MDDC carried out in Manuani was within experimental plots to test the capability of four native tree species, *Apeiba membranacea, Ochroma pyramidale, Ceiba pentandra*, and *Erythrina ulei*, to remediate degraded soils after alluvial gold mining. They worked with two planting methods, bare root and transplantation, and the periodic application of bio-fertilizer in three different concentrations. Additionally, the MDDC worked with the Manuani Association for the adoption of a comprehensive technical proposal for restoration both socially and institutionally (MDDC 2016, pp. 51–52).

The scientific research method is well documented by Dr. Francisco Román Dañobeytia and his research team; the objectives of the study were:

> (1) assess the level of soil degradation after informal mining operations, (2) evaluate the survival and growth of four native tree species using two planting methods and three levels of biofertilization, (3) detect possible accumulation of Hg in plant tissues of planted species, and (4) estimate the cost of reforestation in abandoned gold mined areas. (Román-Dañobeytia et al. 2015, p. 40)

82.2 How Communication Played In

This was highly scientific work, and paired with that, it applied new technologies not thoroughly documented, particularly not in Peru. The key achievement of these experimental plots has been the ability of the MDDC team to include the AMAAM as actual partners of this scientific experience; they avoided the passive beneficiaries' model and worked for an more active approach to the processes.

How did the MDDC achieve this? In a word: communication.

As mentioned before, informal activities are a common practice in Peru; hence, there is a natural resistance from informal miners to formalize or work within established parameters that could make their work, in their view, less economically efficient. This was the first and most significant obstacle that the MDDC had to face when first starting operations in 2011 as part of ICAA II; they had to change the attitude of these informal miners and try to modify their mining practices, so they would be more in line with the law and more friendly both with the environment and with human health.

Peru is a mega-diverse country with significant biodiversity, containing approximately 10% of the worldwide species (WB 2013); its geography is an important factor for this wealth both in animal and plant species. The Andes-Amazon transition, where Madre de Dios is located, is particularly biodiverse; however, as most of the illegal and informal miners in Madre de Dios, AMAAM is composed of a migrant population from Andean backgrounds.

The ecosystems where these migrant miners come from are significantly different from the lush rainforest that is this region; therefore they lack key ancestral knowledge to manage these landscapes, and they keep applying their Andean landscape management skills, from agriculture practices that include cutting and burning to non-rotational crops, to cutting down trees without managing soil coverage in a highly erosion-prone landscape.

Additionally to that, this population view themselves as transient dwellers of a land that they do not even own. Therefore, their relationship toward the land is fleeting, and without respect, as whatever they inflict on the forest is not viewed as a permanent detriment to themselves and their lives, it is just a temporary hardship that they must endure.

This was the second gap that the MDDC needed to bridge in order to achieve an efficient management of the forest striking a balance between livelihood improvement and biodiversity conservation.

The MDCC considered several tools to use in order to change the behavior of these informal miners, and bearing in mind that "Communication is as old as homo sapiens and has always been a powerful force in all cultures for sharing ideas and knowledge, and for influencing values and behaviour to bring about social change" (Balit 2012, p. 105), they decided to have a strong emphasis on communicational tools.

Further to this, effective communication is crucial to achieve the involvement of stakeholders at all levels, and its lack thereof functions as a detriment for this participation, as Silvia Balit (2012) says "many development programs have failed

because they failed to communicate with the intended beneficiaries and other stakeholders" (p. 106); therefore the MDDC focused on high involvement from the beneficiaries and they worked with them as partners.

Finally, considering that "Communication is used to address global environmental issues of general public interest. Within this framework, very often communication, education, participation, and public awareness approaches are used in an integrated manner to reach out to key groups" (IBRD/WB 2007, p. 73).

Therefore, the first step toward the envisioned change of behavior was to effectively communicate what the project intended to achieve with the involved stakeholders, in particular with AMAAM members and chiefly its leaders as the direct beneficiaries/partners of the project.

The primary message to communicate was that the MDDC and AMAAM needed to work together, jointly and as partners, in order to achieve a better management of the forest that could be as economically appealing to this Association as gold mining.

> . . . the MDD Consortium coordinated the implementation of awareness-raising, training and research with Manuani Miners Association, Asociación de Mineros Artesanales y Agricultores de la Cuenca del Río Manuani AMAAM (in a forestry concession for reforestation in the buffer zone of the Bahuaja Sonene National Park/Tambopata National Reserve). . .. (MDDC 2016, p. 11)

The MDDC did this in a series of interpersonal activities which included workshops, training activities, talks, presentations, and particularly an open and constant dialogue between MDDC staff members and the directives of AMAAM. This allowed for both the MDDC and AMAAM to be on the same page from the start until the end of the project.

But that was just the first step. Soil remediation is still not a widely applied science, and not much has been researched about it, as we mentioned before from Dr. Román Dañobeytia and his research group's work. Additionally to that, the members from AMAAM were not certified scientists but informal miners and farmers, most of whom actually lacked formal education. Thus, the MDDC needed to train these beneficiaries on a subject matter well beyond their scope of knowledge.

The MDDC (2016) decided to use targeted audiovisual support tools (training videos) within a plan:

> CMDD produced two videos: "Siempre hay orito. . . no es que no puede haber" [There is always a little gold. . . there is no way there cannot be; named "Manuani" in the MDDC webpage (translation and note added)] and "Viveros volantes" [Movable nurseries (translation added)]. They show the transition from mining to land recovery in different manners. Once validated, these videos were used to support decision making among migrant miners, indigenous peoples and authorities, to generate a reflection on the meaning of what it is to recover degraded areas and how they can change a destructive activity into a environmentally responsible response. (p. 22)

With these two videos they raised awareness to a problem that initially was not even considered as such by AMAAN nor by the regional or local authorities. Interviews and workshop activities were part of the production of the videos, and

AMAAM leaders participated giving their testimonies, furthering the strength of the message as it comes from some of their own members.

Particularly with "Viveros volantes," the MDDC was able to use it as a training tool, as it is a video developed to sensitize and teach gold miners how to build, maintain, and use forestry nurseries. It was an important method used for capacity building with a population with no previous forestry production or management background. AMAAM members were first trained (workshop style), and then the whole process was recorded, step by step, demonstrating each procedure as part of the nursery building and its management, with a voice-over commentary on the views from different AMAAM members and how these changed throughout their learning process.

This is a significant break from the previously used methods in Madre de Dios, where the regional government was completely in charge of the management of nurseries and of handing out the tree seedlings to the final beneficiaries. With the introduction of these movable nurseries, which are smaller and more easily manageable, the idea was to transfer the technical knowledge to the beneficiaries and thus make them partners in the process from start to end (Sanguinetti, personal interview, October 10, 2017).

Additionally the video "Biodigestores" (Bio-digesters) was also used as a capacity building instrument. This video is more structured as a training tool and uses graphics to depict chemical and physical processes that take place within these bio-digesters resulting in their final products of gas, used for cooking, and bio-fertilizer used for soil enrichment as it introduces nutrients in the soil as well as improving its edaphological characteristics for better root growth of the transplanted seedling, both at the experimental plots and later on the land they will be using as final planting sites for the saplings.

The importance of the application of this video comes from the use of bio-fertilizer as an additional resource applied specially to degraded soils. It is an economically accessible, as well as a low-tech, alternative to commercially available fertilizers, and it can be produced directly by the final users from their daily waste materials.

By the end of the project, the MDDC had started working on the introduction and adoption of cleaner technologies with AMAAM, such as the "shaking table," to change the popular practice of using mercury (Hg), which has been proven toxic to human health and which, as of January 2016, was illegal in Peru as the Minamata Convention was signed and ratified by the Peruvian government to be implemented by August of that same year (Minamata Convention 2013).

AMAAM members were willing to explore this new technology and thus improve their health and also have a lower impact on the environment. This willingness was possible due to a process that included significant activities of communication, becoming a clear indicator of how the adequate application of these tools had made it possible for AMAAM members to change their behavior.

Further to the communication work the MDDC carried out directly with AMAAM, they developed policy briefs, targeted to a different tier of project partners: decision makers. Particular to this case, they developed a "policy brief related to the cost structure of mining and its implications for both the regional

economy and the policy proposals of control and remediation activity," called "Evaluation of the production chain of gold" (MDDC 2016, p. 22).

Additionally the MDDC also worked on different task forces, with interpersonal communication activities, related to gold mining and restoration of degraded landscapes, with the regional and local governments as an effort to foster information exchange among decision makers. For instance the MDDC:

> ...sponsored the Regional Forum 'Canon en Madre de Dios: Situación actual y perspectivas' [Madre de Dios Mining Tax: Current situation and perspective (translation added)] to propose the creation of the 'Mesa Multisectorial para el Canon de Madre de Dios [Task Force for Mining Tax in Madre de Dios (translation added)]'. This event was attended by civil society, Regional and Central government including the Madre de Dios Congressman. (MDDC 2016, p. 10)

82.2.1 How They Structured Communication

The MDDC worked with AMAAM and the related authorities in three differentiated communicational stages:

82.2.1.1 Information

As explained above, all activities included an informational component to start the process. This was centered on expounding, through a clear message, what was the objective and how it could be achieved in a jointly fashion.

For this the MDDC mainly used interpersonal communication, such as in the informational talks and awareness-raising activities (MDDC 2016, p. 11) with AMAAM, or through its participation in the different task forces with regional and local governments; thus the MDDC worked with different kinds of stakeholders participating in linked or related processes.

82.2.1.2 Education

The next stage was when the MDDC provided the stakeholders with theoretical knowledge imparted on interpersonal communication activities, such as workshops. But this went beyond just informing, they shared more detailed information, explaining more thoroughly how the objectives could be achieved.

Additionally the MDDC used audiovisual tools, for instance, the use of the video "Biodigestores" is a good example, as it disaggregates the process of waste becoming gas and bio-fertilizer, and it explains chemical and physical changes that take place within the bio-digesters, a highly technical concept put into context in a simple and understandable manner.

82.2.1.3 Training

And finally the MDDC worked with AMAAM so they had to apply what they had been informed and educated about, by putting it into practice on the field and developing actual skills such as building bio-digesters, building forestry nurseries, and planting saplings on the final planting sites.

This final stage was implemented with the AMAAM and not with decision-making stakeholders, since the nature of the work carried out with these two beneficiaries was intrinsically different.

This three-stage process is not per se very complicated; it is in fact simple and very intuitive, but its simplicity has proven to be rather effective. It is important to point out that the project manager of the MDDC, Bruno Sanguinetti, comes from a Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) background, where this methodology has been widely applied (Sanguinetti, personal interview, October 10, 2017).

82.3 What They Achieved

Even though the scientific findings after all this work on scientific research and social change are not particularly encouraging or definitive, particularly the scientific component, this process has been significant to determine that "More experimental reforestation and remediation studies are needed to improve the science and practice of forest restoration in gold mined areas" (Román-Dañobeytia et al. 2015, p. 45).

Thus, this project, and the specific experience with AMAAM, can be viewed as opening the door for other projects and initiatives to focus on restoring gold-mined landscapes, particularly in the Amazon basin, and creating further knowledge on this subject matter. This is the case with the current CINCIA project (http://cincia.wfu.edu/en/), which is also partnered by USAID and where the chief scientist is Dr. Román Dañobeytia, who worked directly with AMAAM as part of the MDDC.

On the policy side, as a direct result of this experience in Manuani, the MDDC reached an agreement with the Ministry of Energy and Mines (MINEM) to promote recovery of areas degraded by alluvial gold mining and to promote the process for legalization of informal miners (ISU 2016, p. 33). Prior to this experience, restoration of mined areas was not at all the focus of the MINEM. It is important that as a result of this project this has changed, because many people will continue to practice informal and illegal mining activities, as these informal miners are a symptom of the lack of opportunities in the formal work chain and will continue to emerge until many other policy reforms, not only related to mining, are in place and operational.

However, the most important and lasting impact this project has had has been the involvement and appropriation of land restoration by the beneficiary population, an actual social change experience. As the ICAA-wide Final Report (ISU 2016) clearly states, the MDDC's achievements were significant:

> . . . with local land-owners to develop restoration techniques for the recovery of degraded soils. Based on participatory research, the Manuani community has developed technologies that are now being adopted by governmental agencies in other outmined areas in the Tambopata [National Reserve (added)] buffer zone. The Manuani people now are able to transfer technology for the implementation of ecological restoration in degraded areas and act as service providers. (p. 27)

> The MDD consortium developed field research on restoration in outmined degraded areas with members of the Manuani community. Its success in terms of restored area and people

able to apply this technique in other areas was nationally recognized by winning the Premio Ambiental Antonio Brack Egg. (November 2015) (p. 41)

These indicators clearly show that the installed capacity that AMAAM attained through the ownership of the nurseries, as well as the bio-digesters, has been put to use and has elevated the social value the AMAAM can deliver, not only internally but also as external service providers. But particularly it demonstrates that these *beneficiaries* breached the gap between receivers, to actual partners, and finally implementers of their own change and that this experience could and should be replicated in similar scenarios, because its feasibility has already been proven.

As discussed in the World Congress on Communication for Development (IBRD/WB 2007, p. 74), "Communication about the environment shouldn't be so difficult because people do care about the environment – it is important to give people a reason to care, to act." The people in Manuani definitely cared and decided to act, and because the communication tools were effective, the transfer of technological knowledge that they needed to apply to their daily life was effective as well.

Once ICAA II came to a closing by 2016, the AMAAM continued with their restoration work, both at their experimental plots and offering their services to other mining associations. This did not played out particularly well, however, since they lacked the institutional leverage the MDDC, as part of the ICAA II-wide initiative, offered.

As reported by Vanessa Romo (El Comercio, 2014), the problem of illegal and informal miners invading AMAAM is a harsh and constant reality; therefore, they need institutional support to be able to carry on with the work they have started.

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Communicative Analysis of a Failed Coup Attempt in Turkey

83

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Contents

83.1 Introduction 1440
83.2 The Communicative Character of the Recent Coup Attempt in Turkey 1441
83.3 The Sequence of Events on the Night of 15 July 1442
83.4 Erdoğan on FaceTime, FaceTime on CNN Türk: The Traditional and New Media Are Hand in Hand 1443
83.5 The Role of the Media in the 15 July Coup Attempt 1444
83.6 Mosques as a Communication Network 1449
83.7 Conclusion 1450
83.8 Cross-References 1451
References 1451

Abstract

A failed coup attempt occurred in Turkey on 15 July 2016. This incident has generated three significant results in terms of communication. Firstly, it has proved that there is a symbiosis, rather than a contrast, between the traditional and new media. Secondly, it has demonstrated that different communication technologies can assume various roles during the stages of a movement. Thirdly, it has revealed that mosques can serve as a unique communication network. This chapter attempts, on one side, to explore why the failed coup attempt has a communicative character and, on the other side, to investigate how different communication technologies played various roles during the stages of this event. The role of mosques in the coup attempt is examined under a separate heading. Finally, both the coup attempt and protests against it are considered in their own social context since each protest movement occurs within a particular context.

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Turkey · Coup attempt · Traditional and new media · Sala · FaceTime · Recep Tayyip Erdoğan

83.1 Introduction

Turkey has a history of coups in which the military has intervened several times in country's politics since 1960. Not surprisingly, the country again witnessed an attempt, starting in the evening of 15 July 2016 and continuing until the early hours of the next day, in which a section of the Turkish military calling itself "Peace at Home Council" launched a movement against the government and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The attempt did not succeed, but the cost was heavy. During the attempt, many government buildings including the Turkish Parliament were bombed by fighter jets and helicopters, resulting in over 300 people being killed and more than 2000 being injured.

This incident has generated three significant consequences from the communication point of view while demonstrating a distinctive characteristic in terms of its onset, progress, and ending. First, it has shown that there is a symbiosis, rather than a contrast, between the traditional and new media. Many commentators have emphasized how social media, especially FaceTime, a popular video chat service, helped to quell the coup attempt. However, the role of traditional media in preventing the attempt has remained unexplored. In fact, these two forms of media coexisted and complemented each other in the coup attempt. The picture of President Erdoğan talking via FaceTime to a privately owned television channel has been not just one of the popular images of the event but also an iconic scene showing the interaction between the traditional and new media. Second, it has demonstrated that different communication technologies can assume different roles during the various stages of a movement. Indeed, during the event, while television served to meet the institutional information needs of the people, social media played a major role in coordinating and organizing the protests on the streets. Third, it has revealed that mosques, which are unique to Muslim societies, can be used as a means of communication. The Salas recited by mosques across the country not just encouraged people to take to the streets but also played a significant role in galvanizing those who were already on the streets to resist the coup attempt.

The role of the media in protests has become a popular research subject among scholars in recent years. In this context, social movements that have emerged over the last few years in diverse regions of the world (e.g., Arab Spring in MENA, Occupy Wall Street in the USA, Indignadas in Spain, Gezi Park in Turkey) have been well documented and analyzed. For example, Castells (2012) has examined the movements from both communicative and sociological perspectives. Other authors (Gerbaudo 2012; Khondker 2011; Park et al. 2015; Rosa 2014; Salem 2015; Tudoroiu 2014) have directly focused on the role of the media in the movements.

Although there have been many attempts to explain the role of the media in social movements, the majority of existing research has focused largely on the role of new

media, especially social networking sites such as Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube (see, e.g., Anduiza et al. 2014; Harlow 2011; Kharroub and Bas 2016; Theocharis et al. 2015; Thorson et al. 2013). What has often remained invisible is the role of alternative forms of media in protests. For instance, little research (Ahy 2016; Boyle and Schmierbach 2009; Rane and Salem 2012) has explored whether the traditional media has effects on protests.

In this chapter, it is argued that protest movements are not solely linked to new or social media; instead, different media platforms may coexist with, interact with, and complement each other in a protest movement. The outline of the chapter is as follows:

First, it is revealed why this coup attempt has a communicative character by examining the communication infrastructure and media usage in Turkey. Then, the roles that different communication technologies played during different stages of the coup attempt are investigated. The role of mosques in this event is analyzed under a separate heading. Finally, both the coup attempt and protests against it are considered in their own social context since each protest movement occurs within a particular context.

Three semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted. The first interview was conducted with the General Manager of CNN Türk, the second with the Domestic News Manager of Anadolu Agency (AA), and the third with the Vice President of Religious Affairs (RA). The importance of these three institutions stems from their key roles regarding the coup attempt. CNN Türk, the CNN International Turkish affiliate, is the media outlet that President Erdoğan spoke to via FaceTime on the night of the event to urge people to take to the streets. AA is the official news agency of Turkey that met the information needs of many media outlets due to its wide news network covering the coup attempt. RA is the official religious body of Turkey that gave the order for the Salas to be read from mosques across the country. The interviews enabled to collect critical data concerning the event.

83.2 The Communicative Character of the Recent Coup Attempt in Turkey

In the 15 July coup attempt, various media platforms were not just intensively used by the government and protestors to foil the coup attempt but also by plotters to manage the attempt. Hence, it is important to primarily investigate the existing telecommunication infrastructure and media usage in Turkey.

Telecommunication services in Turkey are currently widely provided by Türk Telekom, which has a monopoly in the sector. There are also 460 other operators providing service in the telecommunication sector (e.g., internet service providers, mobile operators, satellite communication operators, and cable platform services providers). With more than 300,000 km of fiber infrastructure, Turkey has 4.5G technology for mobile communication. In Turkey, there are nearly 70 million broadband subscribers, and the number of mobile subscribers is about 78 million in this country of 80 million people (Information and Communication Technologies Authority 2017).

In Turkey, social media takes first place among the activities for Internet users. According to a latest report released by We Are Social (Kemp 2017), there are

48 million active social media users in Turkey, and of these, 42 million connect to social media via their mobile devices. The report reveals that 87% of Internet users go online every day, and 36% of web traffic takes place using laptop and desktop computers, 61% via mobile devices, and 3% through tablets. PC and tablet users spend an average of 6 h 46 min per day; however, this activity falls to 2 h 59 min on mobile devices. Internet users who use both channels to access the Internet spend an average of 3 h 01 min on social media platforms. A survey conducted by the Turkish Statistical Institute (2017) reports that 83.7% of the individuals use the Internet to participate in social media.

Television is the leading outlet for traditional media usage in Turkey. Among the 20 million households in the country, over 19 million has one or two televisions. According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (2015), the most popular entertainment and cultural activity of 94.6% of people aged 10 years and above is watching television. During the daily 5.5 h spent in front of television, magazine programs and series are the most watched (Deloitte 2014). Television is mostly watched between the hours 21:01 and 24:00 (Radio and Television Supreme Council 2016). Interestingly, the starting time of the coup attempt fell within this time slot.

The data presented above offers important clues concerning why the 15 July coup attempt has a communicative character. First, it shows that Turkey has a relatively advanced communication infrastructure. This infrastructure paved the way for an uninterrupted communication between protestors who took part in anti-coup demonstrations. The same infrastructure also facilitated the connection between President Erdoğan and multiple television channels via FaceTime and Skype. The data also demonstrates that social media has become an important platform for daily communication between individuals in Turkey. The intensive social media usage between individuals in Turkey resulted in the fast dissemination of vital information and rapid mobilization of protests. Finally, this data reveals that the traditional media has not yet lost any ground. Television is still a popular medium of communication in Turkey; thus, the people watching television at the start of the coup attempt were able to observe the events via the news, especially the breaking news.

83.3 The Sequence of Events on the Night of 15 July

It was an ordinary day, just like any other, on 15 July 2016. Yet, around 10:00 p.m. local time, military forces closed off the main routes over the Bosphorus and Atatürk Airport in Istanbul, Turkey's largest city. They also established strategic checkpoints in different parts of the capital city, Ankara. Then, above both cities, Turkish F-16 jets roared across the sky at a low level, just a few hundred feet above the rooftops. Shortly after, the first images of the uniformed soldiers began to appear over social media, urging people to go to their homes. Meanwhile, some national television channels reported clashes between the police and the army on the streets of several major cities. People were astonished and were unable to grasp the situation. Something was happening, but what? A terror attack? A coup? There was total confusion and uncertainty.

Only one example is enough to give an idea about what people were thinking at that moment. V.M.A. (full name concealed) was sitting in a park in Ankara when the jets buzzed across the skyline of the city showing red and blue lights and leaving a white light beam behind them. V.M.A, who was as astonished by the situation as anyone else, tried to understand what was happening. The red, blue, and white color spectrum caused by the jets brought the French flag to mind. V.M.A. concluded that it was a fly past to show of support for the French people who had been hit by an ISIS attack the day before (V.M.A., personal communication, 18 July 2016).

When Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım broadcast live on the Turkish NTV television channel at 11:05 p.m. local time to say that they were investigating the possibility of an uprising, then the military maneuvers became clear. Only 1 h after the Prime Minister's statement, the coup plotters released a statement announcing the coup attempt on Turkish Radio and Television (TRT), the state-run television broadcaster in Ankara. This was not unexpected as it was what the military had done in the previous coups in 1960, 1971, and 1980, when there had been one main radio and television station in the country.

President Erdoğan was on holiday in Marmaris, on the southern Turkish coast, when the coup attempt unfolded; thus, he was unable to appear on any media platform in the early hours of the uprising. At about 11:44 p.m. local time, immediately before the statement from the coup plotters had been read out on TRT, the local press in Marmaris received a message via WhatsApp stating that the President was going to make a statement. Press members who received the message immediately went to the hotel where President Erdoğan was staying. He gave a brief statement on the doorstep of the hotel and made his first call for people to take to the streets in protest.

Interestingly, the statement was unable to be broadcast on any national television channel due to a "technical" problem. The statement was relayed from the Facebook account of one of the journalists who was present (Irmak 2016). Yet, whatever had happened, this statement never had the desired effect in the social media. At that time, President Erdoğan was involved in a situational assessment with his aides and, at the same time, watching the coup statement being read out on television. The presenter was saying that the Turkish military had completely taken over the administration of the country. Although President Erdoğan has faced significant challenges since he came to power in 2002 including Gezi Park protests starting with environmental protests and turning into a general riot against his regime in 2013, this situation was considerably different and was probably the greatest challenge in his political career.

83.4 Erdoğan on FaceTime, FaceTime on CNN Türk: The Traditional and New Media Are Hand in Hand

President Erdoğan's unconventional appearance on television via FaceTime was the pivotal moment of the coup attempt. It was a marvelous moment to watch since it was a merging of the old and new media. When President Erdoğan appeared on CNN Türk at 12:24 a.m. local time, it was Hande Fırat, the Head of the Ankara office of the channel, who held the smartphone that facilitated his appearance. According to her

own account (Fırat 2016), Fırat called the Presidential Principal Clerk and requested a live broadcast. Upon learning that his previous statement had not been broadcast on national television channels, President Erdoğan promptly welcomed the offer as he needed to show the public he was in safe hands and not being held hostage. Soon after, all preparations were made for the broadcast. Then, President Erdoğan sat in front of a white curtain in order not to disclose his location and gave his message: "... I call on our people to gather in squares and airports... Let us gather as a nation in city squares... Those who attempted a coup will pay the highest price..." (BBC Türkçe 2016).

This broadcast is important for at least two reasons. Firstly, it proved that every protest movement has a breaking point. This is especially so in the case of this movement, because it was the main trigger of the protests against the coup attempt. Although people were used to watching President Erdoğan on a podium almost every day, seeing him framed on the tiny screen of a smartphone was both astonishing and terrifying. Even the President, who was sitting atop the state, seemed deprived of conventional means of communication. Yet, the scene motivated those who had doubts to take to the streets and protest.

Secondly, it reminded that the capacity of an infrastructure which allows communication is as important as the content of the communication. Indeed, President Erdoğan successfully made his broadcast because Turkey had launched its fourth-generation mobile telecommunications technology, called 4.5G, just a few months before the event. The former 3G technology did not allow smooth video chat due to spectrum use limitations. Obviously, as indicated by Nini (2016), it will never be known what would have happened if President Erdoğan had been unable to make his broadcast.

Becky Anderson from CNN International conducted an interview with President Erdoğan after the event, in which she reminded President Erdoğan of the importance of the moment he took to the air on CNN Türk, using FaceTime, by asking him this question: "...do you have an appreciation, to a certain extent, of the free press and social media since your recent experience?" (CNN International 2016). The implication behind this question referred to President Erdoğan's previous adverse attitudes toward social media. During the Gezi Park protests in 2013, President Erdoğan had called it "the worst menace to society" (Guardian 2013). At a campaign rally in 2014, he had talked about eradicating Twitter (Rayman 2014). Moreover, he had compared social media to a "knife in the hand of a murderer" in 2014 (Arab News 2014). Thus, once President Erdoğan resorted to FaceTime in an attempt to rally people against the attempted coup, the irony immediately appeared. He probably had no other choice; yet, the situation was deliciously reminiscent of a famous phrase by a prominent figure of Turkish politics, former President Süleyman Demirel, who said: "Yesterday was yesterday, today is today."

83.5 The Role of the Media in the 15 July Coup Attempt

The role of the media in the coup attempt has been a controversial issue. Not only journalists but also scholars have emphasized that social media, especially FaceTime, played a key role in the failure of the attempt (see, e.g., Boyle 2016;

Srivastava 2016). However, one of the more interesting remarks on the role of the media in the coup attempt has come from Unver and Alassaad (2016), and a closer look at their study offers a profitable ground in the context of this chapter.

The study of Unver and Alassaad, *How Turks mobilized against the coup*, aims to show that mobilization against the coup attempt was first initiated online, then gained momentum through the network of mosques, and finally continued to the grass roots. Their work provides an insight into how people mobilized against the coup attempt through empirical data. However, it seems that the authors are wrong in their claims concerning the reasons that motivated protesters in the coup attempt.

On the one hand, Unver and Alassaad argue that President Erdoğan played a belated role in mobilizing protesters against the attempted coup. Despite the fact that the authors do not ignore the triggering effect of President Erdoğan on the protesters, they tend to evaluate the mobilization as a natural political reflex of people who already were on the streets when the coup attempt started. One can wholeheartedly agree with the notion that the initial protests began sprouting up simultaneously in various cities in the first hours of the event. Yet, after President Erdoğan's appearance on television over FaceTime, the protests intensified and turned into a nationwide movement across the country. There are at least two reasons to support this.

First, there were problems in accessing Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube since the Internet was blocked through throttling when the coup attempt started. Social media was only accessible through a virtual private network program which allows users to circumvent limitations. Turkey Blocks, a watchdog group that monitors Internet bans, confirmed that access to these three social media platforms was restricted in Turkey after 10:50 p.m. local time (Turkey Blocks 2016). Once the government recognized that the Internet and social media could act in their favor against the attempted coup, they immediately lifted the restrictions. Although restrictions lasted a little less than 2 h, it is important to note that protesters were able to use neither social media nor other online digital tools during this period. Therefore, they were unable to organize a massive protest over these platforms in the first hours of the coup attempt. Second, it is important to indicate that a portion of the people who went onto the streets when the coup attempt began had formed long queues at many shops, ATMs, and gas stations in the cities. Thus, the mention of a natural reflex could be considered as the survival instinct of worried people rather than being political as Unver and Alassaad emphasized.

On the other hand, Unver and Alassaad claim that the mosques and digital media had the more important role in mobilizing people against the coup attempt. According to the authors, both these elements created a two-way channel for political communication. Clearly, Unver and Alassaad are correct in asserting the importance of mosques and digital media, but for a better understanding of the role of the media in the coup attempt, a more nuanced analysis is needed. Within this context, instead of answering the question of which means of communication played a greater role, it would be more accurate to emphasize that different communication technologies assumed different roles during the various stages of the coup attempt.

The results of surveys conducted by three leading Turkish research companies are a gauge of what Turkish citizens thought of the event. The importance of these

surveys stems from the fact that they included people who took to the streets on the night of 15 July. Interestingly, all three surveys revealed that more than one means of communication played a significant role in mobilizing protesters against the coup attempt.

The first survey was carried out by Andy-Ar (2016) on 19 July 2016 with 1496 respondents. The participants were asked "Did you watch President Erdoğan's statement on television on the night of the coup attempt?," and 83.9% responded "Yes." The second question was "Did you or any of your relatives go out on the street after President Erdoğan's call for people to take to the streets?," to which 65.7% responded "Yes." The second survey was conducted by SETA (Miş et al. 2016) between 18 and 24 July 2016 through a semi-structured interview with 146 respondents. The researchers detected that three factors motivated the participants to take to the streets. First was President Erdoğan's call to take to the streets, second was the coup declaration being read on TRT, and third was the Salas that were broadcast from the mosques. Finally, the third survey was administered by Konda (2016) on 26 July 2016 and comprised 1875 respondents. One of the questions posed in the survey was "Through which source did you receive the initial news about the coup attempt?" The responses were as follows: 62% of the participants stated television, 24% friend or acquaintance, 9% social media, 3% news websites, 1% SMS, and another 1% mosques. A further question was "At what point of the events did you decide to take to the streets?," to which 53% responded that they did so after President Erdoğan's call to go into the street, 27% went before this call and 20% took to the streets after 16 July.

To examine the role of the media in the coup attempt, this chapter proposes that this role can be classified under three distinct stages (Khamis et al. 2012): The first stage is when the attempt unfolded, the second stage occurred when the anti-coup protests began, and the third happened when the attempt ended. Different means of communication played different roles in all these three stages.

First and foremost, television and FaceTime played a major role in the events of the coup attempt. The reason was twofold; the attempt began at the peak hours of the television in the country, which was partly why television served as a vital source of news and information in the first hours of the event. The second and more important reason was that President Erdoğan made his crucial statement on television via FaceTime. The ratings provide evidence of the role played by television and FaceTime in the coup attempt. Table 1 shows the ratings of the four leading news channels (NTV, CNN Türk, Habertürk, and A Haber) in Turkey on the night of 15 July and the relation to the crucial moments of the coup attempt and the time slice of President Erdoğan's FaceTime connection.

A semi-structured interview was conducted on 30 November 2016 with Erdoğan Aktaş, the CNN Türk General Manager. According to Aktaş, since the ratings of news channels in Turkey are measured in 15-minute slices, it becomes difficult to determine the rating of the FaceTime connection that started at 12:24 and ended at 12:31 a.m. local time. The FaceTime video chat was relayed not just through many national television stations in Turkey, but also via several international channels around the world. Hence, it is even more difficult to determine precise ratings since the ratings of other television

Table 1 Ratings of the Turkish television news channels on the night of 15 July

		NTV	CNN Türk	Habertürk	A Haber
	12:00–12:15 a.m.	12.43%	12.81%	5.45%	9.80%
FaceTime broadcast 12:24 a.m. (start)	12:15–12:30 a.m.	15.35%	16.30%	6.78%	9.67%
FaceTime broadcast 12:31 a.m. (end)	12:30–12:45 a.m.	18.28%	14.48%	6.53%	11.15%
	12:45–01:00 a.m.	18.64%	12.83%	5.80%	13.60%

Note: The ratings data was obtained with special permission from Erdoğan Aktaş, CNN Türk General Manager

channels need to be included in these measurements. However, the data in Table 1 shows that total ratings of the four news channels reached nearly 50% at the most critical time slice of the coup attempt and remained stable at this level. Even more importantly, since the connection was broadcast live on more than one television channel, this created a multiplier effect and reached a large audience as with in the social media. Television preserved its effectiveness before and after the broadcast. For example, TRT who broadcast the moment when the coup declaration was read out and FOX TV who broadcast the moment when the fighter jets bombed the Turkish Parliament live peaked in the ratings in Turkey (Medya Tava 2016).

In addition to television and FaceTime, news agencies played an essential role in the attempted coup with AA. During the event, AA became a vital source of news and information due to having a wide-ranging news network in the country. A semi-structured interview was carried out on 1 February 2017 with Zekeriya Kaya, AA Domestic News Editor, in which he stated that nearly 800 AA reporters were active on the night of 15 July. Furthermore, Kaya emphasized that many television stations and Internet news sites obtained their first news and images about the event from AA. According to Kaya, this explained the sixfold increase in the volume of news distribution of AA on the night of 15 July.

Interestingly, radio was another conventional medium which played an active role on the night of the coup attempt. When President Erdoğan appeared on television to make his call for people to take to the streets, the call was heard by people outside via people in their cars turning up the volume of their radios.

Mobile phones also featured prominently in the coup attempt. That night, GSM operators sent text messages signed by President Erdoğan to their subscribers asking them to stand up for democracy. Additionally, they provided extra talk and Internet packages to their subscribers. Text messaging also helped the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) to mobilize and coordinate its membership. That night, AKP sent text messages to its nearly ten million registered members, urging them to take to the streets in a show of support for the government. Mustafa Ataş, the AKP Deputy Chairman and the Head of party organization, stated that about 30 million text messages were sent from the headquarters of the party to the members on the night of 15 July. According to Ataş, party members were successfully mobilized through text messaging (Selvi 2016).

The role of social media surfaced after people took to the streets, and this platform facilitated the protests against the coup attempt. By using social networking sites such as Twitter and Facebook, protesters were not only able to just communicate with each other, but they could also quickly organize and mobilize in the cities where the most chaotic events happened. The role of social media, especially Twitter, becomes clear in the light of empirical data; on the night of 15 July, between 10:00 p.m. and 12:00 a.m. local time, 71,938 tweets were sent. In the same time interval on an average day, 16,500 tweets would be sent. This corresponds to a fourfold increase. Furthermore, between 12:00 and 4:00 a.m. local time, the number of tweets related to the attempted coup was 495,000, which corresponds to a 35-fold increase compared to the average figure of 14,142 over a normal day (Can 2016). In total, seven million tweets were sent on the night of 15 July under popular hashtags such as #DarbeyeHayır (no to coup), #VatanİçinNöbetteyiz (on guard for the motherland), and #TekYürek (single heart) (Demir 2016). Not surprisingly, the number of tweets continued to increase after 10:00 p.m. local time and reached a peak after President Erdoğan's FaceTime broadcast.

What is particularly interesting is that the coup plotters used online digital tools to organize themselves, and this is why the plotters did not intervene in the Internet although they destroyed the country's satellite communication and cable TV operator, Türksat. The plotters tried, on the one hand, to cut the flow of information by taking out traditional means of communication, for example, trying to seize the major Turkish broadcasters such as TRT and CNN Türk. On the other hand, they allowed the Internet to stay active as they were using instant messaging applications, especially WhatsApp, which enabled them to send encrypted messages over the Internet. Therefore, if they had shut down the Internet, it would have resulted in a collapse in their internal communication networks. Clearly, the plotters made a strategic mistake because although Türksat was experiencing a blackout and satellite platforms like D-Smart and Digiturk were also unable to broadcast, these platforms could present themselves on the Internet. The irony was that while the plotters, on the one hand, were trying to seize control of the traditional means of communication, the Internet and especially social media, on the other hand, were experiencing one of their busiest moments in the country. Actually, the plotters were trying to stage "an analogue coup in a digital age" (Unver and Alassaad 2016).

In the process of the coup attempt, the two most popular live-streaming services, Twitter's Periscope and Facebook Live, were effectively generating information about the attempt. Around 2:00 a.m. local time, "more than 80 streams were active on the Periscope platform in Istanbul, compared to 30 in London and two in San Francisco" (Frier et al. 2016). Meanwhile, Facebook's real-time map demonstrated that a large group of users were active in Turkey (Couts 2016). Both these platforms allowed users to either stream the instant events of the coup attempt or show protesters on the street resisting the plotters. The Google search engine was also active. While tanks were rolling down the street, the protestors were searching on Google for ways to stop tanks. According to Google Trends (https://trends.google.com.tr), the online searches for "How to stop a tank" skyrocketed on the night of 15 July. This was in a sense the embodiment of the "search engine society" argument that Halavais (2009) argued years ago.

The coup attempt was suppressed in less than 24 h; however, the so-called "democracy watch" protests continued for 29 days to protect the country against another potential attempt. The media played an essential role in this process as well. For instance, television channels, newspapers, magazines, and Internet portals covered the coup attempt with all its details. Furthermore, governmental and non-governmental organizations prepared publications (e.g., reports and photograph albums), which brought to the forefront the dramatic side of the event. These publications, while enabling the formation of a wide consensus against the coup attempt, also led to the building of a societal memory regarding the event.

83.6 Mosques as a Communication Network

One of the interesting features concerning the 15 July coup attempt was the involvement of mosques and the use of Sala. Mosques are a religious institution where Muslims gather for prayers, and Sala has its etymological roots in Arabic and means a kind of an Islamic call to prayer. Traditionally, Salas are read out to announce Friday prayers or funerals at the mosques. Hence, the main meaning of the word Sala is "annunciation." It can be argued that the Salas that were read out on the night of 15 July had two purposes: first to announce the coup attempt in line with the meaning of the word and the second to rally people against this attempt.

Historically, Sala is not a new practice; it has been used, for example, during the Turkish War of Independence 1919–1922. During the Arab Spring, although not specifically the Sala, mosques and prayers played a particular role in the protests (Aslam 2017). That the same thing has not been seen in the protest movements in the West indicates that the cultural features and religious beliefs of societies may be determinant in the decision about which medium could be used in protests.

A semi-structured interview was conducted on 14 November 2016 with Mehmet Emin Özafşar, Vice President of RA. He explained that on the night of 15 July, the imams, the highest-ranking religious officers in mosques, began reading the Salas without having received any order from RA. Özafşar then continued to state that to avoid any confusion, RA sent a text message to its 110,000 imams, asking them to read the Sala and call for Tekbeer (a kind of Islamic call) in their mosques. There was an immediate positive effect; the people on the streets passionately replied with the slogan, Allahu Akbar (God is greatest), and this is why the reading of Sala continued for weeks even after the coup attempt had been suppressed.

Viewed closely, it can be argued that the network of mosques in Turkey is not complicated. At the top, there is the RA under which there are the offices of the mufti in all 81 cities and 919 counties in the country, who represent the highest religious authority in their locations and under them are the mosques. According to Özafşar, there are 86,762 mosques in Turkey. In terms of the distribution across the cities, in Istanbul and Ankara where the most intensive anti-coup protests took place, there are 3317 and 2994 mosques, respectively. Given their widespread presence in the cities, mosques have been relatively effective communication networks in Muslim societies.

Considering mosques as means of communication, the open to communication structure of these religious institutions resembles the structure of traditional means of communication. Through the loudspeakers connected to their minarets, mosques allow only one-way communication just like in means of mass communication. However, what makes mosques unique is not their communication structure but much rather the fact that they turn communication into a religious character. Mosques played an important role during the coup attempt when on the night of 15 July, the imams read the Salas, calling for the people to take to the streets, which became an irresistible religious order. Thus, the mosques were able to effectively play their role in the events that unfolded. This was partly because of the political identity of the protesters, of whom nearly 80% had voted for AKP in the general elections of 2015, which is known for its conservatism (Konda 2016). Thus, the Salas called from the mosques showed a total parallelism with the religious beliefs of the protesters known for their conservative identities. In this respect, the Salas surrounded these protesters with their holy ambiance and motivated them to stand against the coup attempt even risking death.

83.7 Conclusion

An advanced communication network provides possibilities not only for a movement to become visible but also for a counter movement to parry it. However, this does not mean that communication technologies alone have the ability to start and end a protest movement and only focusing on technology inevitably turns into a discussion of determinism. When protest movements are evaluated with slogans such as "Facebook revolution" or "the revolution will not be tweeted," the discussion inevitably is locked in the question of "what the determinant is" (see, e.g., Gladwell 2010; Shirky 2011). Technology cannot be considered as the main cause of protest movements as many other social factors (e.g., political, social, economic, psychological, cultural, and religious) are at play in these movements (Ainger 2016), neither can it be interpreted as completely ineffective as it can facilitate protests (Comunello and Anzera 2012).

The 15 July coup attempt was a movement that aimed to usurp the government and unseat President Erdoğan. While the plotters attempted to do this by cutting the interaction of the government with social powers, the opposite movement endeavored to suppress the coup attempt by keeping communication channels open. Therefore, the common feature of the both movements was their communication style; however, the social factors that motivated people to take to the streets were different. Those who took to the streets on the night of 15 July believed that the goal of the coup was to capture and divide Turkey, which would result in chaos and civil war (Konda 2016). Consequently, both movements started and ended as a chain of numerous overlapping events in the same social context. In this process, different communication technologies played their own roles at various stages of the coup attempt. As the stages changed, so did the means of communication and the role they played.

83.8 Cross-References

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Plurality and Diversity of Voices in Community Radio: A Case Study of Radio Brahmaputra from Assam

84

Alankar Kaushik

Contents

84.1 Introduction 1456
84.2 Radio Brahmaputra (90.4 MHz) 1456
84.3 Content Production and Management 1458
84.4 Narrowcasting over Broadcasting 1463
84.5 Conclusion 1466
References 1467

Abstract

Community radio is a powerful medium, which serves to voice the voiceless and is at the heart of communication and democratic processes within societies. Considering the diversity of the northeastern region of India, it is not possible for state-run broadcasting agencies to reach all the communities through its programming content. Radio Brahmaputra, located in Dibrugarh, eastern part of Assam, is the first and only grassroot community radio of Northeast India. Radio Brahmaputra produces content in various languages and local dialects, which create impact in the community engagement of the respective areas. Radio Brahmaputra assists in production of plural voices from the margins of the country against the backdrop of the politics of community radio in India. This chapter will also deal with the process of selecting themes for the radio program by the community reporters and the importance of narrowcasting over broadcasting for a visible impact of the stakeholders.

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Assamese · *Bhojpuri* · *Bodo* · *Chadri* · Community radio · Democratic space · Diverse voice · Indigenous communities · *Mishing* · Narrowcasting · Radio Brahmaputra · Radio program · Spiral of silence

84.1 Introduction

Community radio is a powerful medium that gives voice to the voiceless and is at the heart of communication and democratic processes within societies. The growth of community radio in India is remarkable in the last decade with university campuses, some NGOs, and other civil society groups running their own community radio stations. The community radio stations play a pivotal role in making the people aware about their basic rights, entitlements, and duties while providing a strong platform to freely disseminate ideas among the community. Though from the late 1970s, community radio gained momentum in India as an alternative medium to reach the marginalized, but the irony is, despite having the maximum diversity of culture and communities in the country, the northeastern region of India have only three community radio stations till 2017 with addition of two other community radio station in Manipur in 2018.

More than two decades after the historic Supreme Court of India ruling which declared airwaves as public property, the Government of India has been cautious in releasing broadcasting news and current affairs but restricted its use only to entertainment. Even under the new policies, the private commercial FM radio stations have not been permitted to broadcast news and current affairs programs.

On the other hand, considering the diversity of the northeastern region in India, it is not possible for state-run broadcasting agencies to reach all the communities through its programming content. Therefore, it is important for us to understand the diversity and the quality of information that is increasingly helping people from the margins to voice out their concerns by experimenting with participatory communication for social change. Radio Brahmaputra is the first grassroot community radio station of Northeast India situated at Dibrugarh district of Assam. Dibrugarh district of Assam is situated 439 km east of the capital city of Guwahati, Assam. Dibrugarh is home to sprawling tea gardens, a significant stretch of the Brahmaputra River, with Island villages as well as a range of ethnic groups, cultures, and languages among the districts located in the Upper Assam.

84.2 Radio Brahmaputra (90.4 MHz)

Radio Brahmaputra has been established to cater the communication needs of the marginalized communities living in the media dark zones. The media dark zone includes islands, tea gardens, and other villages where majority of the population speak local languages and dialects. These local languages and dialects are hardly represented in the mainstream media as a part of their regular programs.

The vision of Radio Brahmaputra is to build a network of community reporters who will report, inform, and broadcast in their local languages and dialects. Radio Brahmaputra produces programs in five different languages and mother tongue such as *Assamese, Chadri*, *Bhojpuri*, *Mishing*, *and Bodo.* The communities speaking the abovementioned languages and dialects are the most marginalized communities of the districts of Dibrugarh, Dhemaji, and partly Lakhimpur. Out of these five languages, *Chadri* is a dialect of the tea community easily comprehensible for the majority of Assamese community. There are 2,044,776 *Chadri* speakers in India. When the British tea planters brought the adivasis to Assam, as laborers, in the nineteenth century, *Chadri* as a link language came along with them. Radio Brahmaputra caters to an approximate population of 1 lakh *Chadri* speakers through its broadcast coverage near Dibrugarh. According to the Government of India of 2001 census, there are 33,099,497 *Bhojpuri* language speakers in Assam. The migrants from Bihar and northern India speak the *Bhojpuri* language. Among the mentioned languages, *Assamese* is widely spoken with 13,168,484 persons as per the Government of India census of 2001. For *Mishing* language in Assam, there are 517,170 persons and 1,350,478 *Bodo* speakers in Assam. *Assamese* and *Bodo* languages are a part of the 8 schedule of the Indian constitution, whereas *Mishing* is a dialect of the *Mishing* tribe who inhabit in 11 districts of Assam and its neighboring Arunachal Pradesh.

Presently Radio Brahmaputra is located in an 80-year-old revamped building at Maijan Borsaikia village near Maijan Ghat, Dibrugarh. The radio station is near to the temporary port where the vessels take off for different destinations every day. Radio Brahmaputra is covering nearly 180 mainland villages, 12 island villages, and 31 tea garden and subdivisions including Dibrugarh municipality area. A variety of radio formats from interviews, chat shows, information-based programs, drama, folk music, quiz shows for school children, special programs for women, and public service announcements can be heard when tuned into Radio Brahmaputra 90.4 FM. The team of Radio Brahmaputra includes community reporter, field community reporter, and radio producers. They have been working as radio broadcasters to produce programs relating to their own community in their own languages. For the management section, a station manager is placed at the radio station to look after the regular programmatic and other logistical issues.

Radio Brahmaputra reports, documents, and broadcasts on issues of local concern, ranging from economic and governance to social and cultural issues. It also aims to create awareness of social challenges, document cultural diversity and social practices, and report on the physical environment in which people inhabit in rivers, floods, islands, farms, etc. in Dibrugarh district. The radio station also showcases local talent for the listening public by encouraging entertainment, competition, and information. The primary goal of Radio Brahmaputra has been to empower people by making them aware of the issues that affect them directly or indirectly, enabling their concerns to be shared over the air, bringing it to the notice of government and administration, and providing the government with information and opportunities to address the challenges in an open and democratic manner.

84.3 Content Production and Management

Considering the contemporary ideas of participatory democracy, Radio Brahmaputra is contributing to the creation of a new relationship between media and the grassroots. In this process, Radio Brahmaputra is playing a constructive role to enable rural people to know about the process of development in their own areas.

Participatory communication advocates that media technology can become a full partner in the development process only when the ownership of both the message and the medium – the content and the process – resides with the communities (Pavarala and Malik 2007). The primary issue in participation is the facilitation of dialogue and debate among members of a community so that they become ultimate arbiters and negotiators of the development norms suitable for them. Participatory communication must be transactional in nature wherein sender and receiver of messages interact over a period of time "to arrive at shared meanings" (Nair and White 1987; White 1999). Participatory development communication that reflects a transactional process is defined as "a two-way, dynamic interaction between grassroots receiver and the information source, mediated by development communicators, which facilitates participation of the target group in the process of development" (Nair and White 1987: 37).

Unlike the traditional content format of All India Radio Dibrugarh, Radio Brahmaputra brings different segment for one program. For example, in a 1 h program, it produces programs of health, a public service message, a related folk song, etc. which combine education, awareness, and entertainment in one package and get broadcasted. The team of Radio Brahmaputra also tries to integrate important messages and deliver through various innovative programs (Personal Interview with Bhaskar J Bhuyan, Station Manager, 3 October, 2017, at Radio Brahmaputra).

Format of the program schedule of Radio Brahmaputra in different languages and dialects

THU	Assamese	Chadri	Bhojpuri	Chadri	Assamese
	Opening Presentation Bani(3A+C +B) Bhokti Sagar Promo Ajir Deha Hathor Dinlipi [Live	Signature Tune Presentation Aijker Subh Bichar Local Artist Song Mon Ker Awaz/ **ADDA new rept** Local Song Radio Promo Quiz 2 and Ans Station	Opening Music Opening Presentation Darpan (Health Programme) Folk Song Bhojpuri Community Hum Hai Sitare (Children Programme) Folk Song Bhojpuri Community News Paper Updates/Quiz Ending	Repeat CHADRI (Daily News Paper Update and Ending (Presentation)	Presentation Song Hathor Ajir ATITHI Amar Dictionary 2nd Repat Listener Feedback 2nd *2* no's Presentation New (Livelihood Women) Beli Mar Gol Ending Presentation

(*continued*)

		Stinger Tips (Education) Folk Song Radio Promo Quiz 2 and Ans Drama	Presentation Ending Music		
FRI	Assamese	Chadri	Assamese	Chadri	Assamese
	Opening Presentation Bani(3A+C+B) Bhokti Sagar Promo Ajir Deha Hathor Dinlipi [Live]	Signature Tune Presentation Aijker SuhhBichar Folk Song Local Song Radio Promo Quiz 3 and Ans Station Stinger Tips (House) Local Artist Song Kahani ker Duniya Radio Promo Quiz 3 and Ans	Presentation Rang Rupalir Hathor Kesa Matir Hubah Aapunar Swasthy Aamar Diha 2nd (Repeat) GaneGane	Repeat (Daily News Paper) Update and Ending (Presentation)	Presentation Hathor Krikhokor kotha 2nd Ajir ATITHI Song Apunar Sasthy amar Diha(Rpt) Song New(Village Based) Presentation Beli Mar Gol Ending Presentation

The content of the radio programs are primarily broadcasted in five different languages and dialects in the coverage area. Radio Brahmaputra caters to around 6 lakhs (six hundred thousand) listeners of their coverage area. The coverage provides opportunities for the media dark regions, viz., Dibrugarh tea garden areas, Dhemaji, and some part of Lakhimpur district, to listen to the radio program in their own dialects. Though Assamese is the lingua franca for the state of Assam, yet celebration of different local dialects by Radio Brahmaputra in its various program proves the potential of a community radio station to engage and result in participation of people from different communities and tongues.

Apart from *Bhojpuri, Chadri*, *and Assamese* language programs at Radio Brahmaputra, the other two languages *Bodo* and *Mishing* could not sustain in the programming because of the difficulties of production cost and accessibility to various resources. Through years of experience at Radio Brahmaputra, it was felt that, in the community learning process, the dialect of the communities seem utterly important, but when they attempt to bring out community voice, a common

language like Assamese is always encouraged so that the message get disseminated to a large section of people.

The most important element of a community radio station is to bring out the community voice. Considering this idea into consideration, Radio Brahmaputra embarked on the idea of producing community programs in different languages and dialects to be made available for people who resides within the coverage area of the station. The term "voice," as used here, does not derive from a particular view of economic processes (consumer "voice") or even mechanisms of political representation (political "voice") but from a broader account of how human beings are. The value of voice articulates some basic aspects of human life that are relevant *whatever* our views on democracy or justice, so establishing common ground between contemporary frameworks for evaluating economic, social, and political organization (Nick Couldry 2010).

Charles Taylor in his work on *Self Interpreting Animals* describes man as "a self-interpreting animal." According to him, what we do beyond a basic description of how our limbs move in space already comes embedded in narrative, our own and that of others. This is why to deny value to another's capacity for narrative to deny her potential for voice is to deny a basic dimension of human life. A form of life that systematically denied voice would not only be intolerable but also barely be a culture at all (Taylor 1986).

Henceforth, to allow a community voice to run in a radio station becomes the prime prerogative of Radio Brahmaputra. But as mentioned earlier, the two languages and dialect *Bodo* and *Mishing* could not sustain due to lack of resources, monitoring of content, high production cost, and also accessibility of participants for the programs. This is due to the fact that the access to the community radio station is tough and also not cost-effective considering the practical aspects of running a community radio station. The celebration of diverse voice from different communities is not an easy task to perform. In order to bring a particular program to be aired in the station, one needs to travel across the river to Dhemaji district where the population of *Mishing* tribes are in large number. In addition to it, in order to broadcast a program of 1 h in a particular language, viz., *Mishing*, one would require a preproduction time of at least 25 h, which makes it more challenging to sustain the economic model of a community media station. If someone travels from across the river to get trained at the community radio station and spend time during the training, he or she needs to go back to their respective villages for their work in the agricultural field, fisheries, and so forth. While doing so, they tend to completely forget the basics of technical training in their second visit as they do not have access to any equipment and electricity while going back to the villages. Therefore, the earlier training stands no value, and finally the product doesn't meet the required expectations for broadcast. Though the radio programs broadcasted from Dibrugarh are more popular in the said region, yet it is difficult for the people from that region to train them at the station for regular programs in *Mishing* dialect. (Personal Interview with Bhaskar Bhuyan, 6 October, 2017).

The possible solution to this issue could be to create capacities of community correspondent of that area. They could participate either voluntarily or as paid correspondents and contribute regular stories through the use of mobile devices.

There has been a lot of academic and policy discussion on the role and potential of a community radio in developing countries. Many experiments also suggested immense value to grassroot communities in improving their lives especially when they have been channelized to a more participatory model of communication.

The range of programs that are being broadcasted over Radio Brahmaputra on a daily basis are on health issues, colloquial riddles, folk song, radio promo, health tips, SMS quiz, dictionary word, stories of local people, agriculture- and farming-related programs, old songs, village-based program, career-related information, youth-based program, children issues, songs from local artist, local newspaper updates, and women issue-based programs.

Apart from regular planned programs, Radio Brahmaputra also reported during the flood in August 2017 in the Dibrugarh and Dhemaji district. The news of the people affected due to flood were never paid due attention by the mainstream press. One of the community reporters Ms. Rumi Naik (in the picture), who usually report in *Chadri* language, went with a boat along with her friend to report in the flood-affected areas of Mothola block of Maijan village, Dibrugarh district of Assam.

Seen in the pic is Rumi Naik, community reporter of Radio Brahmaputra reporting during the August 2017 flood in Dibrugarh district

Given the media's role in crystallizing public opinion, media access becomes crucial for those who desire to shape the public mood. The phrase "spiral of silence" actually refers to how people tend to remain silent when they feel that their views are in the minority.

> *People . . . live in perpetual fear of isolating themselves and carefully observe their environment to see which opinions increase and which ones decrease. If they find that their views predominate or increase, then they express themselves freely in public; if they find that their views are losing supporters, then they become fearful, conceal their convictions in public and fall silent. Because the one group express themselves with self-confidence whereas the others remain silent, the former appear to be strong in public, the latter weaker than their numbers suggest. This encourages others to express themselves or to fall silent, and a spiral process comes into play.* (Noelle-Neumann 1981)

Individuals, who notice that their own personal opinion is spreading and is taken over by others, will voice this opinion self-confidently in public. On the other hand, individuals who notice that their own opinions are losing ground will be inclined to adopt a more reserved attitude (Noelle-Neumann 1977).

This creates a spiral process, where the *majority* viewpoint becomes more powerful and the *minority* viewpoint becomes less dominant over time. Therefore, a community radio station like Radio Brahmaputra through its regular programming on various languages and dialects provides space for the minority viewpoints to get communicated. The right to communicate and to have affordable access to the means of communication is increasingly being acknowledged throughout the world as a fundamental human right. In the struggle to attain the rights of indigenous people from the margins, Radio Brahmaputra is benefitting various linguistic communities of Assam to have access to deliver voice and participate in communication. Radio Brahmaputra is also strengthening the cultural rights of cultural minorities in Assam such as migrants from Bihar and tea garden laborers by providing access to the means of communication.

Mere access to the means of communication does not necessarily benefit the process of integrated development goals set up by the Radio Brahmaputra and its mission to create awareness of social challenges. Therefore, to initiate an inclusive development model, the radio station supported education and training to develop critical understanding among the people of the communities. Here, solely the people are seen as producers and contributors to information. This experiment with participatory communication for social change has found Radio Brahmaputra to be the facilitator in breaking the barriers of isolation. A Rockefeller Foundation report asserts that community radio is "one of the best ways to reach excluded or marginalized communities in targeted, useful ways" and in the giving them a 'voice' that matters most in development communication (Dagron 2001).

84.4 Narrowcasting over Broadcasting

The facilitation of dialogue and debate among the members of a community is the primary goal of participatory communication. Therefore, it is very important to understand the real participation of the communities who not only express their viewpoints but also share their knowledge with their fellows. In this aspect, Radio Brahmaputra with the experience of broadcasting since mid-2015 understood that taking the radio to the communities facilitate more dialogues on issues that concerns them and also create more awareness in the blocks, talukas, and villages.

Henceforth, the team of Radio Brahmaputra is planning for a long-term effectiveness by building capacities of the people and target groups and training them to understand and analyze issues of their concern. Ms. Sandhya, one of the community reporters who have joined Radio Brahmaputra in 2012, works primarily with women and adolescent girls group of a slum in Dibrugarh district, thereby bringing out their priorities and issues to be addressed. For example, in raising issues about health, nutrition, or hygiene, Sandhya discovered that women and girl groups generally lack knowledge about issues related to health and have very less information about government schemes. They have also negligible amount of information on how to access government facilities in mitigating the problem faced by them. Basic issues like the importance of taking iron supplements, folic acid by a female, and knowledge about the importance of checking levels of hemoglobin are discussed in various groups over a period of time with the women and girl folks (Personal Interview with Ms. Sandhya Sharma).

Though the slum area in which Sandhya work as a community reporter is under the coverage area of the radio station, yet due to the accessibility issues of mobile devices by the female members unlike male members of the family, they do not get an opportunity to listen to the radio programs focused on women issues. Therefore, Radio Brahmaputra felt the need of narrowcasting a particular issue, which carries the potential to bring more awareness and raise critical question to the forefront. *Sandhya Didi*, as she is popularly called in the area, added that narrowcasting help people of the area to come together and discuss important issues. According to her, if Radio Brahmaputra can show them the path where to get the resources provided by the government, that itself is a big achievement for the team of Radio Brahmaputra. The housewife turned community reporter Sandhya concluded by saying in Hindi *Hum Rahe ya na rahe, lekin yeh to rahega* which means "Irrespective of my presence or absence, the Radio Station should sustain".

The process of narrowcasting a program by Radio Brahmaputra involves the following steps:

(a) Capacity-building exercise of community reporters by bringing in experts on a particular issue or topic

(b) Selecting villages, blocks, and number of households by undertaking a preliminary survey for the formation of target groups to be studied
(c) Group formation (at present there are around 94 groups of adolescent girls from the age group of 10 to 19 years old who are being trained in the field of menstrual hygiene)
(d) Building capacity of few girls from the group and select them as community representatives
(e) And the community representatives work in a radius of 1 to 2 km from their area to bring in people for discussion
(f) Have regular narrowcasting and discussion on particular issues that concern the group
(g) Organize regular community quiz for updates and revisions
(h) Take the results to the district administration regarding the gaps in communication campaigns of the government public service messages on crucial issues

Score Sheet
Community Quiz
Brahmaputra Community Radio Station, Dibrugarh

Venue: ..... Date: .....

Score Name: .....

Question Number with Set Number (Ex. Set 1 Q 1)	Answered or Not Answered (If someone able to give correct answer please mark below as Y and if nobody able to give correct answer then mark as X)	Answered By (If someone able give correct answer then write his/her name)
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		

Format of the community quiz score sheet

Report format of Community Counseling
Brahmaputra Community Radio Station, Dibrugarh, Assam

Date: ____//____//____	***Name of Location:*** _____
Name of Venue: _____	***Type of Group:*** _____
Age group: _____	***Total Number of Attendees:*** _____
Name of Radio Program: _____	***Episode Number:*** _____
Name of Facilitator: _____	

Pre Discussion Topic:

Views of Participants on discussion Topic: (at least two important views of participants)

Feedback of Participants on Radio Program/Program Issue (at leasst one feedback of a participant with name, age, educational qualification):

Quarries of participants on any relevant issues: (with age and educational qualification)

Format for community counseling in field level intervention by Radio Brahmaputra

It was discovered through the field-level intervention by the team of Radio Brahmaputra that there is lack of in-depth study on basic issues such as health, hygiene, and nutrition, and therefore the introduction of community-based participatory action research with the help of the community reporters and community representatives shall strategize a methodology to collect data and use proper communication channel to bridge the gap in communication. According to the station manager, the goal is to create an army of local community-based researchers who shall be able to analyze issues within communities and thereby contribute to the root of the solution to any issues of the community. This process will also enhance their knowledge of exercising the democratic rights every 5 years during elections. It is expected to generate demand for development of the communities by the local administrators (Personal Interview, Bhaskar Bhuyan, 6 Oct 2017).

Sl No	Sample No	Number of Children of the Family		No of Never Enrolled Children		Reason for Not Enrolled in School	No of School Dropout Student		Reason for Drop Out	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys		Girls	Boys		
1	1	0	4	0	3	Code 4	0	1	Code 18	Mothola
2	2	0	2	0	1	Code 19	0	1	Code 3	Mothola
3	3	3	2	2	1	Code 3	1	1	Code 19	Mothola
4	4	3	1	2	1	Code 5	1	0	Code 22	Mothola
5	5	0	2	0	0		0	2	Code 19	Mothola
6	6	1	2	0	0		0	2	Code 1	Mothola
7	7	1	3	0	2	Code 7	0	1	Code 1	Mothola
8	8	2	1	0	0		1	1	Code 2	Mothola

Format of Collecting Data from Blocks for Community Based Participatory Action Research

84.5 Conclusion

As per the UNESCO document, "*Grand realities- Community Radio in India, 2011*," a large gap remains between policy and practice in India. It further comments that communities from the dark regions of India continue to struggle to get their voices heard and to receive critical and locally relevant information (Jethwaney 2016).

Since 2009, Radio Brahmaputra has been producing programs to narrowcast and since 2015 started its regular broadcast. Over time few of the community reporters have received training from consulting training firms based on New Delhi, and consequently the community reporters started local training programs for the fellow community representatives. The community reporters strongly believe that there are a lot of issues to be addressed of their communities, which remain unreported in local and regional media. Rumi Naik, who reported the flood of August 2017, made people aware of the department of local disaster management plan and their failure in mitigating flood. There is a huge acceptance of Radio Brahmaputra within the communities because of its ability to involve people through participation at all levels of decision-making. By providing a proper platform for various languages and dialects of different communities to exchange views, this initiative of Radio Brahmaputra is a struggle to retain cultural and linguistic rights of indigenous communities of Assam.

Such is the popularity of the station that when the transmitter of Radio Brahmaputra was facing issues during October 2017, it could not transmit more than 3 km radius, and the Dhemaji district therefore could not receive the signals. An

octogenarian lady of Dhemaji district came to a radio mechanic and asked him to repair the radio and told him to tune into Radio Brahmaputra. When the mechanic said the radio has no technical issues, the old lady asked gently, then *why the Radio Brahmaputra is not working*? (Personal interview Pinku Gohain, Community Reporter, Radio Brahmaputra).

To build up a meaningful democratic space, it is very important for community spaces like Radio Brahmaputra to create a harmonious listening environment in which everyone claims the Radio Brahmaputra as "our radio."

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Part XIII

Conclusion

Communication for Development and Social Change: Conclusion

85

Jan Servaes

Contents

85.1 What About the Sustainable Development Goals? 1474
85.2 What About Children Rights? 1475
85.3 What About Women? 1476
85.4 What About Worldwide Inequality? 1477
85.5 What About the Global South? 1478
85.6 What About Digital Rights and Digital Cooperation? 1479
References 1481

Abstract

This concluding chapter attempts to answer the question whether "the glass is half empty or half full." It summarizes the main findings presented in this Handbook of Communication for Development and Social Change and highlights some of the major questions for the future – What about the Sustainable Development Goals? What about children, women, and seniors rights? What about worldwide inequality? What about the Global South? What about digital rights and digital cooperation? – to conclude that communication for development and social change is crucial to effectively tackle the major problems of today.

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> Without a vision, movement-building is fragmented and slow. Without a movement, visions are narrow and competing, rather than shared. (Julian Agyeman 2013: 168)

What are the main conclusions we can draw from all the chapters in this *Handbook of Communication for Development and Social Change*? Though we dare not claim that this volume is the unique and final overview of our field, we are confident that it will stand out for its comprehensive and multidimensional approaches and nontraditional perspectives, which can be summarized as follows:

- Human and environmental *sustainability* must be central in development and social change activities. Besides political-economic approaches, we need socio-cultural approaches to guarantee acceptable and integrated levels of sustainability and to build resilience. *Building resilient communities* should be a priority issue in the field of communication for development and social change.
- We should recognize that development problems are *complex*. *Complex or so-called wicked problems*, such as the existence of climate change, conflict and war, overpopulation, HIV/AIDS, and malaria, are problems that do not have one single solution that is right or wrong, good or bad, or true or false.
- These problems need negotiating or "social dialogue" from *a rights-based perspective*. A rights-based perspective is founded on the belief that every person has an inherent dignity and right to well-being and self-determination.
- *Communication and information* play a strategic and fundamental role by (a) contributing to the interplay of different development factors, (b) improving the sharing of knowledge and information, and (c) encouraging the participation of all concerned. It works by:
  - Facilitating participation: giving a voice to different stakeholders to engage in the decision-making process.
  - Making information understandable and meaningful. It includes explaining and conveying information for the purpose of training, exchange of experience, and sharing of know-how and technology.
  - Fostering policy acceptance: enacting and promoting policies that increase people's access to services and resources.
- Though participatory approaches have gained some visibility among mainstream development agencies, big data and quantitative assessments remain popular. *New creative techniques and methodologies* need further attention, exploration, and experimentation.
- There is a need for *transdisciplinarity* to rethink and reorder the relationships between communication academics, communication professionals, technical field-specific professionals, policy-makers, civil society members, and local people. There

is a need for building knowledge and communication networks and to attach importance to stakeholder interactions and knowledge system approaches.

- *Mainstreaming communication for development* is firmly grounding the field of communication for development and social change in thematic and nonthematic sub-disciplines of the communication sciences, like strategic communication, participatory communication, crisis communication, health communication, journalism, or environmental communication. These sub-disciplines provide a foundation by underpinning the work of development communication professionals and academics and giving them a solid basis to work from.
- *Communication strategies for development and social change* can be distinguished at five levels: (a) *behavior change communication* (BCC) (mainly interpersonal communication), (b) *mass communication* (MC) (community media, mass media, online media, and ICTs), (c) *advocacy communication* (AC) (interpersonal and/or mass communication), (d) *participatory communication* (PC) (interpersonal communication, community media, and social media), and (e) *communication for structural and sustainable social change* (interpersonal communication, community mobilization, participatory communication, mass communication, and ICTs). Interpersonal communication and mass communication form the bulk of what is being studied in the mainstream discipline of the communication sciences. Behavior change communication is mainly concerned with short-term individual changes in attitudes and behavior. It can be further subdivided in perspectives that explain individual behavior, interpersonal behavior, and community or societal behavior.
- There is a need to *connect communication to learning, education, and knowledge exchange* to better understand processes of transformative learning, social learning, experiential learning, organizational learning, and double-loop learning in order to better understand processes of change by looking at how people learn and change their attitudes and behavior.
- Four specific areas of focus for sustaining development momentum are (a) *enhancing equity*, including on the gender dimension; (b) *enabling greater voice and participation of citizens*, including women, youth, seniors, and indigenous peoples; (c) *confronting environmental pressures*; and (d) *managing demographic change.*

In other words, *communication is viewed as a social process that is not just confined to the media or to messages*. Communication for development and social change needs to deal with the complex issues of sustainable development in order to:

- Improve access to knowledge and information to all sectors of society and especially to vulnerable and marginalized groups
- Foster effective management and coordination of development initiatives through bottom-up planning
- Address equity issues through networking and social platforms influencing policy-making
- Encourage changes in behavior and lifestyles, promoting sustainable consumption patterns through sensitization and education of large audiences

- Promote the sustainable use of natural resources considering multiple interests and perspectives and supporting collaborative management through consultation and negotiation
- Increase awareness and community mobilization related to social and environmental issues
- Ensure economic and employment opportunities through timely and adequate information
- Solve multiple conflicts ensuring dialogue among different components in a society

If the above appropriately summarizes the assumptions underpinning most of the chapters in this handbook, some of the contributions go even further and problematize some of the complex issues in more detail.

85.1 What About the Sustainable Development Goals?

Jan Vandemoortele (2018: 1), the co-architect of the Millennium Development Goals, who was the Director of the Poverty Group at UNDP in 2001–2005, concludes that "respectable progress was made towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) between 2000 and 2015." The challenge that remains, he contends, is twofold: "environmental sustainability and high inequality." However, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), to be reached by 2030, dodge these challenges because the relevant targets lack precision and ambition. The Agenda 2030 is not universal in scope because the few targets that are verifiable – those that contain conceptual clarity, numerical outcomes, and specific deadlines – apply primarily to developing countries. For instance, the omission of targets for overweight and breastfeeding exemplifies the reluctance of developed countries to commit themselves to specific, quantitative, and time-bound targets.

Most SDG targets that are verifiable are actually not dissimilar from the MDGs. They clearly constitute a difficult intergovernmental compromise and made extra arduous by the deepening North–South divide, a return of East–West tensions, and a resurging sense of nationalism among several countries. To a large extent, the context of weak multilateralism explains why the SDGs are not fit for purpose to address the dual challenge of environmental sustainability and high inequality. Vandemoortele (2018: 12) proposes two vital steps to help realize the transformative potential of the SDGs: "At the national level, each country must select from among the SDG items those that are most relevant to the local context. . . . At the global level, the important step is to choose fitting indicators to help fix several of the flawed targets. . . . It seems that governments are not ready to accept indicators that could reveal politically sensitive dimensions of reality."

This observation applies not only to countries in the South but also to those in the North. In the South, serious questions are recently raised regarding rising population trends threatening the SDGs in Asia and Africa (Deen 2019). In the North, a detailed analysis finds that no European capital city or large metropolitan area has fully achieved the SDGs. Nordic European cities – Oslo, Stockholm, and Helsinki – are

closest to the SDG targets but still face significant challenges in achieving one or several SDGs. Overall, cities in Europe perform best on SDG 3 (Health and Well-Being), SDG 6 (Clean Water and Sanitation), SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth), and SDG 9 (Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure). By contrast, performance is lowest on SDG 12 (Responsible Consumption and Production), SDG 13 (Climate Action), and SDG 15 (Life on Land). Further efforts are needed to achieve zero net carbon dioxide (CO_2) emissions or very close to zero net emissions by 2030 (Lafortune et al. 2019).

Therefore, the four questions we raised in Servaes (2017: 164) regarding the future of the SDGs seem to be still relevant today:

- First, how can we bring together the right stakeholders at the right time in the right place?
- Second, how do we make difficult trade-offs?
- Third, how do we build in accountability and transparency for action?
- Fourth, how to organize this in a participatory and democratic way?

85.2 What About Children Rights?

This can be further illustrated by looking at the SDGs and children rights. One of the latest United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)'s reports shows that, despite some progress, the most vulnerable people and countries still suffer the most and that the global response so far is not ambitious enough (https://data.unicef.org/children-sustainable-development-goals/). The evaluation includes quality education (SDG 4), inequality (SDG 10), migration (SDG 10.7), climate change (SDG 13), and all forms of violence against children (SDG 16). According to UNICEF, there remains a lot of room for improvement.

For instance, on *SDG 4*: ensure equal access to quality education and promote lifelong learning for all. Around 262 million children and adolescents in the world do not have the ability to go to school or finish school. When they are in primary school, an estimated 250 million children do not even learn basic skills. The quality and availability of data for this purpose remain an obstacle. But the data is not sufficient: the most important phase of human development takes place during the first years of life, and therefore early childhood must form the core of sustainable development. In addition, school success is measured not only in terms of school enrollment rates but also by what the child learns effectively. It is therefore essential to increase the capacity for measuring and monitoring learning outcomes.

On *SDG 10*: reduce inequality in and between countries. The vast majority of children do not have real social coverage. Half of the world's poor are under the age of 18. After a long fall, hunger seems to be rising again. Conflicts, droughts, and natural disasters linked to climate change are the most important factors in reversing this trend. Inequality starts at birth and influences the equal opportunities of every child.

Target 10.7 relates to migration and is particularly important for children. Half of the refugees are children. Almost 50 million children around the world live far from home, displaced within and beyond the borders of their own country. Their stories show us how painful it is for children to leave their country, sometimes without parents, to escape from conflict, violence, or poverty. Ensuring that migration runs smoothly is not only a challenge; it is also a great opportunity to protect children and thus to remind that migrant and refugee children are first and foremost children and enjoy all the rights of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Well-managed migration, tackling its causes and mitigating its risks, is at the heart of the priorities of an equality-driven development.

On *SDG 13*: take urgent action to combat climate change and its impact. Globally, 93% of children under 15, or 1.8 billion children, breathe so much polluted air every day that their health and development are seriously threatened. Today, more than 500 million children live in areas where the risk of flooding is extremely high and nearly 160 million where the risk of drought reaches a high or extreme level. The Committee on the Rights of the Child recognizes that "environmental damage is an urgent human rights challenge" that has an impact on children's lives today and in the future. Violations of rights as a result of environmental damage can have irreversible, long-term, and even transgenerational consequences.

On *SDG 16*: promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development; ensure access to justice and develop effective, responsible, and accessible institutions at all levels. Worldwide, one billion children fall victim to some form of violence every year, and every 5 min a child dies of it. Three million girls run the risk of genital mutilation every year. It is therefore essential to prevent this violence and to ban all violence against children (regardless of context) and to strengthen child protection systems. To enable children to assert their rights, it is necessary that they have access to appropriate legal systems and that their right to legal identity (including through birth registration) is respected. Unfortunately, a substantial number of children, deprived of their freedom, have largely been forgotten in the statistics.

We cannot achieve sustainable development by excluding part of the population. Inequality starts at birth and influences the equal opportunities of every child. Uneven patterns are passed on from generation to generation. That is why there is an urgent need for early intervention and priority investments for all children, but especially for those children most affected by poverty and social exclusion. Therefore, at the High-Level Political Forum (HLPF) of July 2019, an important follow-up study will be conducted that is of particular interest to children http://sdg.iisd.org/events/high-level-political-forum-on-sustainable-development-hlpf-2019/.

85.3 What About Women?

Indeed, and what about women? To name just one authoritative report, the 2013 Human Development Report singled out the importance of women education: "It has often been stressed that improving education for women helps raise their levels of

health and nutrition and reduces fertility rates. Thus, in addition to its intrinsic value in expanding women's choices, education also has an instrumental value in enhancing health and fertility outcomes of women and children" (Malik 2013: 33). In other words, educating women through adulthood is the closest thing to a "silver bullet" formula for accelerating human development. However, "important as education and job creation for women are, they are not enough. Standard policies to enhance women's income do not take into account gender differences within households, women's greater burden of unpaid work and gender division of work as per cultural norms. Policies based on economic theory that does not take these factors into account may have adverse impacts on women, even though they create economic prosperity. Key to improving gender equity are political and social reforms that enhance women's human rights, including freedom, dignity, participation, autonomy and collective agency" (Malik 2013: 45).

The report concluded clearly that "unless people can participate meaningfully in the events and processes that shape their lives, national human development paths will be neither desirable nor sustainable" (Malik 2013: 18). And, unfortunately, that continues to be the case. In its 2019 Human Development Report, UNDP observed that though gender gaps in early years are closing, inequalities persist in adulthood. One key source of inequality within countries is the gap in opportunities, achievements, and empowerment between women and men. Worldwide the average Human Development Index (HDI) for women is 6% lower than for men, due to women's lower income and educational attainment in many countries. Although there has been laudable progress in the number of girls attending school, there remain big differences between other key aspects of men and women's lives. Women's empowerment remains a particular challenge.

85.4 What About Worldwide Inequality?

Wide inequalities in people's well-being cast a shadow on sustained human development progress (UNDP 2019). According to the latest Human Development Index (http://hdr.undp.org/en/2018-update), people living in the very high human development countries can expect to live 19 years longer, and spend 7 more years in school, than those living in the group of low human development countries.

Movements in the HDI are driven by changes in health, education, and income. Health has improved considerably as shown by life expectancy at birth which has increased by almost 7 years globally, with sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia showing the greatest progress, each experiencing increases of about 11 years since 1990. And, today's school-age children can expect to be in school for 3.4 years longer than those in 1990. Disparities between and within countries continue to stifle progress. Average HDI levels have risen significantly since 1990 – 22% globally and 51% in least developed countries – reflecting that on average people are living longer, are more educated, and have greater income. But there remain massive

differences across the world in people's well-being. In sum, there is tremendous variation between countries in the quality of education, healthcare, and many other key aspects of life. And many of these issues are interrelated. Take, for instance, the issue of migration. United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)'s World Population Prospects 2019 (UNFPA 2019) describes how international migration has become an important determinant of population growth and change in some parts of the world. "Ironically, many countries which have low population growth are shutting their door to immigrants who could take on economic roles which would benefit those countries as well as the immigrants who are moving away for a better life and to leave behind the political and economic instability in their own countries," observed Purnima Mane, the former UN Assistant Secretary-General at the UN Population Fund (in Deen 2019).

85.5 What About the Global South?

The same 2013 Human Development Report assessed that, for the first time in 150 years, the combined output of the developing world's three leading economies – Brazil, China, and India – was about equal to the combined GDP of the long-standing industrial powers of the North, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This represented a dramatic rebalancing of global economic power.

The middle class in the South is growing rapidly in size, income, and expectations. The South is now emerging alongside the North as a breeding ground for technical innovation and creative entrepreneurship. Not only the larger countries have made rapid advances, notably Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, South Africa, Thailand, and Turkey; but substantial progress has also been made in smaller economies, such as Bangladesh, Chile, Ghana, Mauritius, Rwanda, and Tunisia (for more details, see UNDP 2014, 2015).

The ways of engagement are changing from multilateralism to bi- or unilateral relations. The "America First" policy is an extreme example of this shift in global relations. But also the policy of other major players seems to have changed. For instance, the purpose of Russia's engagement with the African states is to cement its influence in the continent through political and military assistance in the same way as China has done through infrastructure and economic initiatives. Chinese and Russian engagement, characterized by the geopolitical convergence of Chinese and Russian interests, has seen the development of a Sino-Russian relationship based on competitive cooperation which has become a feature of the geopolitics of the African continent and beyond, concludes Tom Harper (2019), researcher at the University of Surrey specializing in China's relations with the developing world.

Fortunately, some promising news as well is the recent resurgence of South–South cooperation, which has moved once again onto the center stage of world politics and economics, leading to a renewed interest in its historic promise to transform world order (Gray and Gills 2016).

85.6 What About Digital Rights and Digital Cooperation?

From 2016 to 2018, there were 371 instances worldwide in which governments restricted Internet service or mobile apps, according to the digital rights advocacy group, Access Now (Bengali 2019). The vast majority of shutdowns – 310 – occurred in Asia, home to emerging economies with large numbers of new Internet users and where the free flow of information often poses a direct challenge to authoritarian governments. China remains the model for Internet censorship and surveillance, but India, which prides itself as the world's largest democracy, has been the quickest to cut off Internet service.

An expert panel, co-chaired by American philanthropist Melinda Gates and Chinese e-commerce magnate Jack Ma, convened by the UN has urged greater cooperation among governments, civil society, and the private sector, saying that while the rise of digital technologies has resulted in "unprecedented advances," it has also posed "profound new challenges" to people's human rights (for more general assessments Servaes 2014; Servaes and Hoyng 2017; UNDP 2012).

New forms of "digital cooperation" are needed to ensure that digital technologies are "built on a foundation of respect for human rights and provide meaningful opportunity for all people and nations," said the panel in its report, The Age of Digital Interdependence (2019).

In view of growing threats to human rights and safety posed by social media, the panel called on social media enterprises to work with governments, international and local civil society organizations, and human rights experts around the world "to fully understand and respond to concerns about existing or potential human rights violations." These concerns do also feature prominently on the European agenda. See, for instance, two recent policy documents from the High Level Group on Fake News (The European Commission 2018a) and the one on Tackling Online Disinformation (2018b) or Martens et al. (2018).

Companies like Facebook or Google have often reacted slowly and inadequately to complaints and reports that their technologies are being used in ways that undermine human rights. "We need more forward-looking efforts to identify and mitigate risks in advance: companies should consult with governments, civil society and academia to assess the potential human rights impact of the digital technologies they are developing," the report argued. It added: "From risk assessment to ongoing due diligence and responsiveness to sudden events, it should be clarified what society can reasonably expect from each stakeholder, including technology firms."

The report discussed the ways digital technologies have improved people's lives and "revolutionized the ability to communicate with others and to share access and knowledge." However, at the same time, more and more people are "increasingly – and rightly – worried that our growing reliance on digital technologies has created new ways for individuals, companies, and governments to intentionally cause harm or to act irresponsibly." "Virtually every day brings new stories about hatred being spread on social media, invasion of privacy by businesses and governments, cyberattacks using weaponized digital technologies, or states violating the rights of political opponents."

The panel was asked to consider questions of "digital cooperation" – defined as ways "to address the social, ethical, legal, and economic impact of digital technologies to maximize their benefits and minimize their harm." It was asked to look at how digital cooperation can contribute to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and to consider models of digital cooperation "to advance the debate surrounding governance in the digital sphere." Digital cooperation, the panel said, must be grounded in the principles of inclusiveness, respect, human-centeredness, human rights, international law, transparency, and sustainability.

Universal human rights apply equally online as offline. For it to be effective, it must be multilateral and multi-stakeholder – involving not only governments but a diverse spectrum of civil society, academics, technologists, and traditionally marginalized groups such as women, youth, indigenous people, rural populations, and older people.

The panel also argued that digital technologies will only advance toward the full sweep of the SDGs if it goes more broadly than the issue of access to the Internet and digital technologies. There must be cooperation on "broader ecosystems that enable digital technologies to be used in an inclusive manner." This will require policy frameworks that directly support economic and social inclusion, special efforts to bring traditionally marginalized groups to the fore, investments in both human capital and infrastructure, smart regulatory environments, and significant efforts to assist workers facing disruption from technology's impact on their livelihoods.

"Those who lack safe and affordable access to digital technologies are overwhelmingly those from already marginalized sectors – women, elderly people, and those with disabilities; Indigenous groups; and those who live in poor, remote, or rural areas." This has reinforced many existing and widening inequalities – in wealth, opportunity, education, and health – it added.

The panel also recommended the following as priority actions:

- By 2030, every adult should have affordable access to digital networks, as well as digitally enabled financial and health services, as a means to make a substantial contribution to achieving the SDGs. Provision of services should guard against abuse by building on best practices, including the ability to opt in and opt out, and by encouraging informed public discourse.
- The creation of a broad, multi-stake alliance, involving the UN, for sharing digital public goods, engaging talent, and pooling data assets, "in a manner that respects privacy, in areas related to attaining the SDGs."
- The adoption by the private sector, civil society, national governments, multilateral banks, and the UN of policies to support full digital inclusion and digital equality for women and marginalized groups. International bodies, such as the World Bank and the UN, should strengthen research and promote action on barriers women and marginalized groups face to digital inclusion and digital equality.
- A set of metrics for digital inclusiveness should be urgently agreed, measured worldwide, and detailed with sex-disaggregated data.

- The UN Secretary-General must institute an agencies-wide review of how existing international human rights accords and standards apply to new and emerging digital technologies. Civil society, governments, and the private and the public sector should be invited to submit their views on how to apply existing human rights instruments in the digital age.
- The development of a Global Commitment on Digital Trust and Security to shape a shared vision, identify attributes of digital stability, and strengthen implementation of norms for responsible uses of technology and propose priorities for action.
- That autonomous intelligent systems be designed in ways that enable their decisions to be explained and humans to be accountable for their use. Audits and certification schemes should monitor compliance of AI systems with engineering and ethical standards, which should be developed using multi-stakeholder and multilateral approaches. Life and death situations should not be delegated to machines.

Reacting to the findings of the report, WACC General Secretary Philip Lee (2019) said, "individually, these challenges are not new, but their pace and interconnection in the digital age pose huge and complex obstacles to people and communities seeking to participate fully and equally as responsible citizens in democratic societies." He added that while government action is needed, "it must be informed and supported by civil society and based on a strong foundation of human rights, social justice and democratic principles. To counter and control the digital transformation of societies requires an equally transformative movement of people."

All things considered, hang in there!

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Index

A
Abolition of prostitution, 1078
Acceptance, 1466
Access, 251
  to basic services, 1384
  market networks, 1190
Accountability, 35, 561, 718, 740
  description, 716
  governance and government, 725
  government, 725
  and learning, conflation of, 718–719
  priorities, 717–718
  through information communication technologies, 725
Accreditation, 1303
Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications (ACEJMC), 1296
Acquisition of labor rights, 1089
Action, 510
Action-reflection process, 1174
Active user control, 641
Activism, 1388
Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA, 2015), 1283
Adivasis, 1457
Advisory board, 686
Advocacy, 39, 841, 843
  approaches, 41
  practices of, 31
  and social movements, 807
Advocacy communication (AC), 1328, 1473
Affordable and clean energy, 509
Affordance theory, 229, 1201
Afghanistan, 1357
  Community Development Council, 1358
  National Solidarity Program, 1357
  participatory communication in solidarity and social cohesion, 1358
Afghanistan, journalism education
  media system and journalists education, 490–491
  mediation as a (new) journalistic competence, 492–494
  social framework, 489–490
Africa, 1259
  empower women across, 1271
  gender equality in, 1263, 1264
  women in, 1259
African Union (AU), 1258
  gender equality frameworks, 1261–1264
  unmet promises, 1264–1266
Agency, 634, 818
Agency level empowerment
  capability approach, 225
  critical consciousness, 227
  standpoint feminism, 227
Agenda for Change (May 2012), 1283
2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, 1283
Agents, 1420
Aging, 1092
Agricultural advisory services, 874, 877, 880, 882, 886, 887
Agricultural communication, 46
  practices, 1142
Agricultural extension, 45, 874, 878, 880, 882, 884, 886, 887
Agricultural practices, 1150
Aid effectiveness, 717, 724
Air pollution, *see* Participatory activities, for air pollution in West Africa
Air Sain project, 1216
Akshaya centres, 1185
  awareness of, 1189
Akshaya e-literacy project, 1179
Akshaya entrepreneurs, 1188
Akshaya's strategy, 1187

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Algorithm, 893
Alienation, 352
Alienation of the other, 1394
Alkire, William, 770, 772, 773, 781, 783
Alternative communication
  for democratic development, 450
  for development, 454–464
  goals of, 448
  Latin American, 331–334
  practices in, 448
  research, debates and dilemmas in, 330–331
Alternative media, 204, 330, 333, 335, 337
  literature on digital, 336–337
  in Northern countries, 334–336
Alternative medium, 1456
Alternative vocations, 1088
Alzheimer's disease, 1095
Amartya Sen, 243
Amazon basin, 1430, 1431, 1436
American University of Beirut, 1152
Anarchist theory, 201
Andes-Amazon transition, 1430, 1432
Anwar Al-Sadat, 1367
Apartheid, 619
  legacies of, 1393
Apeiba membranacea, 1431
Archetypes, 605
Artisanal Miner and Agricultural Association of the Manuani River basin (AMAAM), 1432–1437
Artwork, 567
Ascriptive hierarchy, 240
ASEAN community
  blueprints, 1326
  border environmental features, 1332
  communication for sustainable community, 1328–1329
  definition, 1327–1328
  development, 1326
  influence, 1327
  integration and fulfillment of needs, 1328
  membership, 1327
  motto, 1326
  online media, 1332
  perceived sense of community, 1332
  shared emotional connection, 1328
  stepwise regression technique, 1333
ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint 2025 (AEC), 1326
ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint 2025 (APSC), 1326
ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint 2025 (ASCC), 1326
Asian Century, 940
Asian decolonization, 172
Asia Pacific University Community Engagement Network (ACUPEN), 514
Assamese, 1457
Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (ACORAB), 851
Asymmetrical relationship, 944
Audience, 559
  discussion program, 206
  involvement, 611
  participation, 561
  theory, 199
Audio-visual support tools, 1433
Australian federal Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 1295
Authoritarian government, 962
Awareness, 317, 1103, 1105, 1111, 1463
  campaign monitoring, 660–663
Awareness, Knowledge, Attitude and Practice (AKAP), 590

B

Baby Monitor, 980
Bad intentions, 906
Banana Program of the National Agricultural Research Organization, 1151
Bandura's social learning theory, 598, 606–608
Banfield, Edward, 160
Bases of power, 1164
BBC Media Action, 729
Behavioral and social science theories, 1045
Behavior change, 1344, 1345, 1347
Behavior change communication (BCC), 528, 1328, 1473
  strategies, 1070
Benin, 1215, 1217, 1219, 1223, 1225
Bentley's dramatic theory, 604–605
Bhandai Sundai' radio program, 853, 854
Bharat Net, 1187
Bhojpuri, 1457
Bibliometric analysis, 1316
Bibliometric research, 1316
Bilingualism, 779
Black Economic Empowerment, 1386
Black feminism, 222
Blocks, 1463
Blog-mediated crisis communication model (BMCC), 941
Bodo, 1457
Boltanski, Luc, 637

Bonded development, 505
Bottom of the pyramid theory, 218
Bottom-up model, 7
Bottom-up networks, 825
Bougainville, 822
Bridging ICT challenges and solutions, *see* Information and communication technologies (ICTs)
Broadcast, 901
Bucket toilets, 1384
Burkina Faso, 1152, 1349
Burundi, 1348
Buzzword, 380

C
Canadian community, 1331
Capability approach, 225
Capacity building, 432, 438, 439, 1116, 1182, 1463
  investment, 841
  program, 1190
Capacity of voice, 1415, 1417
Caretakers, 1104, 1105, 1111
CDSC in Spain, *see* Communication for development and social change (CDSC)
Ceiba pentandra, 1431
Censorship
  extra-legal, 963
  online, 966
  systematic, 966
Central Asia, 963
  authoritarian tendencies in, 963
  restrictive region of, 964
  socio-economic and political context of, 963
CEPLAN Report, 1430
Chadri, 1457
Channels of communication, 1391
ChildCount+, 981
Child marriages, 520
Child mortality, 1064, 1065
Child rights, 834, 840
China, 388
China's Communist Party (CCP),, 389
Christian, 825
Chronological approach, 23
Churches, 825
Chuuk, 773, 775, 778, 783, 790
Cinderella story, 605
Citizen-government interaction, 1192
Citizen journalism, 43
Citizen participation, 353, 1185, 1214
Citizen relevant data, 1185
Citizenship rights, 239, 250
City of Ottawa, 684
Civic engagement, 636, 637, 1182
Civil rights, 241, 250
  movement, 221
Civil society organizations (CSOs), 617, 850, 857, 858, 892, 900–905
Clean water and sanitation, 509
Client-service provider communication, 985–986
Climate action, 509
Climate Action Network (CAN), 825
Climate change, 816, 834, 837, 840
  negotiations, 824
  in Pacific Islands, 820
  PACMAS strategic activity on, 829
Climate change communication, 46
  attitudes and beliefs, 797–798
  characteristics, 802–803
  climate advocacy and social movements, 807
  communication effort and evaluation, 811
  and development communication, 798–802
  effectiveness of, 808–809
  fragmented media landscape, 806
  framing, 803–805
  personal experience, 805
  scientific information, 809
  solutions, focus on, 810
CNN Türk, 1446
Co-constructed violence, 1394
Co-constructing their collective futures, 512
Co-creation, in social action, 262
Co-creative leadership, 261, 262
  attitude and culture, 267
  and self management, 263
  and self-organization, 266
Coercion, 1076, 1077, 1081, 1083
Coercive power, 1164
Cognitive-emotional circular process, 319
Collaboration, 818, 819
Collaborative learning, 879
Collective action, 621, 625, 1171
Collective coordination, 894
Collective unconscious, theory of, 605–606
Colloquial riddles, 1461
Collusion, 1083
Combined use, 902
Commercial sex work, 1076, 1077, 1080
  and ground realities, 1088
Common Feedback Project (CFP), 856
Common Service Centre (CSC), 1181

Communicating with Affected Communities (CWC), 850, 851, 856, 858
community mobilization, 850
messages and materials, 850
monitoring and evaluation, 850
radio, 850
Communication, 5–6, 1132, 1216, 1217, 1224, 1226
campaigns, 38
definition, 138, 139
as dependent variable, 348
development dimension, 141
ecology, 229, 349
elements of, 150
empowerment of rural women, 150
framework, 353
history of, 139
horizontal, 145
importance of, 136
large-scale mass communication campaign, 1135
Lasswell's model of, 1132
media, 138
network, 369
participatory, 135
participatory communication approach, 1133, 1134, 1137
perspective, 352
pervasive forms of, 136
policies, 148, 520
potential of, 135
professionals, 569
and regular coordination, 1136
research, 344, 353
role of, 1133
rural services, 142
social change and participatory, 150
social mobilization communication strategy, 1136
as space, 349
strategies, 148, 982, 1028–1035
technologies, 138, 1450
theory, 332
two way, 147
Communication for development (C4D), 139, 141, 310, 322, 323, 580–584, 798
characteristics, 930–933
democratization of, 445
field regaining part, 444
and ICT studies, 933
in Latin America, 451
model of, 450
practice of, 448
program, 849
scope of, 444
trend in, 448
Communication for development and social change (CDSC), 246, 350
bibliometric analysis, 1316–1317
bibliometric methodology, 1314
case studies, 1317
civil society and role of social movements, 81
communication paradigms, 68–73
cosmopolitan challenge, 83
definition, 65
development agendas, content of, 83
development paradigms, 66–68
globalization and localization, 81
habitual sources, 1313
historical background, 1312
homogeneity and diversity, 76
institutionalization process, 1312
interdisciplinarity, 76
methodological triangulation, 1313
modernization, new form of, 77
nation-states and national cultures, 80
participatory communication, 84–88
requirements, 1315
research priorities, 73–75
social organizations, 1313
social usefulness, concept of, 88
stages, 1315
transformation of society, 82
Communication for Rural Development, 145
Communication for social change (CSC), 127, 310, 322, 323, 331, 337
Communication for Structural and Sustainable Social Change (CSSC), 653, 1328
Communicative action of voice, 384
Communitarianism, 240
Community, 1044
communication, 330, 331, 336, 337
correspondent, 1461
dialogues, 659
empowerment, 1167
involvement, 1134, 1136, 1137
journalism, 487
media, 88, 204, 1027, 1029–1035, 1331
participation, 426
psychology, 220
Quiz, 1464
reporters, 1457, 1461
representatives, 1464
telecentres, 1186
television, 475

Community art, 562
project, 574
Community-based natural resource management (CBNRM), 1148
Community-based participatory research, 683
definition, 683
principles, 683
social capital, 683
Uses and Gratifications approach, 683
Community-based tourism, 672
digital communication technologies in, 673–674
Community consultation and participation, SBCC
Back to School Campaign, 853
'Bhandai Sundai' radio program, 853
mobile edutainment shows with celebrities, 854–855
youth engagement, 855
Community Development Council, 1358
Community digital storytelling (CDST), 836, 837
Community Health Workers (CHWs), 1070
Community radio, 473–475, 1159, 1456
Ethiopian Broadcast Authority, 1232
ethnic conflicts, 1233
inter and intra-conflicts, 1232
languages and values, 1236–1238
vs. mainstream media, 1234
negative and positive interventions, 1233
ownership, 1234–1235
proximity and immediacy, 1235–1236
for social changes, 1232
station, 205
volunteerism and non-profit making, 1238–1239
Comparative Logic, 949
Conference of Parties, 824
Conflation, 1076, 1078
Conflict management, 52
Conflict resolution, 493
Connective action, 896
Connective affordances, 895
Conscientization, 384, 1170
Conscientizaçao, *see* Critical consciousness
Constructive journalism, 487, 494, 1307
Consumers' rights, ICT, *see* Information and communication technologies (ICTs)
Context-based innovative solutions, 509
Contextual concepts, 36–38
Contextual rank, 322
Control, 893
Convergence points
multimedia and interpersonal communication, 125–126
need of political will, 122–123
personal and environmental approaches, 126
tool-kit conception of strategies, 123–125
top-down and bottom-up approaches, 125
Convivial institutions, 404–405
Coordination purposes, 905
Corporate globalization, 504
Corrective rape, 1386
of lesbians, 1389
Cotonou Agreement, 1282
Counter-power, 624
Covering up strategy, 944
Creation of digital stories, 696
Creative aerobics, 281
Creative industries, 862
Creative methods, 39, 742, 743
Creative ventures, 867
Creativity, 270, 271
enhancement, 277
neglect of, 272–276
Creativity enhancement intervention, 279–282
Criminalization, sex work, 1085, 1089
Crisis communication
Oxfam's crisis (*see* Oxfam's crisis)
practice, 939
and risk communication, 42
SCCT, 1401
Crisis communication effectiveness (CCE), 945
Crisis communication strategy (CCS), 944
Crisis phases, 948
Crisscrossing, 896
Critical consciousness, 227
Critical pedagogy, 316
Critical theory, 219, 1199
Critical thinking, 764
Cross-media competence, 489, 496
Cross-sectorial approach, 582
Cross-sectorial assessment, 585
Culture, 7–8, 248, 946, 1456
awareness, 320, 321
citizenship, 248, 249
diversity, 37
identity, 9
and linguistic rights, 1466
products, 868
and social structure, 16
wealth, 506
Culture Revolution, in China, 761, 762
Customs and tribal laws, 1368

D
Daily work, 899
Darwinian evolutionary theory, 401
Data overload, 904
Decentralized information access centers, 1185
Decent work and economic growth, 509
Deceptive content, 902
Decolonization of currirulum, 1394
Decolonization of education, 1386
Decriminalization, 1079, 1083, 1084, 1086, 1089
Degrees of participation, 1204
Delegitimization, 1076, 1085, 1086, 1089
Demanding legitimacy, 1083
Dementia
  care services, in India, 1099–1104
  causes of, 1095
  definition, 1093
  drug treatment, 1098–1099
  incidence and prevalence, 1092
  non-drug treatments and support, 1098
  resource book, 1104–1115
  signs and symptoms, 1094–1095
Democracy, 35, 409
  gains of, 1394
  Kazakhstan score, 964
Democratic space, 1467
Democratic theory, 246
Department for International Development (DfID), 410, 718, 721
Dependency, 67, 72, 81
  theory, 18, 108, 187
Deprivation theory, 626
Design of Educational Reform, 649
Design thinking, 572–574
Developing communities, 507
  migration of, 507
Developing countries, 994, 996, 997, 999, 1003, 1006
  consumer community in, 1001
Developmental and social challenges, 1382
Development communication, 4–5, 158, 161, 504, 558, 1360
  agencies, 404
  alternative to the old, 506
  definitions, 95, 396–398
  delivery process, 398–399
  dependency theory, 108–110
  dominant paradigm, 95–98
  entertainment-education, 105–108
  general remarks, 120–122
  health promotion and education, 103–105
  injustice of modernity and bonded development, 505–506
  media advocacy, 116–118
  modernity and corporate globalization, 504
  origins, 94
  participatory theories and approaches, 110–116
  points of convergence, 122 (*see also* Convergence points)
  policies, 6
  risk of overgeneralization, 95
  and social change, 11–12
  social marketing, 99–103
  social mobilization, 118–120
  technologization and consumption, 504–505
  trap, 400–402
Development communication, in Asia
  capacitation, 431–434
  capacity development, 437–438
  co-design and learning, 424
  degree training programmes, 424
  ICT, 436–437
  mainstreaming devcom, 435–436
  participatory planning, 425–427
  professional degrees in Devcom, 434–435
  rural communication, 427–431
Development media theory, 21
Development process, 1133
Development studies, tourism studies and, 670
Development support communication (DSC), 136, 137, 158, 1156
Development thinking, 439
Dialects, 1456, 1459
Dialogic awareness, 321
Dialogic communication, 1420
Dialogue, 385, 945, 1225, 1463
Diffusion, 955
  and participatory models, 345
Diffusion of innovation (DoI) theory, 72, 218
Digital activism, 905
  in Tunisia, 898–899
Digital capitalism, 1244
Digital citizen, 238, 241
Digital citizenship, 238, 243, 245, 249, 250
Digital civic engagement, 643
Digital communication, 912–915, 1318
Digital cooperation, 1479–1481
Digital creative industries, 862
Digital culture, 1183
Digital divide, 245, 954, 955, 957, 1188
Digital economies, 866
Digital health technologies, 1046

Digital inclusion, 1192
Digital India Project, 1179
Digital inequalities, 244
Digital media creators, 864
Digital rights, 1479
Digital skills, 244, 251, 1191
Digital solidarity fund, 398
Digital storytelling, 384
  analysis, 699–700
  benefits in classroom, 695
  characteristics, 695
  concept, 694
  creation, 696–697
  ethical issue, 698
  informed consent process, 697–698
  materials, 695
  project storytellers, 698
  research challenges, 700–701
  research ethics, 698
  social media, 699
  StoryCenter, 695
  youth engagement, 697
Digitization of records, 1180
Disaster risk, 42
Disasters, 835, 837
Discrimination, 784
Disorder, to connective action, 901
Disordering effects, 906
Dissemination
  academic dissemination, 689–690
  policy dissemination, 690
  public dissemination, 690
Distance learning, 884
Distancing, 317
Distributed agency, 907
Distributed use, 903
Diverse voice, 1460
Diversity, 817
Domestic violence, 521
Dominance model, 23
Donor agencies, 1077
Durbar Mahila Samanway Committee (DMSC), 1080, 1081, 1083, 1085

E
E-Choupal, 957
Economic globalization, 504
Educational quality
  awareness campaign, 656
  awareness campaign monitoring, 660–663
  communication development strategy, 650
  early reading socialization mechanism, 657–660
  objectives and communication approaches, 651
  parents schools monitoring, 663–664
  problem Identification, 650
Education policy, 252, 864
Effective evaluation, 811
E-governance, 1178
  programs and services, 1184
  sustainability of, 1192
Egyptian media, 1373, 1375
  coverage, 1377
eHealth, 1046, 1047
E-learning, 1188
Elite of participation, 1219
E-literacy, 1188
Emancipatory, 740–741
Emergency Operation Centers (EOCs), 1136
Emotion, 510
Empirical studies, 950
Empowering, 1163
Empowerment, 381, 546, 547, 550, 657, 709, 1224
  agency level, 225–227
  axes of oppression, 221–223
  bottom of the pyramid theory, 218
  contextual level, 223–224
  critical theory, 219
  definition, 220
  development, 221
  diffusion of innovation theory, 218
  in health, 1051
  intersectional level, 221
  of local and global communities, 506
  modernization theory, 218
  social work, 220
  technological level, 228–230
  theory, 1166
  See also Women's empowerment
Empresa de Comunicaciones (ECOM), 560
  and commissioning institutes, 561
  graphics, 565
  production process, 571
Engagement, 944
Entertainment-education (EE), 38, 105, 1344
  audience involvement, 611
  Burkina Faso, 1349–1352
  Burundi, 1348–1349
  case studies, Africa, 1346–1352
  description, 596
  formative research, 1345
  Nigeria, 1346–1348
  parasocial interaction, 611
  PMC methodology, 598

Entertainment-education (EE) (*cont.*)
Population Media Center (PMC) methodology, 596
program development, 1345
research-based programs, 1345
Sabido methodology (*see* Sabido methodology)
service points monitoring, 1346
summative/endline evaluation, 1346
theories, 597
using mass media channels, 596
Entrepreneurial ventures, 1186
Envelopment, 400
Environment, 505
Environmental communication, 46–47, 1430, 1431, 1433
Epistemological colonial symbols, 1390
Epistemological framework, 1315
Epistemology, 317–320
Equality, 239, 241, 249
E-Rate program, 1004
Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip, 1440
Erythrina ulei, 1431
Ethical competence, 495
Ethics of digital storytelling, 697–699
Ethiopia
commercials, 1232
community radio (*see* Community radio)
public broadcasting service, 1232
Ethiopian Broadcast Authority (EBA), 1232
Ethnic communities, 1150
Ethnic conflicts, 1233
Ethnicity, 1302
Ethnocultural and immigrant communities (EICs), 682
Ethnocultural communities, 682
eTourism 4 development, conceptualization of, 669–671
EU 2030 Agenda, 1284
Eurocentrism, 1288
European Consensus on development, *see* European development policy
European development policy
2030 Agenda, 1284
analysis, 1284
articulation and dynamics of, 1282–1283
civil society in cooperation policies, 1287
cooperation processes, 1281
development and peace, 1287
domestic policies, 1286
as global agent, 1279–1280
institution, 1285
limitations and deficiencies, 1288–1290
participation, 1281
participation of civil society, 1285
political stability and peace, 1285
poverty, 1280
private sector, 1285
structural/macroeconomic facets, 1280
sustainability, 1285, 1287
sustainable development, 1282
European External Action Service, 1281
European Union (EU), 1258
development aid programmes, 1264
unmet promises, 1266–1268
women's rights in, 1263
European Union Foreign Affairs Council, 1278
Every Woman Every Child project, 1043
Eve-teasing, 1122
Evidence-based policy making, 716
Evolvability, 10, 33
Exchange of (symbolic) messages, 641
Exclusive economic zones (EEZ), 824
Experiential learning, 878, 879
Expert Consultation on Communication for Development, 145
Expert power, 1165
Exploitation, 1079

F

Facebook, 941
FaceTime, 1440, 1443
Face-to-face communication, 1329
Facilitators, 747–748, 1160
Faith-based networks, 825–826
Family Album, 763–764
Family farming
community media to, 144
FAO support to, 144
Family planning programs, 124
FAO
ComDev Team, 142
evolution of, 138
Farmer field schools (FFS), 45
Feces war, 1387
#FeesMustFall, 628, 1386
Feminist, 383
FemLINKpacific, 829
Festival, 1420
Field level intervention, 1466
Fieldwork, 899
Fiji, 826, 1150
First World, 504
Fishers, 1418

Flashing, 1251
Flemish journalism programs, 1300
Flood, 1466
Focus group materials, 686
Fogo process, 1199
Folk song, 1461
Food security, 50, 1150
Foreign aid and development assistance
  domestic audience, 416
  governments of recipient states, 417–418
  international audiences, 418–419
  morality and foreign policy, 410–413
  public diplomacy and soft power, 413–415
  recipients of, 419
Former Soviet Union, 963, 967
Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa (FARA), 1143
Forum on Communication for Development and Community Media for Family Farming (FCCM), 144
Foucault, M., 413, 624
Fourth Estate, 1163
Fourth Sector, 862
Framework, 907
Free and forced sex, 1082
Freedom of assembly, 621
Freedom of association, 622
Freedom songs, 622
Free education for university students, 1392
Free-press theory, 20
Free university education, 1392
Freire, Paolo, 1143
Freire, Paulo
  biography, 311
  critical pedagogy, 313
  education, 313
  literacy method, 312
  participatory action research, 313
  participatory development communication, 314
  Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 312
  studies and work, 311
  subject-object relationship, 312
Freirean epistemology
  basic concepts of, 315–317
  basic references about, 314–315
  cognitive-emotional cycle, 317–320
  to communication for development and social change, 322–323
  cultural awareness, 321
  dialogic awareness, 321
  power structure awareness, 321
  synthesis, 318
Freirian argument, 84
Frontotemporal dementia, 1098
Future research, 906

G
Gardening, 271
Gender and development, 36, 526
Gender-based violence (GBV), 725, 726, 729
Gender disparity, 520
Gender equality, 509
  Africa union, 1261
  AU, 1258
  principles of, 1262
  women's rights and, 1260
Gender inequality in India, 520
Gender mainstreaming, 1258, 1262, 1263, 1265, 1267
Gender violence, 1386
Genuine development, 400
Geographic information systems (GIS), 50, 709
German Development Institute, 1290
Global AIDS Act, 1086, 1089
Global AIDS program, 1077, 1079
Globalization, 22
Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), 1259
Global policymaking, 1076
Global Polio Eradication Initiative (GPEI), in Pakistan, 1134–1137
Global Research Initiative on Rural Communication (GRI/RC), 145
Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy, 1280
Glocal communities, 512
Glocal development, 505–507
  action for change, 512
  agenda setting, 513
  building glocal communities committed to, 516
  quality of life, 513
  will to change, 509
Glocal engagement
  dimensions, 510
  open spaces for, 512
  principles of, 510
Glocal engagement framework (GEF), 506, 509
Glocalization of learning, 506, 509
Good health and well-being, 509
Government accountability, 725
Grammar of engagement, 642
Gramsci, Antonio, 411, 412
Grassroot participation, 1221

Gratifications theory, 200
Greenpeace campaign, 913
Group formation, 1464
Guatemala
  communication approaches, 649
  educational awareness, 648
  educational coverage, 648
  parents involvement in education, 649
Guatemalan Diaspora Community (GDC), 363
Guatemalan nongovernmental organizations (GNGO), 361, 366
Guerrero, Miguel Escobar, 324

H
Hashtags, 893, 895, 902, 903
Health, 1041–1042
  behaviors, 1020, 1022, 1024, 1026
  communication environment, 1040, 1044
  inequality, 1384
  information campaigns, 529
  information technology, 1048
  literacy, 1025, 1029
  promotion, 103, 1042
Health communication, 44–45, 472, 1042
  digital health and monitoring systems, 1045–1049
  empowerment, 1051, 1052
  gender-specific issues, 1049–1051
  health environment, 1043, 1044
  multidisciplinary approach, 1045
  pharmaceutical advertising, 1051
  sustainable development, 1043
  sustainable health and communication, 1052–1053
Health education, 104, 1065, 1069
  campaigns, 1070
Health for All, 1025
Hearing impairment, 1092
Higher education, catalyst for social change, 502
Higher Education Social Responsibility (HESR) Strategy, 509, 511
HIV/AIDS epidemic, 1078
HIV/AIDS intervention programs, 1076, 1078, 1079, 1083, 1086
Homophobic violence, 1389
Horizontal communication, 445
Hubs, 863
Hue University of Agriculture and Forestry, 1151
Human agency, 634, 894
Human communication, 402
Human development index, 1477
Humanizing approach, 739
Human rights, 241
Human rights-driven foreign policy, 171
Hunger, 509
Huntington, Samuel, 160
Hybrid association, 896
Hyper-connectivity, 642

I
Ice bucket challenge, 912
Ideologies, 8
IL Mondo Immaginare (IMI), 362
  entrepreneurial social responsibility, 363
  modes of thinking, 363
Immediacy of feedback, 641
Immediate synchronization, 904
Immigrant communities, 682
Immoral Trafficking (Prevention) Act (ITA), 1087
Impact assessment, 40
Inclusiveness, 1216, 1218, 1221
Increasing teledensity, 1007
Incubator, 864
Indigenous communities, 507, 1466
Indigenous knowledge, 550
Indigenous youth, 1150
Individual engagement, in politics
  digital age, 636–637
  mediatized engagement, 640–642
  sociology, 637–640
Individual-first approach, 642
Individualism, 1042
Individualization, 640
Industry, 509
Inequalities, 1218
Informal gold mining, 1430
Information
  access to, 344
  overload, 903
  rights, 86
  seamless access to, 1181
Information and communication technologies (ICTs), 65, 135, 228, 436, 725, 827, 874, 876, 878, 881, 884, 885, 993, 995
  community media, 1000
  consumer community, in developing countries, 1001
  consumer involvement, in policy and decision making, 1003
  content industries, emphasis on, 997–999
  digital divide, 1002–1003

emergence of, 141
E-Rate program, 1004
government and private organizations, 999
ICT industry, role of, 995–996
IoT, 1004–1005
mHealth services, 1003–1004
open regulatory framework, 996
for poor, 955–958
social change agents, role of, 999–1000
studies, 933
usage, 1001–1002
US and UA, 997
WLL, 1005–1008
Information and communication technologies for development (ICT4D), 436, 862
African ICT, 1247–1248
African journalism, 1244
big companies, 1249
characteristics, 933
digital capitalism, 1244
ICT, Africa and global economies, 1248
labour supply, 1248
mobile phones and economics in Africa, 1249–1251
and "Modernization" in Contemporary China, 933–937
Western economic power, 1244
Information society, 245, 991–992, 994, 995, 998, 999, 1009
consumer rights in, 992–993
Informed consent process, 697
Infrastructural support on maternal health, 985
Infusing approach, 1297
Initiative for the Conservation of the Andean Amazon (ICAA II), 1431, 1432
Injustice of modernity, 505
Innovation and infrastructure, 509
Innovation ecosystems, 863
Innovation education, 864
discursive framing, 866, 867
policy context development, 865–866
practices, 867
Innovation platform, 1143
Instantaneous content sharing, 898
Institutionalization process, 1312
Instrumentalization, 1217
Integrated Agricultural Research for Development (IAR4D), 1143, 1144
Integrating technology, 368–371
Integrative content sharing, 897
Intellect, 510
Interactive dialogues, 945
Inter-community communication, 1162
Intercultural communication, 1026, 1030, 1033
Intercultural learning, 883
Interdisciplinary, 593, 594
sharing and dialogic communication, 810–811
Inter-group conflict, 1162
Internal conflicts, in Ethiopia, *see* Community radio
Internalized oppression, 1169
International Association of Media and Communication Research (IAMCR), 146
International communication, 43, 203
International higher education (IHE) community, 505, 509
Internationalization, alternative to the, 506
International Monetary Fund, 504
International Year of Family Farming (IYFF), 143
Internet, 247, 384, 386, 387, 826
access and use of, 238
citizenship and implications for, 239–241
in democratization process, 963
government control over, 964–973
influence of, 962
physical intermittent access to, 238
role of, 962
Internet of things (IoT), 1004–1005
Interpersonal communication and mass communication, 1473
Interpersonal conflict, 1162
Intersectionality, 739, 750
Inter-subject, 537, 1418
Interview(s), 1422
guide, 686
Intra-group conflict, 1162
Intrapersonal conflict, 1162
Involvement, 641
Islands, 1456
Isolation, 1462
Iteration, 743

J

Jeffersonian 'cloning' model, 177
Journalism, 43
communication science basic knowledge, 495
communicative and social skills, 495
mediation literacy skills, 495
reflection and ethical competence, 495
scientific skills and techniques, 495

Journalism education
accreditation, 1303
in Afghanistan (*see* Afghanistan, journalism education)
constructive journalism, 487
cross-perspective practice, 1304
in developing countries, 487
diverse content, 1303–1304
diversity in, 1294–1298
embedding diversity, whole program, 1303
future plans, diversity education, 1302–1303
hypotheses and research questions, 1299
importance of diversity in, 1300
in-depth interviews with international journalism education, 1308
infeasibility of acquired diversity reporting skills, 1307
interview technique, 1305
issues, future-education initiatives, 1306–1308
markert orientation for, 1307
mission statement, 1306
negativity aviodance, 1307
with NGO's, 1305
online survey questionnaire, 1298
quality of public discourse, 1306
social class differences, 1305
speed of journalism vs slow news, 1306–1307
students out from comfort zone, 1304
teaching approach of diversity, 1301–1302
western diversity initiatives, 1303–1306
Western model of, 487
Journalistic competence
cross-media competences, 489
definition, 488
organizational and conceptual competence, 489
presentation competence, 488
professional competence, 488
social orientation, 488, 489
special competence, 488
Jung's theory, 605
Jurgen Habermas's theory of communicative action
action coordination, 293
art, literature and person, 297–299
criticism, 299–301
and development, 301–304
enlightenment thought, 292
law, morality and social world, 296
linguisticality of experience, 292
science, technology, and objective world, 295
social rationalization, 292, 294
spatio-temporally neutral model, 291
validity claims, 292
Justice and Development Party, 1447
Justice and strong institutions, 509

K
Kanarakis, George, 779
Kembata community radio, 1236
Kenya, 863–865
Kiosks, 956
Kiribati, 816, 824
Knowledge, 1216, 1414
exchange, 433–434
management, 433
Knowledge, attitude and practice (KAP), 44
Knowledge mobilization, 688
dissemination, 689–690
production/creation, 689
Knowledge production/creation
academic, 689
community groups, 689
policy production, 689
Kolb's learning cycle, 879
Kore community radio, 1236
Kosrae, 770, 772, 773, 775, 778

L
Labor market integration, 684
Land expropriation, 1383
Latin America, communication for development in, 451
Latin American School of Communication, 444, 446
Lay knowledge, 1215
Lazarsfeld's two-step flow of communication, 603–604
Leadership, 772, 773
Leaflet design, 1106
Learning, 716, 718
and accountability, conflation of, 718
definition, 875
design-based approaches to, 881, 882
priorities, 717
theory-based approaches to, 876
Learning-based approaches, defined, 720
Lebanon, 1152
Legacy, 1392

Legitimacy gaps, 1401
Legitimate power, 1164
Lerner, Daniel
development communication research, influence on, 161–164
mass communication, 165
theory of modernization, 158
The Passing of Traditional Society : Modernizing the Middle East, 158–160
Western model of democratic capitalist society, 164
Lewy bodies, 1095
Liberal arts education, 762–763
Liberalism, 239
Liberalization, 22
Liberation, 316
Life below water, 509
Life on land, 509
Lingenfelter, Sherwood, 772
Listening, 742, 743
responsive, 841–843
Living Lab, 864
Local administrators, 1466
Local community, 682, 687
Local contributions and risk-taking, 1172
Local languages, 1456
Lysistrata, 616

M
MacLean's theory, 609
Madre de Dios Consortium (MDDC)
achievements, 1436, 1437
communicational stages, 1435
communication role, 1432–1435
remediation work, 1431
Madre de Dios Region, 1430
Mainstream media
community media, 1234
language translation, 1237
negative and positive interventions, 1233
ownership, 1234, 1235
sensational conflict reporting, 1238
Majlis, 1152
Majority viewpoint, 1462
Malaysia, 513
Marginalization, 1373
Mark Zuckerberg, 1246
Marshall, T.H., 241
Marshall Islands, 820
Marxist theory, 200–201
Mashups, 893, 896, 897, 902
Mass communication (MC), 1328, 1473
Asian values, 486
collaborative role, 484
facilitative role, 484
mass media development model, 485
monitorial role, 484
national development, 484
radical role, 484
social harmony, 484, 486
social responsibility, 486
tasks of, 486
Mass media, 659, 983, 984, 1328
and new media theories, 1045
Mass mobilization, 617, 620, 629
Maternal-child health care, 980, 982
communication strategies, 1071–1072
dissemination of health information, 982–983
dissemination of maternal health knowledge, 1068
effective participatory and advocacy communication, 1065
health campaigns, 1069–1070
in Kenya, 1067–1068
maternal health communication, 1069
methods of dissemination of information, 983
provider-patient communication, 1071
reasons for attending antenatal clinic, 1071
Maternal health campaigns, 1069–1070
Mayan language, 649
McLaren, Peter, 324
Media, 557, 1420
advocacy, 116
and communication, 1266
decision making in, 1265
dependency relations, 947
design, 561
equality of men and women, 1258
framing, 803
gender and, 1258–1261
gender notions, 1258
gender perspectives, 1258
literacy, 1025, 1027
The media blind spot, 1298
Media participation
active/passive dimension, 200
anarchist theory, 201
audience theory, 199
communication rights, 204
community and alternative media, 204–206
deliberation and public sphere, 201–202
development communication, 203

Media participation (*cont.*)
marxist theory, 201
online media/internet studies, 208–211
political approach, 197–199
reality TV, 207
sociological approach, 196
television talk show, 206–207
UNESCO, 203
Mediation, journalistic competence, 492
conflict resolution, 493–494
constructive journalism, 494
education and enlightenment, 494
social consensus, ethnic groups, 493
state and opponents, 493
state and people, 492
urban and countryside, 493
Mediatization, 635
Mediatized engagement, 641
Medium, 1456
MEDIVA project, 1295
Melodrama, 604
Men's health, 1050, 1051
Message-oriented research, 348
Methodological individualism, 642
Methodology-driven research, 539
Methods, techniques and tools, communication for development, 39
#MeToo movement, 1400
mHealth, 978, 1047, 1048
mHMtaani, 980
Micronesians, 769
culture, 777–782
gender roles, 782–784
as information sharers, 785–786
politeness, notions of, 788–790
small communities and geographical isolation, 769–771
time, concepts of, 786–788
youth's dependence on elders, 771–777
Migrants, 507
Migration, 1284, 1288, 1290
Millennium development goals (MDGs), 270, 396–398, 1064, 1066
Minority viewpoint, 1462
Misappropriation, 903
Mishing, 1457
Mixed dementia, 1095
Mixed-methods approach, 682, 686
Mobile governance, 1191
Mobile health (mHealth) services, 1003–1004
Mobile phone application
Baby Monitor, 980
ChildCount+, 981
client-service provider communication, 985–986
dissemination of maternal-child health knowledge, 982–983
education, 984
health care utilization, 982–983
methods of disseminating maternal-child health knowledge, 983
mHMtaani, 980
mixed method approach, study, 981
participatory communication, 984
study, 981
Totohealth, 979–980
utilization, 978
Mobile phones, 979
and economics in Africa, 1250
Mobile platforms, 1190
Mobile technology, 1048
Mobilization, 1218
Mobilized actors, 901
Modalities of protests, 1395
Modernization theory, 218
Modernity, 504
Modernization, 66, 68, 71, 72, 74, 77, 82, 158, 165, 182, 504, 1132, 1133
in contemporary China, 933
and dependency paradigms, 345
theory, 16, 289–291
Monitoring, 856
Monologic communication, 1420
Moral compunctions, 1089
Moralistic undertones, 1087
Morality, 510
and foreign policy, 410–413
Moral values, 941
Mosques, 1449
Mother-to-child transmission (MTCT), 1392
Moyer, Judith, 765
Multicultural media (MCM) research
collaborative participation, 686
conceptual framework, 683–684
knowledge mobilization, 688–690
OMMI collaborative, 690
participatory research design, 686–688
partnership development, 684
partnership governance structure, 684–686
Multidimensional model for change (MMC)
AKAP, 590
C4D, 580
dimensions, 586
ideal mapping window, 587
individual dimension, 590
information-bias approach, 585

organizational dimension, 588
plan and adopt communication approaches, 585
political dimension, 586, 588
socio-cultural dimension, 588, 589, 591
socio-ecological model, 584
socio-economic environment, 585
Multimedia approaches, 22
Multi-modal creative methods, 735
Multiplicity, 67, 72, 82, 88
approach, 1133, 1137
Multi-sectoral partnership project, 682
Multi-stranded approach, 362
Multi-track communication, 1421
Multivariate analysis, 1347, 1350
Municipal departments, 685
Municipal stakeholders, 682
Mythological functions, 9

N
Narrative, 1081, 1460
analysis, 699
Narrowcasting, 1463
National Congress Commission for Cattle, 1426
National e-governance Plan (NeGP), 1178, 1181
National Mission for Empowerment of Women, 528
National ownership, 1284
National Policy for Empowerment of Women, 527
National Solidarity Program (NSP), 1357
Natural resource management, 49, 1149, 1150
Nauru, 827
Neoliberalism, 411
Neo-natal depression, 521
Nepal community radio stations, 851
2015 Nepal earthquakes
impact and needs, 848–849
SBCC response (*see* Social and behavior change communication (SBCC))
Network(s), 818, 1457
bottom-up, 825
faith-based networks, 825–826
pacific regionalism, 823–824
Networked media, 996
Nevin, David, 768, 770, 777, 787, 789
Newcomer integration policy, 685
New communication technologies, 504
New International Economic Order (NIEO), 186
New media, 1025–1028
New Social Movement Theories (NSMT), 626
Niebuhr, Reinhold, 412
Nigeria, 1346
Nile Valley and Delta, 1368, 1370
Noise, 600
Nongovernmental organization (NGO), 850, 857, 862, 913–915
GNGOs across borders, 366–368
IMI architect, 363–364
IMI's shifting paradigm, 364–365
intergrating technology and communications network, 369
post-development theory, 361
scaling-up, 361
sociopolitical development framework, 362
sustainable development policy, 371
transnational alliances, 365
Non-human actors, 895
Normative concepts, 32–36
North Sinai, 1369
Nuclear testing, 821
Nucleus, 1416

O
Objectivity, 537
Observation, 1422
Oceania, 821
Ochroma pyramidale, 1431
Official Development Assistance (ODA), 1279
Ok Tedi, 822
Old age, 1092, 1094, 1106
On Justification: The Economies of Worth (Thévenot), 638
Online activism, 971
Online communication and crisis management, in China, 941, 944, 945
BMCC model, 941
cultural and institutional characteristics, 949
cultural traits, 941
forms of response, 945
hackers, viruses, and rumors, 940
individualistic and collectivistic cultures, 946
media dependency relations, 947
methodological framework, 943
political system, 946
reversed agenda-setting, 948
theoretical framework, 943
types of research, 944
Online community portal, 1189
Online media/internet, 208

Online tactics, 900
Open authorship, 902
Opportunity structures, 224
Oppression, 316
Oppressor, 315
Oral history
in China, 757
definition, 756
Oral History Association (OHA), 758
Oral history documentary teaching
college education, production in, 758–760
Family Album, 763–764
Our Fathers' Revolution, 760, 763
Organizational competence, 489, 492, 496
Organizational crisis communication
Oxfam's crisis (*see* Oxfam's crisis)
SCCT, 1400–1402
Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 719, 1248
Orwell, George, 410
Ostracization, 1088
Ottawa multicultural media initiative (OMMI), 682
Our Fathers' Revolution, 760, 763
Ownership, 1360
Oxfam's crisis
corrective action, apologies and resignations, 1405–1407
crisis situation and consequences, 1403
explanations and justifications, 1403–1404
organizational background, 1402
Oyedemi, T., 250

P

Pacific climate warriors, 825
Pacific island, 820–821
nuclear and mining catastrophes, 821–823
Pacific Island Climate Action Network, 825
Pacific Islands Development Forum, 824
Pakistan Polio Program, 1136
Pangasius, 1419
Paper edit, 1197
Papua New Guinea, 822
Paradigm shift, 346
Parasocial interaction, Horton and Wohl's concept, 610–611
Parent schools, 659
monitoring, 663
Participation, 246, 247, 426, 427, 432, 436, 621, 623, 708, 1132, 1134
active, 139
and capacity development, 137
in decision making, 135
interpersonal communication and, 147
knowledge sharing and, 138
Participatory action, 864
Participatory action research (PAR), 482, 483
Freire's approach on, 313
Participatory activities, for air pollution in West Africa
Air Sain project, 1216
elite of participation, 1219
experts' discourses and changes of practices, 1223
inequalities participation, 1216
instrumentalization process, 1217
learning, 1218
persistent power relationships, 1222
in practice, 1217–1218
solution implementation, 1224
Participatory approaches, 591, 593
Participatory budgeting process, 1160
Participatory communication, 42, 78, 79, 84, 203, 1328, 1358–1362, 1458, 1463, 1473
approach, 1133, 1134, 1137
approaches, for practical issues, 1155–1168
community radio, 1159
conflict and competition, 1161–1163
development support communication, 1156
empowerment, 1165–1168
facilitators, 1160
feedback channels, 1157
Fogo process, 1158
issues of power, 1163
participatory budgeting process, 1160
participatory research methods, 1157
pre-testing media, 1157
village wall newspapers, 1159
visualization methods, 1159
Participatory democracy, 87
Participatory development communication, 426, 1458
community involvement, 1150–1151
community participation and innovation adoption, 1148
cost issues, 1146
empowerment, 1149–1150
farmers and researchers, 1144, 1145
formulating and developing, 1146
Freire's approach, 314
government stakeholders, 1147–1148
knowledge sharing, 1149

learning about, 1148
local conflicts, 1151, 1152
understanding, relating, researching, 1146
validating and organizing, 1146
Participatory environmental communication, 817–820
Participatory film/video method, 1158
Participatory initiatives, 828–830
Participatory learning approaches, 1169
Participatory mapping
context, impacts and limits, 706–708
in-process phase, 710
post-process phase, 709
pre-process, 709
Participatory media, 1034, 1035
Participatory model, 20, 580
(Participatory) monitoring and evaluation, 32, 40
Participatory planning, development communication, in Asia, 425
Participatory project design, 683
Participatory research, 1419, 1421, 1426
and action research, 546–547
definition of, 547–548
evaluation and validity, 549
indigenous knowledge, 550
principles of, 545–546
process, 548
Participatory research design
data analysis, 688
data collection, 687
research instruments, 686–687
Participatory research methods, 1157
Participatory Rural Communication Appraisal (PRCA), 148
Participatory theories
criticized traditional approaches, 110–111
critics, 113–116
Paulo Freire's ideas, 112
Participatory video (PV), 39
affordance theory, 1201
camera functioning, 1197
collective self-inquiry and reflection, 1197
community screenings, 1197
critical theories, 1199
definition, 1196
degrees of participation, 1204–1206
design, 1197
early screenings, 1197
film construction, 1197
future aspects, 1208–1209
history, 1198
perceived benefits, 1201–1204
phases, 1207
power relations, 1206
practices, 1199
practitioner network, 1196
process (*see* Participatory video (PV))
product *vs.* process, 1198
Partnership(s), 509
framework, 1284, 1290
Paulo Freire: Uma biobliografia, 312
Pax Americana development
and British conceptions of development, 173–176
coherent 'development ideology, 181
informal and formal empires, 168–171
Jefferson's 'empire of liberty, 176–178
modernization, 182–190
post-World War II development, 171–173
self-governance, 182
Wilsonian informal empire, 178
world's economy, 180
Peace journalism, 43
Pedagogy of Hope (Freire), 310
Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 312, 315
People, 505
Perceived user control, 641
Personal opinion, 1462
Peru, 1430
Pharmaceutical advertising, 1051
Philippines, 1150
Piriápolis, Uruguay, 1418–1422
Planet, 505
Pluralism model, 23
Pohnpei, 770, 772, 775, 776, 778, 781, 783, 784, 786, 789
Policy, 251, 686, 865
formulation, 1076, 1078
makers, 1077, 1079, 1084
Political environment, 1044
Political incidence, 657
Political listening, 743
Political process theory, 626
Political rights, 241
POPA (Por la Pesca Artesanal en Piriápolis) Group, 1418–1420
Population Media Center (PMC) methodology, 596
Portrayal, 563, 569
Positive role modelling, 528
Post-conflict societies, journalism education in Afghanistan, *see* Afghanistan, journalism education

Post-development theory, 361
Poverty, 509
Power, 381–383, 623
  relationships, 1217, 1218, 1221, 1222
  structure awareness, 321
Power-based research, 538
Practical interests, 1168
Practitioner network (PV-NET), 1196
Pragmatic sociology, 635, 637
Pragmatism, 1042
Preconceived solutions, 1224
President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), 1078
Process conflict, 1163
Product/service level, 1044
Professional competence, 488, 491, 492, 496
Professionalism, 1294
Programmatic responses, 1078
Programme for Improving Mental Health Care (PRIME) project, 521
Prohibition on the Promotion and Advocacy of the Legalization or Practice of Prostitution or Sex Trafficking, 1078
Project evaluation
  indicators, 722
  literature reviews, 721–723
  mechanisms, 720
  participatory design, 726, 727, 729
  purposes, 716
  social change process evaluation, 726–728
Prostitution pledge, 1077, 1079
Protest, 898
  action, in South Africa, 1382
  categories of, 618
  as communication, 621, 622, 627, 629
  communication modality, 1387
  communication strategies, 1386
  culture, 617, 619, 1382
  efficacy of, 620
Psychological rank, 322
Public, 947
  broadcasting service, 1232
  character, 390
  diplomacy, 413–415
  health, 1215, 1216, 1219, 1220
  health system, 1385
  identity, 385
  journalism, 1307
  opinion, 1462
  participation, 1216, 1217, 1223
  sphere, 201
Public-private partnership framework, 1187

Q
Qualitative evaluation data, 722
Qualitative research
  critical research, 542
  naturalistic observation and participant observer, 541–542
  subjectivity and phenomenology, 540–541
  validity and evaluation, 543–544
Quality education, 509
Quantitative research
  ideology and value free science, 537–538
  methodology-driven research, 539
  objectivity and subjectivity, 537
  power-based research, 538
Quebral, Nora Cruz, 1153
Qzone, 941

R
Racism, lived-experiences of, 1391
Radical Economic Transformation Policy, 1383
Radical man/woman, 315
Radio, 828
  programs, 1459
  spots, 656
Radio Brahmaputra, 1457
  acceptance, 1466
  access, 1462
  location, 1457
  as our radio, 1467
  reports, 1457
Rajmistri, 1082
Randomized controlled trials, 722
Rape culture, 1388
Reading Freire and Habermas: Critical Pedagogy and Transformative Social Change, 314
Reality, 1416
Reality TV, 207–208
Real time control, 904
Re-articulation, 1083
Rebellion of the poor, 619
Reciprocity of participants, 641
Recognition, 345, 349, 1417
Red Sea Riviera, 1373
Reduced inequalities, 509
Referent power, 1165
Reflexive monitoring in action (RMA), 40
Reflexivity, 744
Regional context, 564
Rehabilitation, of sex workers, 1077, 1080, 1086, 1087
Relational process, 744

Relationship conflict, 1163
Relationships, 905, 946
Reporting Diversity Project, 1295
Representations, social, 1415
Republican citizenship, 240
Rescue, 1087
Research
  collaborators, 686
  context of, 535–536
  ethics, 698
  participatory research (*see* Participatory research)
  partnerships, 683
  qualitative research (*see* Qualitative research)
  quantitative research (*see* Quantitative research)
Resilience, 35
Resiliency, 11
Resource book, on dementia
  budget/sponsorship, for printing, 1107
  distribution approach, 1107–1108
  leaflet design, 1106
  validation, 1106
Resource mobilization theory (RMT), 625
Responsible consumption and production, 509
Responsiveness, 641
Results-based management (RBM), 717
  quantitative indicators, 721, 723
Return on investment (ROI), 1007
Revolution of rising frustration, 160, 165
Reward power, 1164
#RhodesMustFall, 1390
Right(s)
  to communication, 22
  types of, 351
Rights-based perspective, 1472
River flows project, 574
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 410
Rovigatti's circular adaptation of Shannon and Weaver's communication model, 601
Rumor, 947
Rural communication, 45, 427, 566, 874, 877, 880, 882, 886, 887
Rural communication services (RCS), 144
  advocacy and policy dialogue, 142
  definition, 152
  mainstreaming, 143–144
Rural development
  agricultural and, 138
  context, 141
  and extension, 137
  integrated program, 137
  policies, 146
  poverty reduction and, 146
  sustainable, 135

S

Sabido methodology
  Bandura's social learning theory, 606
  behavior change communication, 596
  Bentley's dramatic theory, 604
  Jung's theory, 605
  Lazarsfeld's two-step flow of communication, 603
  MacLean's theory, 609
  Rovigatti's circular adaptation of Shannon and Weaver's communication model, 601
  Shannon and Weaver's Communication Model, 599
  tone theory, 608, 609
  triune brain theory, 609
Safe Motherhood Initiative, 1065
Sala, 1449
Salafi jihadism, 1369
Sanchez, Pedro, 773
Sassen, Saskia, 417
Satyagraha, 616
Scale-up, 1161
Scaling-up approaches, 1174
Scandal, 1400, 1403, 1404, 1406, 1408
Schopenhauer, Arthur, 408
Science and technology studies (STS), 49
Sea, 1414
Second World War, 159
Securitization, 1288
Self-awareness, 641
Self belief, 1086
Self-determination, 1083
Self-esteem, 351
Self-image, 1366
Self-organization, 261
Self-respect, 351
Self-tabulating methods of evaluation, 1173
Semi/nudity, 1388
Senegal, 1215, 1216, 1218, 1220, 1222, 1223
Sense of acceptance, 1360
Sense of community
  community model, 1330
  influence, 1327
  integration and fulfillment of needs, 1328
  membership, 1327
  prediction model, 1331, 1333
  role of information sources, 1331

Sense of community (*cont.*)
shared emotional connection, 1328
social gathering, 1330
social interaction factor, 1329
sources, 1330
Sense of presence, 641
Serial dramas, 604, 606
Service industry, 1085
Sex ratio, 521
Sexual abuse and harassment, 1400, 1401, 1407
Sexual assault, 1082
Sexual equality, 784
Sexual harassment, in Bangladesh
communication, 1120
communication strategies, 1124–1126
cross cultural issues, 1123
eveteasing, 1122
focus group discussions, 1124
one to one discussions, 1124
online survey, 1124
street harassment, 1120
technology abuse, 1121
Sexual servitude, 1076, 1081, 1083, 1088
Sex work
commercial, 1076
trafficking and, 1076
Sex workers, rescue and rehabilitation of, 1076, 1079, 1086, 1088
Shannon and Weaver's Communication Model, 599–601
Shifting global patterns, 361
Shock tactics, 1393
Short messaging system (SMS), 1251, 1446
Silences and body languages, 1173
Silent protest, 1389
Simplemente Maria, 610
Sinai
al Qaeda, 1376
attack on Hatshepsut's temple 1997, 1369
Bedouins, 1367
Bedouin tribes, 1368
Cairo's elite, 1376
customs and tribal laws, 1368
educational status, 1371
1982 Egyptian army, 1368
Egyptian government, 1371
Egyptian media, 1374
Egyptian population, 1370
health services, 1371
history of, 1373
illegal trade, 1372
illiteracy, 1371
Islamic spirit, 1375
marginalization, 1371
media coverage, 1375
Monoufya, 1368
Nubian families, 1372
1979 peace treaty, 1367
Peninsula, 1369, 1374
people's identity, 1366
poverty level, 1367
public television, 1374
Rafah people, 1372
red line, 1369
revolution, 1373
Salafi jihadists, 1369
self-image, 1366
shadow economy, 1368
Sonbols journey, 1374
south, 1375
Sykes-Picot agreement in 1916, 1367
tourism industry development, 1369
tribes, 1377
Situated knowledge, 222
Situatedness, 223
Situational crisis communication theory (SCCT), 1401, 1405
bolstering postures, 1401
crisis history and prior reputation, 1401–1402
denial postures, 1401
diminishment postures, 1401
organization's reputation, 1401
rebuilding postures, 1401
Skilled facility health care, 978, 986
Slacktivism, 620
Smith, A.H., 771, 780
Social acceptability, 1216
Social actors/agents, 347
Social and behavior change communication (SBCC), 580
communication channels, 849–856
community consultation and participation, 852–855
coordination mechanism, 850
forging alliances, 849
programs, 1345
resources, 850–856
Social capital, 683
Social change, 6, 65, 66, 74, 77, 259, 270, 344, 354, 562, 572, 576, 1416
agenda, 503
communication for, 444, 450–451
higher education, catalyst for, 502
in Latin American region, 444
need for, 447–448
Social cohesion, 1358

Social communication campaigns, 528
Social communication networks, 1250
Social (community) mobilization, 38
Social content serial drama, 601–602
Social dialogue, 575
Social entrepreneurship, 862, 1252
Social environment, 1044
Social identity theory, 1374
Social imaginaries, 574–576
Social inclusion, 684
Social justice, 735, 746
Social learning, 877
Social-liberal theory, 20
Social marketing
  behavior change, 99
  critics, 101–103
  definition, 100
  origin, 99
  product positioning, 100
  program, 101
  theories, 1045
  in United States, 100
Social media (SM), 690, 912, 940, 963, 1329, 1444
  government control over, 964
  human centered view, 894–897
  instantaneous and integrative content sharing, 897–898
Social media management
  content creation, 920, 921
  evaluation and metrics, 922–925
  goals & target audience, 919
  listen, scan, and monitor, 919
  opportunities for engagement, 920
  rules of engagement and governance, 921, 922
  strategic plan development, 915–918
Social-mediated communication, 913–915
Social-mediated crisis management research (SMCM), 940
Social mobilization, 118, 1136
Social movement, 36, 619, 621, 624, 625, 642
Social network, 894, 1048
Social networking sites (SNSs), 390
Social orientation, 488, 489, 492, 496
Social peace, 34
Social policy, 252
Social psychology, 220
Social rank, 321
Social representations, 1415
Social responsibility, 1191
Social rights, 241, 250
Social strain theory, 626
Social support, 657
  and empowerment, 659
Socio-cultural participation, 247
Socio-Ecological Model (SEM), 581
Sociology, of engagement, 637, 639
Sociomaterial relationships, 896
Soft power, 414–415
Solidarity, 316, 1358
Sonagachi, 1080, 1084, 1088, 1089
Sources, 943
South Africa, development communication in
  community radio, 473
  community television, 475–476
  health communication, 472
  ICTs, 471
  international and domestic factors, 470
  social movements, 470
  social movements and nanomedia strategies, 476–477
  socio-economic inequalities, 470
South Asia, 1192
South Sinai, 1369
South Sinai Regional Development Program (SSRDP), 1373
Spanish, 649
Spiral of silence, 1462
Spiritual rank, 322
Spykman, Nicholas, 411
Stakeholders, 683, 684
Standpoint feminism, 223
State restriction, 620
State violence, 619
Status of women, 520
Stereotypes, 605
Stigmatization, 1086, 1088
StoryCenter model, 695
Storytelling, 39, 1169
  for social change (*see* Transformative storywork)
Strategic and methodological concepts, 31
Strategic communication, 41, 528, 1408
Strategic interests, 1168
Structural rank, 321
Struggle songs, 622
Study-reflection-action, 548
Subjectivity, 537, 540–541
Subjects, 1416
Subterfuge, 1086
Superstructure/structure, 347
Surveillance, capabilities, 972
Survey questionnaire, 686
Sustainability, 9, 1192, 1472
  of social change processes, 77–80

Sustainable cities and communities, 509
Sustainable development goals, 397
Sustainable development goals (SDGs), 502, 1064, 1474–1475
  challenges, 153
  and children rights, 1475–1476
  17 SDGs, 512
  2030 SDGs, 503, 507, 509
  sustainability, 155
Sustainable development policy, 371–373
Sustainable social change, 512–515
Systems/worlds of life, 347

T
Taking part, 196, 197
Task conflict, 1163
Teaching discovery, oral history documentary, *see* Oral history documentary teaching
Tea gardens, 1456
Technological advancement, 504
Technological deterministic approach, 504
Technological developments, 906
Technologization, 505
Technology, 979
  consumption, 505
Telecommunication services, 1441
Television talk show, 206
Temporal locations, 902
Temporarily connected actors, 897
Tertiary education, access to, 1385
Text provision, 657
Textuality, 563
The Dutch Alzheimer's Foundation, 920
Theories, 948
  EE methodology, 597
The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (Lerner)
  criticism, 160
  "locus classicus", 160
  production of, 158–159
  "seminal work", 160
The Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Program, 821
The Social Contract (Rousseau), 410
Thévenot, Laurent, 637
Third culture, 506
Third-party images, 699
Third World, 504
Tilling, 271
Top-down communication model, 20
Top-down dissemination approach, 1151
Top-down model, 7
Totohealth, 979–980
Tourism, 52
  and developing countries, 668–669
  industry development, 1369
  revenue, 1369
TRACnet, 1252
Traditional content, 1458
Trafficking
  conflation of, 1076
  definition, 1077
  effects of, 1082
  passive victims of, 1079
  sex, 1077
  sex work and, 1076
  victims, 1078
Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report, 1076, 1077, 1079
Transdisciplinarity, 1472
Transformative initiatives, 1390
Transformative learning, 49, 881
Transformative storywork
  accountability, 740
  collective level, 750
  creative and multi-modal approach, 742
  definition, 737
  emancipatory, 741
  facilitation, 747
  forms and formats, 738
  group building, 745
  humanising approach, 739–740
  iterative process, 737
  personal level, 749
  personal power, 741–742
  political listening, 743
  positionality, 746–747
  power inequalities, 748
  power relations, 737–738
  reflexivity, 744
  relational process, 744
  role of iteration, 743
  societal change, 751
Transform conflict, 1172
Transnational alliances, 365–366
Transnational indigenous nongovernmental organization (TINGO), 360
Transparency, 344
Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), 616, 1388
Trend, 942
Triune brain theory, 609
Trust, 947, 1361
Tunisia, digital activism in, 898–899

Turkeys's failed coup attempt
communication infrastructure, 1442
Erdoğan's appearance on FaceTime, 1443–1444
role of media, 1444–1449
social media, 1441
social movements, 1440
telecommunication services, 1441
television, 1442
Turkish Radio and Television (TRT), 1443
Tuvalu, 820
Twitter, 1445
Tyranny of Participation, 1200

U
Uganda, 1151
Uma Biobibliografia, 314
2030 UN Agenda, 1279
UNAIDS issue paper, 1077, 1078
Understanding consumer rights, 992–993
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 203
ICT centers, 1186
Uneven development, 345, 350
Unionization, 1077, 1079, 1086
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), 807
United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund UNICEF, 1135, 1137
United Nations Millennium Declaration, 34
United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 410, 718, 721, 722, 1431
United States Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act, 1077
Universal access (UA), 997
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 252
Universal Health Coverage (UHC), 1043
Universal service (US), 997
University protests, 1390
UN Roundtable on Communication for Development (UNRT), 142
Uptake conditions, 1224
Uruguay, Piriápolis, 1418
Uses and gratifications approach, 683
Ushahidi, 914
Utopia, 448

V
Valetta agreement (2015), 1289
Valid form of labor, 1084
Vascular dementia, 1095
Ven Conmigo, 607
Video editing, 760
Vietnam, 1150, 1151
Village Information Center (VICs), 955
Violence, 620, 1395
against women, 520
Virtualonline communities, 1170
Visibility affordances, 901
Vision 2030, 866
Visual
analysis, 700
and creative techniques, 743
creativity, 749
learning, 882
literacy, 556, 563–564
multi-modality in, 742
storyboard, 1197
Visual communication, 556
contemporary, 568–570
design thinking, 572–574
history, 557–559
images, 567–568
social imaginaries, 574–576
visual literacy, 563–564
Visualization methods, 1159
Vocabulary, 1220
Voice, 1081, 1460
capacity of, 1417
and influence, 843
and language, 838
to policymakers, 834
in policymaking, 841
Vulnerability, 1078
Visibility, 897

W
Wall newspapers, 1159
Wan Smolbag Theatre, 829
Weaknesses, 948
Wearables, 1048
WeChat, 940
Weibo, 940
Well-being, 684, 1017, 1021, 1415–1417
aspirations, 1414, 1418, 1425
Wellbeing for development approach (WeD)
analysis, 1422
categories, 1424
comfort, 1425
council, 1426
material, 1424
progress, 1425
relational, 1424

Wellbeing for development approach (WeD) (*cont.*)
space, 1426
stages, 1423
subjective, 1424
time, 1426
Wellbeing in Developing Countries (WeD), 1415
Wellness, 1017, 1025
West Papua, 822
WhatsApp, 1448
Wholeness, 1042
Wilde, Oscar, 413
Wireless local loop (WLL), 995, 1000
ICT, 1005–1008
Women and development, 525
Women education, 1476
Women in development (WID) approach, 36, 525
Women's activism, 526
Women's empowerment
collective actions, 386–388
communicative action of voice, 384–385
gender issues awareness, 389–390
identity projection, 388–389
internet to facilitate communication, 390
inter-organisational relations, 391
political campaigns, 391
power as a theoretical basis, 381–383
public identity, 385–386
Women's health, 1049, 1050
Women's movement, 522–523
Workshops, 686
World Bank, 504, 1245
World Health Organization (WHO), 1252
World Trade Organization, 504
Worldwide inequalities, 1477–1478

Y

Yap State, 772
Yıldırım, Binali, 1443
Youth engagement, 837, 843
Youth participants, 697
Youth unemployment, 864