

Towards a Renaissance in Communication for Social Change

Redefining the Discipline and Practice in the Post 'Arab Spring' Era¹

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Abstract

Worldwide, we have experienced a resurgence in practices of bottom-up communication for social change, a plethora of agency in which voice, citizenship and collective action have centre stage as core values, principles and practices. This resurgence sparks a series of questions; How are these new calls for social change and their principles and communicative practices influencing and informing the thinking and practice of institutionalized communication for development and social change? And what are the underlying conceptual differences in the notions of action, participation and social change which inform the new generation of social movements, on one side, and the established field of communication for social change, on the other? These are the questions that drive this chapter.

Keywords: social movements, communication for development, communication for social change, agency, new digital media, social media, 'Arab Spring'

Introduction

When teaching communication for social change, I often start courses and lectures by outlining the contradiction in terms inherent in the concept of 'Communication for Social Change'. It assumes that by communicating in particular ways the group or organization behind the communication intervention can orchestrate a particular change process, be it changes in behaviour, social or even political change. However, if we look back into history, we are more often proved wrong in this assumption. Major changes in the development of society have historically been bottom-up processes, growing from groups of people that have mobilized, organized and advocated their cases – communicating their causes and achieving their rights.

The women's movement in the late 19th century and early 20th century is one obvious example. The civil rights movement in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s is another. Many of the social movements fighting the Latin American military dictatorships in the 1970s and especially the 1980s are other examples. These movements were successful at claiming a voice and a space for their protagonists and successful at articulating civic and collective action – and they have ultimately been successful at enhancing citizens' claims for a role in the development of their society.

Today we seem to be witnessing similar bottom-up processes in the form of the social movements emerging across the globe – the Arab Spring, the Occupy Movement, the Autonomous Movement, wider civil society's use of Ushahidi, the Indignados. These are names and slogans given to processes of social mobilization and collective action that have at least one common denominator: the call for a more inclusive development process in which the unemployed, the youth, women, the poor, the marginalized, or simply the citizen on a low income demand to be heard.

The new digital media is playing a central role in these contemporary social movements, circulating information, opening spaces for social critiques and facilitating new forms of social mobilization. In this respect, 2011 was a seminal year, which gave rise to many social movements of continuing importance.

While the crucial role of the media and communication in processes of social change has become ever more evident, this growing recognition is ironically not primarily connected to the field of communication for development and social change – neither as it has come to be institutionalized as a communication practice in large development agencies nor as it is taught in academia. Most development agencies are focused on developing vertical spaces for participation, in which target audiences, through strategic communicative interventions, are 'invited' to participate, gain knowledge, deliberate, debate and change behaviour. However, these communication for social change practices have little or nothing in common with the new generation of social movements.

The differences between an institutionalized communication for development (ComDev) practice and the ways social movements mobilize and communicate for social justice and social change are in part explained by their different approaches to participation. The development agencies largely understand participation as social processes closely tied to programme and project cycles and the underlying logics that inform their organizational inertia (Tufte and Mefalopulos 2009). Citizen-led participatory processes such as those seen during the many social mobilizations in 2011 are a difficult match with the logics of most development organizations.

While very much engaged in participation and citizen-driven processes, the development organizations seem hardly able to connect with what is happening in the horizontal spaces of deliberation created by contemporary social movements. Substantial social mobilizations occurring outside formal institutional and political arenas are generating previously unseen processes of deliberation, social and political critique, collective action and social change. However, they

are doing this without clear organizational structures, no fixed membership, no explicit communication strategy on paper and, in many ways, as a movement 'in flux' that is difficult to clearly identify, monitor and evaluate. Many contemporary social movements are a fit with the 'segmented, polycentric, integrated networks' (SPIN)-type groups (Gerlach and Hines 1968), which Gerlach and Hines defined in 1968 and which Lance Bennett has reflected on more recently:

Unlike armies, most global activist networks do not display a hierarchical command organization. And unlike mobs, they have considerably more refined communication and deliberative capacities. Perhaps the best account of the type of movement organization that enables vast networks to pursue diverse social justice goals on a global level is the SPIN model proposed by Gerlach and Hines (1968), and updated by Gerlach (2001). (Bennett 2003)

The dominant discourses used within communication for development and social change today have primarily grown out of organizations that produce institutionalized communication in the form of 'campaigns' and similar invited communicative practices. In contrast to these spaces of communicative practice, the social movements use media and communication technologies as a practice embedded in the spaces they create outside of formal systems of governance and social organization – spaces they claim, demand and occupy. It is this intriguing gap between invited system-driven spaces for communication and participation and the bottom-up, informal and non-institutionalized spaces which ought to provoke the 'establishment' organizations engaged in communication for development and social change.

This gap has always been there, as is demonstrated most expressively in the communication for social change practices coming out of the Latin American social movements of the past five decades (Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte 2006). It is, however, being rearticulated today, in the many social movements that swept across the globe in 2011 from the tent camps in Israel to angry students in Chile, from Malawians frustrated by the political impasse to the marginalized British youth who took to the streets.

Worldwide, we have experienced a resurgence in practices of bottom-up communication for social change, a plethora of agency in which voice, citizenship and collective action have centre stage as core values, principles and practices. It is this resurgence which sparks a series of questions:

- How are these new calls for social change and their principles and communicative practices influencing and informing the thinking and practice of institutionalized communication for development and social change?
- What are the underlying conceptual differences in the notions of action, participation and social change which inform the new generation of social movements, on one side, and the established field of communication for social change, on the other?

These are the questions that drive this chapter.

Given the thought-provoking gap outlined above, I argue below that communication for development and social change, both as a scholarly field and a communicative practice, is at a fundamental crossroads. In the light of new digital media developments and increased citizen engagement through these media, ComDev as a discipline and practice is being fundamentally challenged. Second, I reflect on and explore how the network society and media developments are creating new dynamics between citizens and decision makers. I argue that the recent developments are stirring up our thinking in a highly productive manner, as a 'wake-up call' forcing us to critically re-examine current schools of thought and produce new insights regarding how we conceptualize and use media and communication to articulate behavioural change, social justice and political transformation.

I conduct a brief review of current schools of thought, analysing three recent typologies of ComDev thinking and practice. The first is Linje Manyozo's outline of six schools of thought within communication for development. Manyozo's typology places theories, people and communicative practices in a geographical and institutional matrix (Manyozo 2004, 2006). The second typology is my own generational organization of the field, outlining three generations of communication for development and placing them in a heuristic matrix structured along 10 conceptual characteristics (Tufte 2004). Finally, I review Rafael Obregon and Mario Mosquera's convergence model, which identifies a range of characteristics in the field, placing them in a continuum and arguing that there is no single approach but only flexibility and convergence between all the options on this continuum (Obregon and Mosquera 2005). All three typologies predate the latest winds of social mobilization and technological developments.

The concluding section of the chapter reflects on how the new social movements and new digital media developments are combining to reopen the field of ComDev to the virtues and potential of bottom-up processes of change, articulating a renaissance in our discipline and field of practice, helping us to regenerate core values and principles and formulate new heuristic, conceptual and analytical frameworks with which to understand the current and future role of citizens and their claims for participation in more inclusive development processes.

Communication for development at a crossroad

My initial claim is that communication for development and social change, as both a scientific discipline and a communicative practice, is at a crossroads. Four major issues speak to this:

a) The emergence of a new generation of social movements as key players in development processes is challenging power structures in society. Although they have some similar traits to the identity-based *post-material* social movements that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s (Ingelhardt 1977; Tourraine 1981; Melucci 1985), known as the 'new social movements', the current wave of social

movements seem also to articulate highly material demands for jobs, income, housing, food and education – social and economic rights issues familiar from the social movements of the industrial era. In the context of the current global wave of social movements, Thompson and Tapscott remind us to be cautious about our understanding of social movements as being too caught up in Western paradigms (2010: 2-4).

b) The development and proliferation of mobile telephony and the Internet contribute to the articulation of new social and political dynamics: new relations are emerging between decision makers and citizens, between media and activists, and between offline and online spaces of deliberation (Lievrouw 2011; Sáez 2011; Thomas 2012). However, the new media developments are also resulting in private media companies emerging as strong drivers of change, promoting and reinforcing a market-driven economy and process of development;

c) Civil society has undergone a massive transformation in the past 15-20 years, locally, nationally and transnationally (Albrow et al. 2008; Gaventa and Tandon 2010). Non-governmental organizations in particular have conquered a central role in development processes as key agents of advocacy and change. This is leading to new power relations in governance processes;

d) Finally, the changing political economy of the development industry and the underlying change in concepts of development are increasingly relativizing and making more complex what is meant by development. The Western discourse on development is losing its global dominance. A fundamental questioning of the Western models of development that have dominated development discourses in the post-Second World War era has led to the post-development discourses which are emerging in global scholarship as a range of new paradigms of development. The new paradigms range from China's technocratic growth model, centred around their own national economic growth mixed with Confucianism, to Latin American claims of a sustainable development process informed by notions of 'buen vivir' (Silva 2011), which resonate with some dimensions of the Bhutanese Gross National Happiness index that is receiving growing international attention (Ura and Galay 2004).

All four dimensions – a new generation of social movements, the proliferation of new digital media, the growth and expansion of civil society and a strengthening of post-development discourses – are defining new contexts, stakeholders and dynamics within which we have to redefine the discipline and practice of communication for development and social change.

Social movements and social media

In the aftermath of the turbulent year of 2011, a whole sub-discipline in media and communication studies is gaining ground, analysing and theorizing about social movements, insurgent politics and new forms of deliberation and communication. Predating this new trend, John Downing spent years pulling together a massive compilation of social movement media (Downing 2010) that illustrates the breadth of both historical and contemporary experience of social movements using the media and communication in pursuance of their agendas. It clearly

illustrates that the use of the media by social movements is nothing new – it has just become more visible and widespread with the advent of the ‘Arab Spring’ and associated movements. It is, however, fair to say that the dynamic relations emerging between uses of social media and social mobilization are only briefly touched on in Downing’s encyclopedia. Although many of the examples assembled predate the era of social media activism, they are illustrative of the multiple forms of communication used in social movements.

In his book ‘Communication Power’ (2009), Manuel Castells reinforces the potential for ‘mass self-communication’ which social media open up the possibility of:

[I]n a world marked by the rise of mass self-communication, social movements and insurgent politics have a chance to enter the public space from multiple sources. By using both horizontal communication networks and mainstream media to convey their images and messages, they increase their chances of enacting social and political change – even if they start from a subordinate position in institutional power, financial resources, or symbolic legitimacy (Castells 2009: 302).

Castells shows the strategic role new social media have played in articulating social and political change. However, he does not go so far as to link communication theory with social movement theory.

A useful attempt to build this theoretical bridge is found in the work of Anastasia Kavada (Kavada 2011). In bringing together social movement theory, political communication and organizational communication Kavada develops a conceptual framework and a typology with which to understand and argue the centrality of media and communication in social movements. Her typology outlines four flows of digital communication: from ‘membership negotiation’ to ‘organizational self-structuring’ and ‘activity coordination’ to ‘institutional positioning’. Kavada’s conceptual framework is a promising outline of how we can bring analysis of media and communication practices close to social movement theory.

Media and citizenship

As we all know, the relation between the production of media content, technology and audiences has undergone a significant transformation in recent years. Fundamentally, what is happening is that the development of new digital media – especially mobile telephones and the Internet – have altered the relationship between sender and receiver in communication processes. This is a fundamental change in the logic and practice of communication that is forcing us to rethink how we both conceptualize and practice communication for development.

On the one hand, concepts such as ‘prosumer’, ‘produser’ and similar notions indicate the breakdown of traditional dichotomies in the classical line and logic of linear models of communication. A consumer is also a producer and, more generically, a user of the media can also produce media content themselves. Audiences become receivers, and receivers audiences.

On the other hand, such concepts as public connection, public sphere engagement, citizen journalism, participatory journalism, citizen media and civic engagement are all part of the growing international research interest in the active involvement of citizens with the media, communication and social change. These new concepts all speak to a research field on the move.

The academic perception of the new digital media's role in development and social change processes is usually seen as either revolutionizing our organization of time, space and social relations, or just 'business as usual', that is, as an extension of the 'old' media and its role in society. My approach to new digital media is to stress both these traits. Many cases demonstrate that the Internet and mobile telephony offer an extension of established media and communication practices while also providing new social dynamics that are challenging the established social order.

This 'co-evolution' of new and old media opens up for some still unknown and yet to be explored social uses of media. Some of these uses are, I argue, a manifestation of citizenship in everyday life. This argument is based on a notion of citizenship in which social practice is grounded in everyday experiences and where enhancing citizenship is about more than the right to vote. It is about ordinary people being 'the claimants of development' rather than just being the beneficiaries (Gaventa 2005: xii).

Citizenship is not just a set of rights and responsibilities 'bestowed by the state', but a multidimensional social practice that speaks to the identities and actions of people themselves. Citizens are not only audiences or receivers of communication-based strategies for change. They are equally as much to be seen as participants in or activists for change.

Civic action is thus the active manifestation of citizens as claimants of development, a process in which identity and action come together in deliberate communicative action for social change. Becoming media producers, citizen journalists and bloggers, and taking on similar participatory roles in a mediated development process are part and parcel of this process.

Voice, space and the challenge of a neoliberal development paradigm

I claim above that we, as ComDev scholars, stand at a crossroads in our understanding of how to conceptualize and practice communication for development. Two points should be made. The first is that new digital media developments do indeed offer us a new communication model which is not linear, one-way or top-down. It is dynamic, interactive and multidirectional, and it opens up multiple forms of citizen engagement. However, the other point to be made is that we must be cautious about overestimating the role of social media in articulating the political changes we have seen happening in, for example, Tunisia and Egypt. Enthusiastic uses of the media are at most, I would claim, chipping away the top of an iceberg full of unemployment, dissatisfaction, frustration, poverty and subdued human rights. People's discontent with not being included in the development processes of their own countries – these are not new sentiments

– are now being articulated on a massive scale and reaching mainstream public spheres, in addition to sparking many change processes.

Fundamental to these discussions is a renewed claim for voice. After historical exclusions of citizens' voices in so many development processes worldwide, these unfair development processes are now being challenged, and 2011 marks an epochal shift in this regard. This ties in well with the critique by the British scholar Nick Couldry of the neoliberal development processes that characterize our times (Couldry 2010).

Couldry formulates a fundamental critique of the neoliberal development paradigm which has influenced the large development organizations across the globe. His main criticism is that our ways of thinking development have historically not been very inclusive. There have not been proper ways and means to secure citizens a solid voice in the processes of development. He concludes his book by outlining the challenges of a post-neoliberal politics, and some of the important new resources such a politics can draw on. He speaks of the 'new technologies of voice' (Couldry 2010: 139), outlining five new possibilities which media and technology are enabling. These are:

First, that *the new technologies are allowing voice in public for a vastly increased range of people*. This is already apparent, although issues of lack of access, resources and competencies still produce significant digital divides.

Second, *a greatly increased mutual awareness of these new voices has emerged*. We can circulate more stories, quicker and to more and more peers. In other words, the imagined communities Benedict Anderson spoke about in the era of the mass media a few decades ago (Anderson 1983) have materialized as real-time networked communities for a growing proportion of the world population.

Third, we are seeing *new scales of organization thanks to the Internet*. Events during the Arab Spring are case in point. Many demonstrations are being organized through web-based communications. This ties in well with Kavada's emphasis on 'organizational self-structuring' (Kavada, 2011).

Fourth, *our understanding of the spaces that are needed for political organization has now changed*. As the US political scientist Lance Bennett has argued, the dynamic network becomes the unit of analysis in which all other levels – organizational, individual and political – can be analysed more coherently. Once again, however, this is the case in some societies but not in others.

Finally, and very importantly, all the above-mentioned changes are generating the potential for *new forms of listening*. This resonates with Wendy Quarry and Ricardo Ramirez' call for stronger attention to 'listening before telling' in ComDev practice (Quarry and Ramirez 2010). Governments are now no longer able to say that they cannot hear the voices of the people as new relations are possible between citizens and politicians.

Although cautious about how to assess these opportunities, Couldry's outline provides interesting analytical pathways for the ComDev scholar to analyse and for the ComDev practitioner to strategize around. While the massive social uprisings of 2011 used new digital media in their articulation of strong voices against

the socially and politically excluding forces of current development processes, Couldry's outline of the 'technologies of voice' constitutes a resource for moving beyond the neoliberal development paradigm.

Drivers of change

Within the recent history of development we have seen a rapid and significant global development of civil society. There has been an enormous growth in the number of organizations, and this has changed relations between citizens and decision makers. Some scholars even speak of the *NGO-ification* of development (see the chapter by Manyozo in this volume).

In the midst of this development of civil society, civil society-driven media platforms are growing and inviting citizens to engage and participate. These platforms typically use the mass media – the printed media and community media platforms – but they are also rapidly opening up to the new opportunities for citizen-driven media production, in both news and other forms of content production. Kavada deals in more detail with Internet-based media platforms (Kavada, forthcoming).

One example of a civil society-driven media platform is Femina HIP, the largest of its kind in East Africa, with eight different media outlets in Tanzania, including the two of the largest print magazines in the country, a successful television talk show and a radio drama. Femina HIP is an NGO with aspirations to create a social movement for youth across the country in order to engage in Tanzania's development process (Tufté 2011).

An innovative example of using social media platforms for mobilization, documentation and deliberation is Ushahidi in Kenya, crowd-mapping software that is increasingly being used to engage citizens with a variety of development challenges. As a web- and mobile phone-based platform it aggregates and channels the concerns and observations of citizens, serving a number of Kenyan NGOs as a useful media platform for advocacy and accountability purposes. As an integrated platform built on an independent, open source framework, it was picked up and used in a variety of other contexts from the aftermath of the devastating earthquake in Haiti in 2010 to activists' struggles for human rights in Syria in 2012.

The common denominator is that these civil society-driven media platforms invite citizens to engage with particular social, human rights or political problems – detecting violations and abuse and reporting them, and voicing both individual and community concerns in the process. In other words, they allow for processes of what Kavada calls 'activity coordination' when analysing social movements and their use of media and communication (Kavada 2011).

It is fair to say that the boundaries between social movements and civil society organizations are sometimes difficult to draw. The above two examples from East Africa illustrate this point. Ushahidi is a crowd-mapping tool developed by

an NGO and used increasingly by activists both in Kenya and abroad, while Femina HIP's successful proliferation of their many media outlets illustrates that NGO's aspirations to connect with its potential constituency and articulate a social movement among Tanzania's youth.

Among the key questions that are emerging are: How, and to what extent, are these emerging media platforms altering relations between decision makers and citizens? Are they leading to new spaces for deliberation and public debate, and to new spaces for critique and civic action? Are they invited spaces or claimed spaces? And what difference would this make? These new dynamics need to be much better understood.

In addition to civil society drivers of change, it is important to remember that other stakeholders are also emerging. The new telecommunications companies are significant drivers of change in Latin America and Africa, but also globally. Their ability to provide networks and telephones to a vast population seems to be altering everyday life in fundamental ways. It lies beyond the scope of this chapter to explore this development, but the fact that mobile telephony and increasingly the Internet are becoming accessible and being used intensively identifies the need for new media and communication research as well as broader social science research that explores how the intensified use of social media in everyday life relates to social change processes.

Redefining the discipline and practice in the post-arab spring era

This chapter has focused on some of the developments that have led me to call for a fundamental review of ComDev thinking and practice. They centre around two key issues:

- First, the fact that massive social mobilizations contesting political dictatorships, financial crises and mass unemployment have produced a wake-up call around the social and broader societal costs that many decades of autocratic leadership and neoliberal development thinking have produced.
- Second, the new global wave of activism outside of formal institutions and organizations and linked to new digital media developments have brought powerful dynamics into the equation of relations between citizens, the state, government, the media and the private sector;

In the midst of this call for a review of ComDev, an important question emerges: What exactly in the field of ComDev thinking and practice needs reviewing? I return here to the recurrent discussions on the definition of the ComDev field. I perceive three common denominators for ComDev as we have commonly known it: a normative framing of development committed to questions of social justice, equity and human rights; an institutionalized practice of communication; and, consequently, the use of strategic forms of communication.

We can then ask: Where do the recent social uprisings and the communicative lessons learned from them leave the ComDev field? Has the high social cost of neoliberal development, the re-emergence of non-formal activism outside of institutions and the multidirectional, open-ended use of communication through the new digital media made ComDev as we know it obsolete? Have we reached the passing of a field of theorizing and practice in communication for social change, which has been overrun by communication for social change in real-time, non-formal, activist-oriented settings? Probably not: we will continue to see the institutionalized practice of health communication, knowledge-sharing systems in the rural sector, environmental education campaigns, peace communication and community communication, to mention just some of the core areas of ComDev practice.

In his 2006 book, *Global Movements: Action and Culture*, Kevin McDonald distinguishes between two complementary paradigms when conceptualizing social movements. I would argue that his is a distinction we can use to differentiate the two key lines of ComDev practice that I outline in this chapter: the more established ComDev practice know from governments, United Nations agencies and large NGOs, on one side, contrasted with the new generation of social movements that have become visible since the 'Arab Spring' and the associated social mobilizations in 2011. McDonald distinguishes between *the institutional paradigm* and *the identity paradigm* of communicative action. The first understands 'action as strategy and maximizing opportunity' (McDonald 2006: 214) with a focus on strategy, rationality, calculation, and opportunity (ibid.: 215). The second is about articulating experiences of 'something greater', or the deindividualization of action (Marshall 2002), and thus the formation of the unstructured collective, the 'communitas' (McDonald 2006: 216).

It is my argument in this chapter that in the light of the 2011 uprisings across the globe, we as researchers of ComDev need to revisit our notions of development, and our perceptions and uses of media and communication, and reconsider the possibilities and limitations of strategizing our way to social change. McDonald's identity paradigm offers an alternative which is very much in line with the thematic focuses of the social movements that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, but the question remains how to conceive of the forms of participation and civic action that we see occurring today, and whether and how they fit into the dichotomy outlined above. McDonald argues in his book for a third paradigm, one which moves beyond seeing action as representation, and beyond action understood in intentional terms (McDonald 2006: 214). Based on a series of case studies of current or recent social movements, McDonald concludes his book by underlining the importance of 'embodiment as practice', where embodied experience is a 'mode of presence and engagement' which goes beyond a claim for representation. This, I believe, could be a useful starting point for an analysis of ComDev and its possibilities as a field of action in the post-Arab Spring era.

Conducting such a full analysis lies far beyond the scope of this chapter, but in preparing for this emerging ComDev agenda, I focus on revisiting some of the recent systematic framings of the field.

Typologizing communication for development and social change

In a 2004 outline of the field of ComDev, the Malawian media and communication scholar, Linje Manyozo, suggested bringing together the many stakeholders involved around the three nodes of geographical setting, institution and ideology. He outlined six schools of thought: the Latin America School; the Bretton Woods School; the Los Baños School; the African School; the Indian School; the Post-Freire School; and Participatory Development Communication (Manyozo 2004 and 2006). Although somewhat confusing in his mixing of mentions of individual scholars, media, strategies, geographies and institutions, the outline communicates the key point that communication for development and social change is a broad field, with institutions, scholars and communication experience spread all over the globe and a breadth of theories. Ironically enough, however, there is no mention of the Arab world, from where some of the most prominent recent communication for social change processes have emerged.

About the same time as Manyozo's typology appeared, two other models were published, my own 'Three Generations of ComDev' and 'The Convergence Model in ComDev' developed by the Colombian scholars Rafael Obregon and Mario Mosquera. My own model, first published in the Nordic Yearbook on Youth, Media and Communication in 2004 (Tufte 2004) and later reprinted in Hemer and Tufte (2005), was concerned about identifying the key conceptual characteristics underlying different forms of entertainment-education known in institutionalized communication practices, and demonstrating that other approaches existed beyond those practices embedded in the dominant diffusion-oriented communication paradigm.

My work with entertainment-education was a pretext for exploring ComDev in general, and I have since reiterated the point that the three generations exist not only within entertainment-education, but also in communication for development more broadly. In outlining the three generations in ComDev thinking and ComDev practice, I have sought inspiration from the 'classical' dichotomy which many ComDev typologies have revolved around – that of diffusion approaches versus participatory approaches. Everett Rogers and Paulo Freire have in that sense come to stand as the core thinkers and representatives for each of their communication for development paradigms. Nancy Morris has delivered a useful elaboration of this in her analysis of health communication practice (Morris 2005).

My Three-generation Model, presented below as Figure 1, serves as a heuristic framework with which to analyse communication for development practice. I argue that there are three overall conceptual approaches represented in the three generations. The first is that of diffusion of innovations, focused on dissemination of information and tied closely to behaviour change communication. The second is a life skills approach to communication, promoting the development of core life skills or competencies based primarily on educational communication. The third is that of communication for social change, which emerges from Freire's liberating pedagogy and the principles of dialogic communication. It is the nature of the development problem to which they seek to respond that defines the core difference between the generations. It is also important to note that the

heuristic framework offers ten core concepts to consider in the analysis of the individual ComDev experience and for assessing whether it relates mostly to a first, second or third generation approach.

Figure 1. Three generations of communication for development

Communication for Development	1st Generation	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
Definition of Problem	Lack of information	Lack of information and skills	Structural inequality Power relations Social conflict
Notion of culture	Culture as obstacle	Culture as ally	Culture as 'way of life'
Notion of catalyst	External change agent	External catalyst in partnership with community	Internal community member
Notion of education	Banking pedagogy Persuasion	Life skills Didactics	Liberating pedagogy
Notion of audience	Segments Target groups Passive	Participants Target groups Active	Citizens Active
What is communicated?	Messages	Messages and situations	Social issues and Problems
Notion of change	Individual behaviour Social norms	Individual behaviour Social norms Structural conditions	Individual behaviour Social norms Power relations Structural conditions
Expected Outcome	Change of norms and individual behaviour Numerical results	Change of norms and individual behaviour Public and private debate	Articulation of political and social processes Structural change Collective action
Duration of activity	Short term	Short and mid term	Mid- and long term

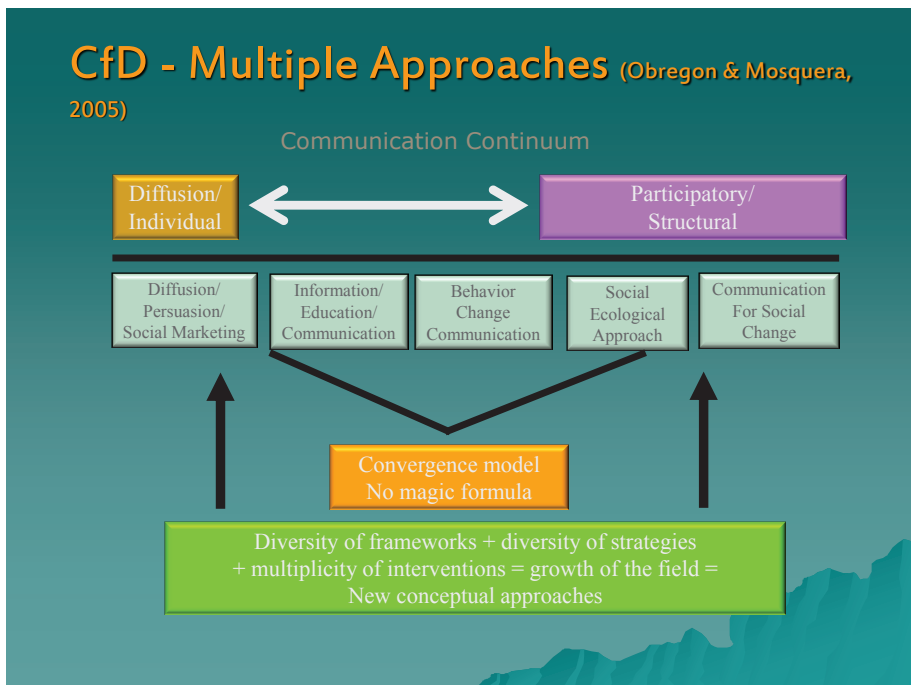
Source: Tufte (2004)

The 'Convergence Model', which appeared in the form of a heuristic framework in 2005 (Obregon and Mosquera 2005), offers another take on ComDev. Emerging out of an in-depth analysis of communication approaches within health communication, it has since been developed into a more clear-cut typology of interventions (see Figure 2). This typology distinguishes between diffusion/persuasion/social marketing; information, education and communication (IEC) approaches; behaviour change communication; the social ecological model; and communication for social change. Obregon and Mosquera make the point that most communication for development practice draws on a mix of these typologies. It speaks to the pragmatism of the field, is less ideological and theory driven than is argued by Manyozo, and more dynamic than my model implies.

When examining the three typologies of ComDev outlined in this section, a few common traits emerge. First, they all emerge from the *institutionalized* practice of communication, tied up with the logic of thinking of an organiza-

tion or a system in which broader and deeper questions of development and social change often are left aside. Second, they all tend to contain an implicit imperative of predefined goals. This resonates with the age old discussion within communication for development: To what degree are the NGOs, governments or United Nations agencies that 'do' ComDev willing to surrender their agendas and reformulate the direction of their campaigns, their message, the participants, their duration, and so on? How do they relate to the principles of the 'identity paradigm' driving the new social movements of the past three or four decades? And how much, if at all, do they contemplate the form of action McDonald's calls for when he argues for the 'embodiment of practice' as a form of 'action to understand', and one which brings us beyond 'just' considering action to be about representation (McDonald 2006: 214-215).

Figure 2. The 'Convergence Model' in ComDev



Source: Obregon and Mosquera (2005)

It lies within the logic of this analysis that typologies are generalizations of practice which cannot capture the depth and breadth of actual practice. Having said that, contrasting the new generation of social movements and their social and communicative dynamics with the established practices of communication for development as represented above is a thought-provoking exercise from which

a series of features emerge for ComDev scholars and practitioners to consider. These are outlined below.

Towards a renaissance in communication for social change

I write above about the thought-provoking gap between invited, system-driven spaces for communication and participation and the bottom-up, informal and non-institutionalized spaces. I analysed some of the practices of communication for social change emerging especially out of the latest generation of social movements and materializing in their activist-driven claims for influence, visibility, participation and inclusion in society. From there I moved on to a brief presentation and analysis of some recent typologies and conceptualizations of the ComDev field – conceived and practiced as a system-driven communicative practice.

Now, I wish to outline some of the key challenges I see for the reformulation of communication for development and social change at this moment in history, following the ‘revolutionary year’ of 2011. The above analysis has helped me identify five constitutive features which I believe will challenge the field of communication for development and social change in the future.

First, *the concept of development* will – once again – require profound debate. At a time when the Western economic growth model is in a state of fundamental crisis, and when alternatives have been emerging and discussed for decades, how do communication for development scholars and practitioners position themselves? From Fanon’s post-colonial thoughts and Escobar’s post-development discourse, onwards to the Buddhism-inspired Gross National Happiness index currently being operationalized in Bhutan, how do scholars and practitioners in the ComDev field relate to these and other takes on development and social change, be they ecological, human rights-based or something else? A clear and explicit normative stance is fundamental to guiding the interpretation of the problems we, the citizens, mobilize, strategize and advocate for, be it from inside or outside systems and organizations.

Second, the new social movements have re-emphasized the need to recognize *power struggles as a core context* in which we communicate for development and social change. *Governance is part and parcel of this debate*, as governance is about having the power to administer the resources of a society. Participatory governance is about citizens having a role to play in these processes beyond the mere election of politicians at election time.

Empowerment has become a rather neutralized concept in recent years, but the fact that some people have power and administer resources is a key premise to consider. Stronger attention to the power struggles and the dynamics and practices of governance can help guide communication for development and social change. The concept of ‘*cyberculture*’ can help us further theorize the field. Cyberculture should not be conceptualized as it was within Internet studies in the 1990s. Cyberculture, as Jorge Gonzalez conceptualizes it, is about

ordinary people's cultures of governance, cyber meaning 'to govern' in Greek (Gonzalez 2009).

Third, recent media developments have led to *a proliferation of new spaces of deliberation, participation and agency*. Public debate has long been recognized as a founding pillar of democratic development, but the participants in and spaces for debate are changing. Couldry's emphasis on the technologies of voice in a post-neoliberal politics is a condition to factor into communication for development and social change. Multiple public spheres are generating many different voices.

Fourth, as the network society evolves, and social media become integrated into the social practices of everyday life in more and more places on the globe, we see an increased dissolution between previously separate forms of communication, with interpersonal communication on one side and mass communication on the other.

Central to this process, we see *polyphony emerging as a communicative condition of our times*. In music, polyphony is a texture consisting of two or more independent melodic voices. With networked social relations and practices of communication, many today communicate with many in a mix of online and offline practices. The most significant feature seems to be the network character of social relations and forms of communication, allowing a multiplicity of voices to speak together. This is setting new standards and producing new logics of communication.

We have for a long time been witnessing a transition from the dominance of monologic media formats working with one-way communication to dialogic media formats working with two-way communication. Increasingly, we are now moving to polyphonic media formats working with networked communication occurring between many stakeholders at the same time. This is becoming a key premise for any communication in our time. It is loosely connected with the notion of an emerging polymedia communicative environment, as developed by Mirca Madianou and Daniel Miller in their in-depth ethnographic study of family communication in migrant families (Madianou and Miller 2012).

Finally, influencing power structures, having a voice or gaining a say in processes of social and political change *are a growing articulation of tactics by citizens*, citizens who are becoming claimants of development, mobilizing in social movements and, in this context, articulating tactics to engage in development and social change. According to Michel de Certeau (1984), tactics are the efforts made by ordinary people to create spaces for themselves, whereby they can overcome the strategies or the power structures to which they are subjected. The response to this from ordinary citizens is to seek to develop citizen tactics – ways and means of carving out their own use and meaning in everyday life. In contrast to the traditional journalistic perspective, the agency lies not with the media house or the journalist but with the ordinary citizen.

By considering citizen tactics within the communicative dynamics of the network society, institutions – be they NGOs, states, governments or private companies – can develop a sensitivity to the citizen, listening and holding con-

versations with them in order to understand them better. Without losing sight of the political economy side of things, institutions in society might well see the centre of agency and social transformation develop in the hands of citizens. This may well be the most profound challenge for the field of communication for development and social change in the future.

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Notes

- 1 An earlier version of this chapter was published in Spanish: 'Hacia un renacimiento de la comunicación para el cambio social. Redefiniendo la disciplina y la práctica en la era post – 'Primavera Árabe''. In: M. Martínez y F. Sierra (eds) (2012). *Comunicación y Desarrollo. Prácticas comunicativas y empoderamiento local*. Barcelona: Gedisa.