Participatory communication and community resilience:
A case study of humanitarian radio in the Philippines after typhoon Haiyan

Viviane Lucia Fluck

February 2017

Thesis submitted to the School of Politics, Philosophy and Language, University of East Anglia, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Abstract

This thesis investigates if and how participatory communication can contribute to community resilience in a disaster context. Investigating a longitudinal case study of Radyo Bakdaw, a humanitarian radio station in the Philippines, I focus on two key areas of participatory communication: access to information and community inclusion. I use the concept of social capital in the forms of generalised reciprocity, accountability, mental wellbeing and relationship building as a tool to investigate community resilience.

The rising impact of natural hazard-related disasters has seen a call by policy actors to build community resilience. While grey and academic resilience literature frequently mention communication, thorough understanding of it is often lacking, especially on the details of communication processes and their impact.

This reveals the need for empirical academic research to contribute to a critical and more nuanced understanding regarding if and how participatory communication can build and strengthen community resilience. The thesis addresses this lack of detail and empirical research, by examining different types of participatory communication and how these may contribute to community resilience in a disaster context.

My research is based on a longitudinal single case study of a humanitarian radio station, Radyo Bakdaw, in the Philippines. I use both qualitative and quantitative research methods, adopting an embedded research approach with participatory elements. The case study was researched during two field trips (lasting 10 and 12 weeks) to the Philippines after super typhoon Haiyan, one month and eight months after the typhoon made landfall.

Ultimately, my thesis offers new and original evidence on where different types of participatory communication can and cannot contribute to characteristics of community resilience, and shows how participatory communication works in a humanitarian context. The thesis further provides an innovative framework of how to empirically investigate participatory communication in a humanitarian context.

Table of Contents

List of figures

List of tables

Abbreviations

AAP	Accountability to Affected Populations
C4D	Communication for Development
CDAC Network	Communicating with disaster affected communities Network
CwC	Communicating with Communities
DSWD	Department of Social Welfare and Development
DRR	Disaster risk reduction
FGD	Focus group discussion
HAP	Humanitarian Accountability Project
HFA	Hyogo Framework for Action
HIS	Humanitarian information service
ICT	Information and communications technology
IFRC	International Federation of the Red Cross
INGO	International non-governmental organisation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
LGBT	Lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, transgender
LGU	Local government unit
MSF	Médicins Sans Frontières
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
SFDRR	Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction
SMS	Standard Message Service (text messaging)
UNOCH	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNDAC	United Nations Disaster Assessment and Coordination
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNISDR	United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction
UNWHO	United Nations World Health Organisation

Glossary

Non-English indigenous terms will be marked in italics. Radyo Bakdaw and Radyo Natin are names and therefore not shown in italics.

Ate	Respectful form of address to a woman older than you
Barangay	The smallest administrative division of the Philippines
Barangay Capitana/Captain	The highest elected *Barangay* official
Barangay Councillor	Elected member of a *Barangay* Council
Hiya	Shame, embarrassment or fear of losing face
Kuya	Respectful form of address to a man older than you
Pakikisama	Getting along with others
Pakikipakapwa	Relating to others
Po	Respectful form of address to a woman or man older than you
Sari-sari store	A convenience store/stand for basic groceries, mobile phone cards etc.
Utang Na Loob	Debt of gratitude

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr Sanna Inthorn and Dr Martin Scott, for supporting me throughout my PhD with their vast experience, critical feedback and humour. It is a rare privilege to go to supervisory meetings knowing one will leave them more motivated and light hearted.

My deepest gratitude to all my research participants in Eastern Samar for taking time out of their busy schedules to answer my questions, but especially to the Radyo Bakdaw team for letting me participate in their work and lives. *Damo nga salamat*! Without you this work would not exist.

I would like to thank Internews, especially Jacobo Quintanilla and Anahi Ayala Iacucci, for inviting a 'nosy researcher' to document Radyo Bakdaw. Moreover, thanks must go to the enumerators helping implement the surveys. I'd also like to thank Brad Mellicker and everybody else who welcomed me to IOM.

Before being handed in, my thesis has travelled from England to Scotland, Germany, Malaysia and Brazil to my fantastic friends to do a final proofread. Thank you for your invaluable help and showing that friendship is borderless (Jo: *'Amitié Sans Frontières'*): Isla, Ricardo, Jo, Carl, Peter, Simran & Liz! Quantitative work was a new territory, which my brilliant friends Eveliina and Francesca helped me to explore. I would also like to thank my online and offline writing group buddies and my Norwich family for their support from near and far. Thanks also goes to the wonderful people at UEA who have helped me progress, especially Lyn Marsh, Dr Matthew Sillence, Jane Abson and Dr Alan Finlayson.

On a more personal note, I would like to thank my family for supporting me even though that meant missing Christmas to do research in the Philippines, and only joining other important moments via skype. Especially, Mama, Gabi, Oma and Hans, Gertrud and Siegfried - You are the best '*endkrasse Herde*' I could wish for. Thanks also to my father. Finally, I would like to thank my partner for supporting me through much needed hugs, love, jokes (ocelots!), copious amounts of tea and snacks, and relieving me of doing anything but writing in the last month of work. *Wir 'fachen' das*.

Chapter 1: Introduction

My research investigates if and how participatory communication can contribute to community resilience against natural hazard-caused disasters. To answer this overarching research question, I am investigating the case of a humanitarian radio station, Radyo Bakdaw, after typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines.

On 8 November 2013, super-typhoon Haiyan (locally known as typhoon Yolanda) made landfall in Guiuan, Eastern Samar, a municipality of 48,939 at the pacific east coast of the Philippines (Acted, 2013, p. 5). Over 6300 people died (USAID, 2014, p. 1). The Philippines are prone to regular typhoons and Eastern Samar in particular is extremely prone to natural hazard related disasters as it lies on a frequent typhoon path and between two fault lines (Haynes & Tanner, 2015, p. 361). In the municipality of Guiuan almost all buildings were destroyed and so was most of the local industry, which mainly consisted of coconut farming and fishery. Winds of up to 320 km/h with gusts of up to 378 km/h (BBC, 2013) damaged electricity and telecommunication networks to an extent that they would not fully function until four months after the storm. Furthermore, the only local radio station in Guiuan - Radyo Natin - was destroyed, which meant that all formal and partly informal channels of communication were completely dysfunctional for the first week. The only way to give or receive information was face-to-face communication. Therefore, most individuals in the affected area had no possibility of knowing if their loved ones were safe or whether help was on the way. As one of the local broadcasters recounted in tears he only found out that his sister and parents, who lived in Guiuan and Cebu, were alive a week after the typhoon struck. At the time of the typhoon the broadcaster was in Ormoc, on the neighbouring island of Leyte. He was still highly emotional when I interviewed him two months after the typhoon and cried when he recounted the moment he first heard that his family was alive and well after the typhoon:

> *'A week after Yolanda, seven or eight days, there was already a signal in Ormoc City, and then one of the TV stations invited me to have an interview. After the interview, I received a text message, it's only a number and they're saying, 'This is your sister in Guiuan'. [cries]* (RB2Sm, FT1[1])

[1] FT 1 stands for field trip 1, FT 2 stands for field trip 1, FU stands for follow-up research.

He continued to explain that his sister's house was destroyed *'[b]ut it is OK that the house is destroyed, but the most important thing is that my family's OK [...]'* (RB2Sm, FT1). This highlights the extreme stress that a lack of information and communication can have on individuals affected by disasters.

One of the early responses to typhoon Haiyan in Guiuan was the establishment of a humanitarian radio station – Radyo Bakdaw – set up by Internews, an international non-governmental organisation (INGO), as a humanitarian information service (HIS), two weeks after the category five storm made landfall on 26 November 2013. The name of the station was picked by the local radio staff and means 'radio rise' (as in 'rise up') in the local language of Waray-Waray, which is widely spoken in Eastern Samar. The station, which went live on 26 November 2013, was initially set up by two international humanitarian aid workers (a communication expert and a radio technician), six local broadcasters and one driver/fixer. Radyo Bakdaw had a strong self-proclaimed community focus stating that '[o]ne goal of the station is to help the community communicate with the humanitarian organizations trying to provide services' (Internews, 2014). For the first four months after typhoon Haiyan Radyo Bakdaw was the only operating radio station in Guiuan and the neighbouring municipalities. Telecommunication networks started working again about a week after the typhoon, however reception was extremely unreliable until February 2014 and the lack of electricity meant that the mobile phones which had not been lost in the storm could rarely be recharged, as electricity was not fully restored everywhere until the spring of 2014. This meant that for the first three months after the typhoon, the immediate response phase, Radyo Bakdaw was the only local source of information which could reach a wider audience and could also be reached by the audience as a central information and communication point. An Internews survey concluded that the station had '45000 adult persons [as listeners] across the 9 municipal areas (based on census data)' (2014a, p. 2). Of course, this reach was nevertheless limited due to factors such as, a lack of radios, electricity and the affected community being busy rebuilding their lives and overcoming the trauma of a major disaster.

I had secured an embedded research post with Internews in which I would document

their work and support some of the day-to-day operations, such as developing an excel sheet to document listener text messages. In return, I received full access to the daily operations of the station and data, such as reports and text messages sent by listeners. I had learned about the station at a Communicating with Disaster Affected Communities (CDAC) network event in December 2013, during which the then Humanitarian Director of Internews, Jacobo Quintanilla, presented the project. His presentation described Radyo Bakdaw as a community centric and participatory project. This meant Radyo Bakdaw seemed like an excellent opportunity to investigate how a communication project that perceived itself as participatory might contribute to how local communities responded to a disaster, ergo how the station could impact on the resilience of the community.

I arrived in Guiuan on 8 December 2013, exactly one month after the typhoon struck. The first day after arriving, I travelled through Guiuan and the neighbouring municipalities with one of the local broadcasters and a radio technician. They were distributing small radio sets to communal places such as hospitals and *Barangay*[2] halls and capturing sound bites for an upcoming radio programme. The radios were happily received because, as Rowena, a woman from *Barangay* Domrog of the municipality of General MacArthur declared: 'we had a total information '*brown out*'[3] after Yolanda'. At most stops we made, people approached us and asked questions about when aid deliveries would arrive and how other parts of Eastern Samar had fared. People were also keen to tell us what kind of support was needed and what impact the typhoon had had on each community.

This illustrates the vital role that communication can play in response to a disaster. Re-establishing connections between community members, information on aid deliveries and greater clarity on the specific functions and responsibilities held by each organisation during a disaster response, are only some of the issues that came up during this first day in Guiuan, and they all relate to the resilience of communities. For instance, it could be argued that if a community is properly

[2] *Barangay* describes the smallest administrative division in the Philippines, normally a village.

[3] In the Philippines, a 'blackout; is referred to as 'brown out'.

informed on which organisation is responsible for rebuilding houses it would be easier to hold said organisation accountable if they fail to provide these promised services.

My case study therefore investigates the different types of participatory communication used by a humanitarian radio station in the Philippines and examines if and how this contributed to different characteristics of community resilience. To circumvent the vagueness of the term resilience I am using the concept of social capital to empirically investigate community resilience. These kinds of community resilience include - but are not limited to - strengthened bridging relationships between different parts of the community that may lead to generalised reciprocity, and linking relationships between the community and power holders such as government institutions that can contribute to accountability in terms of transparency and answerability.

The following section (1.1) will signpost my definition of resilience and its contemporary relevance. Part 1.2 introduces community resilience and briefly elaborates on how to understand the term 'community'. The third section (1.3) will present the main fields of literature my research will be contributing to: participatory communication in the field of communication for development (C4D). The fourth part (1.4) will discuss the precise gaps my research aims to address and the last two sections will introduce the thesis structure (1.5) and overall findings of my research (1.6).

1.1 Resilience

My thesis explores if and how participatory communication may contribute to community resilience and uses characteristics of social capital as concrete indicators for my empirical research. Community resilience can be understood as the capacity of a community to respond to a disaster and resume their lives (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015). I am therefore examining resilience in the response phase of a disaster. I use the definition of disasters by the United Nations Strategy of Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR), who write that disasters are:

> *A serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society involving widespread human, material, economic or environmental losses and impacts, which exceeds the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources.* (n.d., p. 9)

It is important to follow the contemporary relevance of resilience in order to understand why I chose to investigate if and how participatory communication may contribute to it. I am specifically researching disasters related to natural hazards since an increasing number of people are affected by them (Thomas & López, 2015). This is mainly due to the rise in mass urbanisation in areas prone to natural hazards and an increase in climate related hazards caused by climate change (Bourque, Siegel, Kano, & Wood, 2007). Preliminary data of EM-DAT (The International Disaster Database) suggests that 102 countries and 411 million people were affected by disasters caused by natural hazards in 2016 alone (Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters (CRED), 2016, p. 1). More pressingly, the impact of disasters is likely to grow since '[…] exposure of persons and assets [to disasters] in all countries has increased faster than vulnerability has decreased' (UNISDR, 2015, p. 7). This means that building disaster resilience becomes progressively relevant (Birkmann, et al., 2012, p. 8; UNISDR, 2005; UNISDR, 2015; The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), 2016; The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank, 2010).

The need to look at resilience rather than solely focus on disaster response has also been acknowledged by important policy actors, who argue that it is essential to have: '[…] a different approach to humanitarian action, one that strives to strengthen the resilience of vulnerable and at-risk communities. To paraphrase the report: investing in resilience saves lives and money' (The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), 2016, p. 8). This heightened focus on resilience in the humanitarian field was further emphasised through the two most recent disaster risk reduction frameworks: the *Hyogo Framework for Action* (HFA), 'a ten-year plan to make the world safer from natural hazards […] endorsed by the UN General Assembly […] following the 2005 World Disaster Reduction Conference' (UNISDR, 2005) and its successor the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (SFDRR) which was adopted in 2015 and will run until 2030 (UNISDR, 2015). Resilience is also a distinct

part of the Sustainable Development Goals adopted in September 2015, the Paris Agreement on Climate Change adopted in December 2015, and the World Humanitarian Summit in May 2016. Ultimately, this evidences the continued and growing relevance of resilience as a research topic.

Notwithstanding its rising status, there is no clear lead as to how resilience can be defined (Hutter, Kuhlicke, Glade, & Felgentreff, 2013, pp. 1-2; Longstaff, Koslowski, & Geoghegan, 2013), which hinders empirical investigation of the concept. In the widest sense resilience is understood as the ability of a community to cope with the impacts of a disaster. However, the vagueness of the concept can also be beneficial, as this openness may allow us to trace otherwise ignored subtle strands of resilience. Instead of looking for a universal definition I therefore suggest using resilience indicators per a specific research area rather than trying to find one universal definition that fits all fields.

I define disasters as a socio-political problem since the extent of a disaster is often linked to the social and political environment, i.e. vulnerable communities living on floodplains because that is the most affordable place to build a house. Therefore, resilience also needs to consider the social and political aspects of a community. I thus agree with authors who argue that the term 'natural disaster' is misleading as it suggests that disasters are 'an act of God' or nature rather than dependent on social, economic and political factors (The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank, 2010, p. 23). As Perry underlines '[…] there is a general consensus that disasters are best understood in a context of social change' (2007). This underlines that disasters are related to society rather than nature and thus that resilience research also needs to look at communities and stakeholders rather than only focus on for example building stronger infrastructure: hence my focus on community resilience. I have chosen to use social capital as an indicator for resilience, based on Mayunga's five capital approach to resilience and Aldrich's extensive study 'Building Resilience: Social Capital in Post-Disaster Recovery' (2007).

This lack of a definition of resilience may also be a factor in why there is a limited number of publications explaining how the concept could be implemented in humanitarian practice (Mayunga, 2007) and how different fields may contribute to

building resilience. This means that '[c]lear guidance as to how resilience can be promoted is lacking, and resilience remains a conceptual construct' (de Bruijne, Boin, & van Eeten, 2010, p. 28). Mayunga similarly laments that resilience lacks an accepted and tested set of indicators to measure it when operationalised and suggests that a capital based approach may help to address this vagueness (2007). This meagreness of guidance on how to contribute to resilience, paired with an increasingly urgent call for resilience-building by policy actors, means that practitioners may use the concept on a trial and error basis, rather than using evidence-based guidance to advance the concept of resilience further.

This thesis aims to contribute to this contemporary debate of academics and practitioners through empirically investigating how two specific fields – participatory communication and community resilience – manifest themselves within a disaster context and how the former may contribute to the latter. My work offers unprecedented insight into one specific field – participatory communication – and if and how it may contribute to one concrete indicator of community resilience: social capital in a disaster context. My research looks at resilience, as nestled in the humanitarian field, as there has been a drive to increase and build resilience within disaster response (Palttala, Boano, Lund, & Vos, 2012). This relates to an initiative to link the fields of development and humanitarianism, especially in regard to resilience. This means that while I am researching a humanitarian project I will also address questions such as sustainability that relate to the field of development.

1.2 Community resilience

I define community resilience as the capacity of a community to respond and recover from a disaster. To examine this capacity empirically, I will be using the concept of social capital (see chapter 3). In most instances the people affected by a disaster are the first responders: before any national or international support arrives, they, the survivors, will be the first ones to start organising a response to the disaster (International Federation of Red Cross Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), 2004). This is even more acute in a country as risk-prone as the Philippines:

> *'Disasters are simply a fact of life that Filipinos have had to learn to live with over the centuries: they are largely left to their own capacities and capabilities to deal with hazards and the attendant problems that confront them on a daily basis.'* (Bankoff, 2007, p. 328)

In some instances, this self-reliance on community capacity is a necessity because of a lack of government support, as Bankoff describes, while in others it is an additional asset to other aid offered. Either way, there is strong evidence suggesting that capacities of communities - or in other words, their resilience - is a crucial factor in how well a community recovers from a disaster (Aldrich, 2012).

But who precisely is this 'community' whose resilience we are interested in? How exactly the term 'community' is to be understood, is widely debated (Gilchrist, 2000, p. 267) and often not adequately addressed. This struggle is reflected in literature on community resilience, which often fails to define precisely who is being referred to by the term 'the community' (Wickes, Zahnow, Taylor, & Piquero, 2015). Meanwhile, in the humanitarian field 'the affected community' often implicitly includes any individual affected by a disaster. The CDAC Network for instance, speaks about 'people affected by humanitarian crises' and 'local community level' (CDAC Network, 2014), without any specification on whether this 'local' level means a village, a region or something completely different.

For this case study, community is defined as location-bound and in reference to the disaster: the affected population that were in the broadcasting reach of both the case study radio, Radyo Bakdaw, and what was previously the only local radio station in Guiuan, Radyo Natin. This definition limits 'the community' to the municipalities of Guiuan, Salcedo and Mercedes. However, my focus is on the municipality of Guiuan in which both radio stations were located (see chapter 4). This is determined to be the best way to define community for the purposes of this research, as it both encompasses and limits the sample of my case study informants to individuals who have all been affected by the disaster, and who would (theoretically) have had access to both Radyo Bakdaw and Radyo Natin and could therefore potentially compare their experience of the two stations.

My research recognises the diversity and heterogeneity of this sample of the population and the difficulty of adequately examining this diversity using such a wide sample: I address this challenge in more detail in the methodology chapter (chapter 4). However, this definition means that the potentially different approaches of the humanitarian and commercial station (using a participatory and a non- or less participatory approach) could be easier to trace.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that 'community' is a fluid concept, which has changed throughout the course of my research. Within the different themes of my research, 'community' appears to be a negotiated concept, which can be intertwined with emotions, resources, political boundaries or geography. For example, in relation to relief distributions, the community could be distinguished between members of the same *Barangay* versus those of other *Barangays*, e.g. why have *they* received relief when we have not? This definition seems partly due to relief distributions being aligned with the *Barangay* system and geographical and political borders. However, at other times, for instance during social gatherings which were identified as an opportunity to relieve stress and be social together, 'community' took a broader meaning, in which everybody affected was included. Yet another form of community, was the Radyo Bakdaw staff, who seemed to change position between being their own sub-community which interacted with and potentially impacted the wider community, and at other times emphasising themselves being part of the wider affected community and therefore identifying their own suffering from the same issues faced by everybody else (RBFGD, FT2). The impact of the participatory approach on this subgroup of local broadcasters is particularly important to the overarching question of this research (if and how participatory communication can contribute to community resilience) as this group represents the main communicators who are part of the affected community and may contribute to resilience in future disasters (chapter 7).

1.3 Participatory communication

My research brings together the subfield of participatory communication within the

field of development communication or C4D (Communication for Development) and the field of community disaster resilience. By linking these two fields, my research provides new and innovative insight into how participatory communication works in a disaster, and its potential contribution to community resilience. My main contribution is therefore to the field of participatory communication. More specifically, my research aims to further the understanding of participatory communication in a disaster context, what its contributions to resilience may be and how to empirically research it during a humanitarian emergency. The next section will first clarify how I define participatory communication within the thesis and then briefly introduce the wider context of the field of C4D. I will illustrate the contemporary centrality of participatory communication within this field today, to clarify the areas my research contributes to.

Communication has played an important role in international development programmes since the 1950s, when mass media was believed to be a 'silver bullet' capable of changing viewers' or listeners' behaviour (Waisbord, 2001). Central communication ideas were drawn from advertising and cold war propaganda, putting a focus on researching audience behaviours, how media 'affected' audiences, and how to influence them (Quarry & Ramírez, 2009, p. 11; Scott, 2014). Within the area of development, this was translated into the idea that Western development experts should 'send messages' to communities in developing nations through media, to change their behaviour, to 'westernize' and thus develop them (Prasad, 2009, p. 3). This was described as 'top-down' communication, emphasising a communication flow from experts 'down' to the masses. Since then, much has changed in the field of development, and C4D has transformed itself with each different development paradigm, and within each organisation that uses it (Quarry and Ramirez, 2009). As Quarry and Ramírez argue:

> *'[l]ike a chameleon, communication is embedded in international development. It changes colour to reflect the development thinking of the day: Development Support Communication, Development Communication, Communication for Human Development, Social Communication, Communication for Social Change, Strategic Communication – the list goes on'* (2009, p. 6).

As a publication by the OneWorld Network (2004) conveys:

> *'[t]he poor and the marginalized have always been at the centre of development communications, but arguably as the subject of this communication rather than the originators of the communication itself'. (2004, p.3)*

When participatory communication first became popularised in the 1980s, it aimed to change this pattern (Lennie & Tacchi, 2013). Participation scholars strived to move ownership of communication from Western experts to the 'poor and marginalised' and thus create a 'bottom-up' communication model which would emanate from the traditional receivers – the community – 'up' to organisations and experts. Key figures of participation, such as Paulo Freire, argued for a complete change in society which they felt was being unjust and dividing people into 'oppressors' and 'oppressed' (Freire, 1996). The solution was profound societal change, which could only be achieved through dialogue between equals (Freire, 1996). However, critics argue that all too often, participation has become an empty buzzword (Cooke & Kothari, 2001), which is '[…] assumed to be essential to development, and necessarily intrinsically good' (Lennie & Tacchi, 2013, p. 10; Waisbord, 2001) without being further questioned or critiqued.

As the name implies, C4D literature refers to development rather than humanitarian response. It is important to acknowledge that humanitarian response and development are not the same. While there is a strong overlap, the underlying premises are different. Humanitarian response is short-term and responds to a single event[4] while development aid is aimed at longer-term systemic problems, and may aim to affect for instance, whole sectors such as the economy or politics (Hinds, 2015; Humanitarian Coalitions, n.d.). However, this difference is gradually becoming less pronounced as a growing interest in resilience means that INGOs and policy actors start preventive measures for the next disaster during ongoing disaster responses and increasingly link the two fields. Accordingly, it has been claimed that disaster response ought to be understood as also belonging to development (Collins, 2009). While C4D was established within the development field, humanitarian practitioners

[4] Although this event may include several incidents in a complex disaster, e.g. an earthquake followed by mudslides or a cholera outbreak.

and academic researchers exclusively rely on concepts from C4D literature. This means that while I am using C4D literature I will at times highlight the different goals of humanitarian response which may impact on participatory communication.

Within my thesis, I define participatory communication as communication that is accessible to and inclusive of community members (chapter 2). My participatory framework in chapter two allows for contextual and nuanced empirical research, which pays attention to communication processes and content. This is what is missing in the few publications that examine both participatory communication and community resilience. I mainly draw on academic literature from within the sub-category of participatory communication in the field of development communication, using authors such as Arnstein (1969) and Freire (1996) to distinguish different types of participation. However, I additionally explore authors situated in the development communication field who are usually identified as applying a 'top-down' dominant approach[5] to communication (Waisbord, 2001). These authors, such as Schramm (1964), Lerner (1958), and Rogers & Shoemaker (1971), use what participation scholars would evaluate as 'low' or no levels of participatory communication. Within the development communication field there is often a clear distinction drawn between 'bottom-up' participatory communication and 'top-down' communication (Lie & Servaes, 2015; Waisbord, 2001), juxtaposing the two streams as incompatible or at least very different from each other. Authors such as Arnstein follow a similar approach, evaluating projects as having low or high levels of participation (1969). However, I argue that these 'top-down' authors should not be ignored when researching participatory communication in a disaster context. Instead we need to expand our understanding of participatory communication, to look at different types of participatory communication and what they do or do not contribute, rather than evaluate them as 'high or low level participatory'. Through widening my definition of participatory communication, I take a new approach to investigating participatory communication in a disaster context, to evaluate what can be learned from different types of participatory communication, rather than

[5] The dominant approach refers to C4D theories, such as modernisation theory and similar concepts, which posited that the key issue of development was a dearth of knowledge which could be tackled through information that would foster behaviour change (Waisbord, 2001).

dismissing some participatory communication as 'low level' and not researching them further.

There has been a plethora of academic publications on participatory communication in development (Shah, 2010). Freire's work has been highly influential in the field of participatory communication (Scott, 2014) and relevant C4D scholars, such as Servaes and Lie (2013), and Waisbord (2008), still discuss participatory communication based on Freire's understanding of it. Today, the field debates how to merge an ever-globalised world, and sustainability concerns, with the local approach of participatory communication (Lie & Servaes, 2015). The rise of human and environmental sustainability concerns means that '[b]uilding resilient communities is a priority issue in the field of Communication for Development and Social Change [...]' (Lie & Servaes, 2015, p. 253). The field of resilience has also recognised the important link between communication and community resilience. However, as the next section will discuss, both fields show a dearth of empirical studies investigating this connection and give little thought as to what exactly they mean by 'communication'. It is this gap which my research aims to contribute to.

1.4 The gap in the literature: communication and resilience

While communication is becoming more relevant in humanitarian publications, there are two main gaps within the literature of participatory communication and community resilience, that at times overlap, which my research seeks to address. Firstly, there is a lack of empirical investigation into the topic. This in turn means that whilst there are some studies exploring how participatory communication can contribute to community development and social change, they use little to no empirical evidence investigating communication within a disaster context. Secondly, there is a distinct lack of detail in regard to communication such as what one-way communication is in comparison to two-way communication, details of the communication process and what kind of platform should be used. That means that questions such as if and how participatory communication can contribute to community resilience and what characteristics of community resilience may benefit from it are disregarded. This at times goes hand in hand with publications

mentioning participation and communication but not connecting them. My study aims to contribute to filling this gap through providing an in-depth empirical investigation, addressing the nuances of what participatory communication can and cannot contribute to in a disaster context.

1.4.1 Lack of empirical studies

Within the participatory communication field there are very few empirical studies focussing on disaster resilience. Some of the studies are grey literature and lack longer thorough empirical research, while others do not directly focus on participatory communication. The academic studies that do investigate participatory communication and resilience, and how communities respond to disasters, mostly look at digital technology, therefore speaking to a different sub-field of the literature that focuses more on the tools of transmission rather than on the process of communication. A relevant empirical academic study on digital communication, participation and disaster by Madianou et al. (2015) for example shows that the impact of technology on voice is dependent on pre-existing civil society and may map onto social inequalities. While the study convinces with a thorough set of data and in depth discussion on the issue of 'voice', the focus is mainly on how communication technology, especially digital technologies, can impact a humanitarian response rather than focusing on participatory communication. Moreover, the study does not explicitly focus on community resilience but instead examines communication tools used during the disaster response by humanitarian organisations. This means while the study gives valuable insight on digital technologies it does not help to empirically investigate other types of media or processes of participatory communication.

Another example, is an empirical study seeking to answer if young people's participation in DRR can contribute to reducing disaster risks within communities and test how efficient participatory video may be as a tool to include young people in policy making (Haynes & Tanner, 2015, pp. 357-358). The study focuses on the same part of the Philippines that was struck by Typhoon Haiyan, but the data was collected in 2009, four years before the storm made landfall. The researchers in collaboration with the INGO Plan International supported several youth groups in making videos about disaster-related issues in their community, and screening them to community

members and local and regional politicians. The study finds that some communities and local administrations made changes in response to the suggestions of the young filmmakers, such as installing elevated cabinets in one school to save school materials from flooding (Haynes & Tanner, 2015, p. 364). Another indicator the authors give for the effectiveness of participatory video is the increased awareness of causes of disasters, such as chromite mining, of both young people and adults, through making and watching the films (Haynes & Tanner, 2015, p. 365). This underlines that the results of the study relate more to risk communication and awareness-raising before a disaster, rather than how a community may cope with a disaster. Unfortunately, there was no follow-up study after the typhoon to see whether the video-making had any impact on how young people and their communities responded to the disaster. The study is set up as a first research endeavour, confirming that indeed it may be worthwhile including young people into DRR measures. However, the study falls short of delving deeper into questions such as whether young people and their communities acted on this information during a disaster and if the young people involved could and did use their skills after the project finished. This underlines the need for empirical research in the response phase of a disaster to trace community resilience, rather than hypothetical resilience building which on its own lacks evidence of any impact on the capacity of a community to respond to a disaster.

One of the few publications exploring information and resilience is a paper by Internews and the Rockefeller foundation (Susman-Peña, 2014). The paper argues that resilience literature lacks detail on information and exploring four Internews case studies in Pakistan, Japan, Myanmar and Indonesia. The authors cover a variety of disaster types while still differentiating, for instance, natural hazard related disasters (Japan and Indonesia), political change (Myanmar) and underdevelopment (Pakistan). The publication introduces eight dimensions of 'information ecosystems' as an analytical framework: information needs, information landscape, production and movement, dynamic of access, use of information, impact of information, social trust, and influencers (p. 13). The paper is one of the rare documents that solely focuses on information and resilience, using not only some of the relevant literature but also some empirical data. The report concludes that information is crucial to community resilience, yet also depends on contextual factors such as, for instance,

economic development hurdles. While the report discusses communication and resilience, it does not specifically research participatory communication. Furthermore, as the author explains, '[t]he paper is not meant to be academic nor fully capture the rigor of the research; it is meant to enable informed action' (Susman-Peña, 2014, p. 3). This may allude to the fact that their empirical research was quite short and seemed to focus mainly on key informants rather than extensive community data. While the paper presented a range of expert interviews, some of the field visits to communities were limited to, at times, only three days (p. 74). While this does not allow for longitudinal and in depth research it does offer one of the few starting points for further research into communication and resilience. However, what is missing is a longitudinal empirical study using a diverse dataset.

Another grey literature document, also commissioned by Internews and researched in collaboration with Columbia University, looks at the relationship between local media and humanitarian organisations during disasters (Internews, 2013). The document explicitly explores 'two-way communication', defined as communication in which:

> *'[…] the potential beneficiaries of humanitarian aid are not simply targeted with messaging and information, but are also able to respond and convey their own messages or feedback to organizations providing aid.'* (Internews, 2013, p. 1)

While this alludes to participatory communication, the aim of this type of communication appears to be making a disaster response 'more efficient', as the report elaborates:

> *'Such dialogue allows inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations to assess what aid recipients need and inform them about what relief efforts can realistically provide.'* (Internews, 2013, p. 3)

This limited definition means that the paper evades layers of participatory communication related to themes such as ownership and power relations. Further, it does not examine how this may affect the resilience of communities. This is also reflected in the choice of interviewees, which are exclusively humanitarian workers.

No local media nor disaster affected individuals were interviewed. Therefore, while the report suggests that all the (humanitarian) respondents value two-way communication (Internews, 2013, p. 5) it does not give any room for local media to give their opinion on the collaboration, nor whether the audience benefited from it. Ultimately, this makes the conclusion the paper draws quite one-sided. The opinion of humanitarians is only half of the sum of two-way information. Instead, research that focuses on community-centred communication should include community data. This lack of thorough longitudinal empirical evidence is echoed in practitioner literature such as by BBC Media Action, which suggests ten ways media and communication can strengthen resilience but provides no data other than sparse anecdotal evidence to corroborate their arguments (BBC Media Action, 2014).

This dearth of empirical investigation may be due to the higher risk and unpredictability of doing field research in a disaster context (see chapter 4). This is underlined in the CDAC network strategy document, which suggests that two-way communication is still not mainstreamed efficiently enough, since evidence of the benefits of this kind of communication are lacking (2012). This, so CDAC argues, means that policy and practice have stagnated in trying to give participatory communication a centre-stage position in the humanitarian field (2012, p. 2).

Overall, this demonstrates that there are very few publications within the participatory communication field that investigate the role of participatory communication in disasters. Moreover, the publications that do focus on participatory communication and disaster resilience either focus on digital media or are grey literature using limited empirical sources. In summary, the majority of communication in a disaster context is completely underexplored within the field of participatory communication literature. My research aims to contribute to filling this gap through providing a nuanced, contextual approach in order to empirically investigate participatory communication in a disaster context.

1.4.2 Lack of details on communication

Both academics and policy makers increasingly mention communication[6] as

[6] In 'communication' I also include mentions of information in publications, as information

conducive to resilience and disaster response (Bahadur, Ibrahim, & Tanner, 2010; da Costa Silva, 2011; ESCAP & UNISDR, 2012; Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), 2016; Shklovski, Palen, & Sutton, 2008; Steelman, 2012; Susman-Peña, 2014; The CDAC Network, 2012). As Houston and colleagues argue '[c]ommunication, in some form, is a central component of most if not all community resilience models.' (Houston, Spialek, Cox, Greenwood, & First, 2015, p. 271). This rise of interest in communication and particularly participatory communication within the humanitarian field is quite a recent development (Madianou, Ong, & Longboan, 2015). The earthquake response in Haiti in 2010 can be counted as one of the first times that even humanitarian organisations that do not have a communication mandate realised the value of communication more widely (Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), 2016). Since then communication has been included increasingly within practice and policy. A case in point is the inclusion of communication in the 'Core Humanitarian Standard on Quality and Accountability' (CHS Alliance, Groupe URD & the Sphere Project, 2014), a publication related to the widely-referenced core humanitarian standard meant to guide the quality of humanitarian work by the Humanitarian Accountability Partnership (HAP) International, People in Aid and the Sphere Project. The document introduces communication as one of their nine commitments and quality criteria:

> *'**Communities and people affected by crisis know their rights and entitlements, have access to information and participate in decisions that affect them.***
> ***Quality Criterion:** Humanitarian response is based on communication, participation and feedback.'* (CHS Alliance, Groupe URD & the Sphere Project, 2014, p. 9)

Another example of increasing inclusion of communication is the establishment of a formal Communicating with Communities (CwC) working group during the earthquake response in Nepal in 2015 (UN-OCHA, 2015). This was the first time that

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relates to the key theme of access to information identified in my participatory communication framework (chapter 2).

communication was included more formally into the humanitarian cluster system[7]. Although communication seems to be a trending topic within the humanitarian system and does show up in official documents and academic publishing, often these publications lack detail on what kind of communication is perceived as beneficial to community resilience and what kind of conditions are necessary for participatory communication to work. For instance, Wall and Robinson argue in two policy briefings by BBC Media Action, that access to information after a disaster is a means of enabling affected communities to take informed decisions for themselves instead of being 'kept in the dark' and thus having to be passive and wait for what might happen next in the disaster response (BBC Media Action, 2008; BBC Media Action, 2012). Access to information, so they stress, contributes to empowering individuals rather than victimising them (BBC Media Action, 2008; BBC Media Action, 2012). However, even though this alludes to more participatory information there are no clear characteristics they offer to guide research or implementation of this communication.

A good example of both the lack of a more comprehensive approach towards the processes of communication and the missing link between communication and participation is the Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA), one of the policy pillars of disaster resilience globally and the only disaster risk policy document that has been agreed on internationally (Twigg, 2009, p. 13). The HFA was adopted by 168 governments in 2005 and offered a ten-year plan to improve the disaster resilience of communities and nations. The HFA confirms as one of its key objectives, '[t]o increase the reliability and availability of appropriate disaster-related information to the public and disaster management agencies in all regions [...]' (UNISDR, 2005), yet it fails to provide more details on the information processes. While it is understandable that a broad global policy document such as the HFA does not give exact details of implementation which may have to be adjusted to different contexts, it is still surprising that there is no explanation about what, for instance, is considered 'appropriate' information. Moreover, the document mainly refers to

[7] The cluster system consists of groups of humanitarian organisations, which work in the key sectors of humanitarian response, e.g. shelter, protection. The system was introduced to coordinate humanitarian organisations and minimise redundancies. There is no CwC cluster.

communication in the sense of communication infrastructure (UNISDR, 2005, p. 12) and early warning systems (UNISDR, 2005, p. 8) rather than communication with communities. The HFA mentions media only once, and suggests that media should be used *'[…] to stimulate a culture of disaster resilience and strong community involvement in sustained public education campaigns and public consultations at all levels of society'* (UNISDR, 2005, p. 10). While this paragraph does not mention communication, it does point towards community participation, but lacks details as to even what type of media would be most beneficial, or, for instance, how communities should be involved and how public consultations should be done. This is not further elaborated on in paragraphs dealing with community participation (UNISDR, 2005, p. 7). This shows that we need to research in more detail what kind of communication can or cannot contribute to what parts of community resilience in a disaster context.

The follow up framework, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (SFDRR), continues the approach of the HFA, in that it mainly focuses on information systems, such as telecommunication and disaster risk/early warning communication, instead of how these systems could be used or what kind of communication could be relevant for resilience. This points towards a more top-down approach viewing communication as primarily information dissemination from experts to the community. The SFDRR does discuss media in a section on stakeholders and calls on:

> *'Media to take an active and inclusive role at the local, national, regional and global levels in contributing to the raising of public awareness and understanding and disseminate accurate and* ***non-sensitive disaster risk, hazard and disaster information****, including on small-scale disasters, in a simple, transparent, easy-to-understand and accessible manner, in close cooperation with national authorities; adopt specific disaster risk reduction communications policies; support, as appropriate, early warning systems and life-saving protective measures; and stimulate a culture of prevention and strong community involvement in sustained public education campaigns and public consultations at all levels of society, in accordance with national practices.'* (UNISDR, 2015, p. 213, emphasis added)

While this paragraph does give the media a slightly expanded role beyond simply one of disseminating information, it is still vague regarding the process of communication, and lacks any further explanation of what type of media is meant, and how media is supposed to interact with the community. The paragraph does mention that media should be inclusive, and information should be accessible, however, it does not go into details as to how this could be achieved. Moreover, the mention of using 'non-sensitive information' and 'close cooperation with national authorities' could be interpreted as reducing the media to a disseminator of government approved messages rather than holding them accountable. This is particularly problematic from a participatory view and an accountability inclusive approach to resilience as it suggests top-down, government-driven media involvement instead of communication that is evolving around the affected community.

Another example of this missing link between participation and communication is an OCHA research paper titled: 'Increasing Flood Early Warning and Response Capacity through Community Participation' (Lopez, 2013). Next to its other findings the study concludes that '[…] the importance of communication also transcends during the response operations itself […] (2013, p. 18) and stresses the necessity of 'an effective communication channel' (2013, p. 38). However, this study, too, fails to elaborate on what kind of communication channel is meant, what could make it effective, and, crucially, draws no link between communication and the main theme of the study – participation. This once more demonstrates resilience literature overlooking the link between communication and participation, which could have made the study a helpful aide in setting up a framework to research participatory communication and resilience.

Although there are academic resilience publications which mention communication, they are often imprecise on exactly what they mean by it, cite very little empirical evidence, or focus on Western case studies. An excellent example of the lack of detail on communication is a publication on resilience by Longstaff (2005). Although the author dedicates a whole chapter to communication, none of Longstaff's arguments are based on any empirical data and at times not even on literature. While Longstaff's

book is not an empirical study it nevertheless illustrates that there is little empirical evidence available to cite. An example of this is when Longstaff, without providing any evidence, claims that:

> *'Most of us also pay closer attention to the opinions of our family and neighbors than we do to information from more distant sources such as news media or government officials.'* (2005, p. 55)

This means that while Longstaff gives more space to communication than most other resilience publications, these details remain untested and without evidence. Moreover, the publication aims to speak to all types of disasters, rather than differentiating between categories, which means that some arguments seem to only fit one disaster and not another. For instance, when looking at acts of terrorism it makes sense to discuss 'enemy access to information' (2005, p. 49), however when studying a natural hazard related disaster that seems out of place. Moreover, Longstaff does not give detail on what is meant by key communication terms such as 'top-down communication' (2005, p. 58) and instead of using empirical evidence for arguments at times uses metaphorical examples such as about blood cells (2005, p.54). These help the reader understand her thoughts on communication but do not replace much needed evidence as to why she concludes that communication is relevant and what specifically it does in a disaster context.

The journal article 'Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness' (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008) does emphasise the importance of communication and even discusses several other studies on communication. However, none of their claims are based on their own empirical research and the empirical examples of other authors which they name in the section on information and communication are mostly from the West, such as a study on the September 11th terrorist attacks in the USA (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008, p. 140). As most natural hazard related disasters happen in developing countries this is a clear shortcoming in regard to applying their arguments to a different context. Additionally, the study of the terrorist attacks is about information infrastructure rather than communication. Another study they cite is about an environmental disaster in Aberfan, South Wales

(p. 140). The only study they quote relating to communication is a study conducted in Guinea. However, this study lacks a direct connection to more formal types of communication as it is exploring rituals and post-traumatic stress, and, moreover, the study participants were survivors of violence of military forces rather than of a natural hazard related event (pp. 140-141). This is characteristic of the whole study, as there is no differentiation between types of disasters, for instance between natural hazard based disasters or terrorist attacks. Even more importantly, while the publication suggests that communication and information are one of four primary sets of adaptive capacities, there is little detail on what kind of communication and what kind of media the authors mean. For instance, Norris and colleagues suggest that media '[…] shape how a disaster is framed in ways that influence survivors' and others' understanding of the event, including emergency managers' (2008, p. 140), but they do not elaborate on what kind of media they mean and whether it is local, national or international for instance. Even though they acknowledge different potential roles for media, they do not differentiate between different media types nor how each of these roles could be implemented. The suggested framework of Norris et al. spends little time on communication (just over one page) and tries to discuss too many major themes, such as communication infrastructure, media, rituals and shared meaning, without delving into any of them more thoroughly. Finally, as their paper is not an empirical study their assumptions remain untested.

Essentially, communication is claimed to be relevant within resilience literature and the humanitarian system, but there is a distinct lack of empirical research questioning what participatory communication does in a disaster context, which conditions may be required for participatory communication to work effectively, and what it may or may not contribute to. The few studies which exist mainly focus on digital media or are practitioner documents which aim to make humanitarian work more efficient rather than fuelling academic debate that links empirical study and theory. This means missing out on research that empirically captures and questions the subtle characteristics and potential impacts of communication in a disaster context and follows up on longer term impact, which is what this study aims to do. By using a two-phase field research approach (one month and eight months after the typhoon) and conducting interviews with local broadcasters from both Radyo Bakdaw and Radyo Natin, community members, short-term observations of Radyo

Bakdaw and Radyo Natin, humanitarian aid worker surveys, and two community surveys I hope to contribute to filling this empirical gap.

1.5 Thesis structure

In summary, this study seeks to contribute to participatory communication literature and its role in disasters by empirically investigating if and how a humanitarian radio station may contribute to community resilience, in the form of social capital. In doing so I hope to speak to the lack of empirical study investigating the role of participatory communication in community resilience, and contribute to a clearer understanding of how participatory communication works in a disaster context, and what kind of contextual factors may influence it.

The following chapter (2) establishes a participatory communication framework that will serve as the basis for my empirical investigation. Firstly, the framework makes it possible to critically identify different types of participatory communication and investigate them in a disaster context. Secondly, the framework allows the exploration of two key themes of participatory communication - **access to information** and community **inclusion** - without giving them a normative hierarchy. This enables me to empirically investigate which type of participatory communication does what, in a disaster context, rather than judging high participation as more valuable than low participation, and only identifying and considering prescribed forms of participatory communication.

Chapter three offers a framework to research community resilience in a disaster context. The framework draws on the concept of social capital as an indicator for community resilience but expands the concept by adding the key theme of accountability to it. The underlying argument of the chapter is that although communication and information are frequently mentioned in academic and grey literature on resilience they lack detail on communication, e.g. on communication types and processes. The chapter will also discuss the nexus between participatory communication and community resilience.

Chapter four explores the methodology used to answer my research questions,

focusing on topics such as research in a disaster context, the challenges and limitations of embedded research and the ethics of power relations between researcher and research participant. The chapter introduces the quantitative and qualitative data collected during one fieldtrip a month after the typhoon and the second fieldtrip which took place eight months after the typhoon. Key factors discussed in the methodology chapter are the unpredictability and time pressure of disaster research. The chapter also addresses the need for disaster research to prioritise not adding additional burden to research participants, but being useful to the response - the chapter discusses the difficulties that this consideration may bring. Moreover, the chapter will explain why Radyo Bakdaw is a suitable case study to explore how participatory communication works in a disaster context and how I chose the themes of the data analysis chapters.

Chapter five to seven build the analytical body of the thesis. The analysis chapters are situated within the field of development communication, tracing if and how participatory communication can contribute to forms of community resilience. Chapter five explores the radio station as a link between the community and power holders. The chapter investigates how the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw may have impacted on forms of general reciprocity and contributed to some cases of accountability of power holders, in the form of transparency and answerability, for instance in relation to local government. The chapter also questions the sustainability of this accountability and whether this form of participatory communication perhaps also disrupted relationships between constituents and local administrators in some cases.

Chapter six offers evidence that informal sociability in the form of a live karaoke show may have strengthened linking relationships between broadcasters and humanitarians, and community members and humanitarians. It further argues that the karaoke served as a method of stress relief for some community members, while critically questioning how far-reaching the impact of informal sociability can be and which contextual factors specific to the Philippines may be relevant to acknowledge. The chapter explores how elements of participatory communication which might be considered 'low level participation' within C4D literature, can contribute to resilience. Chapter six therefore provides evidence for the underlying argument of

chapter two: that a wider definition of participatory communication is needed for empirical investigation into the subject matter.

Chapter seven explores the extent and limitations of relationship-building and skill-building amongst radio staff as indicators for strengthened human and social capital and how this relates to the perceived participatory work environment at Radyo Bakdaw. Specifically, the chapter examines friendship, mutual support, reciprocity and confidence building. Further, the chapter discusses the extent and limitation of these relationships and how participatory skills may contribute to future community resilience. Ultimately, the chapter investigates whether participatory communication also impacted on the Radyo Bakdaw staff, as a subsection of the community.

The final chapter (8) critically discusses the cross-cutting themes that can be derived from the analysis chapters, for instance what contextual factors were relevant influences on the results. Moreover, the conclusion highlights the methodological contribution of the thesis, on how to study participatory communication in a disaster context. The chapter discusses the key results of how participatory communication can contribute to community resilience. The chapter goes on to offer starting points for future research, such as comparative studies, as well as potential applications within humanitarian practice and policy, i.e. how could my findings be integrated with the follow-up document of the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction and other resilience projects.

1.6 Overall findings

My research found that participatory communication can contribute to some characteristics of community resilience. These contributions of participatory communication varied in their sustainability. For example, some of the local broadcasters did continue to use the knowledge they built through working at a participatory station in their new jobs, while some of the bridging relationships built between the broadcasters are still ongoing. However, it was hard to trace the mid-term impact on the community, as in many cases the measurable impact of Radyo Bakdaw lasted only for the time the station was broadcasting, which is to be expected for a short-term humanitarian project. However, due to the increasing linkages of

development and humanitarianism we must nevertheless question sustainability. Moreover, contextual factors such as political structures and how they contributed to or hindered community resilience cannot be underestimated. At times these contextual factors also contributed to blurring a causal link between participatory communication and community resilience.

Within the team of local broadcasters, the participatory approach of the station may have been a contributing factor to strengthening and building bridging relationships. The broadcasters learned skills specific to the participatory approach of the station, and in some instances applied these skills after the station ceased broadcasting, which to some degree addresses questions of sustainability. My data also gives evidence that the participatory approach partially built linking relationships, and through this contributed to an increased transparency and answerability of power holders, i.e. humanitarian organisations. However, this community-centred approach also led to some local administrators feeling that their relationships with their constituency had been undermined and therefore may have also disrupted relationships instead of strengthening them. Most surprisingly, the data analysed suggested that communication, which participatory communication scholars would perhaps count as 'low level' or less empowering forms of participatory communication, such as a live karaoke show, contributed to relieving stress and to a limited extent fostered linking relationships between community, broadcasters and international humanitarians. Ultimately, my thesis provides a new and original insight into how participatory communication works in a disaster context and what it may and may not contribute to in regard to community resilience.

Chapter 2: Participatory communication

2.1 Introduction

My overarching research question is: **if and how participatory communication can contribute to community resilience.** This chapter will situate the research question in the debates on participatory communication within the field of development communication. The chapter seeks to establish a framework that will serve as the basis for the empirical investigation that aims to answer the research question. Firstly, the framework makes it possible to critically identify different types of participatory communication and investigate them in a disaster context. Secondly, the framework allows exploring the two key themes of participatory communication, **access to information** and **community inclusion,** without giving them a normative hierarchy. Instead the framework focuses on contextualised and nuanced examination of communication, its content and processes. This enables me to empirically investigate which type of participatory communication does what in a disaster context, rather than judging 'high level participation' as more valuable than 'low level participation' and only identifying and investigating prescribed high forms of participation. Thirdly, the framework recognises the realities of humanitarian response through investigating the multiplicity of participation rather than being limited by binary categories of top-down versus bottom-up communication. A final underlying implication of the framework is that we also need to use literature that is commonly categorised as 'non-participatory' top-down literature to give a better reflection of what participation looks like in the field.

To investigate participatory communication and its different contributions I require a framework which allows for different types of participatory communication, and steps away from the binary categories of communication paradigms. This crude and polar division in participatory and non-participatory communication limits our understanding of the multiplicity of participatory communication and hinders thorough empirical investigation into the subject matter. Within development communication, two main streams of literature are the dominant paradigm and participatory paradigm, which are often portrayed in a juxtaposition to each other (Morris, 2005; Fair & Shah, 1997). Participatory communication, such as proposed by Freire (1996), is asking for profound power redistribution of society through a grassroots revolution. The typical dominant paradigm on the other hand keeps the

system intact and aims to further the 'uneducated masses' into Western modernisation (Lerner, 1958; Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971; Shah, 2003). Despite passionate arguments for participatory communication (Quarry & Ramírez, 2009), participation should not be understood as the new panacea of humanitarian response. Participatory communication has been claimed to be misunderstood as intrinsically 'good' and beneficial for community empowerment (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). Meaning that often participatory communication may fall prey to being questioned less thoroughly. We could argue that the process of participation could be understood as an improvement of top-down information dissemination as it aims to include communities. However, too often the processes that claim to be participatory only use the word to mask continuing inequalities (Arnstein, 1969; Cooke & Kothari, 2001). For instance, a (humanitarian) organisation asking for feedback but then not listening to that feedback and calling themselves participatory could be argued to only use the term as a hollow phrase (Arnstein, 1969). As Leal argues, this buzzword-type use of participation has increased with its growing popularity and mainstreaming into the system (2010). This underlines the necessity to probe what projects do with community voices.

Secondly, it is crucial to expand our view on what participatory communication is and search for an empirical research framework that is suitable to a disaster context. This can mean stepping away from more profound goals such as building a democracy (dominant paradigm) or fostering a revolution (participatory paradigm) as governments are crucial for the disaster response. It has been argued that disasters can offer a certain opportunity for change through their disruption of not only the social but also political system (Manyena, O'Brien, O'Keefe, & Rose, 2011, p. 419; Simpson, 2009). However, cases of profound change in the sense of Freirean upheaval of a whole society (1996) are not necessarily the norm and governments and the international humanitarian community have a duty to support the affected community (Turnbull, Sterrett, & Hilleboe, 2013), and are often constitutionally bound to this duty such as for instance in the Philippines (Polack, Luna, & Dator-bercilla, 2010). This hints at a framework including these stakeholders rather than aiming for societal upheaval. My participatory communication framework aims to circumvent the ambiguity and lack of definition of participation (Scott, 2014, p. 47; White, 1994) by introducing clear themes that can be empirically investigated and

emerge from both strands of literature (dominant and participatory) and at times complement each other. These themes are: open access to information and community inclusion. The framework proposes these themes while also questioning the nuances in the importance of participation as well as the level each author sees as necessary, and explores the different ideals and goals behind each version of participation. The themes are not to be understood as ideal forms of participatory communication. Instead, they give guidance on how to investigate the multiplicity of participatory communication, delving into questions such as diversity of access and inclusion and contextual factors.

The underlying argument of the framework is that although development communication is often depicted as clearly divided into dominant and participatory communication, not only do the two paradigms overlap and merge in the test of real-life humanitarian response but they also overlap within academic literature. This is emphasised through a critique by Mefalopulos, who argues that participatory communication theory is on the one hand too simple and too idealistic and on the other hand does not concern itself with '[...] the practical implications and the realities in which participatory communication has to be applied [...] (2003, p. 263). Looking at key themes of participation within not only the field of participatory communication, but also the dominant paradigm, opens the possibility of a new framework for participatory communication that aims to better reflect the realities of communication projects within disaster contexts through offering a more nuanced and pragmatic framework.

Further, rather than purely evaluating communication as less or more participatory it enables me to also focus on what different types of participatory communication may or may not contribute to. Finally, it gives the opportunity to illuminate strong synergies with community resilience, such as for instance striving towards fostering understanding between different levels of society, thus laying the foundation of the next chapter, which discusses resilience. The following sections will discuss the two key themes of access to information (2.2) and community inclusion (2.3), their barriers and limitations, and how to research them. The first section on access to information will first discuss how the theme of access is explored in C4D literature (2.2.1). Section 2.2.2 will question the aims of giving information, while 2.2.3 will

argue that rather than only identifying different types of information sharing we need to ask more detailed questions such as community centeredness and accessibility. Part 2.2.4 explores the sub-theme of localness, arguing we should ask whether local voices are valued and how information is 'made local'.

The second main part (2.3) introduces the second key theme: community inclusion. The first section (2.3.1) explores how community inclusion is discussed within C4D literature, to ask important questions such as how community members can include themselves. Following this, part 2.3.2 queries community ownership as a characteristic of participatory communication, while 2.3.3 discusses the importance of researching diversity of community inclusion. Finally, section 2.3.4 explores barriers to community inclusion such as constitutional and contextual barriers. The chapter concludes reiterating the main points of the framework and introduces the sub research questions to empirically research participatory communication derived from the framework (2.4).

2.2 Access to information

I will begin by arguing that access to information is a key theme within participatory communication in order to showcase why it should be a key theme of my participatory communication framework. Further, I will demonstrate that at times arguments on access within the literature are vague and imprecise. Publications often note the importance of access to information without thoroughly explaining what they mean by it. Instead of asking more critical questions, such as how information is chosen and how access to it is given, literature often focuses on more normative accounts, judging dissemination of information as at times almost intrinsically tokenistic, and information about rights as valuable. This means publications fail to acknowledge that different types of access to information exist, and may have different impacts on the community.

I argue that in its place more precise and non-normative categories of access that help to identify different types of access to analyse their contribution in a disaster context are needed. For instance, instead of arguing that it is important to give information it would be valuable to address localness of information, how

information is chosen and who is giving it.

2.2.1 Access to information within the literature

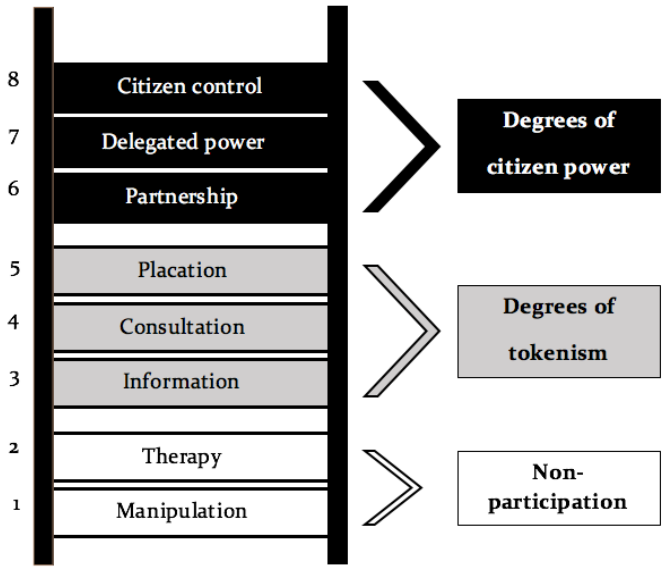

Figure 1 Ladder of participation, Arnstein (1969)

Too often literature explores levels of participation with a normative approach, which tries to put a value on which level is best, rather than looking at what each level does. Arnstein (1969) for instance identifies different levels of participation in her 'ladder of participation' (see figure 1). She differs between eight different levels of participation which fall into three categories: non-participation, degrees of tokenism and citizen power. While the lowest levels are deemed to be non-participatory: the higher the rungs, the closer participation comes to the final goal of full citizen ownership. What Arnstein defines as the goal of participation, is for communities to take charge of decisions, or in other words for 'the poor' or 'have-nots' to have 'decision making clout' (1969, p. 217). True degrees of citizen power, according to Arnstein, are only achieved when citizens can impact the outcome of a process (1969).

Arnstein classifies pure information dissemination in the category of tokenistic participation (see figure 1), giving it a very low value of three, compared to other forms of participation. Arnstein elaborates in her article that a more dialogical approach to information can be the foundation of participatory communication, arguing that '[i]nforming citizens of their rights, responsibilities, and options can be

the most important first step toward legitimate citizen participation' (1969, p. 219). However, through giving information a low ranking in the ladder, it still shows it as hierarchically less valuable. This denies a more thorough study of what different types of information can contribute to, hence the need to empirically investigate participatory communication.

Access to information appears throughout both participatory and dominant literature, yet authors often do not go into the specific parameters of access to information. Schramm for instance gives access to information two different uses: firstly, educating communities to modernise them and secondly, he sees access to information as a necessity to participate in a Western style democracy (1964). However, Schramm does not clearly distinguish between the two types of participating and modernising, instead he mingles the two and talks about access to information being '[...] a basis for participating effectively, to speed and smooth the changes decided upon' (p. 38). This is exemplary of the vague description of access to information, which does not question the type of information, who would use it for what,
nor how information should be distributed. These details are needed if we are to truly understand the multiplicity of information in a disaster context.

Further, Schramm does not connect participation with access, instead he argues that access to information is the basis for participation: '(...) there is little likelihood of very wide participation in government' without information (1964, p. 41). Through this, he dismisses the possibility that there could be different types of access, which can have different types of participation and does not give any critical thought about the process of informing. However, we need to query the details of how information is chosen and shared in order to understand its impact. Moreover, his suggestion that information is a more efficient tool to implement a pre-decided outcome stands in stark contrast to a participatory understanding of access. The latter argues that there is no point in giving information on something that is predefined and decided as it denies agency to the participants (Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009).

There appears to be a misconception in some participatory literature that information is automatically top-down and that 'listening' naturally equals

participatory communication. Instead, I argue that investigating C4D literature shows that information can have different levels of participation, which in turn may give different contributions. Moreover, the simple act of 'listening' does not equal dialogue, as listening to communities does not mean that anything they say will have impact. White for example argues that 'informing' is 'pseudo-participation', which she juxtaposes with 'genuine participation', such as citizen control (White, 1994, p. 17). Diaz Bordenave makes the same argument regarding media, that '[p]ublic media are more interested in diffusing information than in provoking discussion and participation' (1994, p. 43). While Quarry and Ramírez explain that they understand participatory C4D as the '[…] difference between information (telling) and communication (listening and telling)' (2009, p. 35). This not only suggests that information can only ever be top-down dissemination, but moreover alludes to the idea that the difference between participatory communication and top-down communication is simply that for instance organisations also listen to the community in addition to disseminating information. However, this 'listening' does not mean that organisations indeed 'do something' with the information they receive from the community. Moreover, it completely disregards questions of power relationships. We must acknowledge that there are different types of giving access to information and that these different types of information access may do different things in different circumstances.

2.2.2 The aims of giving information

Tufte and Mefalopulos argue that the challenge of communication projects is aiming '[…] to provide service delivery while at the same time advocating for social and structural change in a way that the service delivery ultimately becomes a responsibility undertaken by the government' (2009, p. 47). This suggests that aiming for structural change could be beneficial in terms of the longevity of participatory communication. Which would mean that the goal and philosophy behind the approach also matter. However, the initial aim behind a project is not necessarily a constant determinant, or a guarantee of a certain outcome. A project with top-down methods might turn into a more participatory one. Waisbord argues that it often does not matter with which goal a project started and that projects that aim towards behaviour change such as HIV/AIDS prevention should not be dismissed '[…] as

'mobilization without empowerment" (2008, p. 510), since communities that participate in such programmes are not just 'passive beneficiaries' but will interact with these projects on their own terms. Thus, while it is important to critically explore the goals behind a project, this should not lead to dismissing a project or project parts that start with a goal of behaviour change without looking at how communities might interact with them. To assume that all top-down communication is disempowering suggests that communities are passive receivers only and negates their capabilities to negotiate and interact with communication (Waisbord, 2008).

The main differentiation in the aims of access within the dominant versus the participatory paradigm are not just in the extremes – aiming for a Western democracy/modernisation (dominant) or striving towards revolution/equality (participatory). These larger goals of participation should not be completely dismissed. However, it is important to acknowledge that they may be ambitious or even hindering in a disaster context, which is based on shorter-term aims, and values the immediate fulfilment of crucial basic needs. Rather than asking whether a project strives for revolution or democracy, it appears more useful to question whether the aim of giving access to information is to foster behaviour change, to serve the community or to facilitate ownership and how sustainable participatory communication may be. This does not mean that in some instances behavioural change cannot be beneficial (e.g. in the case of female genital mutilation). However, in most cases, the idea that experts know which behaviour is desirable and which is not has been criticised as deeply patronising (Waisbord, 2008, p. 507). Schramm argues that to bring about social change '[…] people must be informed'. Nevertheless, he also continues to say that they must be 'persuaded [and] educated' (p.246). This underlines that his vision of social change has less to do with a change in power dynamics and more with modernising communities. This again suggests a prescribed and patronising approach. Therefore, we should research whether information is given to change behaviour or to serve the community and enable community members to be in the 'driver seat' during a disaster response.

2.2.3 Different types of information sharing

To critically assess levels of participation it is necessary to look at who gives access to

who and to what kind of information. While some of the C4D literature focuses on who gives information (community or expert) and judges communication as valuable or not accordingly, I argue that the value of who gives information depends on the context and information needs of the community. From my review of C4D literature, I propose a new way of categorising the theme of information. I argue that there are three different types of information sharing within the literature, however rather than just examining which category or categories a project uses, we should investigate the nuances of these different categories as the next sub-sections lay out.

There are three main categories of who gives access within the literature: firstly, top down dissemination by experts or 'change makers' to communities (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Lerner, 1958; Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971), secondly, two-way flow information within a pre-existing democratic system (Arnstein, 1969; Schramm, 1964) and thirdly, dialogical problem posing between equal partners (Freire, 1996). These different approaches allude to different forms of participation; however, these three types are not always clear-cut and can merge and interact. Dialogical communication can mean that communities give feedback within a prescribed system (Schramm, 1964) or that they not only are part of a dialogue but co-decide on how information is shared (Arnstein, 1969). The categorisation is therefore not to be understood as a set outline, but rather as a way of understanding how to critically assess the differences within access to information. One project may use all three types or mixed forms of information. For instance, a radio station may have one programme mainly relaying information deemed relevant by the government, while another programme may go out into communities to let them discuss what they find relevant.

Top-down dissemination of information

Top-down dissemination of information (1) is often deemed as patronising and undesirable by participatory literature, however I argue it must be evaluated in its respective context to judge what it may contribute to or not. Publications such as the two-step-flow theory of communication by Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) argue for a trickle down of information from the top (government/experts) to the bottom (community). Hence, they argue that mass media should target opinion leaders, as '(…) ideas, often, seem to flow *from* radio and print to opinion leaders and *from them* to the less active sections of the population' (1955, p. 32). Rogers and Lerner similarly

see Western experts and educated elites as the main sources of information. These experts determine what information is valuable to the population of developing countries to foster modernisation. This shows a clear separation of who is perceived to be powerful and knowledgeable (the expert) and who is not (the community). Giving information through change agents (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971) or experts (Lerner, 1958) is dismissed by much of the participation literature, however it is still predominant in many communication projects today (Waisbord, 2008). Message dissemination is still popular because it is easy to measure and maps onto an institutional '[...] mentality that prioritizes achieving rapid results within time-bounded funding cycles [...]' (Waisbord, 2008, p. 512).

However, there are instances in which this kind of information might be deemed useful or even be desired by communities. For instance, after an earthquake, communities may want and need an expert to tell them which kind of cracks in walls suggest structural damage and what to do in the case of aftershocks. As Waisbord elaborates on the potential value of information dissemination: '[i]n some cases such as epidemics and other public health crises, quick and top-down solutions could achieve positive results' (2008, p. 21). Therefore, information given by experts should not be dismissed, instead it should be asked whether the information given by experts is accessible and useful to the community – ergo whether it is community-centred. Further, it is important to question how much information is given by experts and how much by the community to assess the value given to community voices.

Two-way flow information

The second type of information is two-way flow information, in which there is a dialogue between the community and another entity, for instance government and the community. Although, Schramm presents (rural) communities as the ones that need to be educated to achieve social change, pointing towards expert driven information, he also stresses that:

> *'[...] information must flow and the changes must be discussed not only through a downward channel from the leaders to the villagers, but also upward to the leaders, and laterally so that the people can talk things over and arrive at group*

decisions'. (p. 43)

Schramm's approach alludes to more than a one-way flow of communication; however, his argument is situated in a prescriptive context, which sees progress as striving towards Western democracy. Inayathullah criticises this predisposition towards a Western system as limiting since in his opinion '[…] imitation does not and cannot release the creative energy of the imitator. It only perpetuates his dependence on the model' (1967, p. 102). While it is pivotal to question whether striving towards a Western democratic system is the right way forward, putting aside Schramm's goal of Western democracy, we could argue that a two-way flow of information might be beneficial in other government forms too. More so in a disaster context, which may not encourage a systemic change.

Schramm's quote speaks to a dialogical access to information as he also argues that policy must be influenced by what communities ask for and that decision makers must listen to communities (1964, p. 19). Therefore, information is not only given by experts but also by communities. As Servaes argues, it is pivotal that:

> *'[…] one is no longer attempting to create a need for the information disseminated, but instead information is disseminated for which there 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 was the case in the diffusion model.'* (1996, p. 16)

This closely relates to Arnstein's view that information should influence policy and must be a closed feedback loop (1969). She also makes her argument more concrete, in that she points out that not only should there be a feedback channel but that communities also need to have power to negotiate. Arnstein also goes further than Schramm when she argues that ideally '[…] the have-nots join in determining how information is shared […]' (1969, p. 216). This implies a higher level of participation and power sharing. However, the problem with Arnstein's argument is that it assumes that communities want to take on ownership which may not always be the case. If participation is forced, then how is it different from top-down

communication? Just like dominant thinkers, participatory theorists have equally been condemned for being paternalistic and condescending (Midgley, 1986). Midgley critically evaluates that:

> *'[t]he assumption that the proponents of community participation know what local people want and need pervades the literature. But concepts of participation that appeal to western educated middle-class activists do not always conform to the expectations of ordinary people'* (Midgley, 1986, p. 158).

There are many reasons why individuals may not participate, such as fear that their feedback will have repercussions, different priorities, or other reasons. This must be acknowledged when looking at participation. If full participation fails and only a few individuals are willing to participate, then there is a substantial risk of a few deciding for many, which will almost inevitably lead to a lack of diversity and inclusion – the opposite of what participation strives towards. To address this, literature and practice need to consider diversity and take a close look at the mechanisms that are or can be used to ensure diversity if full participation fails. Therefore, it is not solely about looking at whether access to information has been provided to communities or communities have a platform where they can give feedback that will have an impact. Instead, we should also investigate what efforts are made to diversify access and who may be excluded from it. This relates to section 2.3 on the inclusion of community voices and exemplifies the overlap of the two key themes.

Problem posing information flow

The third 'category', problem posing, focuses much more on information as a first step towards collective action and eventually revolution. Although Freire's aims are more radical, it is useful to use some of his philosophical premises for investigating for instance equality within access. Is the same value given to all information sources - the information coming from communities as well as from the experts? In Freire's view information is to be understood as a part of dialogue: '[w]ithout dialogue there is no communication [...]' (1996, p. 73). He identifies information dissemination as 'banking knowledge', in which an expert deposits knowledge. To him this depositing of knowledge robs individuals of being 'truly human' (1996, p. 53). Instead, Freire argues, only inquiring the world together, inventing and re-inventing it will lead to

true knowledge (1996, p. 73). Freire remains quite vague on what he exactly means by this. This is partly due to the philosophic nature of his work. 'Paulo Freire is not a method' as Macedo and Freire's wife Araujo Freire point out (2000, p. 6) and they further explain that '[t]his fetish for method works insidiously against adhering to Freire's own pronouncement against the importation and exportation of methodology' (2000, p. 6). However, the lack of concreteness also makes it hard to implement these ideas in real world circumstances, where a project relies on pragmatic and substantial guidelines rather than philosophies. This relates to a recurring critique of participatory communication, which is that it focuses on the philosophical rather than the practical and does not give guidance for implementation (Mefalopulos, 2003; Waisbord, 2001). However, elements of Freire's participation philosophy can be useful to question what projects should aim for, i.e. valuing community members and their opinions as equals, and whether they are truly aiming for equality and the empowerment of communities. Ultimately, this suggests that we should research not only who gives information but also, how this information is sourced, how accessible it is and how diverse.

2.2.4 Localness and information

Another characteristic of access to information is the notion of 'localness'. While intentions behind this localness are important to question in order to understand the context and perceived power of those making information local, it is equally important to study the details of this localness. Some information is made culturally appropriate to make content more appealing to communities with the agenda of making behaviour change more likely (dominant paradigm) or to make information relevant and accessible to the local community (participatory paradigm) (Servaes, 1996). Besides this, dominant authors mostly depict local culture and knowledge as backward and a hindrance to development. In Lerner's approach for instance localness is not emphasised as beneficial to communication, although he talks about the cultural context that has to be considered. Instead, to Lerner, localness is mainly connected to tradition, which in turn is presented as a hurdle to modernisation (Lerner, 1958; Shah, 2003). Although making content culturally or locally appropriate implies some interaction with communities and knowledge of local culture, this clear distinction between knowledgeable outsiders and ignorant locals stands in stark

contrast to Freire who claims that to ascribe 'absolute ignorance onto others' is typical of an oppressive system (1996, p. 53). This underlines the necessity to question what value is given to local voices, are they seen as equally relevant to 'outside experts' for instance? This type of inclusion is a rather light version of what participatory authors would define as including community voices. However, Arnstein also argues that information needs to be appropriate to its audience, otherwise it will be just as useless as not getting any information (1969). This notion of making something local in order to make it appropriate is also underlined by Mefalopulos and Kamlongera who advise in their handbook on participatory communication that projects should use '[…] influential sources of advice and information appropriate in rural areas' (2004, p. 2). It is therefore relevant to study how information is made local.

Overall, access to information should be analysed with more nuance. To empirically investigate access, it is necessary to question who is giving access to what, how information is sourced, and how diverse access is.

2.3 Community inclusion

The section first explores different types of community inclusion, and how they appear in the literature, discussing these different types of inclusion will help identify and question them in the empirical investigation. A large number of development communication literature emphasises some level of community inclusion, but many of the key publications do not present concrete ideas about how this inclusion could be practiced and therefore fail to critically question inclusion and barriers to its implementation. These different types of inclusion are neither mutually exclusive nor to be seen in any sort of hierarchy, instead it is crucial to explore who exactly is included, who is excluded, and how inclusion is implemented. Moreover, I argue that it is necessary to look at what types of community voices are included, is it only local experts or a diverse range of individuals? Finally, the section asks what barriers there may be to community inclusion to understand better which hurdles the empirical research needs to be mindful of and investigate.

2.3.1 Community inclusion within the literature

What community inclusion could look like and what can be achieved by it also differs depending on what type of stakeholder we look at. A media organisation could for instance include different community voices in their content and thus aim to foster community cohesion which may lead to a greater understanding of common challenges (BBC Media Action, 2014, p. 2; UNESCO, 2006), a first engagement between communities and institutions and through a stronger community network possibly even to collective action (Gaventa & Barrett, 2010, p. 347). According to Arnstein (1969) the inclusion of citizens' voices could be a first step towards legitimate citizen power (1969). Moreover, even though Freire favours inter-personal communication over mass media, it could be argued that communities could also use the media to their advantage to publicise their cause and pressure duty-bearers to adhere by the wishes of the community. This however, would by and large depend on the type of media in question.

Within the dominant literature, community inclusion mainly materialises in the form of 'localness', for instance advocating for a need of local media (Schramm, 1964). However, it is crucial to question what exactly this means and what type of local voices are included. Therefore, it is important to investigate the value and importance a project gives local voices and question how and why they are included (this relates to section 2.2.3). Is the community seen purely as a passive audience that should be educated or are they seen as knowledgeable? Are their opinions valued and included into content? Schramm argues for including local voices so that citizens can play an active part in a democratic system: '[l]ocal needs and local voices need to be heard' (p.43). To do this, he argues, communities need media that help the public participate in government. For this reason, Schramm suggests local media as a 'middleman' to help make sense of information and 'discover and meet local needs' (p. 89). He argues that 'mass media [...] should be as *local* as possible' (p.124) and further stresses the need for small local media, for instance rural newspapers.

However, Schramm does not explain in detail what makes media local. His description suggests that community voices are included to a certain extent, through capturing concerns and needs for instance, but he does not explain whether he understands local media as locally *owned* media nor what kind of impact these voices

may have. This underlines the necessity to question more precisely what this kind of localness means: are these community concerns broadcast publicly? How many topics come directly from the community and how can the community include their voices? Furthermore, his view on media suggests that governments would be keen to receive this kind of input from communities and that communities would want to contribute to a democratic system. However, this may not always be the case as in some contexts governments will suppress such critique or media landscapes may not be open to including community voices in a more profound way (Susman-Peña, 2014).

2.3.2 Community ownership

Community inclusion which would be evaluated as a high form of participation, such as community ownership or co-ownership by participatory communication authors (Arnstein, 1969) is not intrinsically empowering. It is therefore necessary to question it regarding not only its intentions but also regarding how it is implemented. Some participatory literature argues that community inclusion, for example in communication projects, makes these more sustainable (Servaes, Polk, Shi, Reilly, & Yakupitiyage, 2012). Although Freire would criticise including communities into the existing societal system as using communities for the good of an unfair and oppressive system (1996), one could question whether this intention does necessarily matter if the outcome is community ownership. Local ownership is often presented as one of the most important goals to serve the community (Arnstein, 1969). However, that seems short sighted as it implies that locally owned projects or media would have the community's interest at heart by default. Moreover, community ownership does not guarantee diversity or a community focused approach. For instance, a local newspaper could be owned by a politically homogenous part of the community, therefore potentially excluding other community members from different political groups. Arnstein's evaluation of citizen ownership as the highest form of participation may therefore not necessarily contribute to the aims of empowerment that she advocates (1969). Arnstein does note that danger herself, commenting that those in power may only include local voices to serve their own agenda, for instance in order to undermine the legitimacy of community voices rather than sharing power with them (1969, p. 218). It is therefore crucial to note that

each type of inclusion can not only have different forms of participation, but also different contributions.

2.3.2 Diversity of voices

It is indispensable to question the diversity of local voices in both content and decision making structure. Communities are not homogenous (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217; Quarantelli, Lagadec, & Boin, 2007, p. 38; Elmore, 2013, p. 5; IASC, 2013, p. 1), thus to be truly inclusive, different parts of the community should be considered. Participatory communication has been criticised for a lack of acknowledgement of this heterogeneity (Cooke & Kothari, 2001), and dominant literature acknowledges heterogeneity even less, often only differentiating between urban populations and rural ones (see Lerner, 1958; Schramm, 1964). It seems utopian to assume that every single voice of a community could be included, which suggests that in a heterogeneous community some groups may be left out. Or that one group within a community may seek ownership and therefore create a dynamic that Mefalopulos and Tufte call a '[…] risk of "tyranny" of the group' (2009, p. 19). Moreover, if only a certain number of individuals will be included and control a project, how can institutions ensure that vulnerable groups, such as for instance the elderly, will be included?

The level of participation might vary dramatically depending on whether those individual voices are selected by the institution or the community. There is a risk that organisations would only pick community members favourable to their project, or community members might be dominated by their own elites and their agendas. Therefore, Freire's claim that 'to carry out the revolution for the people […] is equivalent to carrying out a revolution without the people […]' (1996, p. 109) seems almost the only choice unless the community is surprisingly homogenous. However, taking his philosophy as an aim to strive for as much inclusion as possible may be useful in the effort of finding more ways to be inclusive. This once more underlines the importance of investigating the diversity of inclusion. Therefore, we should research what different kinds of voices are included, are they from different gender, age groups and classes? Do they represent both the community and formal institutions that serve the community?

2.3.3 Barriers to community inclusion

To understand why there may be a discrepancy between participatory communication as a goal and inclusion in practice, it is paramount to understand what barriers may hinder inclusion. There are three key hurdles which may hamper inclusion. Firstly, contextual factors, secondly, institutional factors, thirdly, community inhibitions.

Contextual factors (1) such as the politics of power play a crucial role in the limitation or support of sharing decision power with communities (White, 1994, p. 20). Factors such as the legal environment of a country might also constrain the implementation of participatory programmes. One example would be legal restraints of community gatherings, a case in point being Ethiopia (Van Hemelrijck, 2013, p. 45) and China which have strict rules confining community projects that may question authority. This suggests that if the legal environment does not leave much room for civil society, it is much harder if not impossible for participatory communication to exist as the community may be stopped from participating and organisations likewise are hindered from offering opportunities for community participation. This equally applies to media and political environments. As Schramm stresses, '[…] many kinds of social change are threatening to old social relationships and positions of authority' (p.121). This authority is not necessarily limited to different levels of government but can include any kind of power holders, such as media owners, editors, international organisations or elites within a community.

Institutional barriers (2) may be that organisations are afraid that they cannot meet the requests of communities and therefore are reluctant to include communities and offer them negotiation power (Waisbord, 2008, p. 512). Further, larger and especially national and international organisations seldom start a project by asking what the community needs; rather they are driven by goals that have been pre-decided by governments, UN agencies, donors or other multilateral players (Mefalopulos, 2003; Waisbord, 2008). Finally, there are institutional limitations through donor expectations of funding deadlines, which can limit participatory communication as it is often a more strenuous long term process than top-down projects (Tufte &

Mefalopulos, 2009).

Lastly, there may be barriers to participation that stem from within communities (3). There is a wide range of possible barriers, which are dependent on context, community and project. Therefore, the following hurdles are just a few potential problems that participation could face to highlight that there is a multitude of challenges which should be uncovered during the empirical investigation. For instance, some individuals might not be keen to be included and participate, because they do not find the respective project or topic relevant or interesting. Other community members may not have the possibility to participate, for example because they must focus on their livelihoods and domestic obligations. Additionally, there may be community dynamics that could hinder some parts of the community from participating, such as agendas of elite groups or fear of retaliation as a response to participating in a project (Waisbord, 2001). Moreover, there may be barriers from the project side which community members might not be able or willing to overcome (Cleaver, 1999), certain skills may be required that are not taught by a project, there might not be enough support for some members (i.e. with a carer responsibility or disabilities) to participate or community members might simply not feel like giving up their free time.

In summary, this shows that it is crucial to research the contextual factors that may influence or hinder participatory communication. Further, it emphasises that the context of communication, such as media landscape and political structures should be investigated.

2.4 Conclusion

The chapter has established a framework that will serve the empirical investigation of participatory communication in a disaster context. I have argued that we need to look at different types of participatory communication rather than use a binary view of high or low levels of participatory communication and introduced two key research themes in my framework: access to information (1) and community inclusion (2). From the discussion of these themes several sub-research questions derive:

- Where does information come from?
- How diverse is the access given to information?
- What role does localness play in information? How is information made 'local'?
- Is the community seen as a passive audience that should be educated or are their opinions valued?
- How are communities included into the project?
- How can the community include themselves?
- How diverse is the inclusion of community voices?

The framework argues that access to information (1) should be evaluated in its context rather than judged by its perceived level of participation. Access to information can appear in very different forms, which participatory literature at times juxtaposes as desirable (dialogical information on rights) and inefficient or patronising (disseminating information). However, this normative view of access denies the possibility that communities interact with all types of information. Communities are not passive receivers even if information dissemination alludes that and at times information by experts might be desired by the community. Instead, the framework suggests that there are three main ways that information is shared: from expert to audience, dialogical, and problem posing. These three ways of information sharing may all be used in one project, may intermingle or influence each other. The framework argues that it is important to critically question the ideals behind access to information as well as who gives access to what and to whom. This does not mean that a project that may have the main goal of behaviour change will only use 'top-down communication' and not allow for participation or cannot be 'empowering'.

Furthermore, the chapter established that community inclusion (2) is a relevant theme in the literature, but is often not questioned critically or explored in detail. Rather, community inclusion or 'localness' (within the dominant paradigm) is a vague goal, which is often not elaborated further. This is partly because inclusion can relate to different types of participatory communication, for instance, including voices in entertainment content is different from including community voices in political content. Even though the levels of participation within inclusion often

appear to depend on the intent behind them (Arnstein, 1969) there are some questions that can be asked to investigate inclusion more critically, for instance levels of diversity. However, many publications do not question the diversity of voices, even though it is crucial to discuss, when real-life context hinders full participation of the whole community. Investigating diversity can therefore be helpful in critically assessing inclusion of voices.

The framework that emerges from the literature discussion suggests two key themes, namely access to information and community inclusion, to investigate participatory communication in a disaster context. Rather than giving a rigid definition of each theme, the framework proposes questions to ask for each key topic, which may at times overlap. Moreover, the framework reiterates that it is important to evaluate participatory communication in a real-world scenario to see what it does and does not contribute to within a disaster context, rather than rhetorically.

Chapter 3: Community resilience

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will offer a framework for how to empirically research the parts of community resilience which participatory communication may contribute to. As the introduction elaborated, the concept of resilience is extremely vague (Birkmann, et al., 2012). Therefore, this study uses the concept of social capital to investigate community resilience to circumvent this ambiguity and offer a more tangible framework for empirical investigation. The following key themes are my main research arches for resilience: strengthening or building bridging and linking relationship and general reciprocity. These themes will be explored in the analysis through subthemes such as friendship and generalised reciprocity.

There is a growing amount of literature arguing that social capital is a crucial factor in building community resilience (Aldrich, 2012; Mayunga, 2007). One of the key authors used for my analysis is Putnam as he was one of the first authors that expanded the concept of social capital to the community level and beyond individuals (Aldrich, 2012; Putnam, 2000) and is frequently used in resilience literature. With a growing focus on the capacity of communities and their resilience, the concept of social capital has also been more popular in the academic debate on resilience (Höppner, Whittle, Bründl, & Buchecker, 2012). As Aldrich and Meyer argue, social capital '[…] strongly influences resilience at the communal level' (2015, p. 263). Even literature that does not explicitly use the term social capital underlines the importance of strong links within a community and from the community to organisations as conducive to community resilience (López-Marrero & Tschakert, 2011), which is very closely related to the notion of bridging and linking relationships. Tschakert and López-Marrero's community centred approach similarly argues for the enhancing and building of horizontal and vertical networks, which they claim '[…] promote social learning, foster diversity and create opportunities for recovery, renewal and reorganization' (2011, p. 231). This underlines how relevant social capital has become in studying community resilience. However, there are almost no studies on how communication and media could contribute to social capital and especially not in a disaster context (Höppner, Whittle, Bründl, & Buchecker, 2012), which is what my study aims to do.

Resilience is a wide concept and social capital is only one part of a much larger puzzle. While social capital contributes to the resilience of a community the existence of social capital does not mean that the community is fully resilient. There are many factors that contribute to full community resilience in addition to social capital, such as for instance infrastructure.

The chapter will map out my conceptual approach on how to study community resilience in connection to the participatory communication framework established in chapter two. Firstly, the chapter will signpost my definition of social capital and which key themes to look at. The following two subsections will discuss bridging (3.2.2) and linking (3.2.3) social capital, why it is important in relation to community resilience and how to research it. The section on linking social capital will also explore accountability as a crucial part of linking social capital. Under 3.3 the chapter argues that while the work of Putnam (2000) on social capital is useful to study social capital as a form of community resilience, it lacks consideration of communication, media and accountability. For instance, a stronger focus on linking relationships and the accountability of power holders such as humanitarian organisations towards communities is needed. Finally, the chapter concludes that to research the contribution of participatory communication to resilience we need to investigate how participatory communication may strengthen bridging and bonding social capital (3.4). The last section further introduces the sub research questions that will lead this investigation into the potential contributions of participatory communication.

3.2.1 Social capital

In the widest sense, social capital can be understood as the beneficial outcomes for individuals and communities of participating in groups/communities (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015). More precisely per scholars who see social capital as civic networks, it 'refers to social networks, norms of reciprocity, mutual assistance, and trustworthiness' (Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2003, p. 2), which benefit the community as a whole through making them more productive and efficient (Putnam, 2000).

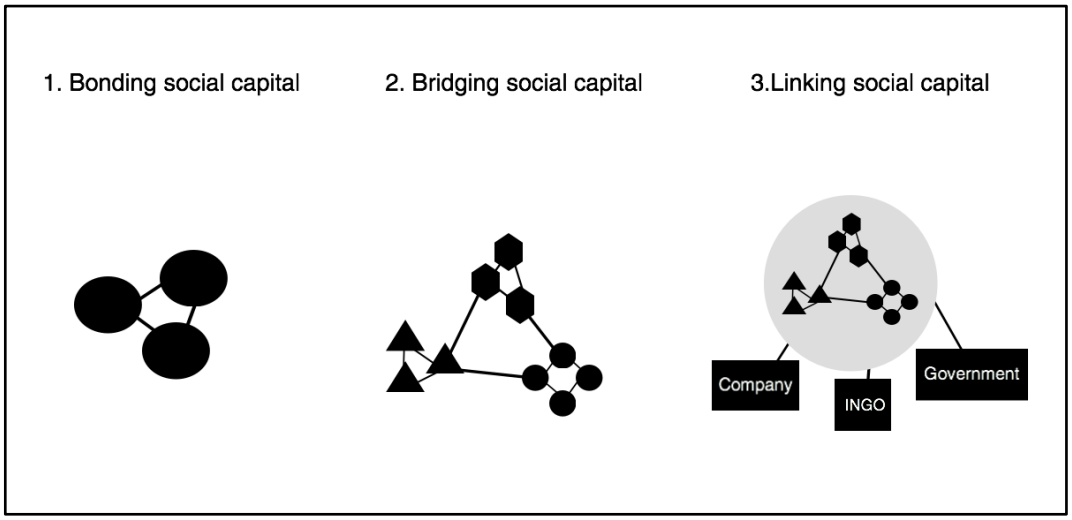

Figure 2 Main forms of social capital

As figure two exemplifies, contemporary scholars of social capital distinguish between three different types of social capital, namely, bonding, bridging and linking relationships (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015; Islam & Walkerden, 2014; LaLone, 2012; Shaw & Nakagawa, 2004). These relationships differ in whom they connect and how strong these connections are. My study will focus on two different forms of social capital: bridging and linking relationships also referred to as bridging and linking social capital. Bonding capital are 'inward-looking' relationships – as Putnam et al. put it: 'If you get sick, the people who bring you chicken soup are likely to represent your bonding social capital' (Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2003, p. 2). While for Putnam, Feldstein and Cohen that can also mean members of a small homogenous group of people (2003), other publications define bonding social capital as the relationships between family members (Islam & Walkerden, 2014). As I am examining resilience at the community level, I will exclude family relationships from my analysis. This does not mean that I consider bonding social capital irrelevant to resilience, it simply oversteps the scope of this research as it looks at a different unit within the community, the family.

Higher levels of social capital have been argued to lead to general reciprocity (see chapter 5) and collective action (Aldrich, 2012; Putnam, 2000), which ultimately benefit the development and productivity of the whole community. This generalised reciprocity, a key theme of chapter five, can be defined as 'short-term altruism' or an act in which an individual helps another person without asking for anything in return, and instead trusts that this reciprocity will be returned on an undetermined

future date by another community member (Onyx & Bullen, 2000). As Putnam argues, generalised reciprocity makes communities more efficient since '[i]f we don't have to balance every exchange instantly, we can get a lot more accomplished' (2000, p.21).

In a disaster, social capital can mean better coordination and cooperation and enhanced access to resources (Mayunga, 2007). The more social capital a community has, the more efficiently it can respond to a disaster and return to their routine life (Mayunga, 2007) as the following sections will elaborate. There has been some discussion on whether social capital can be clearly differentiated between social capital as the relationships between different stakeholders (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000) or social capital as the results of these relationships such as individuals helping each other (Aldrich, 2012). However, when researching the potential contribution of participatory communication, I argue that we should consider both: bridging and linking relationships themselves and some of their potential outcomes. A communication platform could potentially contribute to both strengthening and building these relationships and at times may work as a replacement of these linking relationships and facilitate the results that the relationships themselves would have produced had they existed. For example, a project could connect individuals from different parts of the community to help each other therefore potentially strengthening bridging relationships and leading to one of the outcomes prescribed to bridging relationship: general reciprocity.

The following two sections (3.2.2 and 3.3.3) will discuss why bridging and linking relationships are important to community resilience and how to empirically research them.

3.2.2 Bridging relationships

Bridging social capital (see image 2 in figure 2) is outward-looking, and as the name alludes bridges different heterogeneous parts of a community. Most publications on social capital understand bridging social capital as networks between for instance neighbours and friends (Islam & Walkerden, 2014; LaLone, 2012).

It has been argued that bridging relationships are crucial to disaster resilience (Islam & Walkerden, 2014). LaLone (2012) for instance claims that bridging relationships make a disaster response more efficient as these types or relationships mean that (geographically and socially) close and distant, affected and less or not at all affected community members help each other in the recovery process, this is a form of general reciprocity. She argues that disaster management and risk reduction should account for these relationships more and find ways to foster them as they mean a significant material and voluntary work contribution (LaLone, 2012, p. 228). This can be either mutual help, such as helping each other to rebuild houses or charity within the affected community, like donating materials.

Mayunga (2007) similarly sees social capital as important to resilience to make disaster response more efficient. More precisely, this can mean that individuals will work together to get access to resources in the initial phase after a disaster, such as relief goods and emergency shelter (Islam & Walkerden, 2014). Therefore, it is important to research if and how participatory communication may impact on mutual community support. Moreover, studies have found that relationships are important for sharing information, as it may be easier to seek information from another community member than trying to research it themselves and information provided by official stakeholders, such as local government, may not be useful to the community (Chamlee-Wright & Rothschild, 2007). This kind of localised and timely information is especially relevant after a disaster, for instance in order to know when the next food distribution will arrive or which schools will reopen at what date. However, in a less developed country there may be fewer opportunities to connect with a wider network of individuals as telecommunication and electricity may be dysfunctional. This makes it interesting to investigate whether a participatory communication project could support this kind of localised and 'useful' information sharing.

Islam and Walkerden (2014) argue that bridging relationships although often a significant part of relief operations in the first relief phase, normally cease their support after the initial catastrophe due to individual's own financial hardships and at times competition for aid (p. 288). This is similar to Ong's critique of humanitarian interventions, who found that targeted relief by humanitarians caused jealousy and

distrust and had further disrupted and harmed relationships within communities in the Philippines (2015a, 2015b). Additionally, some relationships within a community may be severely disrupted after a disaster, for instance through displacement or even death (Simich, Andermann, Rummens, & Lo, 2004, p. 49). As Gilchrist elaborates: '[p]eople in communities which have been dislocated, up-rooted or traumatized may need help re-connecting with one another and with wider society' (2000, p. 268). This disruption of relationships can cause great additional stress for the affected community. Thus, it is necessary to ask whether participatory communication can contribute to rebuilding and strengthening these kinds of mutual community support.

One of the potential drawbacks of social capital is that it can also cause exclusion (Aldrich, 2012; Shaw & Nakagawa, 2004). Better connected community members for instance can exclude and marginalise less connected community members and push them out of the disaster response (Aldrich, 2012). Another example of harmful impacts of social capital are criminal groups such as the mafia, who have strong social capital within the group, which has a destructive impact on the rest of the community and may have repercussions for their own members for non-normative behaviour (Portes, 1998; Shaw & Nakagawa, 2004). This could mean that an elite group may take control of aid distribution within a disaster response, as has been reported for instance after the Nepal Earthquake in 2015 during which higher castes tried to exclude households with lower cast members from relief distribution (Save the Children, 2016). This relates to the critique of Ganapati, who's study of the 1999 earthquake in Turkey argues, that social capital can '[…] perpetuate gender-based assumptions and could put women in conflict with the state authorities' (2012, p. 72). This suggests that social capital may map onto pre-disaster inequalities and should not be understood as an intrinsically beneficial 'public good' (Aldrich, 2012; Ganapati, 2012). For this study, this means that it is pivotal to look at how diverse the relationships are that participatory communication may contribute to, and further ask if linking relationships (see the following section) connect a diverse sample of the community with those in power or only a select few.

3.2.3 Linking relationships

Linking relationships (see figure 2, image 2) refer to connections between communities and those in positions of influence and/or formal institutions, such as government or companies (Hawkins & Maurer, 2010, Nagakawa & Shaw, 2004). Linking social capital connects '[…] different interest groups and mobilizes across different hierarchical levels (Woolcock, 2001 cited in Hearne & Powell, 2014). This would suggest that relationships between the community and humanitarians would fall into this last category of linking social capital, as humanitarians represent a formal organisation, which clearly is in a position of influence within the disaster response. However, different to a development context, in a humanitarian context these relationships do not normally exist before a disaster happens.

In a humanitarian context, linking relationships with power holders are extremely important and therefore should be included in an investigation into social capital. Even though it is important to acknowledge the capabilities and strengths of communities that are facing a disaster, community resilience has been criticised for putting too much of the responsibility for disaster preparedness and response on the shoulders of communities rather than governments (MacKinnon & Derickson, 2012). Regarding disaster prevention and response, communities often have no other choice than to rely on the support of humanitarian organisations and the government (in addition to their own means). More so, they have a right to be supported. Therefore, links with power holders are essential to investigate more closely. It is therefore important to question if and how participatory communication may connect communities with those in power and the other way around. A crucial part of these linking relationships between communities and those in power is accountability, which the next section will explore.

Linking relationships and accountability

It is essential to include accountability of power holders in a framework researching community resilience disaster contexts, as accountability has been argued to be central to disaster affected communities. As Turnbull and colleagues argue, '[g]overnance systems and the political environment should enable people at risk or affected by disasters and climate change to demand accountability for their decisions, actions and omissions' (Turnbull, Sterrett, & Hilleboe, 2013, p. 12). Relationships

between these power holders and communities fall into the category of linking relationships. However, as these relationships are rarely built before a disaster hits a community, they may not be able to hold those in power accountable.

I define accountability as power holders being transparent towards communities regarding their actions. Further, accountability means that communities should be able to demand action by power holders and have a mechanism available to enforce this, this can be understood as 'answerability'. This definition is used by Newell and Wheeler's understanding of accountability who argue that '[…] relationships of accountability have two important components: answerability […] and enforceability' (2006, p. 2). With answerability Newell and Wheeler mean that communities have a right to get answers to their questions, while they see enforceability as the assurance that institutions will take action and if they fail to do so that there is a system in place to right this wrong (2006, p.2). This definition also lines up with Putnam, Feldstein & Cohen who describe accountability as a way to ensure that power holders (in their case study politicians) are listening to their constituents, respond to queries and criticism and take action (2003). They suggest that accountability can for instance be established through the guidance of a non-profit organisation, which helps the community to organise themselves and demand transparency and answerability from power holders, such as politicians. They give the example of 'Interfaith', an organisation, which builds up community leaders and supports dialogue between communities and politicians (2003). However, their example is of a longer lasting project that in contrast to humanitarian response has had more time to build up these kinds of relationships. It is therefore important to query if this function of answerability and transparency can be achieved in the short timeframe of a disaster response.

Putnam et al. allude that this kind of accountability is more easily achieved in a community that is closely connected (Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2003). This relates to the definition of resilience of de Bruijne and van Eeten who contend that '[t]he collective capacity of a community to take informed, coherent action in the face of danger is a measure of that community's resilience' (2010, p. 39). One of the issues with this is that in order for this type of accountability to work a community must already be coherent, trust each other and agree on the issue they might want to act

on. This is problematic for a community whose relationships have been disrupted by a disaster. Even if linking relationships exist there may not be a system which allows the community to take action and question those in power – they may lack the mechanism of redress that Newell and Wheeler say is essential in order to enforce answerability (2006, p. 2). This matches the criticism of Pasteur who underlines, that especially '[t]he poor are often politically marginalized and have *little voice in the policy or institutional decisions that affect them*' (2011, p. 3, emphasis added).

Some authors argue that accountability should be more than transparency and answerability. Van Hemelrijck for example appears to go a step further and argues for a more rights based approach that addresses poverty and injustice as '[…] rights issues that are convoluted by the multilevel nature of rights violations and moral obligations' (2013, p. 30). Looking at more idealistic authors of participatory communication, such as Freire (1996), there is a potential tension between the definition of accountability within social capital and participatory communication. Freire for instance wants to change society (1996) while social capital authors argue for working within the current social system (Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2003). However, this definition of accountability is not suitable in a humanitarian context, as humanitarian work focusses on short term impact that addresses the immediate needs of an affected community rather than longer term development projects (Fordham, 2007). In my empirical research, I will therefore focus at the short-term dimensions of accountability in the forms of transparency and answerability. However, I will at times refer to the combination of these two themes as accountability. Ultimately, this means when researching social capital, we should also investigate if and how participatory communication can contribute to enforcing transparency and answerability of power holders.

3.3 Social capital, communication, and radio

The goal of this research is to find out if and how participatory communication may contribute to resilience, in the form of social capital. While one of my key sources, Putnam, gives little to no reference to communication apart from television and none to participatory communication (2000), the concept of social capital is widely used in communication studies (Lee & Sohn, 2016). However, not in connection to

participatory communication and it has been noted that only very few publications connect social capital and communication in a disaster context (Höppner, Whittle, Bründl, & Buchecker, 2012). This is a gap my research aims to contribute to fill. As this research draws on the concept of social capital according to Putnam and researches the case of a radio station, I will briefly dwell on the one explicit link to communication that Putnam does make, which is his argument that media reduces social capital (2000). This is done to argue that Putnam's view of media is flawed as it does not differentiate between different media platforms and therefore ignores that different types of media may have different impacts on social capital. The section then discusses the few other publications that investigate social capital and radio.

When Putnam discusses media, he neglects to differentiate between different types of media such as for instance community, commercial mass media or public media. He does not analyse media as a possible contributor to civic engagement and social capital but mainly looks at its influence on social capital rather than analysing media as a potential vehicle for civic engagement by for instance participating in it. In his chapter on mass media, Putnam mainly analyses the growing influence of TV. This influence, he argues, is one of the key reasons social capital declined in the USA, as he claims that there is a clear causal link between declining membership rates at social clubs for instance and increasing television watching (2000).

He only mentions radio when describing the historical shift from communal entertainment, such as dance halls, to more solitary entertainment through radio in the home (2000, p. 217). According to Putnam this change from communal to solitary entertainment leads to individuals spending less time together and thus decreasing social capital. This underlines other scholars' critique of Putnam's simplistic approach to media (Lee & Sohn, 2016), who dismiss Putnam's view that '[…] there is one mass communication experience (rather than multiple motives and uses) and one audience (rather than different types of users)' (Shah, McLeod, & Yoon, 2001, p. 465).

There appears to be very little academic study of radio and social capital and in the few studies that are looking at media, radio is grouped together with TV, as for instance in Olken's paper, which questions whether TV and radio destroy social

capital (2009). Olken explores the matter through several mainly quantitative investigations in rural Indonesia and concludes that radio and TV indeed have a lessening impact on participation in social organisations and self-reported trust (2009). However, he also notes that low corruption levels and good governance nevertheless seem to remain intact, even though according to Putnam these should be lessened through the lack of social capital. The paper concludes that more media consumption (mainly TV) leads to a decline in community trust and participation in community gatherings, but does not increase local government corruption. However, the study does not differentiate between TV and radio, thus there is no way of knowing whether for instance mostly radio or mostly TV had a dampening effect on social capital. Secondly, just as Putnam, the study does not distinguish between different types of radio thus eliminating the possibility that different types of radio stations, such as commercial versus community stations, may have different types of effects on social capital. Lastly, the study does not consider media content, thus using a simple media effects concept, meaning that yet another nuance that may impact social capital is missing.

Another extensive study of radio and social capital is by Van Vuuren who looks at 'the community development function of community broadcasting' (2001, p. 1). Her case study from 1998 and 1999 examines three community stations in non-metropolitan areas in Australia. Van Vuuren (2001) claims that community radio stations can contribute to social capital, as it can also be understood as a community project in which community members volunteer and through this gain civic skills and network with each other. However, this view of radio and social capital does not allow for the exploration of how a participatory station could contribute social capital for not only its radio staff, but also the listeners. Olken does not explain in detail by what attributes of a radio station different forms of social capital may be either enhanced or decreased.

When looking at the qualitative case studies of Putnam and colleagues (Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2003), it is clear that different projects in the publication contribute to social capital because of *how* they are implemented not because of what type of project they are. For instance, one of the case studies in the book 'Better Together: Restoring the American Community' is a public library fostering social

capital in a deprived neighbourhood (Chapter 2, Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2003). Clearly, not every library intrinsically has the capacity to build or strengthen bridging relationships within a community or between different communities. Libraries are not by nature inclusive and accessible. Instead, the case study tells a story of a quite conscious plan by the library administration on how to bridge two segregated communities of a wealthy and a poor area close to the library and build relationships between them. Through making the library inclusive and open, it is turned into a place in which members of both communities are treated equally and are both welcome and served as to their need. As the branch manager elaborates: 'No matter who walked in, we treated them as equal to anyone else. They received whatever services they needed' (Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2003, p. 39).

This suggests that indeed a radio station might contribute to social capital depending on *how* the radio station is used, which is what this thesis is investigating. A station could therefore take on a similar role, in which it strengthens bridging relationships through connecting community members to each other, providing information on the disaster response and acting as an additional system of redress towards those in power. Ultimately, this shows that we need to research the details of how media on the one hand communicates, and on the other hand is perceived by the community. This relates to the research questions on participatory communication established in chapter two.

3.4 Conclusion

The lack of a universal definition of resilience makes it hard to empirically investigate what may or may not contribute to community resilience. To circumvent this vagueness, I chose to use the concept of social capital to investigate community resilience. The chapter suggests that to research community resilience we should examine accountability and the different facets of bridging and linking relationships. The chapter also argued that the lack of difference in Putnam's view on media hides potential contributions of different media types. To investigate if and how participatory communication can contribute to these relationships the following research questions can be derived:

- If and how may participatory communication contribute to the community

being able to hold those in power accountable in terms of transparency and answerability?

- Can participatory communication contribute to general reciprocity?
- Can participatory communication contribute to bridging and linking relationships?
- If participatory communication can contribute to social capital, how sustainable is this contribution?
- What contextual factors may impact participatory communication contributing to social capital?

Bonding and bridging relationships are especially important on a community level after a disaster as they may contribute to social cohesion, mutual community help and linking communities to key power holders within the disaster response. However, these relationships may also have been disrupted by the disaster, therefore we should also investigate if participatory communication can contribute to reconnecting different parts of the community. Further, it is crucial to question how contextual factors may influence these relationships and critically assess the diversity of the relationships that participatory communication may contribute to.

The last three chapters have highlighted that there is a significant gap in the literature regarding participatory communication and resilience. The chapters have further set up a framework to guide empirical research of participatory communication in a disaster context and examine potential contributions to community resilience. Chapter one has argued that while communication is frequently mentioned in resilience literature, there is little to no empirical studies which tell us how participatory communication may work in a disaster and what contextual factors are relevant to consider. This empirical basis is relevant because communication as a contributing factor to resilience is becoming increasingly popular in practice and policy, which indicates that we need to understand more precisely how exactly communication interacts with community resilience. The second chapter has introduced a framework of how to investigate participatory communication in a disaster context. While most literature looks at participatory communication judging it as low or high level participatory, I argue that we need to step away from this binary and normative view and instead look at different types of

participatory communication and what they may or may not contribute to in a disaster context. Finally, chapter three introduced social capital and specifically bridging and linking relationships as a way to investigate the elusive concept of community resilience empirically. This research is the first empirical study to investigate how participatory communication may work in a disaster context and examining its potential contributions to community resilience over a longer period of time.

The following chapter will discuss the methodology used to gather data to answer my research question: if and how participatory communication can contribute to community resilience?

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

My research seeks to answer if and how participatory communication can impact the response of a community to a major disaster. The study is a single explanatory case study of a humanitarian radio station (Radyo Bakdaw), using an embedded research approach with participatory elements. This approach was well suited to address the flexibility and openness required by researching in the context of a disaster, map how the participatory communication impact unfolded, and immerse into the chaos of an emergency response. Participatory, disaster and embedded research have a lot of overlaps, such as engagement with and inclusion of research participants. They therefore are a valuable trio of methods to combine for the case study. This is also why I am including embedded research as another element of participatory research – in which the researcher participates in the lives of research participants. My research approach relates most closely to 'critical realism', thus recognising that research participants are 'interested and active participants in the search for knowledge' (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 1997, p. 15) and that while the world is 'theory-laden' it is not determined by theory (Fletcher, 2017). My epistemology further acknowledges the three ontological domains of critical realism: firstly, the empirical (what the researcher experiences and can observe), secondly, the actual domain, in which events occur independent of the researcher, and thirdly, the real domain, which consists of underlying mechanisms (Bhaskar, 1997; Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 1997).

Embedded research, also referred to as 'action research', involve researchers 'making active contributions to the community while undertaking the research' (Yates & Paquette, 2011, p. 8). This type of research relates to participatory research approaches. As Freire argued, '[a]uthentic thinking, thinking that is concerned about reality, does not take place in ivory tower isolation, but only in communication' (Freire, 1996, p. 58). This 'communicative research' seems particularly important when doing research within a community that has survived a disaster, as a researcher who is not from the same country, and therefore did not experience the actual disaster. Participatory research aims to include research participants in the research process, in its purest form, by letting local people lead the research and at the least, trying to include feedback from participants (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995). A more

participatory and embedded methodology therefore seemed the only way to answer these significant challenges. However, participatory research harbours its own sets of limitations and challenges, such as navigating complex power-relations, lack of relevance of the research to participants, as well as, the difficulties of remaining balanced and objective while being an embedded researcher. This calls for vigorous and continuous reflection and wherever possible a consistent triangulation of data.

This chapter will discuss the methodology used to gather and analyse the data relevant to answer the research questions posed, and contemplate challenges and limitations of data collection and methodology, and how they were addressed. The research is based on a longitudinal case study of a humanitarian radio station and the community the station aimed to serve, using multiple methods and adopting an embedded research approach with participatory elements. The case study of Radyo Bakdaw was researched during two field trips to the Philippines after typhoon Haiyan, one month and eight months after the typhoon made landfall. The field research aimed to address the following overarching research question: **If and how participatory communication can contribute to community resilience.**

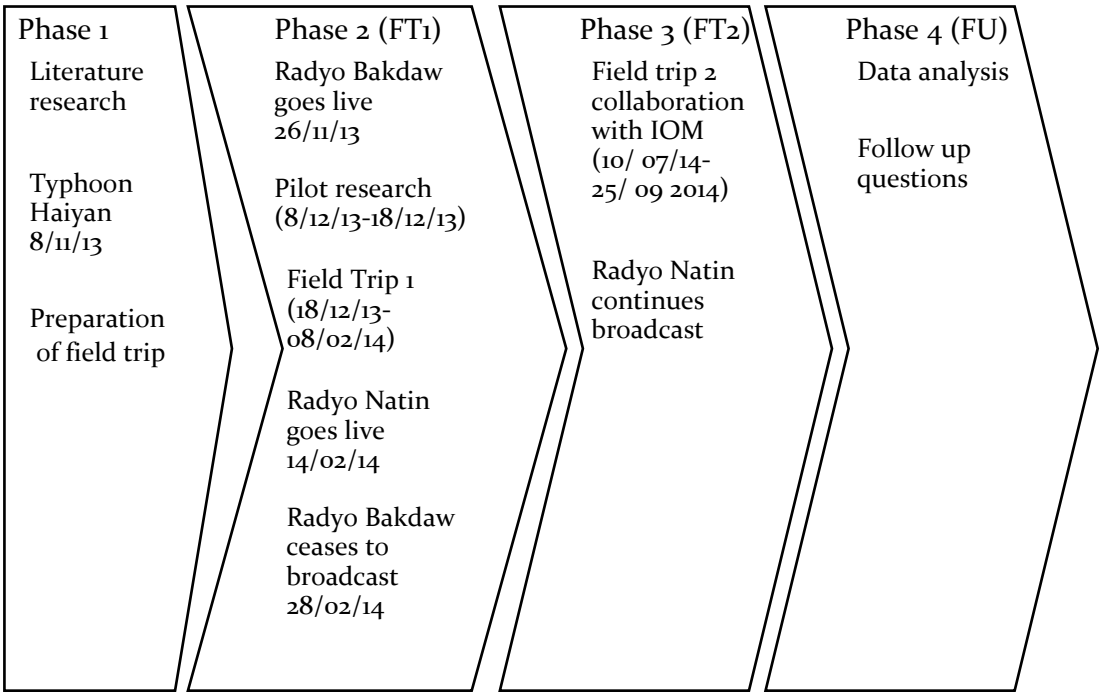

Figure 3 Research phases and important events

As figure 3 shows, the research can be divided into four different phases. **Phase one**

consists of an extensive literature research and review exploring the fields of participatory communication and community resilience, which served to narrow down the research focus and set the overall research question on if and how participatory communication can contribute to community resilience. Phase two started with a ten-day pilot with Internews, which was then developed into the main case study for this research. The first research trip corresponds with the disaster response phase;[8]commencing on 8 December 2013, just one month after typhoon Haiyan made landfall in Guiuan, and lasted for two months, until 8 February 2014. During phase two, I collected the following data sets: community survey 1, community focus group discussions, local broadcaster interviews, humanitarian survey 1, short-term observations of Radyo Bakdaw, and key interviews. **Phase three** consisted of the second three-month field research from 10 July to 25 September 2014, during the disaster recovery phase. During the second field trip, I collaborated with the International Organisation for Migration (IOM). In phase three the following data sets were gathered: local broadcaster interviews, community survey 2, community interviews, community focus group discussions and short term observations of Radyo Natin. After returning from the second field trip, **phase four** consisted mainly of data analysis, a few follow up questions that were conducted online (via skype, Email or social media), and humanitarian survey 2 as a brief follow up. The following sections will explore the methodological principles this research was based on and why they were the most appropriate to answer the research questions while also addressing the research context and barriers.

The chapter first briefly discusses case study research (4.2) and then explores disaster research (4.3) and participatory research (4.4), focussing on how these two fields interrelate, what challenges they face, and their relevance to this research. Ethical implications, such as power relations will be addressed, as well as the distinctive hurdles of disaster research. The chapter continues with an exploration of my two field trips (4.5), which will provide the context of my study, such as working

[8] Traditionally, disaster management is divided into four phases of a continuous circle: Mitigation, Preparedness, Response (the first few months after a disaster) and Recovery (longer term rebuilding and recovery) (Neal, 1997; Quarantelli, 1996; Tierny, 1993; Wilson et. al., 2008).

conditions and limitations of the disaster context. The following two sections will introduce and discuss how qualitative (4.6) and quantitative (4.7) data sets were collected and what hurdles needed to be overcome when collecting the data. Section 4.8 will discuss the methods used to analyse my data, such as open coding. The chapter concludes with the main learning points and recommendations on conducting field research in the context of a disaster (4.9).

4.2 Case study research

My research is a single longitudinal explanatory case study. I chose case study research as it is particularly suited to explore in-depth data from a specific context (Yin, 2014; Zainal, 2007). I selected this method as it is best suited to reveal how participatory communication may work in a disaster context and how it may contribute to community resilience. Based on my initial literature research, I was looking for a case study, which would fit certain parameters. It should be a communication project which presented itself as participatory. While there are humanitarian organisations that have CwC personnel the work of these CwC officers are still connected to the overall focus of the organisation, e.g. shelter, rebuilding livelihoods or water hygiene and sanitation. However, a 'pure' communication project would not be linked to any specific focus, therefore it could potentially cover a range of issues. This is important since humanitarian organisations that serve a specific purpose such as shelter may only connect with the community regarding issues dealing with shelter. This would limit their ability to be community-centred, as it would mean for instance, that they may not be able to answer questions about issues that do not relate to their own project.

Moreover, ideally the project would be in the context of a disaster, as this would allow me to investigate if participatory communication can contribute to a community's ability to cope with a disaster, thus tracing their resilience. I prepared for the chance that there would not be a project within a disaster context that I could join, by considering disaster risk reduction (DRR) projects in disaster-prone countries. However, such a project would not have revealed how communities coped with a disaster as it is impossible to tell whether DRR works until a disaster actually happens.

This relates to another parameter, which was finding a case in a country that was prone to natural hazard type disasters, as this would provide a greater likelihood of community members who would be interested in subjects such as resilience, making it more plausible for me to use participatory research elements. Additionally, the case needed to be in a low-risk security environment in order to make sure that potential relationship building between community members themselves, and the community and communication project staff would not be inhibited through security concerns. Furthermore, choosing a case in a country with natural hazards would make my findings more generalizable, as it would suggest a disaster to be less of an outlier event that communities had likely never experienced before and would never experience again. Another parameter was to find a case in a country where it would be possible to conduct most of my qualitative research in English, in order to enable building relationships of trust with my research participants (see section 4.4.2) and also for the opportunity to embed myself within a project and contribute to the disaster response (see 4.4.3 and 4.3.2).

There has been criticism that single case studies cannot be statistically representative nor be generalised (van Donge, 2006), however, this does not negate the wider significance of their findings, (van Donge, 2006), as case studies can be a strong example of a 'contemporary life phenomenon' (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Yin, 2014; Zainal, 2007) such as a disaster. By choosing to research community resilience after a typhoon in the Philippines, I hope that the findings of my study can be applicable and testable in other instances, as typhoons are a major form of hazard, especially in Southeast Asia. Additionally, as section 4.5.1 proposes, there are other communication projects similar to my case study which once more emphasises that while my findings may not be generalizable they may still have wider relevance and comparability. Moreover, through using multiple methods for all my research questions, I am triangulating my findings and adding another layer of empirical rigour that will aim to address the singularity of case study research.

My case study is mainly explanatory, investigating a specific phenomenon: participatory communication in a disaster context and aiming to gather a more thorough understanding of it, thus contributing to the gap of empirical research on

participatory communication in disasters. As Gillham argues, case studies can illuminate processes and 'sometimes an insight into people's lives is what is required for better understanding and an improved response or attitude' (2000, p. 102). While Gillham is probably referring to changing individuals' attitudes, I am aiming to contribute to a greater understanding of how participatory communication works within the context of a disaster and hoping that my research will contribute to an improved use of participatory communication in a humanitarian context. The following section will explore this humanitarian context and the hurdles implicit in researching within an ongoing disaster research.

4.3 Disaster research – chaos, context, and complexity

The first study recognised as disaster research was a study of Samuel H. Prince into the 1917 Halifax explosion, called 'Catastrophe and Social Change' (Philips, 2002, p. 194; Scanlon, 1988). It is noteworthy that Prince dedicated his study to 'the people of Halifax' emphasising the relevance of their contribution as individuals affected by a disaster, rather than 'just' research subjects thus implying their importance, relating his research to participatory methods that evolve around communities. Since Prince's study, which was published in 1920, the field of disaster research has developed and embraced new technologies (Bourque, Shoaf, & Nguyen, 2002), such as online surveys and other technological advances. Nevertheless, despite this technological progress, some constraints specific to researching in a disaster context have remained relevant, especially when conducting research in a developing country. These challenges mainly fall under three key themes: **time pressure, context, and the multifaceted complexities of a post-disaster environment**. Some of these hurdles lessen over time and might be most relevant during the initial recovery and response phase, such as time pressure. Others, like contextual power relations, are relevant in all disaster phases.

Implementing research in the context of a disaster brings with it multi-faceted challenges, which at times intensify other challenges e.g. power relations between researcher and research participants. Disasters intrinsically have a high level of unpredictability, chaos and complexity, which need to be addressed by the research methodology. Moreover, research that includes the affected community faces further

difficulties through potential trauma of interviewees, diverse and crucial priorities of research participants, such as rebuilding their home and livelihoods, and a potential fluctuation and/or displacement of interviewees. It appears that because of these reasons, there is a limited amount of research that both explores the early stages of a disaster as well as uses an embedded approach. As Horsley laments:

> *'Missing from the body of disaster communication literature is the in-the-moment, sensory-laden experience of being in the midst of a disaster as it unfolds while participating as an integral part of the communication response. This experience would be disaster communication participant-observation at its pinnacle.'* (2012, p. 181)

Horsley refers to an unfolding disaster because her own research investigated the communication work of the American Red Cross during the 2009 Red River Valley floods in Fargo, North Dakota, USA. However, the same argument applies to a disaster such as typhoon Haiyan. Although, a typhoon is not a slow-onset disaster like a flood, the response and early recovery phase of a typhoon, still fits in her description of the 'in-the-moment, sensory-laden experience'. The intensity and complexity of the situation for both the affected population and humanitarian workers, are hard to grasp once the situation has calmed down and the rebuilding phase has begun. To be able to conduct research while participating in the response, as Horsley did, and as this research sets out to do, adds a further layer of understanding to the subject matter that cannot be replaced by literature research or empirical research in a later phase of the disaster response. This underlines the value of using participatory elements for my methodology (see 4.3 participatory research).

4.3.1 Unpredictability, time pressure and usefulness

Even though there has been great effort to make more precise disaster forecasts, it is still near impossible to predict where and when a disaster strikes. This makes it hard to plan research that investigates the aftermath of a disaster. Moreover, rather than viewing disasters as linear processes, they should be understood as composed of a series of interrelated events, layered with various social contextual factors that influence the impact of and response to a disaster. So rather than researching a

'stable' situation, disaster research happens amid extreme and ongoing events. As Killian argues, much about disaster field studies is determined by the disaster itself, as the very nature of a disaster is its changeability (2002, p. 52).

This adds a great amount of **unpredictability** to any disaster research. This unpredictability does not necessarily lessen throughout the course of the disaster cycle, as disasters are often followed by secondary disasters. For instance, an earthquake might be followed by mudslides that occur months after the primary disaster due to continuous aftershocks, which can have an even stronger impact than usual on the affected population, as they may be living in tents at the time, rather than houses. Typhoons usually occur as part of a typhoon season which suggests further extreme weather events after the first disaster. In addition to these potential secondary disasters, it is nearly impossible to predict how affected communities will cope and how efficient the response of governments and humanitarian organisations will be. This means that rather than setting out to research a typical or extreme case, disaster research needs to be more flexible and look for a potential case that may fit the wider research parameters and will be more closely defined during the research. This transforms the research into an ongoing and emerging process rather than a set case with a prefixed framework.

Disaster research faces the same methodological limitations and difficulties as any social research, however its extreme context adds another layer of challenges that researchers must address (Killian, 2002, p. 52). While survivors are busy rebuilding their lives and thus have more pressing priorities than participating in research, the same can be said for humanitarian workers who work in a high-pressure environment (Horsley, 2012). Electricity supplies might be down; the mobile network might not work; accommodation might be in the form of a tent. This means that less preparation is possible, key informants may not be able to be contacted beforehand or even while on location, public transport might be delayed or unavailable altogether. On the other hand, unexpected opportunities may arise, such as invitations to visit communities, or participation in projects with organisations, or talking to key figures that would otherwise be unavailable to speak to a junior researcher.

This changing context makes an emergent flexible research method, which can be adapted as per the situation on the ground, the most appropriate. Some of Killian's suggestions on how to address this unknown, such as sending research assistants to the field for early piloting (2002), seems to be speaking to established research teams with a budget rather than small-scale PhD research projects. Nevertheless, his argument that disaster research requires flexibility is a valid one. A flexible research framework that is not going to collapse easily due to unforeseen changes, such as interviewees being unavailable or unreachable, can help address some parts of this unpredictability. Disaster research necessitates a pragmatic approach, which means that decisions on how to collect data and what data to collect are not only determined by academic goals, i.e. the research questions, but also need to take into consideration the practical circumstances of such a complex situation, such as the availability of participants from the affected community or expectations by a host (e.g. a humanitarian organisation).

Time pressure is yet another factor impacting disaster research. As it is almost never possible to predict when a disaster will strike, therein lies the difficulty for a researcher to find a project fitting their research goals within the response phase of the disaster. Accordingly, it is just as challenging to plan where and when exactly research will be conducted, or what the ideal length of the research would be. Research questions can be developed beforehand, but which local context to prepare for and include in the questions will be unknown until the disaster happens. Despite these restraints of preparation, it is still essential to arrive at the disaster location as soon as possible. Especially with such a traumatising experience as a disaster and its immediate aftermath, survivors might not be able to accurately recall the more immediate response phase (Horsley, 2012). Moreover, not immersing oneself into the disaster response makes it harder to put the collected data into the complex context that it refers to. As Drabeck puts it:

> *The very first thing you must do is to walk very slowly and several times through the area and observe everything you can. Your interpretation of all the statistics you may later play with will differ depending on your observations. In any case they will certainly be more accurate if you make the walk.'* (2002, p. 124)

This 'walk through town' is not only relevant for quantitative data but is equally relevant for qualitative data (see 4.5.1 for a description of this first walk). To be able to have at least partly experienced the aftermath of the disaster will make both data collection and analysis more relevant and enable the researcher to triangulate interview data with their own observations. Further, it can help build a connection with the survivors, as the researcher would at least have had a glimpse of what research participants have been through, and therefore have a greater potential for understanding the participants' explanations. This relates to the participatory elements of my research, which will be discussed in the following part of the chapter.

As disaster research often involves a transient population that might be both hard to involve due to different priorities and hard to find due to constantly changing locations, it is therefore crucial to use multiple methods. For instance, it might not be possible to find a representative number of interviewees in the first phase of a disaster and therefore quantifying some of the research questions helps test the validity of qualitative findings. The impact of the disaster on interviewees and what this means for interviewing potentially traumatised individuals, will be discussed in section 4.3.4 on ethics.

4.3.2 Involvement and usefulness

In disaster research, reflection on the involvement of researchers into their subject matter and with their participants is pivotal as the research context is one of extreme human suffering, which cannot and should not be ignored. While Killian cautions not to give false hope as to the objective or impact of the research to participants, he argues that disaster survivors may be more likely to participate in research if they '[…] can be convinced that the research has an immediate, practical purpose and will contribute to the alleviation of the effects of future disasters' (2002, p. 72). This concurs with the opinion of other authors, who claim that disaster research should be 'useful' to disaster survivors (Richardson, Plummer, Barthelemy, & Cain, 2012, p. 9). However, Killian also sees a risk of bias through '[…] the researcher [being] affected by the drama and the tragedy which so strongly affect [research] subjects' (2002, p. 53). He therefore suggests that researchers help through their research, e.g.

contributing to a body of knowledge, rather than getting involved in the actual response. One way I plan to do this is through writing a synopsis of my research and share it with my research participants, Internews and IOM. Moreover, I have been offered to publish my results on the CDAC Network website, which would allow me to share the implications of my study with a wider humanitarian audience and thus increasing the 'usefulness' of my research contribution.

Other researchers disagree with this notion of not getting involved. Yates and Paquette, who researched humanitarian knowledge sharing during the Haiti Earthquake response in 2010 for instance, argue that: '[b]y shaping the phenomenon being studied, action researchers offer unique insights that outside researchers may not observe' (2011, p. 8) and emphasise that being embedded gave them unique access. Richardson and colleagues, who conducted research in the wake of hurricane Katrina and Rita in the USA, not only recommend that the needs of the affected community should be prioritised over the research, but also that '[…] disaster related research specifically needs to be made available to and be useful for end-user communities (i.e., usable by those affected by the disaster)' (Richardson, Plummer, Barthelemy, & Cain, 2012, p. 9). Hoffmann and Oliver-Smith, both anthropologists, similarly argue that '[w]e cannot forget that we are part of the communities we study, as well as part of the global community, and have responsibility to mitigate the suffering of others to whatever degree we can' (2002, S. 14). They further their argument by claiming that '[…] since disaster victims often come from the most vulnerable sectors of society, we assume a special charge of being a voice for people and places that cannot always be heard' (Hoffmann & Oliver-Smith, 2002, p. 14).

Giving importance to community voices may at first view connect closely to a participatory research approach (discussed in the following section), which also argues for giving greater relevance to communities within research and seeing research participants as equals rather than research subjects. However, Hoffman and Oliver-Smith's use of the term 'victim' and their idea that they 'assume' the role of 'giving voice' to people suggests a rather top-down and to a certain extent, paternalistic approach. It suggests that communities do not have a voice of their own and further gives the impression that the researcher takes on the position of giving voice to otherwise unheard 'victims', without the 'victims' asking for or agreeing to

the researcher becoming their spokesperson. So, although, the sentiment of usefulness is valuable and was applied in this research, there needs to be a clearer reflection on positionality of the researcher and equality of the research participants. The term 'disaster victim' is similarly problematic as it suggests affected individuals as passive and powerless, voiceless in contrast to the researcher who is supposedly an unaffected, active outsider and helping the 'victims'.

As Brady found in a small sample study, research participants '[…] consistently considered [disaster] victims to be weaker, less rational, less informed and less knowledgeable than [disaster] survivors' (2015). Humanitarian agencies and journalism guides have similarly argued that the term 'disaster victim' is inappropriate and instead the term 'affected community or population' or 'survivor' should be used (Australian Red Cross 2010). Although, the general gist of making research relevant to the research participants and being an involved researcher that contributes to the response can be judged as an ethical way to conduct research in a disaster context, reflection on positionality and power should not be dismissed. To address this, I aimed to make the research and my involvement useful to the affected community. This was done through choosing to add participatory elements to the research method and embedding myself with humanitarian organisations supporting their day-to-day work and not only taking on the role of a researcher and observer, but also participating as a humanitarian worker. However, this method of involvement also comes with inherent problems, such as, trying to balance two very time intensive roles at the same time. Furthermore, apart from giving me valuable access, this method also poses a potential bias of being usurped by the experience of tragedy and the urge to help. Through the participatory elements of my research and regular reflective writing and discussions, I tried to balance my involvement in the disaster response and the bias produced by it (see 4.4 for a further discussion on bias and involvement).

Aiming to make my research 'useful' to the affected community and humanitarian professionals also brought benefits for data collection. The initial findings from community survey 1 were shared with the national and international humanitarian network in the Philippines. This proved to be very helpful in building further contacts with humanitarian organisations, as some individuals working in the

communication and engagement departments of various humanitarian organisations felt the survey helped them demonstrate the necessity of their work to colleagues. Moreover, it was the first research on communication from the affected area and thus deemed useful to assess how to best communicate with communities. Maintaining good relations with the humanitarian workers proved valuable to gather answers for two short surveys regarding humanitarian's perceptions on Radyo Bakdaw thus helping to answer how Radyo Bakdaw may have strengthened relationships between the station, the community and humanitarian workers. In addition, the exchange with humanitarians provided valuable feedback that I integrated into my research, for instance, in the review of survey questions.

However, being embedded also meant that at times the boundaries between my work as a researcher and my work as a humanitarian were blurred, which played into power relations between myself and community members. During my second field trip for instance, I was approached by the member of a local union, who had been interviewed by the radio station, and who thought I might be able to further his cause to get financial support for his union. I explained that I was in Guiuan as a researcher and although I could forward his feedback to IOM, I had no power to help his cause. This exemplifies how my different roles, of being embedded in a humanitarian organisation and being an independent researcher were at times confusing to research participants. I tried to address this through verbally explaining to interviewees what my research was for and what my role was.

Access to community members was at times facilitated through organisations or in connection to organisations rather than by myself, which is inconsistent with the participatory research, discussed in the following section. Further concrete limitations and hurdles, as well as my role within Radyo Bakdaw will be discussed in section 4.4.1 on the different field trips and data sets.

4.4 Participatory research

Participatory research strives to equalise power imbalances between researchers and research participants, using methods that evolve around research participants. As Oezerdem and Bowd argue, '[p]articipatory methods, through the participation of

community members, seek to bridge the power relations between researchers and the researched, between practitioners and beneficiaries' (2010, p. 4). This power imbalance proves even more relevant in a disaster context, as the research participants are considered vulnerable through trauma and having at times lost their loved ones, homes and livelihoods. There are two defining features of participatory research that I am including in my research approach: involving participants in the research process and developing relationships of trust with research participants. Both relate closely to embedded research, which will be explored in the following section (4.4.3). Underlying these two participatory features is the aim to strive for a diverse research, using mixed methods to ensure diversity in community representation. Rather than using a full participatory approach I am combining my case study research with participatory elements. This means that these key features are used in varying degrees in different parts of the research process, e.g. due to the disaster context of the study, it was not possible to conduct relationship building with all participants to the same level.

While participation is often juxtaposed with dependency, it could be said that participatory research is at times presented as an answer to the colonization of research and the power imbalance between researcher and research participants. It has been criticised that '[i]ndigenous communities have long experienced exploitation by researchers and increasingly require participatory and decolonizing research processes' (Simonds & Christopher, 2013, p. 2185). One of the criticisms of this exploitative research is that Western researchers have been 'taking knowledge' and data from communities and not offered anything in exchange that might benefit the community (Simonds & Christopher, 2013, p. 2185), thus continuing an exploitation of developing countries by former colonial powers. Some authors therefore argue, that the goal of participatory research would be that communities decide for themselves, which questions they want to investigate, what data they would like to gather and how to use it (Chung, 2000, p. 41). However, Chung also admits that this would be the 'ideal, highly participatory situation' (2000, p. 41). A pure participatory approach such as that would not have been possible within the context of a disaster research, and the financial and time limitations of a PhD project. While using participatory elements for my research fit with the context, the aims of disaster research and the content of my study, it is crucial to not overestimate the

impact of these participatory elements.

4.4.1 Involving research participants into the research process

The participatory elements of the research design allowed for preliminary research findings and feedback from participants on location to shape and adjust the format and content of the research. This is more in tone with Servaes, who seems to favour a more moderate approach to participation when he explains participatory research as '*reciprocal* collaboration throughout all levels of participation. Listening to what the others say, respecting the counterpart's attitude, and having mutual trust are needed' (1996, p. 75). According to Chung, this approach would not necessarily count as participatory research. She does admit that there are '[…] varying degrees and qualities of participatory research […]' (2000, p. 42), but makes a very clear argument that research should only be called participatory if the participants benefit from it or find it valuable, not only the researcher (Chung, 2000, p. 41). This relates to the argument of disaster researchers making their research useful to affected communities, which I address for instance through sharing research results with research participants and humanitarians (see section 4.3.2).

Servaes appears to have less clear cut boundaries on what can or cannot be called participatory research, but advises that treating individuals 'the way we would like to be treated' is the basis for developing mutual trust and working as a team which in turn he argues fosters 'honesty, trust, commitment and motivation' (1996, p. 77). However, treating others the way we want to be treated seems to be common decency rather than a research approach. While PhD research, which is undertaken with significant funding and time restraints, may not make a fully participatory approach achievable, Servaes' partially participatory approach can be improved upon by making the research process useful to affected communities and the research results accessible to professionals and research participants.

A participatory approach to the design and content of the empirical research proved very fruitful during the pilot research as some questions had to be adjusted corresponding to local knowledge and the current situation. For instance, by connecting more abstract concepts such as disaster resilience to the daily reality of

research participants through describing characteristics of resilience, rather than asking participants directly about 'community resilience'. Pressing community problems (e.g. the need for food and shelter) that were relevant in the first surveys changed, and questions for the second survey were adjusted accordingly. This also contributed to a research approach that aimed to not simply 'take knowledge' from the community, but also include at least some of the research participants into the design of the research. This was done to make my research more relevant to participants and begin to address power imbalances between researcher and participants.

The responses to community survey 1 gave valuable insight on what type of questions were effective in gathering evidence on more abstract concepts such as resilience and participation, and which questions did not. For instance, one of the survey questions asked, 'what role does radio play before, during and after a disaster?'. This question turned out to be inappropriate, it seemed that the question was too abstract. This was an excellent reminder that research is improved through close interaction with research participants. Even though I had spent a year thinking about communication, media and disasters, this was not a pertinent question to most of the research participants, therefore it was not viable to expect them to have reflected on this enough to give an impromptu answer during a survey. This highlighted not only that collaboration was essential, but also that different types of questions required different approaches to data gathering. Asking a rather abstract question about the role of radio would be better directed at a key informant, such as a humanitarian aid worker working on communication during an interview or the radio staff. Whereas, for the community data it would be more appropriate to ask if radio was useful in the immediate aftermath of the disaster, as asking for a concrete experience seemed more valuable especially when using quantitative methods. One way to address this challenge was seeking continuous feedback from local key informants and piloting the next questionnaire even more extensively, but also reflecting on which type of questions to ask to whom and how to phrase these questions effectively.

4.4.2 Building relationships with research participants

Servaes and Freire argue that it is important to build a relationship of trust with participants (Freire, 1996; Servaes, 1996). This can only be done through re-visiting the same groups of people several times and requires a certain amount of involvement of the researcher in the life of the research participants, which makes an embedded research approach even more useful. By introducing oneself, explaining the research and participating in a part of the day-to-day life of research participants, this also helps in understanding the living context of research participants. This will benefit analysis a great deal as participants' answers will then not be considered out of the context of their lives. Moreover, it helps to show a genuine engagement of the researcher with the participants. This once more illustrates a bridge with disaster research, which asks for involvement of researchers in participants lives, showing that these two research methods overlap and would prove valuable when combined.

When we discuss participation, we should therefore not just think of the participation of community members in research, but also of the participation of the researcher in the lives of the research participants. This suggests that limiting the sample to a size that will both allow enough heterogeneity and the building up of several visits as the most suitable approach. This is one reason why this study is designed as a case study of one radio station using some comparative elements for contextual understanding, and not a comparative multiple case study between several different radio stations. Instead, I conducted an in-depth explanatory single case study which gave insight on how participatory communication could contribute to characteristics of community resilience over time. Even though participatory research methods such as building trust and seeing research subjects as reflective individuals, do not inherently guarantee that research participants are truthful about their opinions and feelings, it may contribute to a greater likelihood of participants feeling included into the project, thus feeling more responsible towards being more truthful in interviews (Servaes, 1996). However, it is precisely this perceived responsibility, which can also be a hurdle and lead participants to give answers that they presume are expected of them for a 'positive research outcome' (Haynes & Tanner, 2015, p. 359). This danger can never be fully avoided and it is important not to ignore biases from both researchers and research participants. However, through a heterogeneous and adequately large sample, it will be easier to identify answers

which may not seem genuine and to follow up and contextualise them.

Overall, it is evident that the benefits of using participatory elements, such as trying to make research beneficial or relevant to the participants, including their views in the research design, and building relationships rather than swooping in and out of their lives, seem particularly fitting for researching participatory communication and conducting research in the context of a disaster.

4.4.3 Embedded research - the researcher as participant

Based on disaster research that aims to be useful and participatory, an embedded research approach enabled me best to answer my research questions regarding everyday station activities. This meant I took part in the daily activities of the station, supporting activities for instance through finding better ways to document text messages or attending humanitarian meetings. Being an embedded researcher enabled me to build trust and establish relationships that helped me to trace subtler and more intimate traits of community resilience, such as strengthened relationships between broadcasters and humanitarians and a potential change of perspective on community involvement by broadcasters. This relationship building was the most successful with the core group of Radyo Bakdaw broadcasters, but it was less achievable in regard to the community as community members were at times too shy to speak their mind in front of a foreigner, and had different priorities during the disaster response phase. Therefore, the quantitative data sets helped to explore the relevance of the qualitative community data.

By building personal relationships, broadcasters trusted me enough to tell me 'their gossip', their more personal stories about themselves and others in our interviews. They felt comfortable in confiding their hopes and fears for the future with me, and how they perceived their own professional development. These closer relationships meant a strong involvement in the lives of research participants, with me participating in their personal lives. By being invited to birthday celebrations and family dinners, some of my research participants have become my friends or at least friendly with me. My own analysis was coloured by this friendship, which made it easy to be touched by the enthusiasm of the broadcasters for their own project and

trust the proclaimed achievements of broadcasters. However, as Shawn Wilson claims '(…) relationships are our reality. Due to the relational nature of reality, context becomes critical in the understanding of any knowledge' (2008). Therefore, I acknowledge and encourage these relationships, while questioning my own positionality, as well as the agendas of research participants and my own. For instance, taking any praise of radio by broadcasters with a grain of salt, perhaps adjusting some of the questions, triangulating their claims and closely monitoring what the research participant's demeanour might disclose of their attitude.

This mutual participation led to a deeper understanding of the collected data and context, which relates to the participatory elements of my research. However, this also meant a risk of receiving answers that participants felt would be beneficial to my research. This relates to the criticism that participatory research does not guarantee equalising power relationships (Haynes & Tanner, 2015, p. 360). As Haynes and Tanner underline, it is crucial to not fall prey to the assumption that using participatory research methods automatically breaks down power barriers and therefore be blind to '[…] the complex social and political context within which the [research] process takes place' (2015, p. 360). Instead, participatory research must continuously question relationships and how they impact the research. I aimed to address this by triangulating data, for instance, through cross-checking on information from broadcaster interviews with community interviews and by using mixed methods, being critical of my data and my own analysis, seeking feedback from individuals who were not emotionally involved in my research (such as my supervisors) reflecting on how my relationships may have influenced my thinking and writing, and by examining different data sets as much as possible to see all angles of the evidence my data might suggest.

4.4.4 Ethics – balancing power relations through consent

One way I aimed to address power imbalances when working with potentially vulnerable individuals, was via the ethical approval procedure by UEA. This allowed me to reflect and receive feedback on whether for instance, potential consequences of the research for research participants were addressed appropriately even before conducting the research, and how to make clear to participants that they could opt

out of the research process at any point.

Interviewing in the context of a disaster meant that I had to take particular care to not re-traumatise research participants. In this instance, I drew upon my previous experience of working and interviewing in a humanitarian context through my work as a programme manager during the Sichuan Earthquake response in 2008. In addition, during my first research trip, I took part in a full day workshop run by the Israeli Relief Service on how to interview disaster survivors. The workshop suggested for example that when talking about the disaster - Typhoon Haiyan - one should ask interviewees to describe not only the disaster itself, but also the time before and after the disaster, to support the interviewee in moving on from the initial disaster impact and focussing on how they coped with it.

Moreover, I took care to not pressure interviewees into taking part in the research if they did not want to. This is one of the reasons why it seemed more appropriate to have less formal interviews with the community, as it allowed individuals to opt-in or out when I approached them, rather than being put under pressure to attend a formal interview. Moreover, conducting most of the community interviews during the second field trip, meant that there had been over half a year since the disaster happened, which suggests that although some individuals might still suffer from post-traumatic-stress-disorder, there is a lesser chance of the majority of interviewees still being traumatised. Overall, there was only one interviewee who was visibly distressed at one point of our interview. I offered him to finish or take a break from the interview, but he wanted to continue. It appeared that his emotional distress was relief rather than pain, and he was happy to talk to me further. As one can never be completely sure of the mental wellbeing of an interviewee when approaching them, it is of utmost importance to make sure that the interviewee is given the opportunity to opt out of the research, and that the researcher tries to assess the comfort level of the participant and either continues or aborts the interview accordingly.

I used a UEA ethics committee approved consent form that included a brief overview of my research; my contact details, and explained how the data would be used and whether the interviewee wanted to remain anonymous (see appendix A1 and A2). My goal was to ensure that research participants would clearly understand what I

intended to do with the collected data and could get in touch with me in case there was any concern or question. By explaining the idea of consent, I aimed to clarify especially for timid research participants that their participation was optional and on even ground as they had the power to withdraw, be anonymous, or get in touch to discuss the research. This was especially relevant for my local key informants, as these interviews built the basis for answering how Radyo Bakdaw was accessible and inclusive and whether this community-focused approach was novel in Guiuan. This meant that it was especially important to build a relationship that was on even ground, in which participants knew they could decide which of their thoughts they wanted me to use and which they would rather not see published. Additionally, I found that it was important to explain the research verbally rather than having a long, written consent form, that at times, seemed to be too formal and intimidating. Through meeting most key research participants more than once or at least letting them know where in Guiuan they could find me, I gave participants an opportunity to contact me in case they had further questions or changed their minds about participating.

This was in accordance with the recommendation of the ethics committee who suggested to consider relying on verbal rather than extensive written consent to make participants more comfortable. Accordingly, I decided on a case-by-case basis whether to obtain written or verbal consent. I made sure that I always explained what the research would be used for, who I was, where I was studying, how research participants could contact me, that participants could opt-out of answering questions, and that all data would be used anonymously. It is important to include these ethical considerations into the methodology, as they are partly a way to address power relations and thus also relate to the participatory elements of my research method.

All collected data will be used anonymously, even though most research participants said they would be happy for me to use their names. But due to the geographical limitations of the research area and the sparse media landscape, I decided it may be more prudent for individuals' professional future to keep all data anonymised. Some company names will be used, such as the Eastern Samar Electric Cooperative (ESAMELCO) for instance, as data connected to the company was publically

broadcast and available and ESAMELCO is the only Electricity Company in Guiuan.

The research questions did not have a specific focus on gender. Nevertheless, the research aimed to address gender by seeking to use what Few and colleagues describe as a 'gender-sensitive approach' in their guide to post-disaster evaluations (Few, Mcavoy, Tarazona, & Walden, 2014, p. 12). With this, they refer to the inclusion of gender dimensions into all levels of collecting and analysing data, as opposed to taking a gender-focused approach that would require different methods and would have a gender-focused research frame. As my research questions are not directly focussing on gender, I chose a gender-sensitive rather than gender-focused approach, striving to collect 'sex and age disaggregated data' (Few, Mcavoy, Tarazona, & Walden, 2014, p. 12). The core broadcasting team was equally split along gender lines. The qualitative community data set had a bias towards women (16 women and 12 men). Within the quantitative data sets, there was a larger part of women who participated (community survey 1: 193 women and 122 men, 16 non-identified; community survey 2: 186 women, 71 men, 1 other). I will elaborate further on the question of gender in the collected data, in the quantitative data section (4.6).

The following sections will give contextual background regarding the two field trips and explore collected data sets, establishing how quantitative and qualitative data was collected, why certain data samples were selected, what challenges were encountered, and how the data shaped the research framework and answered my research questions.

4.5 Field research

After having established the methodological principles upon which the research is based, the next sections will explore the concrete methods of data collection during the different phases of field research. Beginning first with an overview of the pilot and two field research phases (4.4.1 and 4.4.2), then followed by discussions on the different data sets collected during the two field trips (4.5 and 4.6). Both research trips were conducted in Guiuan, Eastern Samar, Philippines where typhoon Haiyan first made landfall (see figure 4) but also included data collected from the neighbouring municipalities of Mercedes and Salcedo, as they fell into the

broadcasting range of both Radyo Bakdaw and Radyo Natin.

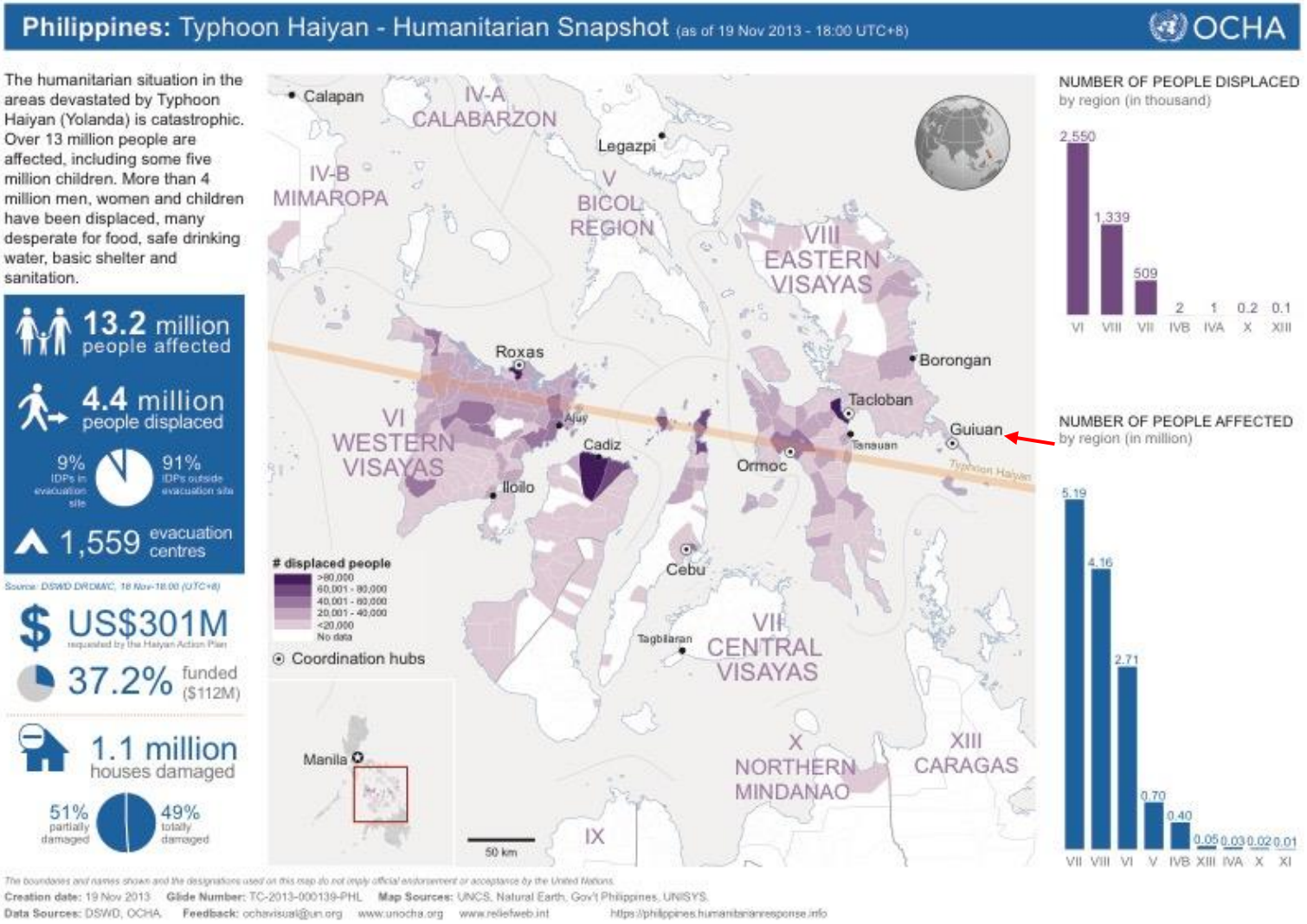

Figure 4 Humanitarian map of the affected areas in the Philippines and typhoon path, the red arrow highlights Guiuan (UN-OCHA, 2013)

4.5.1 From pilot to first field study: field trip 1 to Guiuan, Eastern Samar

The first field trip lasted ten weeks and took place from 8 December 2013 to 8 February 2014. I approached Internews, an INGO working on humanitarian response and development, regarding working with them as an embedded researcher, through a CDAC event in London. Radyo Bakdaw appeared as a suitable potential case study in so far as Radyo Bakdaw was exclusively set up as a communication project rather than being only a small communication section of a humanitarian organisation with a different overall goal, e.g. providing medical support. Furthermore, although the project was set up after the disaster by an INGO, it worked mainly with local communication experts, which suggested at least to a certain extent a local and potentially inclusive approach. I had met another humanitarian worker from Internews at a UNICEF C4D workshop in Senegal and was intrigued by their presentation that alleged a strong focus on community-centred development and humanitarian response. I was thus keen to investigate as to what level they were 'walking the walk' after 'talking the participatory talk'. The project seemed to allow me to explore my research questions regarding what types of participatory communication were used and how they contributed to which parts of community resilience. This was underlined by the rhetoric used on the Internews website that similarly suggests a more participatory approach:

> *'In crises around the world information saves lives. Internews supports local media to enable people in the midst of a disaster to take an active role in their own survival and recovery.'* (Internews, n.d.)

This quote, from their humanitarian communications site implies that they see the involvement and, to a certain extent, the ownership of affected communities as the goal of their projects. This allegedly community-centred approach made Internews' project a valuable revelatory and explanatory single case study to examine how participatory communication projects work in the wake of a disaster. Internews emphasises on their website that disaster affected communities '[…] have an urgent need for information' and that they collaborate with government and humanitarian organisations (Internews, 2015) suggested that the case study would also involve

other key stakeholders. This would allow me to examine how the station dealt with power holders and whether there were any instances of participatory communication contributing to the two identified themes of accountability: answerability and transparency. Further, Internews is part of the CDAC Network, which suggests that a project run by them may be comparable to projects of other CDAC Network member organisations, as they fall under one umbrella organisation, in comparison to, for instance, a smaller organisation which only implements a single project. While it is improbable that these communication type projects use the exact same approach to participatory communication, this would suggest that there are similar projects, which my results may have implications for.

Moreover, the Philippines are regularly exposed to natural hazard related disasters (Haynes & Tanner, 2015, p. 361), which suggested that community resilience was a relevant topic for communities and thus would enable me to use a research approach based on participatory elements, for which I would need my research topic to be relevant to participants. Additionally, investigating a case study in the Philippines meant that I had a case study which was not set in extreme political circumstances nor an extremely restricted media landscape that could make my research results less generalizable. For instance, the Philippines was one of the 70 countries whose press freedom was rated as 'partly free' and 'largely stable' in 2013 when I began my research (Freedom House, 2017). 36% of the world's countries were rated 'partly free', the majority being developing countries (Freedom House, 2013). This suggests that the contextual factors regarding the media landscape were to a certain extent relatable to other countries, which makes my results more generalizable.

It should be noted that even though my case study is that of a radio station, my research is aimed at participatory communication, rather than participatory radio. This is because the medium in this instance is less important than how it is used. Radio should be understood as a platform or tool for participatory communication that could theoretically also be replaced by a different platform e.g. a community centre, information desk or a library. I will therefore mainly concentrate on the theme of communication rather than radio within the different literature fields. However, whenever relevant, I will also refer to media and radio to set my case study into the context of policy documents and acknowledge the particularities of my case

study. In addition, it should be acknowledged that radio is deemed an especially relevant communication tool after a natural hazard related disaster. When electricity and mobile networks are not functioning and communities that might have low literacy rates are affected, radio has been argued to have great potential to reach a wider audience compared to other technologies (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2009; Romo-Murphy, James, & Adams, 2011). Therefore, from the different platforms that could be available for participatory communication after a disaster, radio could perhaps be counted as one that may have a further reach therefore making it an especially interesting media choice for this case study.

I introduced my research to Jacobo Quintanilla, the then Humanitarian Director of Internews, and offered to assist in documenting the respective project while doing a preliminary study as an embedded researcher. After further discussion, he agreed to let me join their project in the Philippines – a humanitarian radio station in Guiuan, Eastern Samar. Since I wanted to investigate resilience building in the aftermath of a disaster it was paramount to leave as soon as possible. As Killian illuminates, it is crucial to start field study as shortly after a disaster as practicable, since, '[…] the longer [a researcher] takes to get into the field the more remote the disaster experience becomes for his subjects' (Killian, 2002, p. 53). This implies that it was vital to investigate the work of Radyo Bakdaw while it was running in order to get impressions of what role the station played during the chaotic disaster response phase and how it potentially contributed to resilience. Researching a communication project in the aftermath of a disaster meant that I could investigate if participatory communication contributed to community resilience in the making, rather than researching resilience measurements that were part of a disaster risk reduction programme without a disaster to test them. This made the cooperation with Internews even more suitable to answer my research questions.

Another parameter of a case study that I had set out was language, which meant that the Philippines was an excellent research destination, as English is an official language next to Tagalog. This enabled me to partly work without an interpreter, which suggested it would be easier to build relationships and participate in everyday life without the barrier of an interpreter. The overall safety situation seemed

acceptable compared to other humanitarian crises, and it could be assumed that even if the Internews project should finish within the next two weeks, I would still be able to build up valuable contacts that would allow me to continue my research beyond the timeline of the project.

The pilot research was planned to last for ten days of working with the project and through this, investigate how the project's alleged participatory approach could possibly contribute to different forms of community resilience of the local community, such as collective action, including community voices in radio programme and perhaps humanitarian policy/programmes and given relevant access to information. This pilot was planned to test my assumptions regarding the contributions of participatory communication and inform my further research. However, the project was extended and Internews offered to also extend our cooperation. The initial findings of the ten-day pilot had indicated through the survey results that radio was relevant to the community (56.49% respondents answered that radio was their most trusted source of information, community survey 1) and Radyo Bakdaw's approach showed clear participatory elements, such as continuous inclusion of community voices. This meant that it was worth expanding the pilot into a longitudinal case study that would give an in-depth exploration of if and how participatory communication could contribute to community resilience. Therefore, I extended my stay from ten days to almost three months.

On 8 December 2013, I joined the local team, which then consisted of a local and International radio technician, the international programme manager, one local administrative personnel (RB9Af), one driver/stringer, and seven local broadcasters (RB5Jf, RB6Jf, RB4SM, RB3SM, RB2Sm, RB7Jm, RB1Sf). When I arrived in Guiuan I did a first stroll through the town centre as per the suggestion of disaster scholar Thomas E. Drabeck (2002) (see section 4.3.2) to get a first impression of my research context. When I arrived, Guiuan was a scene of destruction, most buildings had partially or completely collapsed. However, the clean-up activities had visibly started and the debris that the storm had produced or moved was neatly piled on the sides of the streets. People were living in tents; the only large emergency shelter was completely destroyed and had caused fatalities during the typhoon. The main attraction and pride of Guiuan, the 18th century church of *La Inmaculada Concepcion*, tentatively

listed as UNESCO world heritage site, had been heavily damaged. Nevertheless, on this first walk through town, the church was filled with people for a special mass. As electricity was only available through generators, the whole area would fall dark when the sun set at around 6.30pm, which made it not conducive for much social gatherings or interviewing in the evenings.

Many humanitarian agencies were on location and the atmosphere was one of urgency, as even though rescue operations had finished, there was a lack of food, water and electricity in addition to shelter, and some members of the affected community were still hoping to find missing relatives or friends. Most of the community and the broadcasters were either living in tents next to their destroyed houses, or had used tarps to provide shelter in the ruins of their houses. Although, December marks the dry season in the Philippines, temperatures went up to 32°C at times, and it rained frequently (Weather Underground, 2013). This meant that staying in a tent was quite uncomfortable, as it got too hot to stay in the tent at about 5.30am and tents would regularly get flooded from the rain.

This context meant that the emergency level of my first research trip was still relatively high and any data collection needed to be mindful of the vulnerability of survivors and urgency of supporting communities. Additionally, the humanitarian environment was still very basic, in the first month I was accommodated in a small tent, part of a simple humanitarian base camp. Food was scarce, which meant that the meals in the first month consisted of MREs (meals ready to eat). There was emergency internet for humanitarian workers and electricity through generators that I could access, but the internet connection was patchy and the electricity supply limited. The limited mobile phone network meant that most communication with humanitarians would take place in person or via e-mail.

I was promised access to all internal and external meetings, the day-to-day proceedings of the station, and humanitarian coordination meetings, so I would be able to document these. This enabled me to observe the day-to-day work of the station and investigate internal levels of participation by observing who had what responsibility and decision power, as well as seeing what role the community played in such instances as content creation, and how accessible the station was.

It was understood that I would receive no payment from Internews since I would work as an independent researcher and although I would help document their work, this would not mean that I would refrain from being critical of their work. It is also relevant to take note that I was then at the very beginning of my research phase and therefore it was clear to the organisation that there would not be any publications made while the project was still running that could potentially impact donor perceptions. They expected me to help with everyday procedures, document their work, and produce a final report for their internal use. It also seemed unlikely that a damning critique by a singular PhD student would have any significant influence on a large International organisation such as Internews. Through this kind of direct involvement in the project, I was not only able to observe the internal workings of the station, but it also aided in making my field work useful through contributing to the disaster response. For instance, during the first field work as I conducted short community conversations, whenever community members mentioned topics such as fearing another typhoon or did not understand a certain process of the disaster response, I would relay that information to the broadcasters during their morning meeting so that they could decide whether they wished to address these issues in their radio programmes. This impact also adds value to my research through experiencing and observing how my topic suggestions were used or dismissed, helping me to further answer the question of how community voices were included or excluded in more direct and indirect ways. Moreover, it also addresses the 'usefulness theme' of my methodology (4.3.2). Throughout the first research trip I took notes in my research diary whenever possible and recorded interviews with my phone.

The first field trip helped shape my understanding of the context and meant that I could adjust my research themes accordingly, focussing more on access to information and inclusion of community voices. The following section will offer context to the second field trip.

4.5.2 Fieldtrip 2 to Guiuan, Eastern Samar

The second field trip lasted 12 weeks and took place from 10 July 2014 to 25 September

2014. My first walk through town looked quite different. The market area was fully open, busy with visitors and offering a wide variety of produce. Everywhere, there were sounds of construction work. A lot of the wealthier residents had already partially or fully rebuilt their houses and others were in the process of rebuilding. Humanitarian organisations had moved from the humanitarian tent camp into houses, which meant that organisations could not be found and approached in one shared location anymore. Other organisations had finished their projects and left the country.

The first impression from initial conversations was that the relationship between the affected community and humanitarian organisations had worsened, some disaster survivors were disappointed that humanitarians were living in 'the nicest buildings' while some Guiuananons were still living in tents. The situation of people living in tents had worsened. Some community members had been living in them for eight months and still did not know when exactly they would be resettled. Two babies had died, probably from heat stroke, in tent city and there was an outbreak of Chikungunya (a mosquito-borne disease similar to Dengue fever) possibly accelerated by stagnating water from ruined houses. While Radyo Bakdaw had been off air for four months, Radyo Natin had been back on air for just approximately two weeks more than that.

Visiting in the summer and early spring of 2014 meant that I could research how long lasting the contribution of Radyo Bakdaw was, on community resilience. Thus, I could research not only the initial disaster response phase but also the rebuilding phase and then compare the two. I could talk to my Radyo Bakdaw key interviewees *after* they had finished their work for Radyo Bakdaw and see if their opinions had changed, including what kind of impact their previous work for Radyo Bakdaw had on their lives now, thus exploring the sustainability of the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw, as well as the longevity of the social capital that I had examined during the first field trip. Moreover, summer is typhoon season, which meant I could experience how the community prepares for it, including what kind of information they are receiving as well as their sources. This permitted me to compare the role of Radyo Bakdaw to other sources of information in hazard related circumstances.

Through my previously built contacts I could get in touch with the International Organisation for Migration (IOM). IOM agreed to a partnership, which consisted of me assisting them in their Communicating with Communities (CwC) work while they supported my research by giving me access to their research team, transportation and a desk space. IOM was a suitable partner, as they were implementing projects in all the *Barangay*s relevant to my research, had plenty of resources that they were willing to share, and were interested in communication. Most of the other larger humanitarian organisations were either not on the ground, worked through funding other smaller projects, were not as focused on communication, or did not have comparable research resources available. The collaboration with IOM gave me the opportunity of being an embedded researcher once more. This time with a large humanitarian organisation that was serving large parts of the affected population through shelter, cash for work programmes etc.

Through this I could again participate in the disaster response and contribute to it with the goal of making my research and my knowledge useful to professionals and the affected communities and enriching my data through experiencing the disaster response. This collaboration also meant that while some community members may have had perceived me as a broadcaster or media professional during the first field research, during the second field research there was a possibility of me being perceived as part of a large and quite powerful humanitarian organisation. This meant again a shift of my positionality within the local context. The main project I worked on was contributing to improve the communication between 498 IDPs (internally displaced persons) living in the only tent city in Guiuan and IOM, who managed the tent camp and the relocation of its inhabitants. This project was a fitting choice, as it was easily accessible to me and I could therefore do regular visits to build up rapport with one of the key community interviewees in the camp. This person was one of the two camp leaders and organised two focus groups for me. Moreover, the camp was equipped with radios previously distributed by Radyo Bakdaw, and was within the broadcasting range of both Radyo Bakdaw and Radyo Natin. Therefore, I would be able to compare the connection between the people living in the camp before and after Radyo Bakdaw was broadcasting.

Figure 5 Map of central Guiuan

From the first field trip, I knew that Radyo Bakdaw broadcasters had regularly visited the camp as it was considered a more vulnerable part of the community within Guiuan. Most of the inhabitants are from a different island, all had lost their homes and had little or no financial resources. Additionally, tent city was easily accessible by motorbike (see figure 5: map of Guiuan central) and therefore easy for the broadcasters and myself to visit. I wanted to find out whether Radyo Natin would continue including this community, as this related to the case of Radyo Bakdaw in that it showed the impact of their participatory approach or lack thereof. Furthermore, I wanted to explore whether the camp inhabitants saw a difference in participation between the two stations, and if that was important to them, thus showing whether the community saw Radyo Bakdaw as inclusive and accessible through comparing them to media that was available before and after Radyo Bakdaw was on air.

I visited the tent camp with an IOM worker and conducted individual interviews as well as two focus group discussions. During these discussions and conversations, it became clear that tent city inhabitants felt communication was lacking as 'NGO's these days only come when the weather was really bad' referring to typhoon season. There was a lot of confusion and anxiety about relocation, a subject understandably high on everybody's agenda. After consulting with tent city leaders and inhabitants, I designed and implemented an interactive information board in tent city. Tent city inhabitants could leave anonymous feedback and questions in the feedback box, which would be collected weekly and then answered on the info board. Through this I was aiming to contribute to the disaster response and make myself useful (see section 4.3.2) through answering questions of the community and fulfilling my commitment to IOM to help them with communication. At the same time this enabled me to build a positive rapport with some of the key persons at tent city and observe more closely if and how they were connected to media and humanitarian organisations. The following sections (4.5 and 4.6) will describe and explain the data I collected.

4.6 Qualitative research

Qualitative research conducted during both field trips was in the form of focus group discussions (FGD) with communities, short-term observations of Radyo Bakdaw and

the radio staff within the community (field trip 1), a short observation of Radyo Natin and interviews with Radyo Bakdaw and Radyo Natin broadcasters, and key humanitarian informants (field trip 2). Through choosing to collect this data, I was aiming to illuminate perspectives of all different stakeholders relevant to communication within the disaster response. All qualitative interviews were conducted using a semi-structured approach, which meant that interviews and FGDs would follow key themes, which would then allow follow-up questions depending on the interviewees answers. Semi-structured interviews have the advantage of establishing a less formal atmosphere, which aims to invite interview participants to offer more in-depth accounts of their personal opinions (Turner III, 2010).

While all key informant interviews were conducted in English, some of the community interviews and all of the FGDs were conducted in Waray-Waray, with the help of an interpreter. The interpreter during the first field trip was one of the administrative assistants, and during field trip two, they consisted of an enumerator, a former research assistant, a former fixer, and a former broadcaster from Radyo Bakdaw (see section 4.5.1 for details on the challenges of a former broadcaster as interpreter). When using interpreters, there is always a risk of losing some of the original meaning, which is highly significant when doing cross-language research (Squires, 2008). As Regmi et al. argue, there is a danger in cross-language research whereby '[s]ometimes ideas, concepts, and feelings might not always translate exactly from one language to another' (Regmi, Naidoo, & Pilkington, 2010, p. 19). I tried to overcome this challenge by briefing my interpreters on the concepts we would be discussing in the interviews, aiming to use simple language, and sometimes rephrasing a question differently whenever I was unsure if my question had been clear the first time round.

4.6.1 Focus group discussions

The focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted to answer how individuals of the affected community judged Radyo Bakdaw's usefulness, how they compared it to other radio, and what kind of information they needed. The latter allowed for triangulating the claim of Radyo Bakdaw staff members that they were broadcasting topics relevant to the community. Moreover, the FGDs served to gage what role

communities felt Radyo Bakdaw had played and how Radyo Bakdaw may have impacted on linking relationships between the community and power holders. FGD's were chosen to enable community members to discuss what kind of communication they preferred amongst their peers, and make room for participants to voice their opinions. Because the research was conducted in the context of a disaster, the FGDs were very loosely structured. Except for two exceptions (FGD1, RBFGD), all the FGDs took place outdoors as there were no buildings in the near vicinity, which meant that community members would randomly drop in and out depending on their own interest and availability. It is due to this that FGD 2, 3 and 4 had fluctuating numbers and therefore there is no exact indication of gender. This open format meant that individuals could include themselves if and when they wanted to participate in the discussion, in accordance with the open and participatory research approach that I had taken. However, it also proved challenging as the coming and going of individuals at times, made it hard to keep an overview on how many people participated and who said what. This open approach also meant that one of the groups (FGD 3) was a lot larger than the others.

Table 1 Overview over focus group discussion data

Fieldtrip/ Code	**FGD participants**	**Location**	**Number of participants**	**Female/ male**
1 /FGD1	Community	Guiuan	7	5/2
1 /FGD2	Community	Tubabao Island	4	2/2
2 /FGD3	Community	Guiuan/tent city	Approx. 14+	5/9+
2 /FGD4	Community	Guiuan/tent city	Approx. 10	-
2 /RBFGD	Radyo Bakdaw Broadcasters	Guiuan	7	4/3

During the second field trip, two community FGDs were conducted at tent city with a former Radyo Bakdaw fixer turned broadcaster, who was then working for IOM. However, as she appeared to feel that her position was threatened by her boss asking me to help her out in her CwC work, she appeared reluctant to assist. This insecurity manifested itself in her neglect in interpreting large threads of conversation, and some of my questions, and being reluctant to go into the community with me. This was a hurdle to both my CwC work with IOM and my research. Her reluctance proved so challenging that after trying to collaborate with her for several weeks, I decided the best way forward would be to find somebody else to interpret.

Hence, for some of the following community interviews I was assisted by a former Radyo Bakdaw broadcaster, who had also started to work at IOM and was happy to help. This brought yet another set of challenges. Although, the former broadcaster was delighted to work with me, a few of the research participants recognised her as a former Radyo Natin/Radyo Bakdaw broadcaster, which meant that some responses may have been coloured by participants wanting to please her with their answers or being less likely to give critical information about Radyo Bakdaw. I addressed this by trying to refrain from asking normative 'good' 'bad' questions, finding research participants that did not know her, triangulating my data, and with the former broadcaster herself reassuring research participants that the research was conducted for a university (and not for Radyo Bakdaw) and that we were interested in their personal opinions as well as their criticism too.

The FGD with Radyo Bakdaw staff during the second field trip served to answer how broadcasters saw the role of the community in their work, how much ownership they felt they had and what kind of relationships and skills the broadcasters had built during their work at Radyo Bakdaw. Asking these questions in a focus group meant I could observe how some of the staff members interacted after they were not working together anymore. Additionally, the FGD served the purpose of letting broadcasters answer questions together, thus enabling the conversation flow to be freer than in a one-on-one interview, which I hoped would mean that topics could surface by association, which would not be addressed in a regular interview. Unfortunately, one of the administrative assistants who later also worked as a radio producer, and one of the senior broadcasters were not able to attend the FGD.

4.6.2 Community interviews

To answer research questions from a community perspective, I conducted semi-structured community interviews. For this data set I use the term 'community' in a purely geographic sense, meaning individuals who were affected by the typhoon and were in the broadcasting range of both Radyo Bakdaw and Radyo Natin (see 1.2). This allowed me to ask comparative questions regarding the two stations. I also defined 'community members' as individuals who are not part of a formal regional, national

or international institution involved in the response. All community interviews were conducted during field trip 2. As table 2 shows the interviewees came from three different municipalities (Guiuan, Salcedo, Mercedes), which were all within broadcasting range of the two radio stations. However, there was a bias towards Guiuan as the other municipalities were hard to reach on a regular basis without regular access to a car. The survey data aims to add a more representative community sample, as all three municipalities were representatively included in the survey collection.

Table 2 Overview over community interviewees, FT2

Code	Age	Gender	Municipality	Education	Occupation
c1f	30-34	female	Guiuan	college	unemployed
c2m	40-44	male	Guiuan	high school	tricycle driver
c3m	55-59	male	Guiuan	high school	minister, fisherman
c4m	60-64	male	Guiuan	college	freelance writer, union president
c5m	55-59	male	Guiuan	college	farmer
c6m	35-39	male	Guiuan	college	union coordinator
c7f	53	female	Mercedes	high school	unskilled worker
c8f	65	female	Mercedes	college	retired
c9m	30-34	male	Salug	college	unemployed
c10f	49	female	Salug	high school	unemployed
c11m	18	male	Salug	college	student
c12m	18	male	Guiuan	college	student
c13m	30-34	male	Guiuan	college	*Barangay* official, shop owner
c14f	31	female	Guiuan	-	-
c15f	28	female	Guiuan	-	-
c16f	31	female	Guiuan	-	salesperson at *Sari-sari* store
c17f	23	female	Guiuan	-	-
c18f	29	female	Guiuan	-	-
c19f	29	female	Guiuan	-	-
c20f	43	female	Guiuan	-	-
c21m	21	male	Guiuan	-	-
c22m	33	male	Guiuan	college	tricycle driver
c23f	67	female	Mercedes	-	-
c24f	44	female	Mercedes	college	retired teacher
c25f	-	female	Mercedes	-	-
c26f	31	female	Mercedes	college	hostel employee
c27f	-	female	Mercedes	-	-
c28m	38	male	Guiuan	-	-

The youngest interviewee was 18 years old, while the oldest was aged 65 and most interviewees had attained the minimum academic level of a high school diploma. The interviewees' occupations were also rather varied (see table 2, column 6 occupation). This suggests that while the qualitative sample may not be representative and have a gender bias towards women, it does represent a variety of social classes and age. For some interviewees, demographic details could not be collected as they joined and left ongoing interviews with other community members spontaneously and asking for age, education and occupation would have disrupted the flow of the interview.

Some of the interviewees were randomly approached during survey collection, while others were referred to me via the research staff at Radyo Bakdaw (c12m, c13m). One of the interviewees was my main contact person in tent city when I was embedded with IOM (c3m), which influenced our conversation, as I had built up a longer relationship with him and interacted with him regularly before formally interviewing him. Two interviewees (c4m and c6m) had also met me several times before doing a formal interview (during both FT1 and FT2). The interviewee codes can be deciphered as follows: c (community) + number + f or m (female or male).

The community interviews contributed to answering the research questions by investigating how individuals perceived participation in access to information and inclusion of their voices by local media. They also explored contextual factors, how participants perceived Radyo Bakdaw and Radyo Natin, whether they saw them as political biased or balanced, and what they liked and disliked about each station. Regarding the influence of political bias perception and usefulness, a comparison between the two stations was beneficial, as Radyo Natin gave context to the findings regarding the Radyo Bakdaw case. These conversations further served to triangulate the collected data of key informants and community survey 2. For instance, media key informants may claim that it is easy for listeners to approach them with community problems, but if participants do not know how to contact the radio station, this may point towards inconsistencies in their story. Some of the community interviews were short and during the analysis, served to confirm opinions of other community members rather than being used for quotes and a few interviews had to be aborted because the research participant seemed too shy or uncomfortable.

4.6.3 Key informant interviews

The key informant interviews with Radyo Bakdaw staff served to explore the understanding of participatory communication of the broadcasters regarding such aspects as, in what ways they felt that their work was community-centred, what kind of skills they had learned, how they interacted with the community, humanitarians and local politicians, and how they saw the role of the station as part of the disaster response. All key informant interviews were conducted in English. The pilot showed that an interview time of between **30 minutes and up to a maximum of 90 minutes** seemed ideal for key informants. This time frame enabled a free-flowing discussion that both provided time for thematic questions to be asked, while also allowing room for follow-up questions that may arise during the interview.

Through the contacts established during my preliminary research I conducted 15 interviews with Radyo Bakdaw staff and three interviews with staff members of Radyo Natin. These served as media key informants (see table 3), revealing how media in Guiuan uses communication, how local media and humanitarian organisations are connected, contextual factors such as changes within the media landscape[9] and political structures, how participatory the media was and is, and also how community voices were included into media. Interviews with key informants from Radyo Natin helped to look for differences in participatory communication of both stations to set the data of Radyo Bakdaw into context. Moreover, these interviews helped to question whether Radyo Bakdaw had left a lasting impact on the local media scene and how it might be possible for Radyo Bakdaw broadcasters to use a community-centred approach when going back to Radyo Natin. In addition, I interviewed three humanitarian key informants from three different organisations (one Filipino and two international humanitarians). The interview code can be deciphered as follows: RB/RN/H (Radyo Bakdaw or only Radyo Natin broadcaster or Humanitarian) + number + j/s (junior or senior staff member) or A/R (administrative assistant or community researcher) + f/m (female or male). FU stands for follow-up and indicates that the data was collected after the two field trips. For example: RB5Jf

[9] At the time of writing the former radio station, a commercial broadcaster, was in the process of being re-established and Radyo Bakdaw was planning to cease broadcasting on 28 February 2014.

FT1= Radyo Bakdaw interviewee 5, junior staff, female, interviewed during field trip one.

Table 3 Overview over broadcaster and key informant interviews

Fieldtrip	Code	Role	Gender	Radio
1 and 2	RB1Sf	Senior Broadcaster	Female	Radyo Bakdaw, Radyo Natin
1 and 2	RB2Sm	Senior Broadcaster	Male	Radyo Bakdaw, Radyo Natin
2	RB3Sm	Senior Broadcaster	Male	Radyo Bakdaw, Radyo Natin
2	RB3SM	Senior Broadcaster	Male	Radyo Bakdaw, Radyo Natin
1 and 2	RB5Jf	Junior Broadcaster	Female	Radyo Bakdaw, Radyo Natin
2	RB6Jf	Junior Broadcaster	Female	Radyo Bakdaw, Radyo Natin
2	RB7Sm	Broadcaster	Male	Radyo Bakdaw, Radyo Natin
2	RB8Af	Administrative assistant	Female	Radyo Bakdaw
1	RB9Af	Administrative assistant/producer	Female	Radyo Bakdaw
2	RB10Rf [10]	Community researcher	Female	Radyo Bakdaw
2	RB11Rf	Community researcher	Female	Radyo Bakdaw
2	RB12Rf	Community researcher	Female	Radyo Bakdaw
2	RB13Jf	Fixer, trainee broadcaster	Female	Radyo Bakdaw, Radyo Natin
FU	RB14Sf	Intl. Station manager (senior staff)	Female	Radyo Bakdaw
FU	RB15Sm	Intl. journalism trainer (senior staff)	Male	Radyo Bakdaw
2	RN1Sf	Station manager	Female	Radyo Natin
2	RN2Jf	Broadcaster	Female	Radyo Natin
2	RN3Sf	Paying guest show host (government)	Female	Radyo Natin
1	H1m	Senior humanitarian AAP expert	Male	UN organisation
1	H2m	Senior humanitarian communication expert	Male	UN organisation
2	H3m	Junior humanitarian communication expert	Male	IOM

As part of the **short-term observations** at Radyo Bakdaw, I joined radio staff in their trips to the community, and attended events that the station organised or collaborated with, such as a music concert and the karaoke. I also attended regular humanitarian coordination meetings in Guiuan and Borongan. These humanitarian

[10] The three community researchers RB9Rf, RB10Rf and RB11Rf were interviewed as a group

meetings helped understand the context of the disaster response. Additionally, I would work from the station and observe the everyday life and operations of Radyo Bakdaw. I also participated in social events organised by the broadcasters as part of my participatory and embedded approach, building trust and relationships by immersing myself in the lives of the research participants. These observations helped to document the everyday proceedings of the station and the humanitarian community and thus capture the chaos and intensity of the disaster response. Moreover, notes from the observations gave indication of how humanitarians used the radio, how the community interacted with the radio and vice versa.

The media observations of Radyo Natin during the second field research was only a short-term one, to enable me to contextualise Radyo Bakdaw data and triangulate other data sets. Through this observation, I hoped to further explore the connection between radio and their listenership in Guiuan (e.g. whether there were walk-in guests, call-ins, text messages, what kind of information did the radio give on a daily basis, how easy it was for individuals to bring problems to the station and how does the station solve them?). This helped to compare how participatory the communication used by Radyo Bakdaw and how the media might give access to information, include community voices and whether the station raised awareness and fostered connectivity. I could observe three full days at the station and take plentiful notes, asking broadcasters questions in-between on-air time. Additionally, I observed a weekly one hour radio show by IOM that was broadcast on Radyo Natin for five weeks. This means that the observation is not comparable to longitudinal and intense ethnographic observations, but rather gave an additional short insight to further triangulate data.

An additional data set from the first field trip was the **text message databank** with all the text messages the station had received, regarding questions, feedback or information. The databank consisted of 1025 messages in total, majority of which was translated into English by the administrative assistant of Radyo Bakdaw. When I arrived in Guiuan, the administrative assistant wrote down these 'informative' text messages by hand in a notebook and deleted messages that were regarded as 'greetings or song requests'. She would record the overall number of how many text messages were received per day, how many of those fell into the category of

information, missing relatives or greetings/song requests. I designed an excel form which was then used to anonymously document and translate the text messages. This proved a valuable data source, as the text messages gave insight to the direct communication between parts of the community and the station. For instance, it showed which topics listeners seemed most concerned with, how they used the station, i.e. to point out potential corruption, to ask questions about the disaster response etc., and what they expected from Radyo Bakdaw. As these were messages sent directly to the station by listeners, they were data that was received without a middleman but came directly and unfiltered from the community. Moreover, the excel sheet turned into a useful contribution to the work of Radyo Bakdaw, particularly for keeping track of and answering questions and feedback from the community, thus contributing to the usefulness of my work for the affected community.

4.7 Quantitative research

Although this research relies mostly on qualitative data sets, I also conducted some quantitative research to supplement my community data set. Table 4 shows the different surveys, during which field trip they were conducted, and what themes they were inquiring after. The quantitative data was needed to triangulate qualitative data and reveal how perceptions about media and humanitarian communication changed over time and how Radyo Bakdaw and Radyo Natin were compared by listeners. This was particularly necessary with respect to the community data set, because during the first field research, the affected community was busy rebuilding their houses, lived in different changing locations i.e. in camps or with relatives. Therefore, it was not as easy to establish a relationship of trust, as the participatory elements of my research required. Accordingly, a community survey could fill in some of the gaps that appeared due to the disaster context and quantify more anecdotal evidence and community interviews. Through furthering the sample size with the quantitative data, the community data sample was large enough to show repetitions in answers and themes which enabled me to draw conclusions that were not based on singular opinions or anecdotal evidence. Community survey 2 was run as a follow up to community survey 1, primarily to track changes within communication use over time and in different phases of the disaster, while also delving deeper into contextual

factors that surfaced in the qualitative data, such as political bias/balance and the community focus of the two radio stations.

Table 4 Overview over quantitative research data

Field trip	Survey	Number of respondents (female/male)	Location	Themes
1	Community Survey 1	331 total 193 women 122 men 16 no info	Central Guiuan	Trust and use of media and communication channel, relation to Radyo Bakdaw
1	Humanitarian Survey 1	31 no gender data	Online	Interactions of humanitarians with Radyo Bakdaw
2	Community Survey 2	259 186 women 71 men 1 other	Guiuan, Mercedes, Salcedo	Comparison of Radyo Bakdaw and Radyo Natin, changes in media and communication use
(FU)	Humanitarian Survey 2	13 9 men 4 women	Online	Karaoke: informal sociability

4.7.1 Humanitarian surveys 1 and 2

The two smaller sample surveys with humanitarian workers gave insight to the links between humanitarians and Radyo Bakdaw. Due to a quick rotation rate of humanitarians and a high-pressure work environment, it is not always easy to get in-depth qualitative data from humanitarians. Therefore, humanitarian survey 1 (16 January – 31 January 2014) shed light on the interactions between Radyo Bakdaw and humanitarians, whether they used it to connect to the community and what role they perceived Radyo Bakdaw to have within the disaster response (see appendix C2 for survey questionnaire). Moreover, it enabled the triangulation of qualitative data by Radyo Bakdaw staff, on how they perceived their relationship with humanitarians and their role as a linchpin between community and humanitarians.

In total, 31 humanitarian workers answered the survey, which was e-mailed by Internews online through the local humanitarian roster (see appendix c1 for e-mail). The diversity of organisations may indicate levels of connectivity between the radio station and the humanitarian workers. As figure 6 shows, respondents that disclosed the organisation they worked for, were employed by 12 different international humanitarian organisations. The humanitarians that chose the 'other' option belonged to an additional five humanitarian organisations, which were smaller and

therefore not included in the dropdown list. Two respondents did not want to disclose their organisation affiliation.

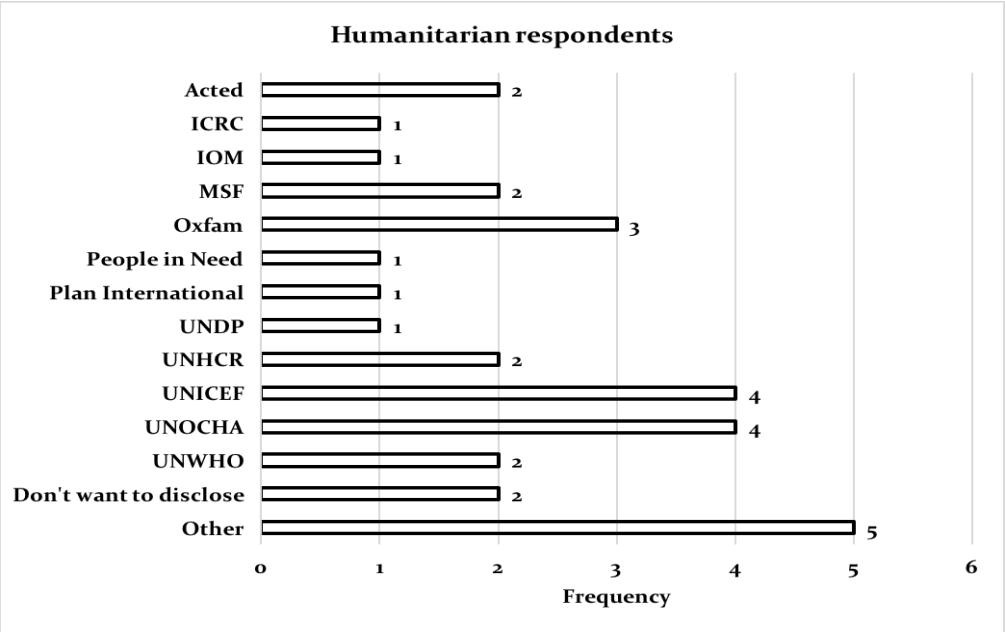

Figure 6 Overview over humanitarian organisations responding to humanitarian survey 1 (n=31), FT1

Humanitarian survey 2 (4 August 2015 – 9 October 2015) was a short follow-up questionnaire (see appendix D) focussing on the karaoke programme to further explore the value and impact of informal sociability (chapter 6). The questionnaire was sent online via surveymoz, using mainly qualitative textbox questions. The survey was only answered by 12 humanitarian workers and one freelance journalist. The humanitarians worked for the following organisations: IOM, IHP/DSB, WFP, Oxfam, UNHCR, UN-OCHA, arche noVa, People In Need, and UNICEF. The low number of respondents can be attributed to the fact that the survey was sent as a follow-up after the disaster response was completed, and possibly also because it asked specifically about the karaoke, which not every humanitarian may have attended or felt was valuable enough to answer. Most importantly though, the humanitarian email roster did not exist anymore when the survey was sent, therefore I could only manage to reach humanitarians whose email addresses I had personally collected, from having worked with them and asked them to share it with their colleagues. This means that the data from this second survey is not representative. However, the questions were mainly qualitative and meant to triangulate interview and text message data regarding the karaoke. Therefore, while this data may not be

representative, it can still add another layer of evidence to the theme of informal sociability.

4.7.1 Community survey 1 and 2

Community survey 1 (9 – 15 December 2013) served as a mapping of what communication and/or media channels the local community was using in the early response phase in comparison to before the disaster, who they trusted to give information to, whether they could gather enough information from humanitarian organisations and knew how to contact them (see appendix B for survey questionnaire). The survey further strived to find out what community members found to be most relevant on the radio and what was lacking. This allowed me to compare whether content and programming the station was producing was what the community wanted, which gave an indication on the success or failure of Radyo Bakdaw's participatory community-centred approach. Community survey 1 also provided data that could be used to compare types of communication that were relevant to the affected community (before and after the disaster), especially to understand how relevant the radio was. As the survey was conducted within the first ten days of my field trip the results also gave me evidence that Radyo Bakdaw was worth pursuing as a case study, when I was offered to extend my pilot and expand it into a full field research trip.

Community survey 2 (8 – 10 September 2014) was mainly conducted to investigate potential changes in communication access and the perceived differences between Radyo Bakdaw and Radyo Natin (see appendix F for survey questionnaire). The survey also investigated whether communication needs, relationships to humanitarian organisations and media had changed over the eight months compared to community survey 1. This helped gather rare longitudinal data on communication in a disaster context and understand the sustainability of Radyo Bakdaw, as the station had been off air for over half a year at the time community survey 2 was conducted. Community survey 2 also investigated how/if individuals participate in local media and humanitarian organisations. Some of the survey questions were the same as in the first/second survey (see appendix F) to enable a comparison of results over time. However, some questions were also adjusted as it was possible to prepare

the second survey with more time, thus allowing for opportunities to ask questions regarding usefulness, sustainability and the political perception of Radyo Bakdaw, that had emerged as relevant themes during the first field trip. As Bourque and colleagues argue:

> *'[s]urveys provide a highly viable and excellent source of data about behavior during and after disasters, behavioral and attitudinal responses to disasters, and anticipatory behavior and attitudes about future disasters.'* (Bourque, Shoaf, & Nguyen, 2002, p. 157)

The survey contributed to answering how contextual variables may influence participation of community members in the station. Moreover, the initial survey enabled the gathering of answers to these questions over time and the opportunity to compare how contextual variables and communication preferences may have changed. Surveys are an excellent way to compare certain topics over time (Bourque, Shoaf, & Nguyen, 2002, p. 169) and Bourque and colleagues argue that many past barriers, such as a lack of a representative sample, can now be overcome with the help of technology (p.191). However, they exclusively focus on disaster research in the USA and therefore neglect to address that what they claim as 'historical challenges', such as collapse of phone networks, may still be a very contemporary issue when conducting disaster research in other countries.

Language

Both community surveys were translated into the local dialect Waray-Waray. This proved slightly challenging for the enumerators, as the younger Filipinos in particular, only use Waray-Waray verbally and are therefore not familiar with its written form. However, since most of the community seemed to be more comfortable answering questions in their local language, and to prevent enumerators from providing different translations of the English version, enumerators had a copy of the survey in both Waray-Waray and English.

Sample Selection

The sample selection was strongly impacted by the disaster context. **Community survey 1** was prepared, piloted and conducted between the 9 and 15 of December

2013 in central Guiuan, with seven to ten female and male local enumerators helping to collect answers for two days. The enumerators received a short training by me before conducting the survey and were all supervised by me for the first hour of surveying. The survey was collected through random sampling on paper forms via supervised self-administration. Answers from the paper surveys were later transferred onto the online survey form on the surveymoz website. For community survey 1 Central Guiuan was chosen as a location as the survey team did not have ample transport options and also because during the first month after the disaster, there appeared to be a vast number of different individuals coming into the town centre to look for humanitarian assistance or solve administrative problems at the town hall. Therefore, it was hoped that even though the survey was only implemented in central Guiuan, there would also be respondents from more rural areas. This also meant that it was more likely that participants would have listened to Radyo Bakdaw before since they were within reach of the radio signal and public radios. Individuals in Guiuan centre had quicker access to aid, including radios, and there were radios in several public places. Moreover, it was more likely that participants had also listened to Radyo Natin, as this was the only local station based in Guiuan before the typhoon. This means that the survey results would be more likely to serve as a comparison between pre- and post-disaster radio that would set research findings about Radyo Bakdaw into context.

Additionally, this soon after the disaster, many of the community were displaced, staying either in a tent city in central Guiuan or with family or friends. Due to this high amount of population movement, it would have proved very difficult to do a reliable representative survey. This means that the survey was not fully representative of the extended affected community. Nevertheless, the data gave valuable insights into the relevance of humanitarian organisations and media as points of reference for communication related to the response, including some of the contextual variables, such as trust or distrust in different communication channels.

Community survey 2 was piloted and conducted between 9 September 2014 and 23 September 2014. The data collection was based on a randomised representative sample of the listenership of Radyo Natin after typhoon Haiyan, to ensure that participants in theory had the option to have listened to both stations. Radyo Natin

used an antenna with a smaller broadcasting range than they had before the disaster. This post-typhoon broadcasting range of Radyo Natin, was smaller than the broadcasting range of Radyo Bakdaw. As the survey was also used to compare the listeners' perception of the two stations, i.e. regarding political balance and usefulness in daily life post disaster, it made sense to use the range of Radyo Natin as a guideline for the sample size. Fringe areas that would not have had access to Radyo Natin were also included. In total 69 *Barangay*s in the municipalities of Guiuan, Mercedes and Salcedo were included in the sample. This means that the survey sample represented 0.53% of the population of these 69 *Barangay*s (see appendix E for a complete list of the *Barangay* survey sample).

The survey was conducted with the support of the IOM survey team, which consisted of seven Filipino enumerators and one international team manager. The enumerators had already received basic data collection training and had previously collected data for another survey, but received an additional training by me. In my training session, I touched upon subjects of ethics, goals and strategy of the survey and discussing the different survey questions. The survey used random sampling within the chosen *Barangay*s and enumerators were told to spread out when approaching respondents so as to not only survey direct neighbours or family members but get a more diverse sample of respondents. Participants were approached at random and informed about the goal of the survey, the anonymity of the data and their right to refuse participation or opt-out at any point of the survey. The survey was first conducted on paper and after the first three days, with tablets using a survey software.

Demography of respondents

As figure 7 shows, in both surveys more women participated than men, even though men outnumber women until the age category of over 59 years of age (Internews, 2014, p. 2). This imbalance presents a limitation to the representativeness and gender balance of the data. It is unclear by this imbalance exists, perhaps women were easier to approach or were more likely to be at home. But that remains a speculation.

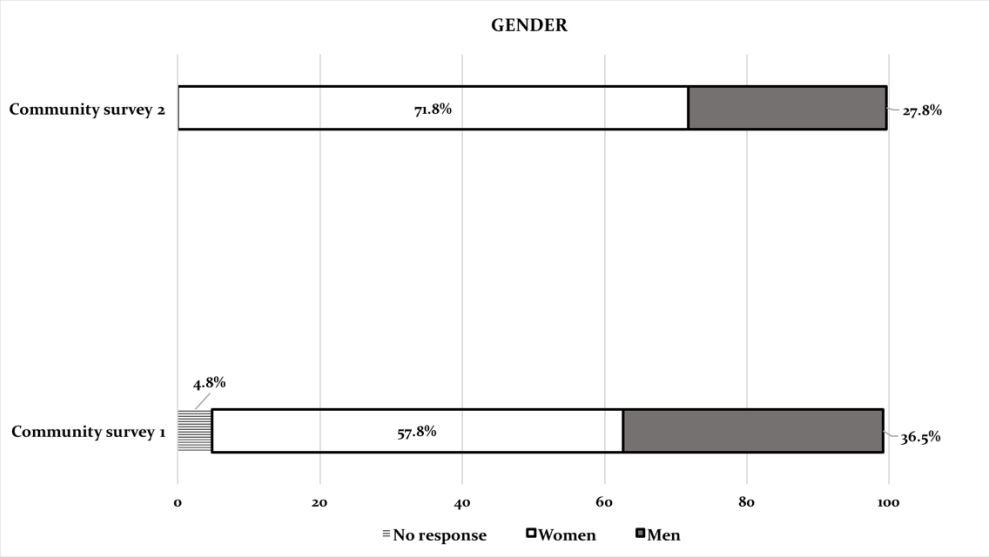

Figure 7 Gender of respondents, community survey 1 (n=331) and 2 (n=259)

In both surveys, almost half of the respondents said that they had finished university (see figure 8): 45.2% in survey 1 and 49% in survey 2. In community survey 1, 14.7% of respondents said their highest education level attained was elementary school, while in survey 2 only 8% of respondents conveyed to have either only elementary education or no education at all. It is unclear what factors were the cause of this difference. During the survey period of community survey 1, many of the respondents had just lost their livelihoods since coconut trees were destroyed and would take a decade to regrow and most fishing boats were destroyed. This meant that it was expected that many of the respondents would have to change their livelihood and might not have an answer to the question regarding their occupation. Further, I perceived that the question may cause sadness and frustration. Therefore, the first survey only asked whether the respondent currently had any income.

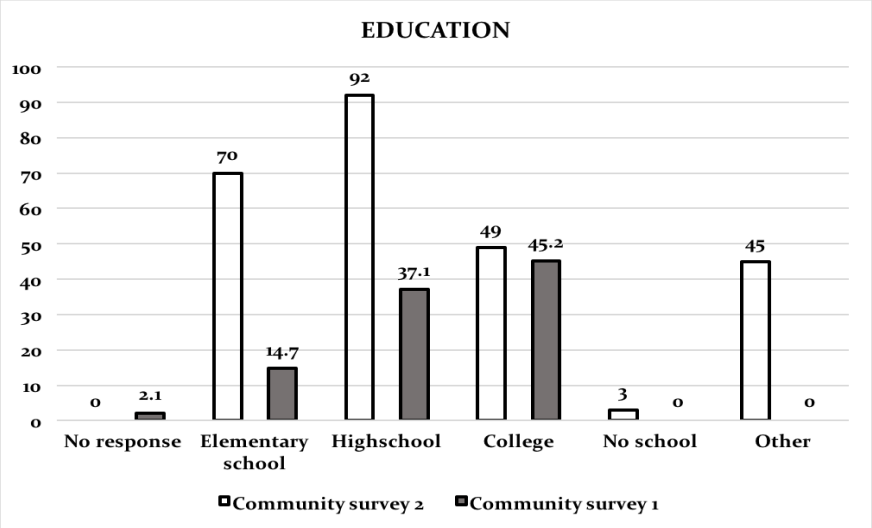

Figure 8 Education of respondents, community survey 1 (n=331) and 2 (n=259)

4.8 Data analysis – discovering patterns from the ground up

All interviews were recorded and transcribed, apart from two follow-up interviews with international humanitarian staff that were only used as supportive evidence and were recorded while taking notes. I analysed the qualitative data, text message database and text based answers of the quantitative data using NVivo10 and NVivo11 with open coding, breaking down data into main themes and sub themes, such as 'community', 'community complaints', 'community reciprocity' and so forth. A broad based exploratory analysis allowed me to investigate the data not only along predetermined themes of participatory communication and community resilience that I derived from reviewing literature before my field research, but also gave room to explore findings and discover themes that were not initially expected. Using this open approach to analysis, data was explored from the 'ground up' through repeated reading and grouping of recurring themes, i.e. 'community cohesion' and 'relationships'. Yin has argued investigating data 'ground up' can be '[…] leading farther into your data and possibly suggesting additional relationships.' (Yin, 2014, pp. 136-137). Although, Yin is not necessarily describing relationships between people, looking for more hidden connections is extremely valuable when researching community resilience and participatory communication as they evolve around links between different groups and individuals. This enabled me to trace processes, such as the relationship building of the Radyo Bakdaw staff (chapter 6).

In a first analysis phase, data was coded using nodes relating directly to the parameters of my research questions, grouping data at nodes such as 'localness' and 'inclusion'. As the research developed, sub-nodes and new nodes were added to reveal patterns in the data that showed promise in answering research questions directly, or contributing to the wider body of knowledge. These emergent findings are not uncommon and lead to useful recommendations for future research (Bamberger, 2000, pp. 151-152). In this manner, informal sociability emerged as an important factor in community resilience through reading different data sets (text messages, qualitative community data set and broadcaster data set) and by looking for repeating patterns. Moreover, the emotional reaction of participants during the second field trip to the subject gave evidence that this type of informal sociability was relevant to them. This open approach was also in line with the participatory elements of the research, giving weight to what participants reacted to most strongly, rather than only focussing on themes determined by the researcher. I juxtaposed different data sets that spoke to the same theme, for instance community interviews and interviews with Radyo Bakdaw broadcasters that focused on inclusion, to triangulate data and analyse according to my research questions. The quantitative data was used to triangulate qualitative data sets and validated some of the anecdotal and interview data.

The quantitative data was analysed using SPSS and I plotted graphs with excel. As the quantitative data was meant as a supplement to the qualitative data, it was used to triangulate key themes that were discovered in the qualitative data using mainly descriptive statistics to look for audience numbers and to compare Radyo Bakdaw and Radyo Natin. Moreover, the quantitative data helped investigate contextual factors such as perceived political bias and balance of the two radio stations and compare their 'usefulness' to the community, to explore how community-centred the stations were perceived as by their audience. In summary, the different data sets were examined using an open analysis method, which used the different quantitative and qualitative data to answer my key research questions.

From this open coding, three key themes evolved: accountability and generalised reciprocity (chapter 5), informal sociability and mental wellbeing (chapter 6), and radio staff relationships and participatory communication skills (chapter 7). The

themes of accountability and generalised reciprocity were included in my initial research framework as key themes of social capital (see chapter 3) and clearly answered my research questions about if participatory communication can contribute to general reciprocity, linking relationships and accountability.

In contrast to my first field trip, informal sociability and mental wellbeing which were less expected results, became apparent through the strong emotional reaction of interviewees during field trip two and during the data analysis and the frequent term of 'stress relief' and 'therapy' which interviewees used unprompted. Moreover, the theme of informal sociability underlines my argument of needing a wider non-binary approach to research participatory communication. The karaoke would be classed as therapy rather than as empowerment by participation authors such as Arnstein (1969) and therefore most likely ignored. However, as I argued in chapter two if we abide by this crude hierarchical evaluation of 'low' participatory communication as less valuable we may miss out on what different types of participation may be able to contribute to the larger issue of community resilience. The karaoke as informal sociability therefore was an excellent example to explore a type of communication which would not be explored unless using a more open research framework such as the one I propose.

The chapter on staff relationships and skills directly addressed my research question on sustainability as well as on bridging relationships and general reciprocity. The question of sustainability is particularly important to study since it addresses the rising merge between development and humanitarian project (World Humanitarian Summit, 2015). As I had such an in-depth data set on the broadcasters, it lent itself to examine the impact of participatory communication on the radio staff as a subset of the affected community, and to assess if they perceived to have learned different skills compared to their prior experience, and if they continued to use the skills which had in part, contributed to community resilience. This made it possible to draw conclusions on the sustainability of the project and the community resilience it may have contributed to.

Other themes appeared in the data, such as the importance of weather forecast and greeting messages, but these topics were either not connected to participatory

communication or appeared less clearly and were therefore dismissed in the final analysis chapters. For instance, the theme of collective action as a part of generalised reciprocity showed in some of the broadcaster data set but it was not possible to follow up on. Broadcasters had mentioned instances of collective action that were potentially triggered or supported through Radyo Bakdaw. However, these leads were not possible to follow, as these instances mainly took place in the last month of broadcasting when I had returned to England. Moreover, during the second field trip I could not find these community members. Therefore, some of these leads had to be dismissed.

4.9 Conclusion

Disaster research poses numerous additional challenges to the ones that traditional research faces. The pressure of getting to the field quickly after a disaster strikes, dealing with a chaotic and pressurised context, and respectfully engaging with a community impacted by a disaster as research participants, are only some of the issues that must be addressed. Moreover, it is an expectation demanded of disaster research, that it should be beneficial or useful for the communities it is investigating and/or to humanitarian practitioners.

The chapter introduced the parameters that I laid out for my case study and how Radyo Bakdaw met them, making it an excellent example to investigate how participatory communication works in a disaster and what it may contribute to in terms of community resilience. The research questions explore the longitudinal impact of different types of participatory communication on community resilience. To answer the research questions and address the challenges of disaster research an embedded case study with participatory elements was the most appropriate. Through the participation of local key informants and my own participation in the disaster response, I could capture elements of the fine-drawn differences of participation at the station and their (longitudinal) impact on the affected community and their resilience.

The flexibility and continuous reflection that disaster research requires during the research and analysis helped to find solutions when changes or difficulties, such as

lack of electricity, occurred or research participants cancelled or were not available. However, compromises were also necessary, for instance, in the amount and representativeness of qualitative community data collected. I aim to address this through comparing my results with other studies and triangulation of data. Underlying challenges such as power and positionality, that are particularly important when working with vulnerable research participants, were addressed through the participatory and reflective research approach, however, this does not mean that they were fully resolved. Using an open coding and emergent analysis enabled me to answer my research questions along the expected parameters, such as accountability, but the approach also revealed patterns within the data that led to unexpected key themes such as the relevance of informal sociability.

Although, disasters are unpredictable and require openness and flexibility, a mixed method embedded approach that is built on trust and emphasises respect towards the participants, provides a versatile structure for investigating participatory communication in the context of a disaster.

Chapter 5: Generalised reciprocity and accountability

5.1 Introduction

The data explored in this chapter answers the research question of if and in what ways participatory communication can strengthen two forms of social capital: bridging and linking relationships. I draw on the research data to analyse and evidence the extent to which the participatory approach of a radio station may have contributed to, firstly, **generalised reciprocity** (bridging relationships) and secondly, the **accountability of power holders** towards communities in the form of transparency and answerability (linking relationships). The collected data evidences that this generalised reciprocity and accountability was strengthened because of the participatory approach of the Radyo Bakdaw. However, contextual factors, such as the political structures underlying the local media landscape, also had an important impact and should not be underestimated.

Generalised reciprocity is defined as community members helping each other without expecting direct repayment by the person they helped, in the confidence that this help will be repaid by somebody else at some point (Putnam, 2000). This help can have both material or immaterial form. Or as Onyx and Bullen define it:

> *'The individual provides a service to others, or acts for the benefit of others at a personal cost, but in the general expectation that this kindness will be returned at some undefined time in the future in case of need. In a community where reciprocity is strong, people care for each other's interests.'* (2000, p. 24)

The last sentence of the quote implies that strong reciprocity means that individuals of a community care for their mutual interests which is crucial in a disaster context. Generalised reciprocity is especially important for community resilience, as supportive community networks have been argued to contribute to a more efficient disaster response, through individuals helping each other out through financial, material and mental support (Tierny, 2006). As Putnam underlines '[...] people who have received help are themselves more likely to help others, so that simple acts of kindness have a ripple effect' (2000, p. 122). This kind of 'ripple effect' is very valuable in a disaster response in which communities depend not only on outside help but

also on each other for support. Part of this generalised reciprocity is also mutual understanding, which fosters communities and improves community cohesiveness. This social understanding is disrupted through a disaster and the response that follows. Research has found that while affected individuals are initially likely to help each other out (Islam & Walkerden, 2014), targeted relief and individuals striving to rebuild often creates disharmony (Buchanan-Smith, Ong, & Routley, 2015; Ong, Flores, & Combinido, 2015). As humanitarian organisations do not always use blanket approaches in delivering aid, but rather target those whom they identify as most in need, individuals may feel like others received too much relief aid or not understand why other areas are served before their own. Madianou et al. for instance illustrated this through a woman who had sent a text message to a humanitarian organisation to complain that she felt her neighbour did not deserve to receive assistance, which led to the neighbour being taken off the distribution list and ultimately to strained relations with her neighbour (Madianou, Ong, & Longboan, 2015, p. 972). Therefore, contributing to mutual understanding is important to counterbalance these disruptions to social structures and facilitate this kind of mutual community support.

Within humanitarian literature on disaster resilience and response, **accountability** has been highlighted as essential to ensure that communities can take charge of their own lives, demand action from duty-bearers such as governments, and ensure that those in power wield it in the best interests of the community (Palttala, Boano, Lund, & Vos, 2012; Turnbull, Sterrett, & Hilleboe, 2013). As chapter three outlined, I define accountability as transparency and answerability. Providing transparent information on the ongoing humanitarian response and key players such as UN agencies and NGOs, is highly relevant for communities to be able to make informed decisions in a fluctuating and challenging context (BBC Media Action, 2008; BBC Media Action, 2012). Moreover, accountability means that those in power have a duty to answer to requests and problems of the people they serve and that there is a system that will enforce this answerability.

As these humanitarian organisations usually move in after a disaster there is no pre-existing link between them and the affected community. Humanitarian work is fast paced and has a high turn-over of staff, and while most organisations disseminate some information on their projects it is often not in response to what the community

wants to know but rather a blanket approach to information dissemination. As there are no pre-existing linking relationships between the community and the humanitarian organisations it is difficult for community members to connect with these organisations in order to find the right piece of information. Therefore, it is important to find out if a participatory communication project, which should aim for community inclusion, could serve as a link between these two parties (the community and various power holders). It can be similarly hard for communities to reach out and demand transparency and accountability from other entities relevant to the response, e.g. government and private companies, as they might be too busy responding to the disaster to respond to community issues.

The following section (5.2) will investigate how participatory the communication of Radyo Bakdaw was, exploring the different communication channels of the station and key themes such as diversity, inclusion and access. Part two of the chapter (5.3) will investigate generalised reciprocity and accountability. Section 5.3.1 investigates if the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw contributed to generalised reciprocity, and the fourth, fifth and sixth sections (5.3.2, 5.3.3, 5.3.4) discuss whether participatory communication may have facilitated community members to hold those in power, such as humanitarian organisations, private sector companies and local government, accountable. The chapter also explores the limitations of participatory communication, such as the humanitarian context and the creation of distrust between local administration and community. The chapter concludes (5.4) showing how these three themes answered my research question on if and how participatory communication can contribute to community resilience in a disaster.

5.2 Examining Radyo Bakdaw's participatory communication

In the following I will explore the two key themes that I defined in my participatory communication framework (accessibility and inclusion) to show how they may have impacted on bridging and linking relationships, in the form of generalised reciprocity and accountability. The first set of sub sections will explore the theme of access to information, answering the following research questions: where information comes from, how diverse access to information is and what role localness plays information/how information is made local. The second set of sub sections will

investigate the participatory theme of community inclusion by investigating whether community opinions are valued or community members are seen as a passive audience that should be educated, how communities are included and can include themselves into the project, and how diverse this inclusion of community voices is. In some instances, the questions of the two themes have been found to be intertwined and thus are best understood as connected types of participatory communication rather than separate ones.

5.2.2 Accessibility and openness

Text message hotline

Mobile networks were unreliable until after Radyo Bakdaw ceased broadcasting end of February 2014 and different networks only offered free text messages for sending texts to other users on their own network. Therefore, the station had two mobile phones with SIM cards from two key mobile network providers (Globe and Smart). According to the broadcasters these were the two providers most popular in Guiuan as they normally had the best reception. The text line was promoted at events, such as the first big community event, the *Sandugo* concert, a free concert organised by Oxfam on 14 January 2014. The hotline was also promoted on information boards, on the two cars belonging to the radio station, on posters which were put up at for example small *sari-sari* store[11] other meeting points, and was advertised on air throughout the day. The text message data was very important in my research and a form of access and inclusion, which is why I offer more details and critique in this section compared to the other communication channels.

Both phone numbers were only promoted as a text line as networks were often too weak to allow for calls. However, if somebody did call one of the text lines the call was answered. This could suggest that listeners that were not comfortable or able to write text messages may have been discouraged from getting in touch through the text line. Literacy in the Philippines is very high, with 95.4% (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2015, p. 243) overall in the Philippines and in the municipality of Guiuan it is as high as 98.3% according to an informant from the Guiuan Municipal Planning and Development Office. However, the literacy rate for

[11] A convenience store/stand for basic groceries, mobile phone cards etc.

the ages of 25 and older in the Philippines is only 64.8% (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2015, p. 243). This may relate to the (older) rural population who may be less literate than the younger generations and shows that texting may not be an appropriate channel for everybody. Moreover, the report only distinguishes between two age categories under and over 25 years which implies that the literacy rate for ages of 25 and upwards may be skewed by older less literate respondents.

A BMI research report found that the number of mobile phone subscribtions per 100 inhabitants in the Philippines was 110.3 in 2013 (2015, p. 44). The higher number of subscriptions is probably due to some individuals owning more than one SIM card. Regardless of this rather high mobile phone penetration, it is not clear how comfortable for instance older people were using a mobile phone to send and receive text messages, which may well differ from mobile phone ownership and receiving and making calls. Although, some older individuals reported that they were using a phone through their younger relatives this is still a significant limitation to a group of individuals deemed as particularly vulnerable in disasters (Mathbor, 2007). Additionally, many phones were lost during the typhoon (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN-OCHA) and the Philippine Information Agency (PIA), 2013, p. 2) and electricity and money was scarce after the typhoon, which also infringed on mobile phone usage. As one interviewee explained: '*I have not [sent a text to Radyo Bakdaw] because, you know, I have no job as of now, so I can't text.'* (C3m, FT2). This shows that although texting seems to be a rather accessible communication channel in the Philippines, the reach of the text line was still limited through technical, economic and social circumstances.

Text messages that were categorised by the administrative assistants as 'information' were collected in an excel file and translated. In the category 'information' were texts asking any kinds of questions related to the relief operations, such as when the next distribution of relief goods would take place; listener comments, for instance criticism about a humanitarian cash for work programme not paying on time; or input, on for example that school tents were damaged after strong winds. This shows that the term 'information' was a perhaps a misnomer by the staff who initially set up the categorisation as questions and critique also fell into this category. Ultimately,

the text messages that were tagged 'information' by the administrative assistant were the ones that she or the broadcasters identified as input from the community that the station could respond to either via text message, through a broadcast or a more in-depth follow up story.

For instance, because of technical reasons, the whole island of Homonhon (magnifier box figure 9) did not have any mobile reception. Moreover, in the first two months after the typhoon Homonhon and some of the other smaller islands were extremely hard to reach as most boats had been destroyed. Therefore, some of the outlier islands were excluded from being able to contact or listen to Radyo Bakdaw. Although broadcasters aimed to visit different communities, isolated areas were not visited regularly or in some cases at all. Moreover, radios were broken or lost during the typhoon. This limitation is also reflected in an audience survey by Internews which states that:

> *'The major reason for not listening was lack of access to a functioning radio (72%), this compares with the December survey that reported 80% and may also reflect the continuing radio repair efforts of Radio Bakdaw and increased market availability of radios. Other key reasons noted were not being aware (12%) and not able to receive the signal (11.5%), some of these people may of course be listening to other radio services (not asked in survey)'* (Internews, 2014, p. 2)

This underlines that some areas were excluded from the services Radyo Bakdaw provided and therefore illuminates the difficulty of 'full participation'.

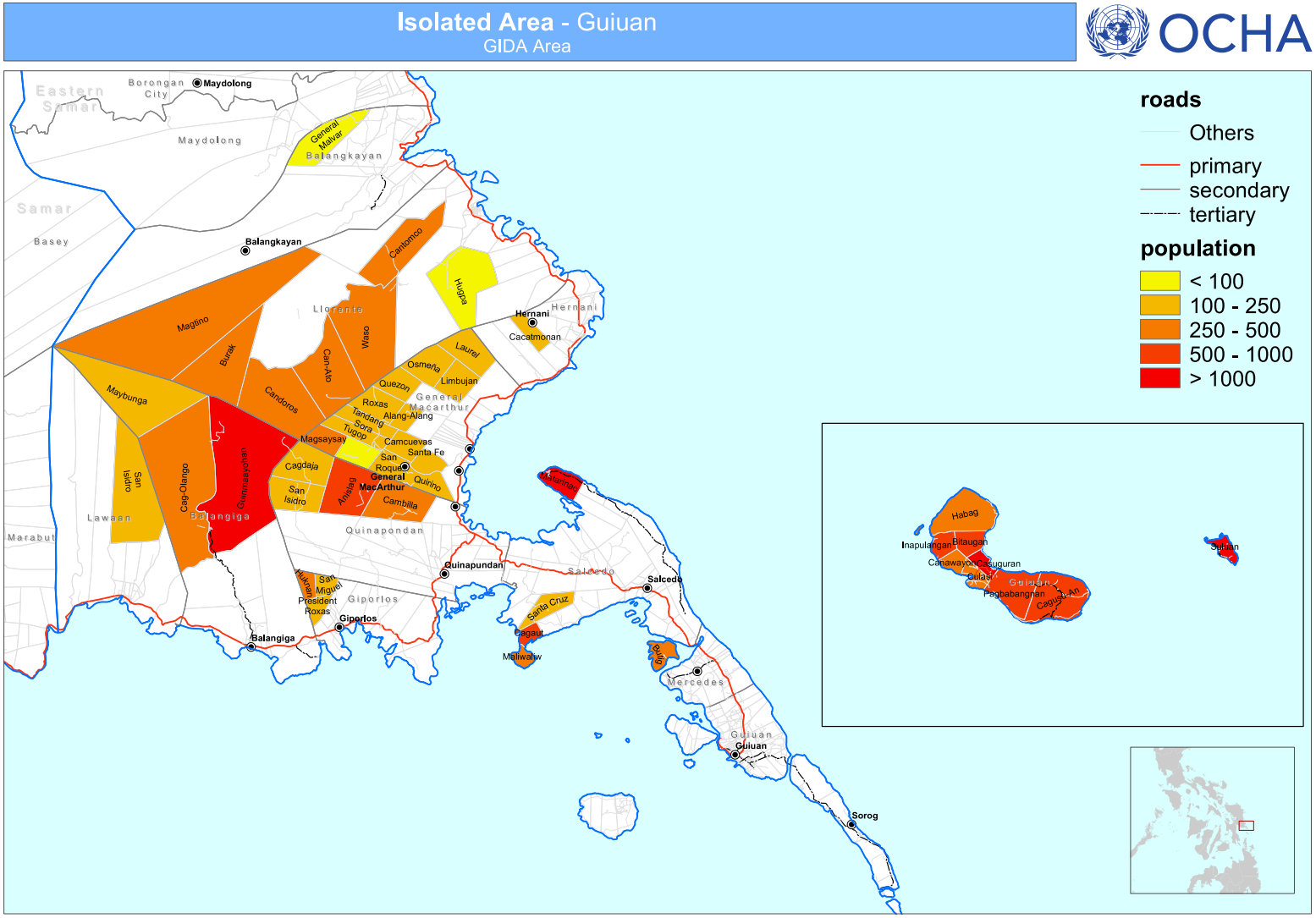

Figure 9 Map of isolated areas, UN-OCHA (2013)

Facebook

Feedback, comments and questions were also collected through the Radyo Bakdaw Facebook page, which was published in the end of January 2014 and had approximately 1000 followers. As the Facebook page could not be translated and was only published end of January 2014 (less than a month before Radyo Bakdaw ceased to broadcast) I will not include data from it in my research. But it is relevant to know that Broadcasters would answer comments and questions from the Facebook page live on air and through comments on the Facebook page itself as this suggests that there was yet another channel available to listeners.

In summary, there were multiple and varied channels for the community to get in touch with the station and include themselves. This variety of channels suggests that different parts of the community had different ways to approach Radyo Bakdaw. Comparing this to the other local station, Radyo Natin, it appeared that Radyo Bakdaw had a few more channels through which to contact the station, notably the more active outreach activities. This refers to communication in the form of radio repair days and community visits, whereby the station was actively seeking out community participation. This overall shows that Radyo Bakdaw did aim to be accessible and open and managed to do so to a certain extent. Nevertheless, there were still significant pockets of the population which could not access Radyo Bakdaw and were also less included through broadcaster visits or radio repair days.

Community visitors at the station

Individuals also came to the station in person. In the first two months after the typhoon this was especially important. The station was initially advertised through A4 posters, distributing radios to public places, and introducing the station to *Barangay* leaders as a platform for communications. The address of the station was frequently advertised on air and listeners were invited to come to the station to share their thoughts, problems and experiences of the disaster response. Moreover, the location of the station was right next to the town hall (see figure 5), which had a lot of community visitors due to its central role in the response. For example, many individuals had lost important documents such as birth certificates due to the typhoon and would come to the town hall to ask how to replace them. As the station

was right next to the town hall and was advertised with a large poster and playing their programme from a big speaker, passers-by would automatically notice the new station.

I observed a range of different individuals coming to the station per day (numbers ranged from five to more than 20 per day)[12] who would request songs, ask for friends to be greeted or relay problems they had in their *Barangay*. The accessibility of the station also becomes evident when one of the community interviewees was asked why he had visited the station on several occasions and responded:

> *'Sometimes, I am asking for a song they play, or a request, or any other help that I need, for example the radio. Some... they repaired my radio there.'* (C5m, FT2)

The quote shows that the interviewee was regularly approaching the station for different reasons and speaks to the argument that the station was a place that aimed to provide services relevant to their listeners, which were not limited to information sharing but also included solving communication hardware problems.

Community outreach: radio repair

Furthermore, the station had a weekly traveling radio repair service, which consisted of a team of technicians that would fix broken radios for free and a few broadcasters who would talk to community members to find out potential issues and questions. Two to three technicians would set up somewhere outside, usually in front of a community hall or similar and repair radios. They would also tune one of the radios to Radyo Bakdaw so that people picking up their repaired device or just people in the closer proximity were exposed to Radyo Bakdaw. The broadcasters would use this opportunity to ask community members about how the disaster response was going in their community and at times ask questions on specific topics, which for instance related to a radio programme. These interactions were recorded and used for

[12] The numbers are an approximation as I did not observe the station every single day for the full broadcasting time due to shadowing broadcasters, interviewing and meetings, during my first field trip and staff did not keep a record of visitors per day.

programmes, or formed the starting point for a follow up investigative piece. In the month of January 2014 for instance the radio repair team visited three different municipalities (Sulangan, Guiuan, Mercedes) four times. During these four events in January 2014, 54 individuals brought their radios to the radio repair days. Although this number seems relatively low we must acknowledge that there were also individuals coming to the repair stand to 'have a look' who might also have taken an opportunity to connect with station staff and perhaps each other. Nevertheless, this shows these small and localised events had significant limitations in their reach. This means that even though they may have been accessible and open in their approach their reach limited the overall impact.

Community outreach: broadcasters visiting the community

Another opportunity for individuals to get in touch with the station came through the broadcasters themselves who would go out into the community to ask questions on specific topics but also ask about general issues and questions regarding the disaster response. For instance, broadcasters would go to the tent camp to interview individuals, to schools and other gathering places. Community members approached broadcasters when they were doing community interviews, adding their own opinion to the discussion or raising a different issue. As one of the senior broadcasters explained:

> *'Yes, and sometimes people approach me and say, can you please broadcast this problem, like, that we don't have relief or our rice is just two kilos and others are [getting] five kilos and 10 kilos.'* (RB3SM in RBFGD, FT2)

This kind of regular, personal and longer-term relationship-building is also advocated for within participatory communication. Servaes for instance, argues that development workers need to continuously be in touch with the communities they work with, fulfil their promises towards the community and build relationships of trust with the local population (1996).

The **localness** of the station may have contributed to the station seeming approachable and may have played a role in the popularity of the station. This is in line with Putnam and his colleagues who claim that social capital building efforts

must be localised. As they explain: '[...] social capital is necessarily a local phenomenon because it is defined by connections among people who know one another' (Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2003, p. 9).

This localness however also leads to a tension, since according to Putnam and colleagues a larger project that crosses regional boundaries may be more powerful in its impact (2003). Therefore, they argue for a decentralised approach that allows for local connections but is part of a greater, national project or organisation (2003). This decentralised regional approach however may be hard to merge with the realities of limited budgets, short timeframes of small humanitarian projects. Radyo Bakdaw as a project was localised, through having their station in the affected area and creating content based on that area and the community who lived in it (see section 5.2.3). Another aspect of their 'localness' was the language the station used, which was mainly the local vernacular of Waray-Waray.

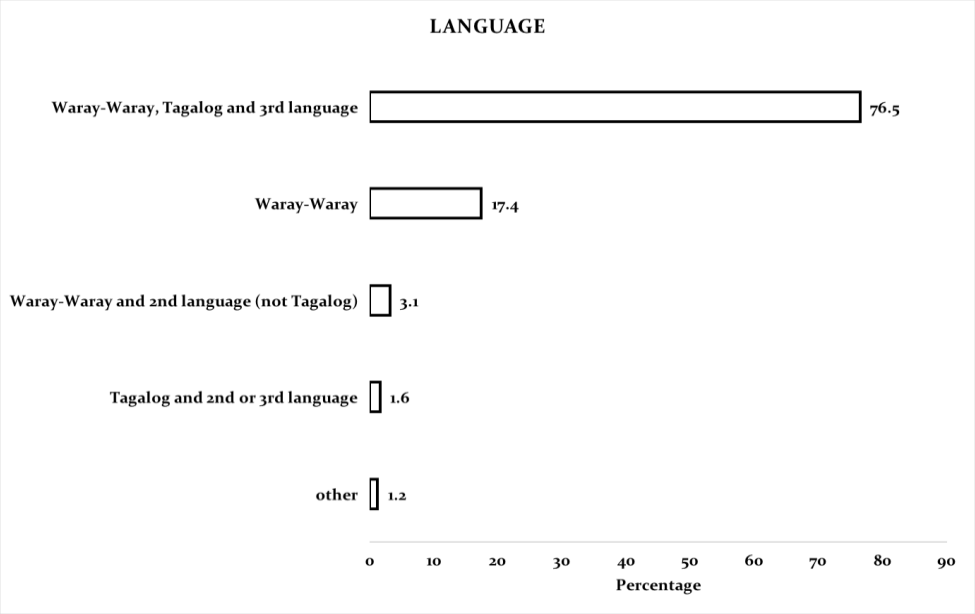

Figure 10 Languages spoken by respondents, community survey 2 (n=259), FT2

This also connects to the participatory theme of accessibility. All broadcasters were local and Radyo Bakdaw mainly broadcasted in the local language Waray-Waray, sometimes using Tagalog or English to interview NGO staff on-air but usually giving a summary in Waray-Waray. Figure 10 illustrates that most of the community respondents (76.5%) speak Waray-Waray, Tagalog (one of the two official languages in the Philippines) and a third language, such as English (the second official language of the Philippines). This would indicate that 76.5% of listeners would understand

broadcasting in both Waray-Waray and Tagalog.

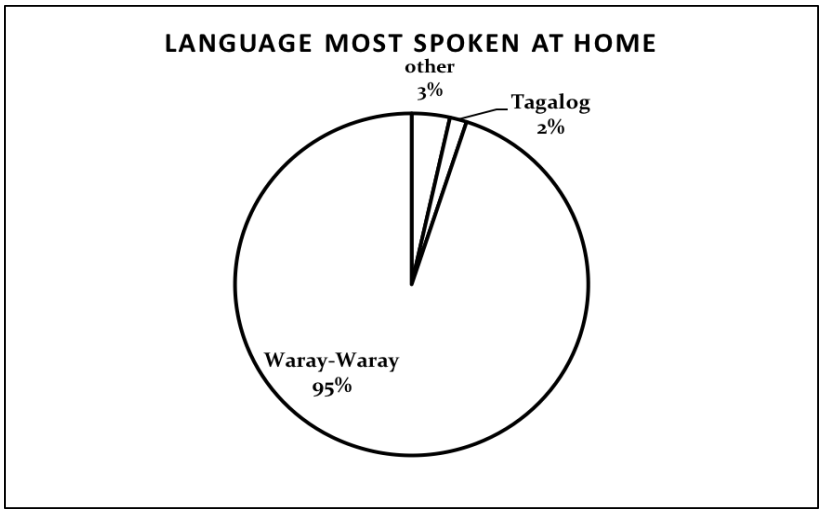

Figure 11 Language respondents spoke most at home, community survey 2 (n=259), FT2

However, as figure 11 demonstrates, 95% of the respondents speak Waray-Waray at home and only 2% use Tagalog. This suggests that the language respondents are most comfortable in and familiar with is Waray-Waray. Using a local dialect may therefore have on the one hand meant that listeners felt more familiar with the station and on the other hand encouraged them to contact the station as they knew they could use their own language to convey their thoughts. This was corroborated by a female community member who noted that she preferred listening to Radyo Bakdaw rather than Radyo Natin because Radyo Natin often broadcasts in Tagalog and sometimes in English: '*[…] Radyo Natin is not close to her heart because it speaks Tagalog. Radyo Bakdaw speaks Waray, so that made it closer to her*' (c14f, via interpreter, FT2). This shows another way in which the station was open and accessible to the community through making their broadcasting more local.

5.2.3 Community inclusion

The second key theme of my participatory framework is community inclusion. The participatory communication framework leads me to investigate whether communities are considered passive audiences that need to be educated or as active and knowledgeable. Furthermore, the framework asked whether community concerns would be broadcasted publicly, whether topics come directly from the community, and how the community can include their voices.

As the section on accessibility explained, Radyo Bakdaw offered different ways to include community members in their content. What is important to look at however, is how this feedback was used and if and how exactly this inclusion was implemented. Texts that broadcasters received were addressed directly on air (for instance questions on dates of schools reopening), answered via text, or followed up if the issue in the text message described was a more complicated one that warranted a more in-depth report. As one community member relayed:

> *'Yes, I have sent a text message request… […]. Fortunately for us, they [Radyo Bakdaw] give us the answer automatically to our problem here in the province.'* (C22m, FT2)

This underlines that Radyo Bakdaw not only included community voices but also tried to answer questions and therefore rather than having a 'listening and telling' relationship (Quarry & Ramírez, 2009), had a more dialogical connection to the community.

Although the majority of texts were answered (RB8Af, FT2) or publicly read out and/or addressed through a report, there were also texts that were not answered, either owing to human error (a broadcaster accidentally overlooking a text) or because they did not reach the station due to unreliable phone reception. Moreover, some greetings were not put on air due to time constraints. Radyo Bakdaw for instance did not publicise the text a woman had sent to Radyo Bakdaw, in which she asked to greet her love interest. At first the interviewee seemed understanding:

> *'[…] I know that on Radyo Bakdaw, so many people are texting them, so I think that the message I sent was not able to be read by the DJ. So, It's OK for me.' (grins)* (C11m, FT2)

But, when asked if she would text Radyo Bakdaw regarding a community issue she declined:

> *'No, because I think… for me I'd just be wasting my time. My text message would not be heard. There'd be so many texters, I was discouraged from that'* (C11m, FT2)

This shows that even though the station tried to accommodate all text messages, not including some messages may have discouraged the respective individual from getting in touch again with a text even if it were concerning a more important issue such as problems with humanitarian organisations. This suggests that the public nature of answering texts or answering texts directly via phone may have been a strong contributing factor to assure listeners that their message would not be ignored and thus foster regular input from the community.

During my observations at Radyo Bakdaw, community input appeared to play a large role in the content production of Radyo Bakdaw. The broadcasting team would have a meeting every morning to discuss broadcasting topics for the day. While some topics came from humanitarian organisations, the majority related to community issues, which were for instance gathered through text messages. As one of the broadcasters explained:

> *'[…] We recorded them [the text messages] and then surveyed the particular area which is… what's in the text. And then we send people there, we send staff there, if Kuya RB2Sm wants to go there or RB7Jm… yea we respond to their questions and texts through sending people to the places.'* (RB5Jf, FT2)

The broadcasters had a clear community focus in their work, which they understood to be as a service to the affected population. As one senior broadcaster reminisced after Radyo Bakdaw ceased to broadcast:

> *'Like when we were in Radyo Bakdaw, every time, the problems of the people, the problems of the community we'd immediately do our best to bring a solution to the problem.' (*RB3SM in RBFGD, FT2)

This community centric approach also was underlined in the following quote by a staff member that worked as an administrative assistant and later as a producer. She described the goal of Radyo Bakdaw as:

> *'Helping people, telling stories about what's going on in the community…reaching people from different communities; disseminating information; telling people about updated news; helping them find solutions to their problems.'* (RB9Af, FT1)

This further underlines that the staff perceived the community as the centre of their work. This community centred approach was allegedly very different to the approach of Radyo Natin, as the same senior broadcaster explained:

> '*[…] Because in Radyo Natin… I don't know. Maybe we are not really that concerned with the problems of the people. […].'* (RB3SM in RBFGD, FT2).

This illustrates that broadcasters perceived the two stations to have a different approach regarding the importance of the community. While Radyo Bakdaw was comprehended as having the goal of providing a service to the community, Radyo Natin was not. According to the station manager of Radyo Natin their approach changed after the typhoon:

> *'Well, the complaints, greetings, birthday greetings, encouragement, positive and negative comments… we take note of the more important…about the complaints. We take note of them. Like the one that I was talking about this afternoon. They texted me that they were coming… Me, actually, I'm kind of excited accommodating these messages already,* ***unlike before****. Because I think the listenership now is a lot wider and bigger than before.* ***They discovered that they can get help from the radio.*** *Because we have to call the attention of the persons involved and concerned […]'* (RN1Sf, FT2, emphasis added)

This elucidates that Radyo Natin used to include text messages less before the typhoon and may signify a shift in the perception of the community of what radio could be used for. She reasons that listeners discovered that they can get help from the radio'. Arguably, this may be due to the impact of Radyo Bakdaw's community-centred approach. Although the aforementioned quote of the station manager suggests a potential change in how they handle messages, she went on to say that she

had to consider the image of the station when deciding whether or not to include community problems, suggesting that image may be more important than confrontation on behalf of the community:

> *'[…] But me? I have to be careful, because I am not only thinking of today…I am also concerned about the image of the station, you know, long-term, and also the people. Because it's just today, maybe tomorrow, we are going to meet another time, another circumstance. So, I should have to be careful, I don't have to be careless and believe [community complaints] right away. We have to do investigations first and choose which issue is really more interesting, more credible, and more significant. '*(RN1Sf, FT2)

While according to the station manager Radyo Natin now does include community text messages, one of the broadcasters said that most messages were not included in the regular programme or would only be followed up by one of the broadcasters:

> *'We erase it [the text messages] after presenting. We do not record the text messages, ya, even the reports and even the questions of the community. I admit it, I ignore it sometimes. Sometimes I'll say 'RB4SM, can you do this? Barangay whatever is having problems' 'I'm busy, can you do the report? Do you have a friend there? Call them…' and Bla bla bla.'* (RB5Jf, FT2)

This underlines the different approach of Radyo Natin regarding messages. Radyo Natin did also answer to some listener requests but would do referrals to government bodies or NGOs rather than directly answering community problems, which shows a different prioritising of community problems. This difference in including community voices was also echoed by some of the community interviewees. One community member for instance complained that Radyo Natin did not help them with their issues:

> *'We try [to ask Radyo Natin], but [they are] not like Radyo Bakdaw, which was a liberal minded station openly. Openly, they [Radyo Bakdaw] entertained people problem, personal problem, institutional and other complaint [sic], they accept them so long [as] they are constructive' (c4m, FT2)*

The quote illustrates that the difference between the stations was also recognised by some of the listeners. This was also confirmed by another woman living in tent city who was asked about the difference between Radyo Natin and Radyo Bakdaw:

> *'According to her, Radyo Bakdaw listened to the cries of the people, so for her, that's what she keeps till now, the help of Radyo Bakdaw. That it listened to the cries of the people.'* (c14f, via interpreter, FT2)

And:

> *'She said she feels more comfortable texting Radyo Bakdaw than in texting Radyo Natin, because according to her, it listened to and gave importance to the text messages, rather than Radyo Natin today.'* (c14f, via interpreter, FT2)

These statements further provide evidence that some community members perceived Radyo Bakdaw as community centric and felt that their problems were answered through the work of the station. This suggests that perhaps Radyo Bakdaw was more likely to hold power holders accountable because they trusted the station with their problems. Most of the accountability-related reports that Radyo Bakdaw did were based on a text message, a listener coming to the station or issues the broadcasters heard from personal connections. This suggests that Radyo Bakdaw held those in power accountable based on the input of the community rather than fuelled by journalistic interest. Another theme in my research questions was diversity, since it is impossible to include the entirety of a community, we must question the diversity of the voices included. This is what the next section will discuss.

Diversity

Radyo Bakdaw aimed to include different individuals in their radio content. According to a list of interviews a total of 279 interviews were conducted and put on air between 25 November 2013 and 18 February 2014 (some pre-recorded, some live). This list is probably not complete, as sometimes community members would drop by the station and get interviewed spontaneously and not be documented as administrative assistants may not have been in the station to document all interviewees. Moreover, it appears that community members were not documented

at all in the interview list within the first month. This skews the list slightly in favour of expert interviewees, whose interviews were being documented from the very start. However, the list is nevertheless a good indicator as to the diversity of the voices the station put on air. I coded the list per the following parameters: community, education, government/public service, health experts, other (i.e., religious persons, unions, national musicians), NGO, private sector. I chose these parameters according to the documented reason the person was interviewed, allowing me to highlight the voices and topics included in Radyo Bakdaw. Some of the categories overlap, for instance *Barangay* officials are part of the government, but belong to the smallest political unit in the Philippines. Within the research area the smallest constituency of a *Barangay* official was 191 community members (Cabunga-An, Mercedes). This means that topics that *Barangay* officials were interviewed on were more likely to be hyper-local, while government interviewees were mostly from a municipal level and accordingly they were more likely to be interviewed about municipal-level issues. Within the category of education, both teachers and principals were included, showing that there were different levels of 'experts'.

Figure 12 illustrates that out of the 279 documented interviews, 31.7% interviewees were community members.

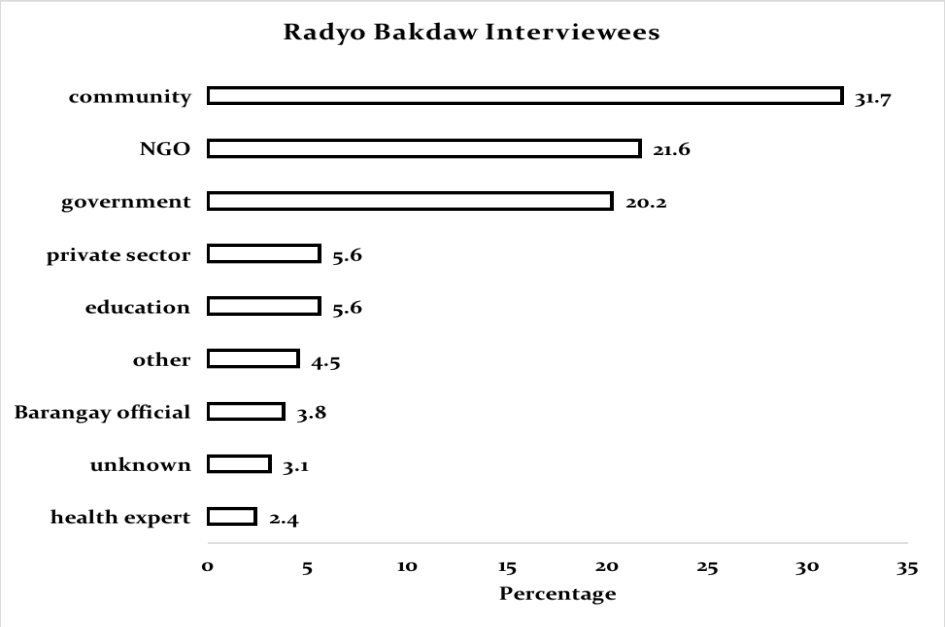

Figure 12 Radyo Bakdaw interviewees, 25 November 2013 to 18 February 2015 (n=279)

Within the community categories, interviews included low income community members (such as farmers), community experts (such as midwives) and minority

groups (local LGBT members). Interview topics would range from talking about how it was to experience the typhoon to the details of the life of a fisher. 21.6% of interviewees were affiliated with a humanitarian organisation, these were both international and local interviewees with a preference for local interviewees by the station, and 17.4% were government officials (including *Barangay* officials) and public servants. These two categories of interviewees were for instance explaining their relief programmes or doing an on-air question and answer session. This shows that overall, the voices included in the programming were quite diverse. The community made up one third of the interviewees, which also underlines the community-centred approach of Radyo Bakdaw. There is no data regarding the age of interviewees, leaving a gap in how diverse the age range of interviewees was. However, Radyo Bakdaw did host a weekly children's programme and a senior citizen's programme from January 2014 onwards which underlines inclusion of different age ranges. In summary, this demonstrates that as far as class, occupation and to a certain extent age goes Radyo Bakdaw did succeed in including a diverse group of interviewees overall and from the affected community.

Contextual factor: political balance and bias

One relevant factor that became apparent through analysing the collected data was the relevance of perceived political balance and bias of radio.

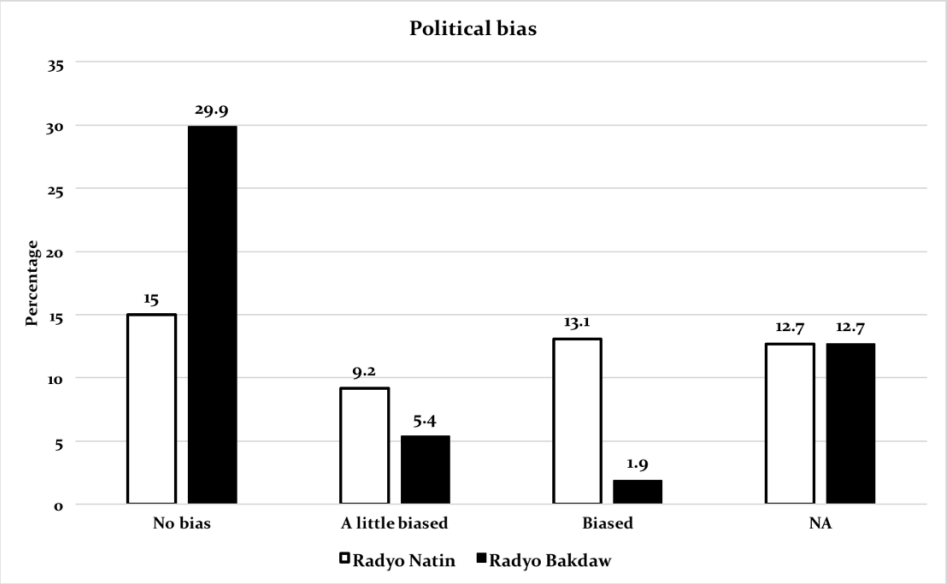

Figure 13 Political bias perception of listeners who listen to both radio stations, community survey 2 (n=259), FT2

While there were also some individuals that perceived Radyo Bakdaw as biased,

community survey 2 showed that by comparison Radyo Bakdaw was perceived as more politically balanced than Radyo Natin. The survey data revealed that 67.66% of respondents that were Radyo Bakdaw listeners perceived Radyo Bakdaw to have no political bias. While 15.42% said they 'don't know', 11.94% answered that Radyo Bakdaw was politically biased 'a little' and 4.97% said 'yes' (community survey 2, FT2).

As figure 13 illustrates listeners that listen to both Radyo Natin and Radyo Bakdaw and thus can compare the two stations perceived a significant difference in the political bias of the two stations. 29.9% of listeners think that Radyo Bakdaw has no political bias while only 15% say the same of Radyo Natin. That means that when we combine the two categories of bias, 22.3% of respondents categorised Radyo Natin as 'a little' or fully biased and only 7.3% felt that Radyo Bakdaw was 'a little' or fully biased. Moreover, within the category of bias, listeners that felt Radyo Bakdaw was biased were slightly more likely to say it was 'a little biased' (5.4% of the total 7.3%) whereas Radyo Bakdaw was more likely to be perceived as fully biased (13.1% of the total 22.3%). This suggests that the majority of listeners felt Radyo Bakdaw was politically balanced, whereas Radyo Natin was thought to be politically biased. This perception also became evident in the community interviews, as one interviewee explained:

> *'Also, Radyo Bakdaw is politically balanced, whereas Radyo Natin is very, very…I think….in my opinion, as I said before… [Radyo Natin is] like the municipal mouthpiece…'* (C5m, FT2)

The perception that Radyo Bakdaw was politically balanced was also confirmed by several of the community interviews (for example C6m, C12m, C3m, C22m, C4m, C5m, C26f). This perceived political balance also became evident in interviews with Radyo Bakdaw staff. One of the senior broadcasters explained how he felt that people from all political parties were willing to be interviewed by him since he worked for Radyo Bakdaw:

> *'They will accommodate me. They will give me time to talk with me, they will give me time because they're friends. If they ask me what station it is, I will*

explain to them. Anyway, I am not a partisan personality of radio, so I can explain [to] them that this is a humanitarian station and this is not a political station.' (RB2Sm, FT1)

This alludes, firstly that broadcasters differentiated Radyo Bakdaw as a 'humanitarian station' and therefore not political. Secondly, the quote underlines that normally radio perceived as political. This may also have further implications for the diversity of interviewees, as this perceived political balance may mean that individuals from all political sides would be willing to be interviewed. However, there is no further evidence to corroborate this idea.

The perceived political balance of Radyo Bakdaw did also appear to impact on the participatory theme of inclusion, as some community members seemed to favour Radyo Bakdaw because of this political balance. A male community member for instance felt that Radyo Bakdaw was:

'Purely balanced. They are not political. They are more focused on helping people to recover, communicating with people. Non-political.' (C6m, FT2)

The way he phrases his answer suggests that he may feel that Radyo Bakdaw is not political because it is aiming to support communities. Another interviewee, a senior citizen and union president, also appeared to appreciate the lack of politics in Radyo Bakdaw's broadcasting:

'[…] Radyo Bakdaw is telling always the truth, without political ideas. It only reports what the needs of the people are, these Yolanda victims. That's why when we get our record… I have a record today that Radyo Bakdaw is different to Radyo Natin' (C3m, FT2)

The interviewee additionally suggests that this political balance was different to how Radyo Natin operated and once more links it to 'the needs of the people', which further corroborates the findings of community survey 2 which show that respondents felt that Radyo Bakdaw was more politically balanced than Radyo Natin. This appreciation of Radyo Bakdaw's political balance was even shared, perhaps

somewhat surprisingly, by a *Barangay* official who scolded local commercial radio for being too busy with politics:

> *'Yes, because the last time – if you were a Guiuananons you would know – there were actually political affiliations in the family owning the broadcasting programme and the company station [Radyo Natin] itself. Of course, they have a certain affiliation. There's also another programme around out there from the other party*[13]*, throwing criticisms at each other, so that's why I didn't like the news before. Now it's better, at least they're doing – like I said – doing what they're supposed to do.' (c13m, FT2)*

This gives further evidence to the claim that communities appreciated the perceived political balance of the station, which may have made them more likely to approach the station and perhaps felt that politics at times got into the way of serving the community. However, although there seems to be evidence that listeners appreciated the politically balanced approach of Radyo Bakdaw, we cannot say for sure whether this contributed to more community members contacting the station. This could have also allowed communities to feel like they would be listened to even when criticising local political actors and relates to the accessible and inclusive approach of the station. If everybody is welcome no matter what political party they belong to, this suggests an inclusive approach that allows for diversity thus underlining the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw.

That this entertaining of critical comments had some novelty in Guiuan, is evidenced by the comment of a community member in tent city in Guiuan who reprimanded Radyo Natin for not broadcasting critical text messages: *'They don't read the negative statements on Radyo Natin'* (c18f, FT2). She elaborated, that:

> *'The difference [between the two stations] is, on Radyo Bakdaw all problems were accommodated, but on Radyo Natin they are not accommodating callers and texters. Greetings only. They accommodate greetings only.'* (c18f, FT2)

[13] He is referring to a local radio station in Salcedo called DYBE

When I visited Radyo Natin and observed their radio programme, the station staff recorded the number of text messages received but not the content. Former Radyo Natin staff told me that the station did only respond to greetings and did not follow up on air if a listener sent in a problem. This does not mean that Radyo Natin did not try to respond to community issues per se.

This political balance is also suggestive of the openness and inclusion of Radyo Bakdaw. The open approach that Radyo Bakdaw took was very different to the approach of Radyo Natin, the only local radio station Guiuananons knew before typhoon Haiyan. Radio as an accountability mechanism and as a responder to community questions and problems appeared to be something novel. This difference seemed to be clearly perceived by the majority of interviewees. A young man for instance relayed how he perceived Radyo Bakdaw and Radyo Natin to be different:

> *'So, the difference between Radyo Natin and Radyo Bakdaw. Because in Radyo Bakdaw, if he is texting Radyo Bakdaw, it is on time that Radyo Bakdaw is reading their texts, while in Radyo Natin their text messages were ignored. […] because they mostly ask questions when they text. Radyo Bakdaw answered directly to the texts, whereas Radyo Natin just ignored it. […]'* (C12m, FT2, via interpreter)

This suggests that the interviewee felt Radyo Bakdaw was open to community problems, which gives further evidence of the station's accessibility and openness. The quote also implies that Radyo Bakdaw was perceived as being a point of reference for questions and problems, a station answering 'directly to the texts' of its listeners. Similarly, a broadcaster from Radyo Natin explained how she felt the two stations were different in whom they served:

> *'[…] Radyo Bakdaw, it's a community radio, am I correct? And this one [Radyo Natin] is a commercial radio. So [in Radyo Bakdaw] the people can easily give, vocalise, ask – how do we call it? – because they are free, while in Radyo Natin, it's a commercial radio, so those who want to give an announcement will pay for it. But at Radyo Bakdaw, anyone can go to them for help, or whatever, and announce what they want to broadcast on air.' (RN2Jf, FT2)*

This alludes to another factor that played into the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw – funding. Because Radyo Bakdaw was funded by a humanitarian organisation it also had no financial pressure to put an emphasis on advertising, but could focus fully on meeting perceived needs of the community. Another important aspect that the interviewee does not mention is that Radyo Bakdaw was able to be politically balanced and critical of the government because it was a foreign station and additionally a foreign station that operated under extraordinary circumstances, namely an emergency broadcasting license. If Internews had sought to build up Radyo Bakdaw as a development project it would have needed a regular radio license, which would have meant a long process, that would have to go through the government with a politician as a sponsor. According to the Freedom House report on the Philippines from 2015: '[w]hile the media collectively offer a range of views, reporting by private outlets tends to reflect the political or business interests of their owners and financial supporters' (Freedom House, 2017). This suggests that although it is possible to hold politicians accountable, a station normally does report from a chosen political perspective. Guiuan only had one single radio station, which was claimed to support the current government. As one of the senior broadcasters explained who had previously worked for Radyo Natin:

> *'Political influence in the programming at Radyo Natin? Yes. There is political influence, because they are the owners and the owner's family member is a big politician here in Guiuan, so they can control. They control all the programmes, all the issues that come in, and they are always saying 'This is not true, the truth is this and this and this'. They are always clearing, washing their own hands of the issues that rock them. You know what I mean Viviane. Politics here is very strong here in Guiuan. Not only in Guiuan, actually. In other places it's very strong, in Ormoc.* (RB2Sm, FT1)

This claim was further corroborated by the fact the station manager was the sister in law of the mayor and the mayor was a member of the Guiuan Media association which was involved in co-funding Radyo Natin. The political colouring and close connections to the town hall of Radyo Natin suggest that they may be perceived to be less likely to hold local government accountable, which underlines the importance of

the perceived political balance of Radyo Bakdaw.

In summary, this chapter section has answered several of the research questions introduced in the participatory communication framework (chapter 2). The evidence discussed addressed the following questions:

- Where does information come from?
- How diverse is the access to information?
- What role does localness play in information? How is information made 'local'?
- Is the community seen as a passive audience that should be educated or are their opinions valued?
- How are communities included in the project?
- How can the community include themselves?
- How diverse is the inclusion of community voices?

Radyo Bakdaw had diverse channels to give access to the community and those channels were open for the community to include themselves. Much of the radio content was based on community input. Thematic radio shows that were aligned with the humanitarian cluster system still also integrated community members. Live interviews consisted of a variety of interviewees, of which approximately one third came from the community. Information was made local through using the local vernacular and interviewing local experts. While there are some blind spots suspected, such as community members in hard to reach areas, the station had diverse community voices and made a conscious effort to involve community members. This was furthered through tailoring specific programmes around age, such as a show for the elderly and a children's show. The first part of the chapter has therefore established that Radyo Bakdaw used a participatory communication approach.

5.3 Generalised reciprocity and accountability

The second part of the chapter will discuss bridging and linking social capital through two key themes: generalised reciprocity (5.3.1) and different forms of accountability (5.3.2, 5.3.3, 5.3.4). This first chapter part will therefore address the

research question whether participatory communication can contribute to general reciprocity and bridging relationships. While the second chapter part will investigate if and how participatory communication may contribute to the community being able to hold those in power accountable in terms of transparency and answerability. Both parts discuss the question whether participatory communication can contribute to bridging and linking relationships and what contextual factors may impact participatory communication contributing to social capital?

5.3.1 Generalised reciprocity

Community members are without exception the first responders after a disaster, looking to rescue individuals from broken down buildings and covering the first basic needs (International Federation of Red Cross Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), 2004). However, this kind of reciprocity has been argued to only last for the very first response phase, up to perhaps a month after a disaster strikes a community (Islam & Walkerden, 2014). This means that we can expect a gap in generalised reciprocity within disaster affected communities that may increase after the first month. There are two types of generalised reciprocity this section addresses: firstly, material reciprocity, such as community members supporting other individuals in the community through donating material means, and secondly, immaterial reciprocity, in which community members help each other out through for instance an act of kindness such as offering their time to help another community member.

Facilitating generalised reciprocity was an intentional goal of Radyo Bakdaw. The intention to facilitate mutual community support becomes apparent in their main tagline 'Radyo Bakdaw – helping you help each other'. This at times was done through small instances of general reciprocity, such as announcing that a listener had found or lost a wallet which could be dropped off or picked up at the station or community members responding through text messages that were read on air to other listeners with helpful advice, such as where to buy cheap solar lights.

A good example of generalised reciprocity facilitated by the station was when the station broadcasted a call for help to replace a wheelchair. One of the senior broadcasters of Radyo Bakdaw recounted how the station had received a request for a wheelchair by a listener with cerebral palsy, which was broadcasted and then

answered by another community member:

> *'[…] I am a living witness to that wheelchair story. There was a text that the staff received. The text said that she was a victim of Typhoon Yolanda and she came from an island Barangay, and that she badly needed the wheelchair. Then somebody [another listener] who had an extra wheelchair – not an extra but it was a wheelchair that was kept for over a year that was not being used – he heard the public service announcement and came right away to the station and said 'I have a spare wheelchair. I can donate it to the one who was asking.' Radyo Bakdaw facilitated the delivery, the turnover of the wheelchair. Now that wheelchair is being used by this certain resident of an island Barangay.'* (RB1Sf, FT2)

After the second listener brought in the wheelchair of his late mother, the senior broadcaster in the above quote and I went to the island where the disabled listener lived and delivered the wheelchair. The young woman explained to us that she had listened to Radyo Bakdaw and then sent a text herself to ask for help. RB1Sf interviewed the young woman and some individuals in her family and the whole story of her asking for a wheelchair and another listener donating one was broadcasted on-air. Following the broadcast there were four more listeners asking for wheelchairs and one more wheelchair was donated by another listener. The requests which were not resolved locally were shared with an International humanitarian organisation working on disability. This second donation came from a middle-aged couple who worked as scrap metal collectors and had found a wheelchair in a dumpster. It should be noted that a wheelchair is worth a significant amount of money for a scrap metal collector, however the wife had heard the first wheelchair story on Radyo Bakdaw and felt that in her own words: '*we might not have much but we can still help each other*' and convinced her husband to donate the wheelchair via Radyo Bakdaw. One might question the motives of the couple: perhaps they were just keen to donate the wheelchair in order for them to be on air - however, after meeting them this seems unlikely as they both appeared quite shy. Whatever the couple's motivations, this is an example of how Radyo Bakdaw facilitated generalised reciprocity of direct material assistance between different members of the affected community. This kind of generalised reciprocity fits with the concept of bridging

relationships, which are meant to offer support, materially and otherwise in times of crises (Islam & Walkerden, 2014). The community focus of the station meant that a single text message of one listener was developed into a longer broadcasting piece, and broadcasters asked during different programmes whether other listeners could help. This puts the station into the position of connecting different community members, to a certain extent building bridging relationships which otherwise would not have existed. This connection was only possible through the way that Radyo Bakdaw answered community voices. Firstly, because they saw their mandate as serving the community, they tried to find solutions for community issues. Secondly, through trusting in community capacity they looked to facilitate community-based solutions as well as institutional-based solutions. In total two wheelchairs were donated, however several more requests for wheelchairs were made, which the station shared with a disability focused INGO. The two donated wheelchairs were the most noteworthy instances of material general reciprocity and the best documented examples. There were no similar 'big material requests' received by broadcasters which could have been answered by the community - at least there are none evident in the text message or broadcaster data sets. This means that we need further study as to whether these examples would be repeated in other participatory communication projects.

This kind of material reciprocity was made possible through the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw: because on one hand the station based their content on community input and aimed to answer community requests, and on the other hand, because the station valued community members as active citizens which had the capacity to help each other. This closely relates to the values of participatory communication, which argue that community members should not be understood as passive victims but rather as capable citizens (Arnstein, 1969). Furthermore, there seemed to be no such occurrences of generalised reciprocity between listeners of Radyo Natin, or at least not such significant ones. While Radyo Natin also mentioned being given a lost wallet they could not remember any instances of such significant material reciprocity that they had facilitated. Radyo Natin appeared to have an overall less participatory approach and no known significant instances of material generalised reciprocity between listeners, which adds emphasis to the link between Radyo Bakdaw's participatory approach and the reciprocity they facilitated.

Another example of generalised reciprocity was the reunion of family members, which relates to immaterial reciprocity of individuals giving up their time to help find a missing person that they have no link with. Listeners would approach the station for instance when they were looking for a missing family member and hoping for the support of the community in finding him or her. As a senior broadcaster explained:

> *'[…] One of the families lost one of their family members during the super typhoon. We aired at Radyo Bakdaw that one person was looking for her family, because she could not locate her family after the typhoon. We aired that one problem and then after that, some people heard, 'What's this?' They heard about the problem. Some of the people know the family and there, they get the number, then connecting people so that they can contact the people concerned. They contacted the family of that certain person who was looking for her family and they got reunited.'* (RB3SM, FT2)

This shows how the station served as a bridge between different parts of the community and through this facilitating general reciprocity. Through broadcasting about these missing people in detail, letting them share their emotional plea and asking community members to contact the station if they had any details they served as a linchpin between the family member and the community.

There were other instances where Radyo Bakdaw interviewed family members who had lost each other during the typhoon and would follow up with them after they were reunited (Cabonegro, 2014). I observed one such instance on 20 December 2013[14] when a middle-aged woman came to the station looking for her missing brother. The broadcaster on duty noted down the details about the missing brother and interviewed the woman on-air immediately. This underlines the priority that was given to community matters. The station would ask community members to help look out for the person. The call for the missing person was then repeated regularly

[14] Although this was already over a month after the typhoon, some individuals were still hoping to find friends and family members as many had lost phones and had no transport, and were therefore still not reunited.

on-air until there was news that the person was found or given up on.

The approach to dealing with missing person reports was slightly different at Radyo Natin. Due to the regular typhoons and the high number of people working as fisher folk in the region, it happens often that fisher folk go missing when at sea during rough waters: this meant I could ask Radyo Natin how they dealt with missing person reports even though they were not broadcasting during the immediate disaster response phase of typhoon Haiyan when families searched for their loved ones. The station manager explained to me that a fisherman's wife had asked them to help find her husband who had gone missing after a typhoon. There seemed to be no on-air interview and no follow up on trying to find the man. The station manager was not quite clear if she herself made a public announcement to ask for information on the missing man. While she had informally told me that she had not discussed the missing person on air, in the interview she is unclear about it and says she '*just can't remember and recall easily*' (RN1Sf, FT2). This may either be an indication that she did not want to talk about the specifics as I was asking her about examples of how Radyo Natin solved community problems and how she included the community, or simply that she forgot. The latter seems unlikely as a missing person report is usually an emotionally intense event and all other interviewees had quite clear memories of these instances. What is certain about the process is that there was news from a different Radyo Natin station that bodies had been found, so the station manager called the station head of the other Radyo Natin to confirm details about the boat and the bodies and informed the woman about them. There the interaction stops. While it is not surprising that the station did not interview the woman after she heard that her husband had died, it does show that the methods the two stations used in addressing missing person reports were quite different.

By coincidence one of the community interviewees was a fisherman and through his minister position also a type of community leader. He recalled a similar instance, in which a fisherman went missing after a smaller typhoon and he went to Radyo Natin to ask for help. The station made an announcement about the missing person and phoned their sister stations in Eastern Samar to ask if anybody had heard from the missing fisherman (C3m, FT2). It is not quite clear whether this refers to the same incident that the station manager talked about or a different one. Nevertheless, this

shows that Radyo Natin did in some instances also help the community, however they did not let the community speak on-air directly. Radyo Bakdaw appeared to help in a more public 'on-air' manner, on the one hand counting on the community to help find missing people and on the other hand prioritising community problems and giving them air-time. This can be identified as a more participatory approach than that of Radyo Natin. While Radyo Natin relied on institutional connections, Radyo Bakdaw involved community members to help find missing persons, centring their approach and content around the community. Overall, the example of missing persons only evidences a limited link between participatory communication and generalised reciprocity. However, Radyo Bakdaw's participatory approach of giving air-time to community members who were looking for missing persons, and believing in the ability of the community to help find the person, indicates that participatory communication facilitated generalised reciprocity amongst community members rather than relying on institutional connections. This does not necessarily imply that one type of response is more efficient, after all Radyo Natin also found the missing person, however, the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw facilitated generalised reciprocity and thus social capital whereas the less participatory approach of Radyo Natin did not.

However, we must acknowledge the contextual factors that could influence the mutual community help. Generalised reciprocity strongly relates to Filipino culture, which is based on principles of mutual help (Bankoff, 2007). This indicates that generalised reciprocity was already permeating the community and that in some instances the community centred participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw became a tool to strengthen this reciprocity. Ultimately, this means that while there is some evidence that Radyo Bakdaw was facilitating generalised reciprocity, Filipino culture may have been an equal if not stronger contributor to the willingness of individuals to help. However, despite this cultural context Radyo Natin had a different institutional focused approach to answering community issues, which perhaps led to fewer occurrences of generalised reciprocity, suggesting that participatory communication may have had an impact on generalised reciprocity. We can also conclude that within the context of the Philippines the participatory approach of facilitating mutual self-help works extremely well as it correlates with pre-existing notions of community solidarity.

5.3.2 Humanitarian accountability

As chapter three explained, accountability has been a rising priority within the humanitarian policy (Hilhorst, 2002). However, in practice, and especially in a disaster response, accountability may fall short. As one key humanitarian informant explained:

> *'The thing about accountability to affected populations is if you do it well, then you're held accountable. That poses challenges because the work we do is very difficult and I think as a profession we're very young and we're still learning how to do it well. So, we make a lot of mistakes and when those mistakes are unearthed, you then have the obligation to address them. Addressing them takes time and effort and ummm… a whole lot of energy, of which, I think it is fair to say, there isn't that much to spare. People are under a huge amount of stress trying to get things done here. So, I think, in principle, there's a commitment in practicality… There's only so much accountability feedback that people can really digest.' (H2m, FT1)*

The quote illuminates the tension of trying to be accountable, while working in a high-pressure environment where sometimes mistakes are inevitable. This means that it may be even harder for community members to demand transparency and answerability from humanitarian organisations. Moreover, due to the nature of humanitarian work, there are few or no relationships built between humanitarian organisations and the affected community before the disaster. Regarding governmental humanitarian organisations, there may also be little to no links, as humanitarian parts of government may come from different regions, since local government might be overwhelmed with the response or itself affected by the disaster. This lack of relationships between humanitarian responders and affected community means that it is even harder for the community to demand transparency and answerability. For instance, communities may not know who to ask, or how to contact the organisation, may not understand the information that is being given or may not find it useful.

This was also found to be true by community survey 1, FT1. Even though 81.54% of individuals indicated they perceived that humanitarian organisations listened to their problems, 59.30% of respondents still advocated for more frequent (37.5%) and clearer information (35.42%). This indicates, that although the majority of respondents indicated they felt organisations listened to them, they still wanted an improvement in communication. Through interviews, conversations with survey participants and the two focus groups carried out during field research 1 it also became apparent that affected individuals often were very keen to express their gratitude towards international donors and did not seem comfortable criticising organisations. This was also found by other studies on the Haiyan response, such as the report 'Obliged to be grateful: How local communities experienced humanitarian actors in the Haiyan response' by (Ong, Flores, & Combinido, 2015), which explained that debt of gratitude (*utang na loob*) is a crucial factor influencing social relationships and therefore also relationships between humanitarians and communities in the Philippines:

> *'People observe an utang na loob to those who have extended them help, especially to those who have gone beyond normal expectations of kin relationships. There is therefore a natural disincentive for many people to express criticism in agencies' feedback mechanisms, as people observe that humanitarians have no "natural obligation" to help, especially as they come from overseas.'* (Ong, Flores, & Combinido, 2015, p. 8)

This indicates that this felt obligation of gratitude may very well have influenced the results of the question asking whether respondents thought that humanitarian organisations listened to them. Respondents were also asked to give examples where they would get information about ten different relief related services (affordable food, medical aid, clean water, reconstruction tools, rebuilding funding, children's services, services for the elderly, safety information, remittance centres and emotional support). The two services with the most answers by respondents were clean water and medical aid. The answers to these questions are quite similar, stating that information is being sought from locations, 'other countries', 'relief', radio etc. However, the majority of answers were locations rather than organisations. For instance, 108 respondents said they would get information about medical aid from

either the central clinic, health centre or the rural health unit. Only eight respondents said they would get information on medical services from international organisations (MSF four respondents, USAID two respondents, Red Cross, two respondents). Some respondents might have misinterpreted the question as asking for 'where they can *find* relief services'. Nevertheless, this still indicates that it did not seem clear to the affected communities which humanitarian organisation was responsible for which relief service, which in turn suggests that individuals may not have been able to make informed decisions about how to use humanitarian services. This illustrates that there was a gap in the humanitarian information flow.

The explicit purpose of Radyo Bakdaw was to serve as a Humanitarian Information Service (HIS) and give the affected community access to humanitarian information. However, the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw meant that the station did not only disseminate information, but customised their programme to be led by what communities asked for. To be able to answer these questions the station had to build up close relationships with the humanitarian organisations. To get in touch with humanitarians Radyo Bakdaw staff had a list of key contact persons from all relevant humanitarian organisations. The international Radyo Bakdaw staff (including myself) would sometimes be able to give additional names of contact persons in humanitarian organisations, as the International staff members were staying in the same camp as most humanitarians. Moreover, humanitarians would independently come to the station to provide information, as one of the broadcasters explained: *'[…] and then sometimes they [the humanitarians] come to the station to tell us [information]*' (RB1Sf). Radyo Bakdaw built strong relationships with the humanitarian community in Eastern Samar, and particularly in Guiuan, which enabled them to relay questions and problems of the community to the organisations in question.

The themes of transparency and answerability became especially evident in the text message data. The text messages regarding humanitarian organisations can broadly be categorised in three parts: firstly, messages thanking organisations for their support, secondly messages asking for information and thirdly messages regarding complaints and problems of humanitarian organisations. I will leave out the thank you messages as they are not connected to accountability. Listeners were asking

various questions, for instance regarding jobs that humanitarian organisations might offer, contact numbers of specific organisations and about relief services. One listener for instance asked about the schedule of aid distributions:

> *'Hi good afternoon just want to ask is there a schedule [for the] relief operation from I.C.R.C for Quinapondan?'* (Text message 27 January 2014)

Having this information is valuable, not only because it may contribute to a sense of knowledge about the individual's own life and allow a certain self-efficacy (BBC Media Action, 2012), but also because this kind of transparency makes it possible to follow up with the organisation if the aid was not delivered and thus hold the organisation accountable. Although Palttala and colleagues mainly focus on the disaster preparedness phase, so the time before a disaster strikes, they also argue that:

> *'[o]pen communication with affected individuals and communities was stated to facilitate self-efficacy, i.e. the belief of people that they can protect themselves, and hence have control over the situation'* (Paltalla, Boano, Lund, Vos p.9)

This also fits with other disaster phases; however, they fail to mention that it is not enough to establish open communication, but that this communication must also result in changes to have any impact and result in accountability.

The following quote gives example of how some community members experienced using Radyo Bakdaw to influence and correct decisions concerning humanitarian relief distributions:

> *'So, Radyo Bakdaw… one time, that time the relief, we could not receive the relief from ICRC, we were going to Radyo Bakdaw and then telling Radyo Bakdaw 'Why is my name not on the [distribution] list? Get it on the list!' So Radyo Bakdaw assure[d] us of our participation and then they announce, and then they tell, Radyo Bakdaw tell – they question - the DSWD [The Department of Social Welfare and Development], then they tell the Barangay Captain. So, by*

the next distribution, our names are present on the list. So, that's why I can say that Radyo Bakdaw is different of Radyo Natin.' (C3m, FT2)

The community member describes the typical process of how Radyo Bakdaw held humanitarian organisations and local officials accountable. After the interviewee contacted Radyo Bakdaw to complain about the humanitarian organisation, the station got in touch with ICRC and the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD), which were responsible for the governmental response to the typhoon, and broadcasted the story, resulting in the individual and his family being included in the distribution list. This showcases how Radyo Bakdaw contributed to the answerability of humanitarian organisations by connecting community members with the responsible organisation. This 'answerability' resulted from the strong community focus of Radyo Bakdaw's content and aim to respond to community issues. This linking through the station could be seen to some degree as addressing the lack of linking relationships between the community and humanitarian organisations. This is mirrored in the humanitarian survey 1 which conveyed that humanitarians had collaborated with Radyo Bakdaw to change relief plans or dates and explain issues and/or topics related to their organisation or field of work (humanitarian survey 1, FT1). The survey was answered by some of the largest UN and humanitarian organisations such as UNICEF, UNHCR, UNWHO, IFRC, IOM, MSF, Oxfam, Acted and more (see figure 14 for details).

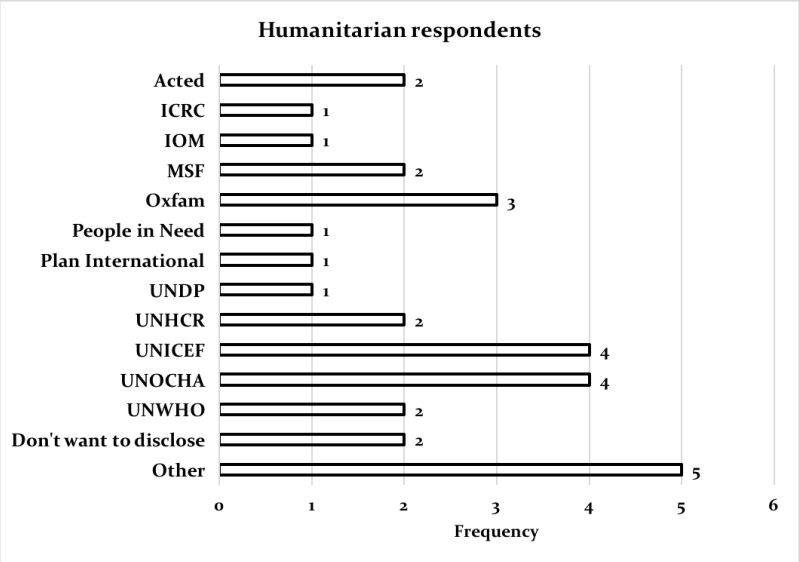

Figure 14 Humanitarian respondents', humanitarian survey 1 (n=31), FT1

Out of 30 humanitarians 29 stated their organisation had collaborated with Radyo

Bakdaw. As figure 15 shows, organisations mainly collaborated with Radyo Bakdaw through explaining issues or topics related to their organisation or cluster, and through disseminating messages. This underlines that Radyo Bakdaw was not only receiving text messages from the community to ask about the disaster response, but that humanitarian organisations also used the station as a platform to communicate with the community.

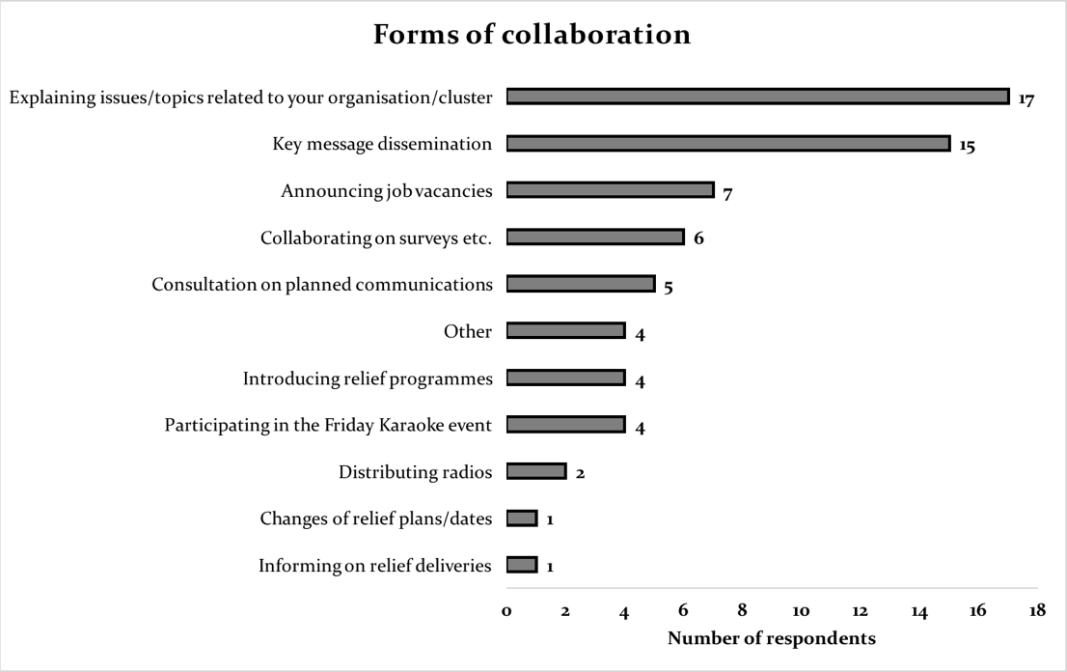

Figure 15 Collaboration between Radyo Bakdaw and humanitarian organisations, multiple choice question, humanitarian survey 1 (n=31), FT1

A community member that worked as a tricycle driver explained how Radyo Bakdaw gave information on relief:

> *It was about the province, for example the relief – when the relief days will be released; when for example of the deliveries - we send a message for the questions and they return to us the answers. That's why we are very grateful for the help of Radyo Bakdaw here in Guiuan.* (C22m, FT2)

This quote illustrates how Radyo Bakdaw contributed to the transparency of the disaster response, by concretely answering questions from the affected population. It could be argued that this transparency could have made it easier for individuals to complain to organisations if there was a problem. Through knowing when deliveries were supposed to take place, individuals could complain and act. Moreover, it underlines the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw as the station responded to

individual questions due to their aim to serve the community

The contribution of Radyo Bakdaw's participatory approach also becomes evident in this quote from a key informant working for UNHCR on accountability and protection, when asked what role communication plays in his work:

> *'[…] I would mention here the use of radio communication and Radyo Bakdaw where Internews have been operating. There have been enormous contributions, primarily for the reasons that when humanitarians are more focused on responding to the needs, there is less tendency on reaching out to communities […]. I think radio in this context helped many humanitarians, not only reaching them with clear messages and understanding the concerns, but more importantly, hearing from them [the community].' (H1m, FT1)*

This illustrates that Radyo Bakdaw was perceived to not only be a platform to disseminate information, but also a mechanism to find out about concerns of the community. The quote thereby underlines the role of Radyo Bakdaw as linking humanitarian organisations and communities, through a more dialogical participatory approach and thus in some instances contributing to transparency and answerability.

In summary, because Radyo Bakdaw built their information on questions asked by the community, the transparency it added to the response appeared relevant and useful to the community. Further, there are some instances in which the station appeared to contribute to humanitarian organisations answering concerns and critique from the affected community. However, this accountability was limited through humanitarian organisations, who were at times reluctant to divulge information relevant to the community out of fear they might not be able to deliver on their promises. In addition to humanitarian organisations there are also other relevant entities involved in the response, such as private companies, whose accountability the next section will examine.

5.3.3 Private Sector accountability

A more extensive example of Radyo Bakdaw contributing to the accountability of a power holder towards the community is the case of the Eastern Samar Electric Cooperative (ESAMELCO). This case gives an example of how Radyo Bakdaw connected individual experiences or complaints of community members to demand action from a company in the private sector.

Unsurprisingly, the lack of electricity was a significant problem after the typhoon as the majority of the electricity network had been destroyed through the storm. Additionally, houses were damaged or destroyed and so old, new and temporary housing (bunkhouses) had to be reconnected to the network. Over a month after the typhoon, electricity was still not reinstated in most *Barangay*s. Thus, unless individuals had a generator or the *Barangay* shared a generator there was no electricity (FGD1, FT1). Some *Barangay*s were still without electricity in January 2014, three months after the typhoon. This was understandably a big issue, which impacted the everyday life and safety of communities. Because of the many messages that Radyo Bakdaw received from listeners about electricity they did several consecutive reports to answer community questions. This once more highlights how the station included community grievances and made them their priority, emphasising the participatory approach of the station.

The station received several messages about the lack of electricity. For instance, on 6 January 2014 a listener wrote:

> '*Good evening! We are the residents of Barangay 11, Salcedo, complaining about the reconnection of the electricity here, they just keep on promising. We hope for an immediate action and an answer from the Board of Director[s]'* (Text message 6 January 2014).

Radyo Bakdaw recorded 17 messages about electricity, sent between December 2013 and January 2014. There may have been even more, as at times messages were not recorded when they were answered directly on air since the station's mobile phones ran out of memory space on a regular basis. The message conveys that several individuals of *Barangay* 11 sent the text, however, this may have been consciously

written in order add more urgency or importance to the problem. However, several individuals during the first and second survey reported sharing a phone with a family (in conversations before the survey) and cramped living situations especially in emergency shelters make it reasonable to believe that this text was indeed sent upon the wish of several individuals. The text clearly states that it is sent as a complaint about the *Eastern Samar Electric Cooperative* (ESAMELCO) and that the sender(s) are sending the message expecting an answer from the company. Although the sender does not directly ask the station to follow up on this issue it is implied that Radyo Bakdaw will broadcast the text and thus publicise their criticism unless ESAMELCO will follow up with the issue. This indicates that the sender expected the station to be a tool to hold ESAMELCO to its as yet unkept promise to fix and reconnect the electricity. A similar text message was sent from another *Barangay* in the municipality of Salcedo:

> '*Kuya RB2Sm please read this message I want to address this to the office of Eastern Samar Electric Cooperative. Please reconnect the electric wire here in Barangay Bua-bua since some of the houses here are already well constructed. Thank you! From the people of Bua-Bua.'* (Text message 5 January 2014).

The message refers to the same issue in a different geographic area and again implies that the message was sent by several individuals. It also gives concrete instructions as to what to do with the content: the sender(s) want the Radyo Bakdaw broadcaster to read the message on-air. As it refers to a specific broadcaster it is likely that this was meant for his programme, which was called 'the people's problem'. The programme was based on problems of the local population and giving answers to them. These problems were either selected by the broadcaster from the text messages, or were collected when broadcasters were in the community.

The messages imply that the sender(s) felt they might be able to put pressure on ESAMELCO by publicising their criticism through the radio. This suggests that Radyo Bakdaw was used as a tool to connect the listener to a power-holder and try to hold them accountable. Another listener asked in their text: *'Good eve Kuya, just want to ask when will the electricity man reconnect the electric wire in Barangay Bucao?'* (Text message 5 January 2014). Although, the sender does not ask for the

message to be read out on air or for the station to confront ESAMELCO, it does imply that the listener expects Radyo Bakdaw to know the answer. This suggests that the radio was seen as a point of information worth contacting. Another message reads:

> '*Good eve, I just want to ask why is it that our bunk house here in Brgy. Busay, Mercedes has no electricity and dirty kitchen, while in Surok they already have it. Hoping for a favorable action. Thank you!'* (Text message 22 January 2014)

Although the sender of the text does not blame the other *Barangay* for already having electricity, the fact that they compare the two *Barangay*s suggests that at the very least they are not clear about why 'they' have electricity before the listener's Barangay has it. This suggests a lack of information and potentially even envy, which could turn into mistrust and jealousy towards the other *Barangay* if no justification for the different timelines of electricity reestablishment could be given. As Ong and colleagues show in their work, jealousy between different community members is a common occurrence in the aftermath of disaster: '[…] neighbour envy and status anxiety were outcomes of targeted aid that caused new material inequalities within the *barangay*' (Ong, Flores, & Combinido, 2015, p. 10). Walkerden and Islam similarly remark that transparency is highly important in order to: '[t]o reduce competition and conflict between neighbours and friends over access to support during the long term recovery phase' (Islam & Walkerden, 2014, p. 289).

Trust and community cohesion are two vital parts of social capital (Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2003; Putnam, 2000). Answering with information on why different parts in the affected area received electricity at different points of time can potentially alleviate such feelings of mistrust and foster transparency and understanding of the complex rebuilding process, which can be argued to add to social capital. Moreover, humanitarian literature has claimed that transparency of and information on relief processes contributes to accountability and relieves stress (BBC Media Action, 2008; BBC Media Action, 2012). If it is clear, for instance, when electricity is supposed to be reconnected in the enquirer's *Barangay* he or she will be able to follow up if it does not happen.

Similarly, knowing when electricity will be reconnected can influence decisions as to

whether the individual should explore alternatives such as sharing a generator with somebody else. Radyo Bakdaw followed up the electricity issue with several interviews with the electricity company, and answering similar questions about electricity on air. Through this they enforced transparency and answerability. The data suggests that some Radyo Bakdaw listeners used the station as a way to pressurise those in power, such as in this instance the electricity company. This also fits with Newell and Bellour's definition of accountability '[…] in the terms of 'answerability' and 'enforceability' of actors in power' (Newell and Bellour, 2002 cited in: Polack, Luna, & Dator-Bercilla, 2010, p 2).

If accountability is seen as checks and balances on holders of power, then ESAMELCO certainly falls into that category (quite literally!) as an institution which serves the public. Radyo Bakdaw met one of the members of the board of directors and interviewed him several times about time lines regarding the reconstruction of the power grid. Thus, issues of electricity were put on air several times. This underlines the analysis, once more, that Radyo Bakdaw made active contributions to transparency and holding a stakeholder in power accountable. There was no evidence of such thorough follow up on community issues by Radyo Natin. This may also be partly due to the pressures of Radyo Natin being a commercial radio station, which needed broadcasters to find advertisers rather than answer community issues. Nevertheless, the discussed evidence implies that the community centred approach of Radyo Bakdaw may have contributed to the station firstly taking community issues seriously and secondly making it a priority to follow up on them. An underlying factor of this is of course that the station being humanitarian-funded also allowed broadcasters to focus on the community rather than on bringing in money. However, the humanitarian funding is not to be misunderstood as a reason for them to base their content on community problems as there are other humanitarian programmes that I have encountered which take a non-participatory approach. Therefore, the data still indicates that the participatory communication of Radyo Bakdaw contributed to their focus on solving community issues and valuing community voices.

As well as encouraging ESAMELCO's accountability, Radyo Bakdaw also played a role in addressing issues which arose due to a lack of transparency and clear, timely information. As already explained, communities were keen to be reconnected to

electricity. However, there was a lack of information not only as to when that would happen but also the specifics of this reconnection. This is underlined through text messages that Radyo Bakdaw received, such as the following:

> *'Kuya good morning, is there a free materials if we connect electricity from ESAMELCO? Like mainswitch [sic] and wires of the light bulbs. Thank you so much.'* (Text message 4 February 2014)

The text message shows that some individuals were not clear on what the electricity reconnection entailed, e.g. whether there would be materials included or not. This lack of transparency about the reconnection process led to uncertainty and in the worst-case electricity scams. One example of this was a local woman in Sulangan who pretended to work for ESAMELCO and asked for 600 Pesos for a faster reconnection of households to the electricity network. This was completely false information, given to scam the community out of money. As at least some community members were not informed about the process of reconnecting to the electricity network they paid the 600 Pesos. Radyo Bakdaw found out about the scam via the text message of a listener. This links to the participatory approach of the station as it suggests that the follow up was based on community input. A senior broadcaster of the Radyo Bakdaw staff found the woman and interviewed her. While she denied having taken the 600 Pesos, other community members identified her as having taken the money. The broadcaster also interviewed ESAMELCO to clarify that there was no connection fee and the woman was in no way connected to the company. According to the administrative assistant (RB8Af) the story was then broadcast on air. When the broadcasters followed up, the woman had returned some of the money:

> *Yes, after we asked the ESAMELCO board of director if she is in ESAMELCO or not. She returned it [the money] after we broadcasted it.* (RB8Af, FT2)

This exemplifies that through building reports on community matters, the station was in some instances able to add to the overall transparency of the relief process. Moreover, in this instance the report of the station enforced answerability, as there is evidence suggesting that the woman returned at least some of the money to the community members.

5.3.4 Local government accountability

Accountability of local government at times overlaps with humanitarian accountability, as the government also distributed relief and at times did so together with humanitarian organisations. Moreover, local *Barangay* officials would sometimes coordinate relief distributions. Therefore, the following section also partially returns to the answerability and transparency of humanitarian organisations. This is further complicated by the fact that data discussed in this section suggests that local *Barangay* officials sometimes appear to have weak links, or no links at all, with other stakeholders.

Being able to understand the response efforts of different power holders was extremely important. This was not only the case for community members but also for *Barangay* officials, who also appeared to use Radyo Bakdaw to seek information, as the following text message exemplifies:

> *'Good morning Kuya, we just want to inform the Eastern Samar Electric cooperative that we don't have electricity here in Barangay 4, Mercedes while Barangay 1 they already have. What appropriate action are we going to take regarding this problem? From Barangay Officials of Barangay 4, Mercedes.' (Text message 28 December 2013).*

This text message appears to underline that local *Barangay* officials not only used Radyo Bakdaw to gather information, but also to seek advice on how to fulfil their responsibility as duty-bearers. It might also suggest that perhaps *Barangay* officials saw this as a way to publicise that they were working on the problem or that their perceived inaction was not due to a lack of trying. This is mostly an assumption, however, as there is not enough evidence to support this idea sufficiently.

The relationship between *Barangay* officials and the radio seemed to vary significantly. Some *Barangay* officials appeared to appreciate the station as a tool to gather information on how to fulfil their role more efficiently, as the quote above suggests. Similarly, a listener suggests that the station helped *Barangay* officials to

publicise who of their constituents were still in need of relief goods:

> '*It helped Barangays, like Barangay officials who call their attention if they had constituents who weren't given relief. So, in Radyo Bakdaw, their attention was called'* (c16f, FT2).

This suggests that Radyo Bakdaw seemed to be used to alert *Barangay* officials of shortcomings within the response and possibly put pressure on them to follow up on these issues. The quote suggests that the station was used to hold humanitarian organisations accountable if they had been thought to deliver aid in an unfair or insufficient manner. It also implies that one way to hold the humanitarian organisations accountable was through the local administration of the *Barangay* officials, who, it can be argued, have a responsibility towards their constituency to resolve problems they may have with the humanitarian organisations. This similarly becomes evident in an interview with a *Barangay* Councillor from Sulangan, who reported that some of his constituents were using the station in order complain about aid distributions that they deemed unjust. When asked if he could recall any instances where his constituents or anybody else he knew had contacted Radyo Bakdaw about any kind of question they might have, he responded:

> *'Oh, I have a lot. I've known a lot. Especially on complaints about relief operations and relief distribution, they would say it's not fair; some say [about others] they shouldn't receive but they are receiving, pretty much like that. Especially our Barangay captain would call to our attention 'Hey, somebody from our place texted and even called Radyo Bakdaw and the problem is like this.'* (C13m, FT2).

This suggests that constituents raising awareness about issues such as relief distributions appeared to be a common occurrence for the *Barangay* councillor. The *Barangay* captain, who heads the council, appears to have monitored the station at least to a certain extent, which suggests that it may have been perceived as a relevant mechanism to hear about grievances of the community. However, the *Barangay* councillor also aired a certain amount of frustration about the fact that his constituents would go to the station instead of coming to him:

'*What's disappointing is that they would go straight ahead to the radio station, not actually consulting us first*' (C13m, FT2).

The councillor appeared to find this especially frustrating since he had just been elected in December 2013 and thus seemed to feel he deserved a 'clean slate', even if previous local leaders may have disappointed the constituents through not fulfilling their role. Moreover, he felt that one of the 'negative effects' of constituents airing their issues through Radyo Bakdaw was that to the outside world it would make the local *Barangay* officials look like they were not adequately doing their work:

'*There are actual negative and positive effects – the negative ones of course – the people would know, the whole of Guiuan would know about certain problems, so Sulanganons are complaining about their local LGUs [Local Government Unit] and the reputation of the Sulanganon LGU is shattered. Small complaints bring about bigger problems, so to speak. It's a big impact for us, it's like we're doing nothing*' (C13m, FT2).

This relates to the Filipino notion of '*Hiya*', the fear of 'losing face', an 'embarrassment' (Wong, 2010, p. 122) on the side of the *Barangay* councillor. As Selmer and de Leon argue, *Hiya* '[...] is a powerful rule of conduct, a norm prescribing that social harmony is possible only if no one is made to lose face' (n.d., p. 22). This might suggest the station was perceived as a 'troublemaker' by some officials, but it also suggests that the notion of *Hiya* might have given the station more power as *Barangay* officials may have tried to react quickly to complaints aired on the radio to avoid public embarrassment. The *Barangay* councillor also mentioned that he was afraid that complaining about relief distributions may cause humanitarian organisations to dislike his constituents and stop serving them. This points towards the Filipino patronage system (which is more thoroughly discussed in chapter six).

There also appeared to be local leaders who disliked and criticised Radyo Bakdaw for publicly exposing their shortcomings to their constituents. For example, the station received a complaint that a *Barangay Capitana* had kept two generators for her personal use, although according to the listener the organisation providing them had

intended the generators for the use by the whole *Barangay*. The station followed up with her and got in touch with the organisation which donated the generators. The organisation verified what the listener had claimed and the broadcaster played the respective soundbite in which the organisation explained this to the *Capitana*, who consequently returned the generators to her constituents. As one of the radio staff concisely explained:

> '*We checked on it, went to Barangay Mayana and asked one of the residents there and also asked the Barangay captain how true it is. We also tried to call the donor and we discovered that the Barangay captain was actually keeping the generator set. And according to the donor it was really meant for the use of the whole Barangay. But when Radyo Bakdaw went to investigate and do some interviews, the generator set was returned to the Barangay*' (RB1Sf, FT2).

This shows that Radyo Bakdaw gave the community an opportunity to address issues of accountability through them, which fits with Tufte and Mefalopulos who argue that participatory communication can increase accountability and '[…] mediate conflicts between local communities and national authorities' (2009, p. 18). This emphasises that the way the station valued community input and the way they used community voices, for instance through the text line, influenced how they answered community requests and therefore constitutes a link between participatory communication and the answerability of power holders. However, according to one of the broadcasters the *Capitana* appeared furious at this public redress. The broadcaster who was mainly responsible for the story recalled that the *Capitana* allegedly accused the station of making up stories:

> '*So, at that time, she made a story in the local government unit that I only made the wrong information to the people, but we have evidence we can present*' (RB2Sm, FT2).

After the story broke the broadcaster remembered that the *Capitana* was still angry at him: '*Until now, when the Barangay chairwoman looks at me, it's like a tiger! Tiger look!*' (RB2Sm, FT2). This suggests a very direct and quite effective accountability. However, it is not clear how this may have impacted on the relationship of the

Barangay Capitana and her constituents. For instance, did she try and find out who sent the complaints to reprimand them? If there were repercussions for the person who exposed the *Capitana*, then although the community would have benefited from having access to the generator the individual may have had to suffer the consequences. This links very well with the difficulties of implementing participatory projects, in which the power of elites is being challenged (Servaes, n.d., p. 78-9). This challenge of power may at times collide with cultural norms, such as respect towards community leaders. This elitist hierarchy has been highlighted as a crucial hindrance to accountability in the Philippines since as Yilmaz and Venugopal claim:

> *'[…] the entrenched culture of power accumulation and patronage […] has resulted in elite capture at the local level. This along with a lack of capacity at national and local levels has caused serious impediments in downward accountability of local governments'* (2013, p. 227).

This would suggest that Radyo Bakdaw may have filled a gap by giving the community a chance to use the station as a mechanism of redress.

There were other instances in which listeners complained about *Barangay* officials not fulfilling their duties or being corrupt. The following message gives a good idea about how listeners brought forward problems relating to their local officials:

> '*Kuya I'm a concerned citizen here in our Barangay. I just notice the relief goods from UNICEF here in Manicani Barangay San Jose are not complete because some families didn't receive any help, but the whole family of the Barangay captain they all have the relief goods even the children have some. Please don't read my number. Thanks.'* (Text message 27 January 2014).

Although the sender of the message starts by raising a concern about UNICEF not having distributed relief goods to all households, the sender then implies that the *Barangay* captain may have taken relief material that was not meant for the official. By saying that 'even the children have some [relief goods]' the sender suggests the perceived unfairness of relief distribution through the *Barangay* Captain. Moreover, not wanting their mobile number to be publicised also alludes that the sender may

have feared repercussions through the *Barangay* Captain. Being able to anonymously send a complaint about a person may have meant being able to confront an individual within the community without risking being the cause of somebody in power 'losing face' and possibly being reprimanded for it. This way the relationship would be unharmed from the side of the sender while the *Barangay* Captain would still be challenged and experience '*Hiya*' (public embarrassment) but via the radio station, not an individual. There were several instances such as these in which constituents complained about their Barangay Captains, as the following text illustrates:

> '*Good pm, Dj RB2SM, I would like to request if you could conduct a survey in Brgy. Surok if they still releasing some relief goods, because some doesn't [sic] received, if we are complaining to the Brgy. Captain she only responds [to] us by saying "you run for Brgy. captain"!*' (Text message, 21 January 2014)

This once more underlines that some listeners saw the radio station as a convenient go-between that may be able to facilitate transparency and answerability of local officials. Overall, it can be argued that the participatory approach of the station appeared to contribute to several instances in which the station enforced transparency and answerability of local officials. However, at times this was feared by some officials to undercut relations between them and their constituents.

In summary, the second part of the chapter answered several of my community resilience research questions:

- If and how may participatory communication contribute to the community being able to hold those in power accountable in terms of transparency and answerability?
- Can participatory communication contribute to general reciprocity?
- Can participatory communication contribute to bridging and linking relationships?
- What contextual factors may impact participatory communication contributing to social capital?

The second part of the chapter outlined various links between the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw and the transparency and answerability of different

stakeholders. The station's emphasis on serving the community and helping the community support each other strengthened some instances of generalised reciprocity, in the form of material and immaterial support. The chapter also discusses contextual factors such as traditions of mutual community help and how they link to the key themes discussed in the chapter.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has begun to answer questions about the kinds of participatory communication that were used by Radyo Bakdaw, arguing that the station offered diverse channels for community members to include themselves and did actively seek out contributions from the community. The station did this through going into the community to repair radios and interview community members, and through making the station physically open and accessible to community members. Moreover, the chapter established that broadcasters appeared to value community voices and aimed to include them in the programme. The community data evidenced that listeners felt the station answered their problems and 'listened to them' which may have made individuals more likely to contact the station with issues regarding power holders. The data discussed gives evidence that Radyo Bakdaw to a certain extent was used to connect different community members and foster generalised reciprocity, hold local power holders involved in the response accountable in the forms of transparency and answerability. Through this Radyo Bakdaw strengthened and in some cases built for missing bridging and linking relationships. It can therefore be argued that Radyo Bakdaw took on a similar role that Putnam, Feldstein and Cohen attributed to local newspapers, when they claimed that they:

> *'[…] provide a forum for exchange among editors, reporters, readers, and residents […]. In their pages, interviewers and interviewees explain innovations, rally support, display successes, tell personal stories that crystallize collective aims, and hold local leaders and organizations accountable to the community. Above all they, provide a common space for common arguments.'* (2003, p. 292)

One of the challenges that arose from Radyo Bakdaw facilitating these characteristics

of social capital is that due to the humanitarian nature of the station this role is intrinsically short-lived. The station was based on short-term humanitarian funding that only allowed for it to run for just four months. Moreover, my data shows that in some instances the station may also have created distrust between local politicians and their constituents by publicising community criticism of politicians, which could be argued as perhaps damaging existing social capital or at the very least may be seen as a future hindrance to use the station as an accountability mechanism from the side of some power holders. However, more evidence is needed to give this argument more validity.

Moreover, the contribution of participatory communication to the themes discussed in this chapter was not always equally strong. While there seems to be quite adequate evidence suggesting that the participatory approach of the station helped focus on and solve community issues of accountability, the link is fickle in other areas. Especially in relation to generalised reciprocity the causal link to participatory communication was vague, as cultural contextual factors also appeared to play a relevant role.

Ultimately, this chapter has identified two key ways in which participatory communication contributed to community resilience, as measured by bridging and linking relationships (generalised reciprocity and accountability respectively). The chapter gave evidence that indicates that Radyo Bakdaw's participatory approach contributed to accountability in the form of transparency and answerability, and general reciprocity. Aside from this the chapter also discussed relevant contextual factors that influence these findings, such as cultural norms and traditions. While this chapter linked closely to my participatory communication and community resilience frameworks the following chapter deals with a more unexpected form of participatory communication: informal sociability.

Chapter 6: Mental wellbeing, bridging and linking relationships

6.1 Introduction

While the previous chapter mapped onto my research frameworks and literature review, the following was more unexpected. The term 'white noise' is normally used to describe the continuous noise from a switched on technical device which does not receive a clear signal, such as a radio. 'White noise' is also used to describe meaningless or distracting chatter, 'a constant background noise; especially: one that drowns out other sounds' (Merriam-Webster Inc., 2017). It is this last definition that describes best what this more entertainment/recreational communication seems to be regarded as within the wider humanitarian field, both by practitioners and academics. There is not much evidence that other publications have used this term in C4D studies, only Shannon and Weaver for instance refer to 'noise' in their rather technical communication model. They define noise as a distraction that disturbs the message of the sender to the receiver, either in a semantic or a technical way (1964, pp. 18-19), thus identifying (white) 'noise' as a disruption of communication. In the humanitarian field, I have heard the term 'white noise' in informal conversations, referring to information such as text messages by community members expressing gratitude or greetings towards organisations, and that is perceived as less valuable than messages on for instance accountability. Although, there is no literature specifically arguing against 'white noise' as being useful, its perceived irrelevance becomes clear from the lack of it in literature and humanitarian programmes.

Within my data, the weekly karaoke show and the greetings and song requests that were sent and handed in best fit into the category of white noise. I define white noise as a part of communication, which is disregarded because it belongs to more entertaining parts of communication and seemingly falls into a lower level of participatory communication according to the traditional binary view of top-down versus bottom up communication. 'white noise' relates to the idea of 'informal sociability' which social capital literature describes as recreational activity between different community members, such as group sports for instance (Putnam, 2000). Participating in this informal sociability is described as an indicator for the existence of community level social capital (Naughton, 2014; Putnam, 2000).

In the following chapter, I will analyse my empirical data in regard to whether and

how this type of 'white noise' may impact certain characteristics of community resilience, such as mental wellbeing and bridging and linking relationships between different stakeholders. Thus, answering the research question if participatory communication can contribute to bridging and linking relationships. The second section examines 'white noise' and informal sociability and why it is pivotal to research 'white noise' (6.2). Subsections will then discuss in what way the karaoke may have been participatory communication (6.2.1) answering research questions relating to inclusion and diversity of community voices, and what role informal sociability (6.2.2) and mental wellbeing (6.2.3) play in community resilience. A brief subsection, on bridging and linking relationships (6.2.4) will remind the reader of their importance to community resilience and in which chapters they have already been discussed.

The third section will give more insight into the background of the karaoke to set the ground for the empirical data analysis (6.3). A subsection is drawing out the participatory nature of the karaoke and compares it to a non-participatory karaoke to show how the participatory approach of the karaoke may have influenced relationship building and mental wellbeing 6.3.1. Section 6.4 queries the empirical evidence regarding linking relationships between humanitarians and the affected community. The following section (6.5) analyses the data as to how the karaoke may have given an opportunity for strengthening bridging relationships and thus community cohesion. The last sub section explores the karaoke as a stress reliever that may have been conducive to mental health (6.6). Section 6.7 critically reflects on the cultural context relating to the karaoke, thus addressing the research question of how contextual factors may influence participatory communication and resilience. The chapter finishes with a conclusion of the key findings of the analysis (6.8) suggesting that the karaoke did contribute so stress relief, and partially to the strengthening of very shallow linking relationships.

6.2 'White noise', informal sociability and community resilience

I will focus on how informal sociability as a low-level form of participatory communication may contribute to the strengthening linking relationships and mental wellbeing. I chose these foci as they have shown up more clearly in the

karaoke and text message data while other characteristics, such as accountability, have been more significant in other sets of my data.

6.2.1 Why we should consider investigating 'white noise'

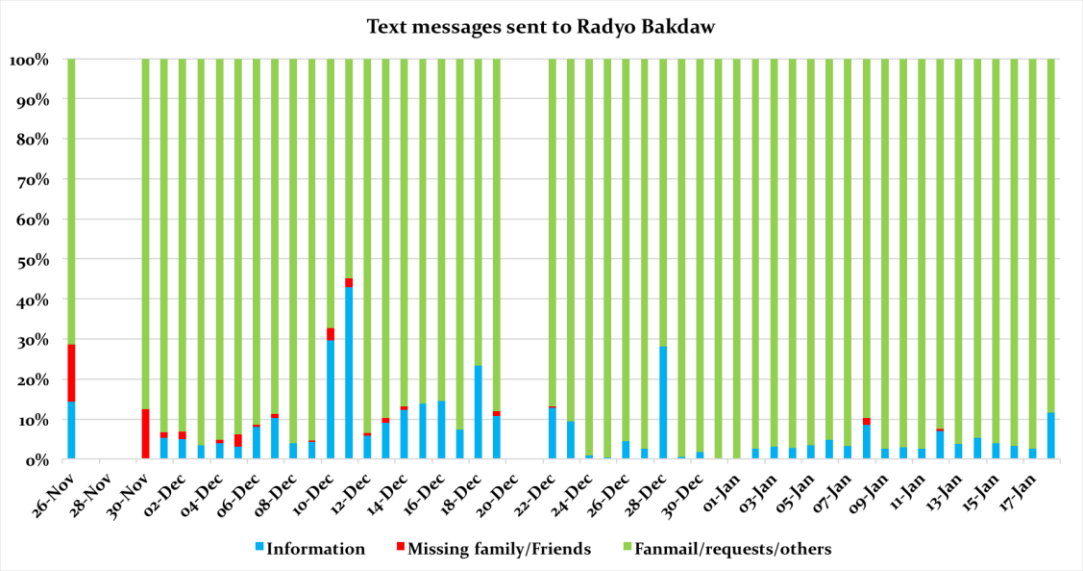

Figure 16 Text message data from Radyo Bakdaw, 26 November 2013 – 17 January 2014 (n=34,077)

Exploring my data, this disregard of so-called 'white noise' seems not always to be appropriate. Even though, there are just as serious limitations to this type of participatory communication as to other communication, it should not be overlooked. Firstly, the sheer amount of communication that falls into the category of 'white noise' should lead us to analyse it more closely as this type of communication often constitutes much of communication received from community members. For instance, between 26 November 2013 and 17 January 2014, Radyo Bakdaw received a total of 19,792 text messages from listeners. As figure 16 shows, out of these text messages 896 messages were tagged as information (blue). This means for instance questions and/or information input by community members, 'hard information' on where solar lights had not yet been distributed and so on. 39 messages were sent to find missing family members or friends (red). The largest amount, 18,857 messages, is fan mail (compliments for the broadcasters or the radio), song requests and similar content (green). The latter category falls under my definition of 'white noise'. This would mean that if we ignore this 'white noise', we ignore the majority of communication taking place. Secondly, my study provides evidence to suggest that 'white noise' may indeed contribute to some characteristics

of community resilience. Although, this contribution may be to different, subtler strands of resilience it is equally important to explore. Thirdly, there is a lack of academic exploration of this 'white noise', which means we should not be so quick to disregard it before we know more precisely what it may or may not influence.

6.2.2 Informal sociability

As the literature review explored, community resilience has many facets and one of the less explored ones within a disaster context is informal sociability. Although, for instances Mayunga lists under community resilience and social capital '[…] *activities such as involvement in public affairs, public meetings,* ***informal sociability*** *and trust'* (2007, pp. 7, emphasis added) other publications seem to be less interested to investigate informal sociability in disaster contexts. Mayunga does not go into detail of what he means by informal sociability, only that it is a part of social capital together with public events (2007). While Putnam uses the term 'informal social involvement' (Putnam, 2000, p. 94), other authors who explore this aspect of social capital more often use the term 'informal sociability' (Mayunga, 2007; Warde, Tampubolon and Savage, 2005). Both terms refer to informal social activities, that can be for instance attending book clubs or going to the gym. I will use the term 'informal sociability'.

This kind of informal sociability is important as it gives an opportunity for community members to re-establish and/or strengthen their relationships through spending time together in a social context. Warde, Tampubolon and Savage make a compelling case for this argument in their study of how recreational activities contribute to social networks and social capital (2005). Warde et al claim that their most surprising finding was, '[…] that there is little evidence of homophily in these recreational practices, which indicates that informal social contacts may be especially important in generating "bridging" and "boundary- spanning" types of social capital' (Warde, Tampubolon, & Savage, 2005, p. 402). This type of social capital is relevant for community resilience but does not seem to have been researched in connection to recreational practices/informal sociability in a humanitarian context. Therefore, although Warde and colleagues' data comes from the UK and is not the field of disaster research it is highly relevant as it gives evidence that informal sociability may

indeed play a role in community resilience.

6.2.3 Mental wellbeing

Mental wellbeing is a crucial component of communities recovering from disasters (Chakrabhand, Panyayong, & Sirivech, 2006; Mangelsdorff, 1985; Nahar, et al., 2014) and it has been argued that social capital in the form of bonding and bridging relationships can be an important contributor to this wellbeing. This chapter therefore wants to explore if participatory communication contributed community wellbeing through providing stress relief or detracted from it.

The Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA), does not mention mental health, relationships, recreation or similar keywords. Under key activities for disaster risk reduction (DRR) as a national and local priority, the subsection on community participation the framework also mentions that one of the goals should be to: '[p]romote community participation in disaster risk reduction through the adoption of specific policies, the promotion of networking [...]' (p. 7, emphasis added). This suggests networking and as such bridging relationships as a priority conducive to resilience. However, the document does not explain further how these key activities should be implemented specifically and whether this networking includes networking within disaster affected communities. This suggests that although networking is one of the many priorities, there is no focus on this kind of 'white noise' in connection to networking or with any other HFA goals for that matter. The follow-up framework, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (SFDRR), does mention building up psychosocial support and mental health services (p.19) as part of disaster risk reduction. However, there are again no details on how this support would look like and no mention of any communication that could be defined as 'white noise'. The lack of detail within both the HFA and the SFDRR is not surprising as these are policy documents produced by a wide variety of stakeholders that must agree on guidelines that will be achievable for a very diverse number of countries. As these two major policy documents for resilience do not mention any type of 'white noise' it seems reasonable to suggest that there is no indication that 'white noise' is deemed relevant to disaster resilience. However, the characteristics that may potentially be strengthened by 'white noise', such as stress relief and

wellbeing, are mentioned.

The resilience framework (chapter three) discussed the relevance of bridging and linking relationships to boost community resilience through for instance enabling communities to respond more efficiently to a disaster. However, I would like to contend that in addition to more efficiency within a disaster response, informal sociability may also contribute to releasing some of the stress experienced by a traumatised community. McFarlane and Norris claim, a disaster can be a 'collectively experienced' traumatic event (Norris & McFarlane 2006, p.6, cited in: Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008). It is therefore not surprising that the aspect of community wellbeing and stress relief has increasingly been covered within the field of resilience. Gerrity and Steinglass for instance, explore the traumatic impact of relocation and the losing one's home due to a disaster (2003). They use data from a case study set in a flood affected area in West Virginia, USA. Gerrity and Steinglass found in their four-yearlong study that the loss of homes due to the flood resulted in '[…] almost uniform short- and long-term psychopathology in adults and children' (p.263). For adults, they describe these in the short-term including for example: '[…] psychic numbing, sluggishness in thinking and decision-making, anxiety, grief, despair, and severe sleep disturbances' (pp. 264-265). According to USAID, typhoon Haiyan caused 4.1 million people to be displaced and destroyed or damaged 1.1 million houses (United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2014). Although, not all affected individuals in Guiuan were relocated, most of the buildings were damaged or destroyed and nearly all residents of Guiuan municipality were assumed to be homeless after the typhoon made landfall (Buchanan, et al., 2013). Thus, it seems appropriate to assume that Gerrity and Steinglass' findings may also relate to the mental state of the survivors of typhoon Haiyan. This gives further evidence as to the importance of stress relief as part of community resilience.

Within this chapter, I am particularly looking at the bridging relationships within the affected community and linking relationships between individual humanitarian workers and the community. I chose these relationships because they are the most relevant to my case study and the informal sociability that I observed during my field visits. Contributing to re-establishing and strengthening these kinds of bridging

relationships has been claimed to be detrimental after a disaster since '[w]ith the loss of basic infrastructure, family and social systems must reorganize, recalibrate, and reallocate roles and functions' (Walsh, 2007, p. 213). These relationships are important to community resilience as they can contribute to the capacity of a community to respond (chapter 3, chapter 5). As chapter five explained there may not be any relationships established between communities and humanitarians as humanitarian organisations usually only arrive after the disaster. This emphasises the importance of strengthening these types of linking relationships.

6.3 Informal sociability and 'white noise' at Radyo Bakdaw

Within the Radyo Bakdaw programme the karaoke together with greeting and song request text messages fall most clearly in the category of 'white noise' as their intended goal was primarily entertainment and their immediate purpose was not related to, for instance, accountability or giving information. The karaoke was a weekly live singing competition, taking place Friday afternoons in front of the station. Approximately ten to 15 community members would compete against each other and the event was free to take part in and to watch. The prize for the winner was a solar/crank radio and a live interview on air. The programme was broadcast live on-air and appeared to be a significant draw-in for listeners, being extremely popular, both with the staff and the listeners. As one of the senior broadcasters remembered:

> *'People were enjoying even if they were only just listening to the radio. I think Radyo Bakdaw karaoke singing contest, of all programmes on the radio, we saw 100% impact on the audience. It's 99%.'* (RB2Sm, FT2)

The programme director and the humanitarian director of Internews had bought the karaoke machine spontaneously with the idea of making a show out of it, when they saw how popular karaoke seemed to be. However, the local staff suggested to turn the format into a competition (private correspondence with RB7Jm, 5 August 2015, FU). Although, the international radio technician who was on location for the first week was very involved in setting the technical side of the karaoke show up, it was the local Radyo Bakdaw staff who organised and led the karaoke. This underlines that

while the suggestion to have a karaoke programme was made by international humanitarians it was based on their perception of local culture. Moreover, it shows that the karaoke programme did not have the goal to be anything but entertaining. Instead it was based on a spontaneous decision. Finally, this also shows that the competition was driven by the local broadcasters emphasising its 'localness'.

Except for the competitors there were three competition judges and one broadcaster who was moderating the karaoke most of the time (though at times other broadcasters would take over when he was unavailable). Two of the three competition judges were broadcasters and one was an international humanitarian. The two radio staff members who were on the three-person judge panel were, with a few exceptions always the same (although one of them left the station at the beginning of February 2014 and thus had to be replaced by another broadcaster). The humanitarian panel member would be somebody different each week and the station tried to include humanitarians from different organisations. Other broadcasters and radio staff would usually attend the karaoke and support it through registering competitors throughout the week, making sure competitors knew in which order they would perform and writing down the scores for each competitor during the event. Additionally, the radio technician was there to prepare and support the karaoke and to ensure that the karaoke was broadcast live. This shows that more than the three staff members that were directly involved in the karaoke programme (jury and moderator) had the possibility to interact with the community and the humanitarian judge each week.

The first week that I arrived in Guiuan during my first field trip I was the 'international judge' during the karaoke. I attended almost all karaoke sessions that took place during my first field research either in part or fully, so a total of approximately nine events. The station stopped broadcasting on 28 February 2014. Thus, during my second field trip there were no karaoke events, which means that all community interviewees were asked questions on the karaoke after it had ceased to exist (my methodology chapter gives more insight into the challenges of retrospective interviewing).

Figure 17 Karaoke competition, a young girl competing, seated the three judges, standing next to them three Radyo Bakdaw staff members, 20 December 2013

On Friday afternoon, onlookers', supporters and competitors would gather under the tarp in front of the station to join and watch the competition (see figure 17). There were only two instances that I am aware of during which the karaoke took place inside the studio due bad weather conditions. But the door and front window were open and so onlookers gathered under the tarp and looked inside the station. After the karaoke, the winner of the competition was interviewed live on-air with the moderator and the humanitarian worker after the show. Even when it was raining heavily, onlookers came and squeezed under the tarp in order to see the competition. A humanitarian recounted in an informal conversation with me during my first field trip, that she heard the karaoke continuously playing from different radios as she was walking through one of the *Barangay*s. This underlines the perceived popularity of the programme.

When asked about the karaoke, radio staff called it '*a bestseller*' (RB1Sf, FT2), '*the bearer of Radyo Bakdaw*' (RB1Sf in RBFGD, FT2), the programme '*[…] that all the people were waiting for every Friday*' (RB3SM) and the '*signature show*' (RB7Jm, RBFGD, FT2). This suggests that broadcasters felt that the karaoke was of special importance to the station. While they also spoke with pride about other parts of their

work (for instance holding local politicians accountable, or solving problems for the community) the karaoke was the programme that the radio staff without exception seemed to be most excited to talk about. Other programmes were led by individual or small groups of broadcasters and although broadcasters were involved in each other's shows, the karaoke appeared as more of a group activity within the station. When I asked the Radyo Bakdaw staff about the karaoke, the mood of the interviewees would in all cases seem to lift from normal to happy, with a lot of smiles. Only one staff noted that the karaoke was also a little bit stressful to her at times as she was one of the judges and felt stressed about her decisions in ranking the participants being questioned (RB1Sf). Nevertheless, her overall recollection of the karaoke seemed extremely appreciative.

For the listeners, the karaoke seemed equally important; both for the audience that listened to the radio on air and for the audience that attended in person. The competition was well attended and there were at times over 100 people in the audience, a humanitarian that attended as a judge counted as many as over 200 people in the audience (Maya, 2014). One of the radio broadcasters reported that approximately 400 people attended the last event, which was part of the closing celebration of the station on the last day of broadcasting. Although there were some listeners and competitors who came regularly to the karaoke the overall crowd seemed to change and appeared quite diverse in their demographics. However, as it was such a large crowd this assumption is only based on subjective observation. The Karaoke was often the first thing that came up when I mentioned Radyo Bakdaw, for instance when asked what his favourite show was, one of the community interviewees said that: '*It's only on the Friday when they are singing*' (C22m, FT2). One broadcaster admitted that she had forgotten to advertise for the karaoke on the day, but that there were as many people in the audience as always:

> *'[…] I forgot to plug that we would be having karaoke, but the people were still coming. Because they already know that Friday is karaoke time. Even if I forgot to plug it, the people are here […]' (RB5Jf, FT2)*

This points towards the karaoke as an established public event and contributes to the assumption that the event was at least to a certain extent part of the community

calendar. During the week individuals came to sign up for the weekly competition or at times would text to put their name on the list. There were even requests for the karaoke to happen more often than once a week:

> *'Hellow Dj, I hope your karaoke contest will be on Friday's and Saturday's so that students can also compete.'* (Text message, 13 December 2013)

This listener message underlines the popularity of the contest as it is asking for an additional day for the event and appears to show the senders eagerness to attend. There were other text messages on the karaoke but a lot of them got deleted as only 'informational' text messages that needed following up were documented. Moreover, the karaoke came up in informal conversations when talking about the radio station with community members. This suggests the popularity of the Bakdaw karaoke with the local community. One of the reasons why the programme was so popular was most likely that karaoke is an extremely common and well-loved pastime in the Philippines, which is even described as the 'national pride' of the Philippines (Zhou & Tarocco, 2007). This highlights that the popularity of the karaoke show was also due to cultural factors. Nevertheless, there is some evidence suggesting that the karaoke show at Radyo Bakdaw was of a participatory nature which may have impacted its influence on social capital, this will be examined in the next section.

6.3.1 How is karaoke participatory communication?

While the karaoke programme may have been judged as a 'low level' participation when referring for instance to Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969), its participatory elements reveal itself when comparing it to the karaoke programme of Radyo Natin. The format of a live karaoke competition on air was not new in Guiuan as Radyo Natin had also aired a karaoke competition in the past. The karaoke show at Radyo Natin had been taken off the programme a few years earlier. Additionally, there were (less formal) karaoke events at bars and fiestas, but there did not seem to be any other regular large scale public karaoke competition before and after typhoon Haiyan. The main difference between the karaoke at Radyo Natin and the karaoke at Radyo Bakdaw was that at Radyo Natin the competitors were in the studio, which was closed to community members as it is on the private grounds of the station

owner. Therefore, the karaoke at Radyo Natin was not accessible to the public but only to pre-chosen competitors. It is reasonable to assume that this was also apparent when listening to the karaoke show on Radyo Natin, as there were no sounds of a live audience in the background. Whereas on Radyo Bakdaw one could hear the audience clapping, laughing, booing and encouraging the competitors and thus know that the karaoke was a public event, the Radyo Natin karaoke show was clearly recorded in a studio without onlookers. The karaoke at Radyo Bakdaw was also promoted as an event that listeners were invited to attend. This suggests that the karaoke show at Radyo Bakdaw actively aimed to include community members, which relates to the participatory key theme of community inclusion (chapter 2).

If we compare the two stations (figure 18 and 19) there is a quite striking difference in their physical approachability. Whereas Radyo Natin features a big locked gate and is on private land, the Radyo Bakdaw station is in a former public health building with a simple house door that stood open throughout most of the day. Even if the door was closed (for instance because of ongoing recordings) the windows were open and especially children but at times also adult onlookers would peek inside the station. These different settings already strongly influenced the karaoke as the Radyo Bakdaw station lends itself to a more open event in which the audience are part of the programme and can be heard on the live-show. The karaoke would, with very few exceptions during bad weather, take place outside in front of the studio. Onlookers would interact with the competition, loudly supporting or disagreeing with the votes of the karaoke judges, commenting on the singers' skills and giving their support through applause and shouts. As figure 20 shows, the event was of a casual nature, without a stage and just a string to keep space for the competitors and the judges. The audience was tightly packed together and there was the buzz of chatting, signifying the interaction between onlookers. This underlines the accessibility of the programme for the public.

Figure 18 Radyo Bakdaw, the second green building is the station with a tarp in front of it marking the area used as interviewing, radio repair and karaoke space.

Figure 19 Radyo Natin, the larger house in the background is the private house of the station manager, the station is hidden behind the pale pink wall. (Photo by Rica Abueva and Maximo Garado)

Figure 20 Karaoke at Radyo Bakdaw.

One of the Radyo Bakdaw broadcasters who previously had worked for Radyo Natin explained that:

> '*[at Radyo Natin] we had karaoke also, but compared to the Bakdaw karaoke singing contest on the radio, [it was] more lively at Bakdaw and more audience were coming to the station – and a lot of contestants. I mean, every week!*' (RB2Sm, FT2).

This also underlines the difference in the openness of the two radio stations and their physical accessibility. Whereas the karaoke at Radyo Natin was simply another programme that was meant to be entertaining, the karaoke at Radyo Bakdaw was a public 'lively' event open to all. This openness from the karaoke appeared to derive organically from the overall ethos of the station, which saw the community as its core (Radyo Bakdaw FGDG, FT2). This openness was also apparent regarding the audience and the participants. The only screening of competitors was in regard to whether they had already performed, to try and give as many different people a chance as possible. Broadcasters started this screening from their own account after the waiting list got longer and some competitors wanted to join more than once, which seemed unfair to the Radyo Bakdaw staff. There was no restriction as to what age competitors had to be. According to one of the broadcasters who regularly supported the karaoke, competitors' age ranged from seven years to approximately 70 years (RB6Jf, private correspondence, 21 July 2015). During the events that I observed, the gender of competitors was quite mixed, as was their age, possibly with a slight tendency to younger and middle aged participants. Unfortunately, there is no documentation of

the average age and gender of participants so solid conclusions on the diversity of participants are impossible. Singers would choose their songs, in Tagalog or English. One of the Radyo Natin interviewees who had a longstanding 'black time' programme (paid radio time) at Radyo Natin was very critical of Radyo Bakdaw, but was still delighted when it came to the karaoke. After criticising Radyo Bakdaw for what the interviewee perceived as lack of professionalism and one-sided reporting, I came onto the topic of the karaoke, which brought a big smile to her face. The interviewee seemed genuinely enthused when remembering the karaoke:

> *'That one [the karaoke programme] I admired, because it's all from the different sides and sectors, whether they're educated or not, they're able to express themselves, that one I really like.'* (RN3Sf, FT2)

This statement conveys that even from a critical viewpoint the karaoke appeared to be open to all community members and was also perceived to be attended by different social classes of the affected community, which speaks for the inclusivity of the event and its participatory approach. Moreover, the comment of the interviewee that she is 'admiring' the programme implies that the karaoke was something special, something that may not have taken place in a similar fashion before. Because the karaoke was open and accessible it gave an opportunity for a participatory type of informal sociability between different stakeholders of the typhoon response: the audience, the broadcasters and the international humanitarians. In the next sections I will discuss whether the impact of the karaoke on these relationships.

6.4 Linking relationships between humanitarians and the community

It has been argued that linking relationships between affected communities and organisations are a crucial component of resilience (Islam & Walkerden, 2014, p. 289; LaLone, 2012, p. 225). Nakagawa and Shaw for example argue that linking relationships are '[…] the most important for betterment of the economic environment' as the resources of bridging and bonding relationships are commonly less able to provide more profound financial resources (2004, p. 10). There do not seem to any publications that go into the detail of relationships between individual humanitarians and communities as a concrete example of linking relationships.

However, the importance of these relationship between humanitarian organisation and communities does appear, for instance in the recent drive to further establish CwC and AAP segments within the humanitarian field (see chapter 1). However, these strategies speak to more formal ways of interaction with the community. Nevertheless, this surge of interest in community relationships with humanitarians could suggest that a closer relationship between humanitarian organisations and the community may make it easier to hold humanitarian organisations accountable (see chapter 5) and contribute to equalise power relations, but also that two stakeholders which have a stronger relationship to each other may work together more efficiently, thus enhancing the quality of relief services.

Research by the Feinstein Centre suggests that there are potentially large differences between humanitarians and affected communities, which may lead to problems:

> *'[t]he cultural differences, power relationships, and modus operandi of the two sets of actors are [...] problematic'* (Feinstein Centre, 2006, p. 9)

Other authors such as Stockton have pointed out similar tensions between humanitarians and the communities that they serve (Stockton, via HAP). Although, informal sociability cannot solve this type of dissonance completely, it could be argued that informal sociability may bring the community and the humanitarians closer together. Research by Buchanan-Smith, Ong and Routley suggests that communities may prefer a more personal kind of humanitarian response (2015). They found that in the wake of typhoon Haiyan, the by far most popular humanitarian organisation was the Buddhist Tzu Chi Foundation. Their publication presents evidence, which suggests that*:*

> *'[t]he Taiwanese Tzu Chi Foundation's language of love and care appeared to fit the Filipino culture better than the more consumer-oriented language of accountability and complaints mechanisms of many traditional international humanitarian agencies'* (Buchanan-Smith, Ong, & Routley, 2015, p. 49)

This would implicate that affected communities may prefer a more personal relationship to humanitarians. This fits with data from a short survey I did for IOM

during my second field trip regarding the preferred communication channel of affected community members. The survey revealed that 10 out of 23 respondents would prefer face-to-face communication to any other type of communication and 11 individuals said they preferred group discussions with humanitarians. This suggests that communication channels that are more personal were preferred by the community. Informal sociability may contribute to a more personal relationship as the community and humanitarians encounter each other in a 'non-work' context of recreational activities, such as the karaoke.

Humanitarians attended the karaoke as judges, intermission guest singers and onlookers. The humanitarian judge would change every week. The staff (and sometimes myself) would ask specific humanitarians or humanitarian organisations if they would participate as a judge or send one of their international staff members to participate as a judge. On a few occasions humanitarians approached the station to ask if they could be a judge at the karaoke competition, which implies that some individuals were quite keen to attend. One humanitarian recalls on her blog that it was: *'[…] quite an honour'* to be asked to be a karaoke judge and continued express how she enjoyed attending the event:

> '*[the karaoke] was great fun, and a refreshing and nice break from all the stress and drama going on at work at the moment!'* (Maya, 2014)

This portrays the karaoke also as a recreational event for the humanitarians, which would underline the definition of karaoke as informal sociability.

When I asked a female senior Radyo Bakdaw broadcaster, whether it mattered that the third karaoke judge was a humanitarian, she was affirmative: *'Yeah, because it really linked the INGOs and the locals'* (RB1Sf, FT2). This suggests that some broadcasters saw the 'linking potential' of the karaoke, when reflecting on its functions. When asked whether there were any instances in which Radyo Bakdaw connected the community with humanitarian organisations another radio broadcasters answered that:

> *'[…] one of the best examples would be during the karaoke show […] Because it*

> *is a time in the radio station where there are foreigners, humanitarians that would also join in the celebration with the local people and in that we… It's like we bridge the gap, we bridge the differences between saying that he's a foreigner, he's from outside, outside the place [Guiuan], but then again, they're also enjoying with us'* (RB6Jf, FT2)

The broadcaster was one of the younger staff members who was supporting the karaoke, mostly through keeping track of the competitors' scores but also moderated the event at least once. This implies that the karaoke gave an opportunity to build linking relationships between the community and humanitarians through giving a space for shared informal sociability. It conveys that the karaoke gave a chance for the 'outsiders' to show that they are 'similar' and enjoy the same recreational activities as the community. This assumption fits with research on the fiesta culture[15] of the Philippines. Guevarra and her colleagues who researched the *Sariaya Agawan Festival* in the Philippines argue that the fiesta is:

> '[…] *a cosmopolitan phenomenon because communities engage in a disposition of cultural openness with the strange and the stranger'* (Guevarra, Gatchalian, & Sir Tiatco, 2014, p. 1)

The same broadcaster also noted at a different point in the same interview that she felt the karaoke *'[…] was like a Fiesta at Radyo Bakdaw every Friday'* (RB6Jf, FT2). This gives weight to the suggestion that the karaoke may have fulfilled similar functions as a fiesta. Although the karaoke does not have the cultural religious importance of a fiesta there are certainly similarities as it is also a public event with music in which the community comes together. If the fiesta is an opportunity to encounter 'strangers' suggests that the karaoke could be analysed as a similar event to a fiesta, a community gathering, during which the encounter with 'the stranger' is an encounter with humanitarians. Therefore, the karaoke tapped into a culture of public encounters with strangers. This gives weight to the argument that the karaoke indeed served as an opportunity to build links between humanitarians and the affected

[15] A fiesta can refer to any kind of celebration, but often means a celebration of a town's patron saint (Guevarra, Gatchalian, & Sir Tiatco, 2014).

community. Two of the broadcasters themselves claimed that for them it did not make a difference whether there would be international humanitarian judges at the karaoke (RB2Sm, RB3SM, FT2), but that it did matter for the listeners. It could be that they wanted to show themselves as more 'international' than the listeners as they were used to foreigners, whereas many of the listeners may not have had as close connections to foreigners as them, but this is just an assumption. Nevertheless, one of the latter two broadcasters did recall the international judges playing a special role for the listeners:

> *'[e]very Friday, we get international judges. It's also fun for the people because when they are listening to us and they can also hear international judges from different countries. Because before the contest, we introduced them to the listeners. Maybe the listeners can think 'This is not an ordinary karaoke contest because there are also foreign judges on air!' That's additional fun'* (RB3SM, FT2)

His answer seems to imply that the foreign judges were boosting the appeal of the karaoke as a special event, perhaps because other prior local events did not have foreigners participating and thus the Radyo Bakdaw karaoke seemed more interesting and new. The main reason for him to think that humanitarian judges were important appears to be that it added to the entertainment. Another broadcaster said that the karaoke was also an opportunity for themselves to connect to humanitarians. She recalled an example of a humanitarian who was a judge at the karaoke and then became a good friend of one of the broadcasters (RB1Sf, FT2). The broadcaster in question and the humanitarian were regularly meeting up and were still in touch about half a year after the karaoke event. This would suggest a strengthening of the relationships between some the radio staff and some of the humanitarians.

Humanitarians themselves also mentioned that the karaoke gave an opportunity to bond with their local staff (who were mainly part of the affected community). A Danish humanitarian noted that he and his colleagues organised attendance of the karaoke as a social evening for humanitarian staff and that '*[i]t strengthened the bonds between European workers and local staff*' (humanitarian karaoke survey 2, FU).

This evidence suggests that even for the humanitarians that attended the karaoke as an observer there was a strengthening of relationships. An Italian humanitarian working for UN-OCHA recalled that after being a karaoke judge, community members recognised him on the street:

> '*The day after [the karaoke] many local people [I] met along the road called me by name with big smiles, I realized I was very popular within part of the local community :))'* (humanitarian karaoke survey 2, FU).

This indicates at least a short-term change of relationships between humanitarians and the local population. When asked whether the karaoke had any impact on her work, a humanitarian worker for Oxfam, who also attended the karaoke as a judge, responded that the karaoke 'brightened' her day and gave an opportunity to interact with the affected community in a less grave context than her work usually requires:

> *'As an aid worker, the hours are long, and it can be exhausting and overwhelming hearing stories of tragedy and suffering over and over. It was nice for me to have a fun break from that,* ***to spend some time with local people in a fun and entertaining way****, and see firsthand [sic] some of the talents they possess'* (humanitarian karaoke survey 2, FU, emphasis added)

Especially the highlighted section provides evidence that at least some of the humanitarians participating in the event enjoyed the karaoke also because it gave an opportunity for informal sociability with the affected community. Another humanitarian from Germany answered to the question on how the karaoke made him feel that:

> '*It was a great experience to take part in the karaoke. Because of the singing but also because of being part of the community expreience [sic] that radyo bakdaw became in Guiuan, in particular it was a bridge between expats and locals'* (humanitarian karaoke survey 2, FU).

This once more points towards the karaoke as an opportunity for humanitarians and affected populations to interact and that this connection was relevant enough to

mention. I was a judge at the competition for one evening as well, and although it was also a little bit stressful to be put on the spot and judge other people's singing, it felt like an opportunity to connect to a large group of the community. It is questionable how long lasting and how deep this connection was, but in the moment itself it seemed to bring different parts of the humanitarian and local community a little bit closer together.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that these interactions were of a rather superficial nature. The humanitarians did not necessarily get to know or interact more closely with individuals from the affected community. Thus, the relationship is to be seen as a looser type of networking, potentially as a step towards relating to one another in a more personal way and supporting the start of a relationship but not necessarily more. This also became apparent in the answer of a German humanitarian, who said that attending the karaoke did not really impact his work or stay except for a *'[...] morale boost ;)... but I did get recognized from time to time when strolling around in Guiuan...'* (humanitarian survey 2, FU). Although, the last addition to his answer, that he got recognised when walking around Guiuan does suggest a heightened interaction between the humanitarian and some of the local population, but not on a scale that was meaningful enough for the humanitarian to recognise it clearly.

Another Filipino humanitarian who participated as a guest singer equally said that the karaoke had not impacted his work or stay in Guiuan: '*[n]ot really since I rarely mentioned that I took part in the said competition/entertainment program*' (humanitarian survey 2, FU). This implies that the humanitarian worker in question only saw the karaoke as pure entertainment rather than an opportunity to relate to the affected population. The fact that the latter humanitarian belonged to the national Filipino staff would suggest that there is less of a barrier between him and the local population. However, this still underlines the point that some humanitarians saw the karaoke as 'white noise' and not as a direct contribution to the typhoon response. This may also limit the potential of such endeavours in the future, as it might be hard to argue to include a programme into a humanitarian information programme that is on first sight purely entertaining. At Radyo Bakdaw the programme could develop into this kind of informal sociability because it was

part of a whole humanitarian radio station, which saw the community at its heart and led local broadcasters partly take charge of programming. In a context where a humanitarian organisation does not have the full hours of a radio station to use but for instance only a few hours weekly, it might be a tough sell to incorporate this type of programme.

To understand these linking relationships more thoroughly it is important to contextualise them. Linking relationships between communities and humanitarians can be argued to relate to the Filipino culture of patronage. In the Philippines, there is a long history of patronage, which is based on patrons who for instance in exchange for support expect their clients' electoral backing (Esguerra III & Villanueva, 2009, p. 13). And indeed, one of the community interviewees used the word 'patrons' when describing the humanitarians at the karaoke. In response to the question how the karaoke made him feel, he recalled:

> '*Great! Great! The* ***patrons*** *and the announcers, the other audience, they are always happy there.'* (C22m, emphasis added, FT2).

The direct word 'patron' did not come up in any of the other interviews, but that might also be because I asked about humanitarians rather than the term patrons directly. However, research by Ong and his colleagues suggests that this interviewee was not alone in viewing the humanitarians as patrons and that the patron–client relationship had a great influence on the overall humanitarian response and how affected communities interacted with humanitarians. The humanitarian system fits very well with this idea of patronage, as humanitarians provided support for the affected population. However, as humanitarian organisations give this support without expecting any kind of repayment, the power relations between humanitarians and community may be even more imbalanced. Ong et al. therefore argue that communities may have felt 'obliged to be grateful' to humanitarians (Ong, Flores, & Combinido, 2015).

This indicates that the karaoke perhaps only lightly impacted these linking relationships through offering an opportunity to get a 'closer look' at 'these patrons', who have suddenly become so involved in the community. There certainly appeared

to be an interest in the encounter with international humanitarians as this text message for instance underscores:

> '*DJ, we just want to request to have a grandfinals [sic] for the karaoke singing contest. So, that we can see who is the greatest and I hope the judges will be foreigners.*' (Text message 31 January 2014)

Although, the text message does not give evidence as to why the sender wishes the judges to be foreigners, it nevertheless points towards some listeners being aware of the international judges and wanting them to be part of the event. This interest in the foreign judges was not true for all participants of the karaoke. However, not all listeners were aware that the international judges were humanitarians. This becomes apparent in the answer of a community member from Salug who, when asked who the judges of the karaoke were, said:

> '*Foreign judges, I think. I was not able to know their names or where they came from because I only focus on the singers, not the judges'* (c11m, FT2)

Another listener did not recall any foreign judges at all (c14f, FT2). This suggests that the karaoke did not serve as an opportunity to strengthen linking relationships for all listeners or audience members. Unfortunately, there is no data giving evidence whether there was a difference between community members who just listened to the karaoke and those who attended it. These two respondents were the only ones either not recollecting foreign judges at all or not being aware of them being humanitarians. There is no quantitative data on this, but within the qualitative data overall more respondents remembered the humanitarians as judges. This suggests although the linking potential of the karaoke was limited the argument the karaoke built some (shallow) linking relationships does appear to hold for some listeners. The next section will explore if the karaoke contributed to other types of social capital, such as bridging and bonding relationships.

6.5 Bridging relationships

Besides potential relationship building between humanitarians and the community

my data also explores bridging relationships between different community members. According to one of the broadcasters the karaoke gave an opportunity to bring the community closer together:

> *'So, I think [the karaoke] it's one of the reasons or it is one of the examples where we can say that radio helps keep people closer'* (RB6Jf, FT2).

Through the karaoke, the station appeared to give an opportunity to community members to swap stories with friends and neighbours, but also with individuals from other areas of the affected areas. As Gerrity and Steinglass claim, the loss of home is frequently '[…] accompanied by profound disruption, which affects the internal fabric of family life, social networks, community ties […]' (2003, p. 260), which makes the reestablishment of relationships in Guiuan, a municipality in which almost all houses were either damaged or destroyed even more relevant.

Karaoke competitors did not only come from other *Barangay*s within the municipality of Guiuan, but also from further away from other areas in Eastern Samar, such as Taft, Quinapondan or Salcedo (RB1Sf, RB2Sm, C14f, FT2). Although, some of the participants may not have come to Guiuan specifically to attend the karaoke, it is nevertheless notable that they chose to spend some of their visiting time by joining the karaoke. This indicates that the karaoke gave an opportunity to meet people from other affected areas and exchange stories, which suggests that the karaoke may have strengthened bridging relationships between different affected towns. This assumption is supported by the recollection of a community member who said she had made a new friend from a different town (Salcedo) during the karaoke (C14f). It may be that with the word 'friend' she meant acquaintance, however it still suggests that the karaoke gave an opportunity to the audience to get to know individuals from different parts of the community. Additionally, competitors also came from different towns in order to compete in the karaoke, again suggesting that this event of informal sociability brought people from different social and geographical areas together. This is emphasised through one of the Radyo Bakdaw staff who explained that,

> *'[i]f they were watching the karaoke singing contest, a lot of people were there*

> *and then asking 'Hey, what happened to your town? What happened during, after Yolanda? What's going on? How's your mother, father?' asking people and getting information to each other*' (RB2Sm, FT2).

This suggests that through exchanging news and information relationship were strengthened and emotions shared. Warde et al. suggest, that recreational activities foster social capital in the realm of community togetherness and bonding and bridging relationships (Warde, Tampubolon, & Savage, 2005). The karaoke clearly falls into the category of recreational activities. But additionally, it is a type of recreational activity which is based on community togetherness, rather than a recreational activity such as going to the gym which has been argued to not be conducive to social capital as it fosters individuals being on their own rather than interacting with others (Warde, Tampubolon, & Savage, 2005, p. 406). Another broadcaster recounted that '[…] *the karaoke was a venue for reunions among the other municipalities and Barangays'* (RB1Sf, FT2). This once more reinforces the notion that informal sociability gave an opportunity for the affected population to mingle and possible re-bond and connects to the at times quite disputed concept of community music therapy, which has been argued to be a great way to create community and connect individuals (Aigen, 2014, pp. 153-154). This implies that the karaoke could have been as an opportunity for a shared musical experience to experience community togetherness. Most interviewees seemed aware of the fact that there were contestants not only from different *Barangay*s but also different municipalities. As for instance one community member and radio listener recalled:

> '*Ah the singing competition! We are very happy, because the children and people here enjoy watching the contest. All people get challenged to compete with other people [from] other provinces that's why every Friday we are listening*' (C22m, FT2)

His quote proposes that the interaction with individuals from other localities was an important factor to why some of the communities were listening to the karaoke. This further adds weight to the karaoke as an opportunity to strengthen and explore bonding relationships in a recreational informal setting.

Another community member from Salug, conveyed that: *'I feel happy, because through that contest I realise that there are hidden talents here in Guiuan'* (c11m, FT2). Her mention of 'hidden talents in Guiuan' could be argued as contribution to community cohesiveness through appreciation of the talents of other community members. However, we need further evidence to prove a stronger causal link between appreciation for talent and community cohesiveness. The quote also touches on the feeling of happiness and enjoyment which section 6.6 will explore more thoroughly.

6.6 Mental wellbeing and stress relief

The listener's quote in the last section leads to another theme that emerged in the karaoke data: the feeling of happiness and sharing happiness after the devastation of the typhoon or despite the calamity as a form of stress relief. This happiness was one of the reasons why broadcasters deemed the karaoke as important. The senior broadcaster who mostly moderated the karaoke, recalled:

> *'[e]very Friday they're [the community] waiting for the karaoke and I enjoyed hosting this programme every Friday. I enjoyed that. I won't forget that. I can see the eyes of the people going to Radyo Bakdaw, watching the karaoke live. I can see they're happy even just for that moment. Yes, I enjoyed, I really enjoyed the karaoke'* (RB3SM, FT2).

This reveals that the radio staff saw the karaoke not only as an entertainment programme, but that this entertainment and happiness might be something special in the aftermath of the typhoon. This is especially apparent when the interviewee notes that the community are '[…] happy even just for that moment' and thus suggests that outside of the karaoke community members might not have much other distractions that would give them happiness. Happiness and enjoyment is indeed something that might be scarce after a disaster. Norris and colleagues studied a community in eastern Kentucky, USA, which had been affected by a flood and found that the affected community felt '[…] less positive about their social networks and surroundings, less enthusiastic and energetic, and less able to enjoy life after the flood' (Norris, Phifer, & Kaniasty, 1995). As Wind et al. explain, community wellbeing

is a significant factor for resilience (Wind, Fordham, & Komproe, 2011). The main emotion that interviewees cited when asked how the karaoke made them feel was 'happiness' and relaxation. For instance, a local *Barangay* Councillor and Radyo Bakdaw listener, said that the karaoke made him laugh and feel relaxed (C13m, FT2).

The expression of happiness becomes apparent in both the community and the Radyo Bakdaw broadcaster data sets. A junior broadcaster for instance recalled that one of the reasons she enjoyed the karaoke was because she felt it was a way to make people happy through her work:

> '*You know, when I see the people happy, it's like we are self-caring in a way. Oh my God, they're happy, so we're happy too, seeing them smiling. We're feeling OK like Oh my God they're happy. We make people happy through radio, through this kind of event every Friday. That's it…* (*laughs*)' (RB5Jf, FT2).

Her response once more draws attention to the emotion of happiness as an outcome of the karaoke, both, of the staff and the perceived happiness of the listeners. Quite a few of the community members echoed this emotion and claimed that they found the karaoke to be enjoyable as one of the community interviewees explained, when she listened to the karaoke '*I feel happy'* (c25f FT2). Listeners also noted that they felt that the other listeners also enjoyed the karaoke. A case in point being a community interviewee who was one of the tent city leaders and a Radyo Bakdaw listener said that he:

> *'[…] witnessed the people there were happy at the time [of the karaoke], yes. They were very happy.'* (C3m, FT2)

Another interviewee and Radyo Bakdaw listener, when asked what he felt about the karaoke, he talked about how the karaoke:

> *'[…] refreshes our minds and makes fun [sic]'* and that *'the listener[s] also enjoyed that time [of the karaoke]'* (C6m, FT2)

The way that the interviewees include the happiness of others in their recount of the

karaoke suggests that the karaoke was also important as an event that fostered togetherness of the community and a common atmosphere of cheerfulness. This underlines the argument that informal sociability contributes to strengthening relationships between community members and 'togetherness' through sharing joy in a recreational event. The broadcasters also expressed the pleasure of the listeners and their own. As one female Radyo Bakdaw staff member said when asked how the karaoke made people feel: '*They are very, very happy…*' (RB8Af, FT2). Another staff member also alleged that he felt listeners were enjoying the karaoke and when asked how he felt about it, said: '*Great, great. I also enjoyed scoring for… [the karaoke]*' (RB4SM, FT2). But it seemed that the karaoke did more than contribute to the happiness of broadcasters and the community. The words that kept on coming up both in the radio staff interviews and the community interviews were 'stress therapy' and 'stress relief for the people' (RB3SM in RFBFGD, FT2). Stress relief is closely connected to happiness, but still has a different connotation. Whereas happiness could simply be entertaining, stress relief suggests working on the trauma of the typhoon even if on a shallow level. As one of the broadcasters suggested, when asked why they felt the karaoke was important:

> '*Maybe, one is to start grieving and number two is, you know, Filipinos love singing*' (RB3SM in RBFGD, FT2).

This emphasises the karaoke as a contributing coping mechanism for the affected community in relation to their mental wellbeing. The mental wellbeing of the affected community is an important factor of community resilience. A community that can deal with the mental stress of a disaster is more capable of rebuilding their lives and adapting to their changed life. Community members, key informants and broadcasters described the karaoke as a kind of therapy and unprompted gave importance to the karaoke as a valuable and necessary stress relief for the affected community. As one community member explained via the interpreter:

> '*[t]he singing contest, according to her, was a "reliever", I mean it relieved [her of] all the worries, the fear – the experience of fear during Typhoon Yolanda. For her, it was a nice experience to have Radyo Bakdaw, because somehow it made her feel good. It somehow made her forget the bad memories of Yolanda*'

(C14f, FT2).

This suggests that the karaoke gave an opportunity to leave some of the painful memories of the typhoon behind for a short amount of time. Similarly, a young community leader explained that the karaoke made him feel less tense and enabled him to forget the 'bad things' that had happened to him:

> *'[o]f course, relaxing. It makes you laugh and then you can forget all the bad things happening to you... Life at [sic] the moment'* (C13m, FT2).

A senior citizen, equally suggested that the karaoke was acting as a stress relief:

> *'the karaoke was very, very, very enjoyable. People enjoyed it during that time. Some of the problems they had... during the typhoon... it lessened their problems. I enjoyed the karaoke contest'* (C5m, FT2).

This further suggests that the karaoke may have served as a stress reliever for the affected community. Gerrity and Steinglass argue that one form of mental health intervention are '[s]upplementing social support networks [...]' (2003, p. 277). Even though they do not go into much detail how this intervention could look like precisely it could be argued that perhaps the karaoke could be likened to this type of intervention as it gives opportunity for togetherness, stress relief and joy.

The continued establishment of music therapy shows the importance that mental health experts put on music to deal with mental stress and trauma. Publications such as by Morrison and Clift argue, that group singing may contribute to mental wellbeing and improved mental health (2012). While Morrison and Clift discuss group singing in the form of choirs, their findings could still relate to singing events such as the karaoke. There appears to be no thorough research of karaoke as music therapy, except for a very short publication by Mavely and Mitchell (1994) which relies mostly on anecdotal evidence. The publication argues in favour of karaoke to improve quality of life and wellbeing of patients in hospitals. Mavely and her colleague recount the experience of establishing karaoke for patients in a chronic care unit and claim that the karaoke contributed to the overall wellbeing of patients,

through giving patients, their family members and nurses an opportunity to spend time together, which was felt to be giving comfort (Mavely & Mitchell, 1994). Their finding adds weight to the claim that the karaoke may have been contributing to relieve community stress.

That some of the listeners of the karaoke saw it as a conducive to mental wellbeing is further accentuated by interviewees remembering the karaoke as a form of therapy. A case in point being a staff member from Radyo Natin who stated that the karaoke was like:

> *'[…] psychotherapy. You know, the singing contest, because [for] a lot of Guiuananons it has been really tough for the devastation given by Yolanda'* (RN2Jf, FT2)

A male community member who only listened to the karaoke on the radio described it as refreshing and enjoyable and said that the karaoke '*[…] cure[d] our pain to the devastation of the typhoon'* (c6m, FT2). These quotes similarly suggest that the recreational nature of the karaoke served as a stress and even emotional pain relief for some listeners. What is notable is that the male interviewee was only a listener through the radio and did not attend the karaoke in person, but still referred to the show as stress relief. This implies that perhaps individuals who did not attend the event in person but only listened to it on the radio may have also found it beneficial. One of the radio staff claimed: *'People were enjoying [the karaoke] even if they were only just listening to the radio*' (RB2Sm, FT2). Of course, it could be suggested that the broadcaster assumed this because he wanted the radio station to appear popular. However, happiness through listening to rather than attending the karaoke, also showed up in interviews with listeners who did not attend the karaoke in person. For instance, a young man, who was not able to attend the karaoke as his grandmother did not want him to go out of the house, said through an interpreter that: '*[e]very time he listens to the karaoke singing contest, it makes him feel better'* (C12m via interpreter, FT2). This would suggest that the karaoke may in some cases also have had an influence on wellbeing through radio broadcast. However, there is little data to prove that the karaoke had a similar function of stress relief for listeners that did not attend the karaoke in person.

A convincing argument that the karaoke was contributing to stress-relief came from a respondent who was otherwise very critical of Radyo Bakdaw but when asked about the karaoke said that she liked the programme a lot because it was also *'[e]asing difficulties of the lives of the people'* (RN3Sf FT2). Even though the data suggests that the karaoke served as a stress reliever, this does not imply that karaoke could replace professional trauma therapy in any way. Instead evidence gathered suggests, that the karaoke should be understood as a potential additional contributing factor to the overall mental wellbeing of a disaster affected community.

It is not clear how long this stress relief through the karaoke lasted. The karaoke seemed to be a memory that interviewees enjoyed recounting even after it was not taking place anymore. But there is no evidence in my data suggesting a direct impact on for instance mental wellbeing that was continuing beyond the airing of the karaoke programme. It seems unlikely that the stress relief function would continue after the karaoke was airing, but the difference that it made for people during the months that the karaoke took place may have meant an improved mental state that could have contributed to addressing stress in the months when pressure was at its highest. There is no strong proof in my evidence for this argument so this remains an assumption. However, a study researching the 2004 tsunami in Thailand found that '[…] from the second week to the end of month two, the identification and management of psychological problems became a priority' for tsunami survivors (Chakrabhand, Panyayong, & Sirivech, 2006). This would suggest that the karaoke was contributing to stress relief during the most acute time of mental distress and trauma. Yet, a study researching the mental health impact of hurricane Katrina found that '[…] that mental health functioning deteriorated markedly at longer-term follow-up assessments, arguably as social and infrastructure support was not available' (Kessler et al. 2008 cited in: Gibbs, et al., 2013, pp. 2-3). This signposts that in a longer-term perspective the karaoke was not as successful in contributing to stress relief, particularly for more seriously traumatised individuals.

6.7 Bridging relationships and stress relief – contextual factors

When questioning if the karaoke contributed to bridging relationships and stress

relief it is important to consider contextual factors that may impact both the event and the relationships. In the Philippines karaoke is an extremely popular national pastime (Migallos, 2015; Zhou & Tarocco, 2007). Ergo the Radyo Bakdaw karaoke show was part of a bigger type of activity that was already ingrained into the lives of the affected population. Moreover, long established local fiestas and other public festivities show that informal sociability in connection social capital is part of Filipino history (Bankoff, 2007). Therefore, it is not clear how impactful this type of informal sociability would be in a culturally different context, for instance in a society where social gatherings are not as common and historically established. A comparative study in a different context would be useful to explore whether there are similar results in other countries. A study by LaLone, whose article researches resilience to environmental disasters for instance suggests that the mobilisation of bonding social capital 'can be tied to the long-standing Appalachian regional support patterns […], that are still a part of the regional mind-set today' (2012, p. 219). Similarly, it seems reasonable to suggest that the karaoke worked as an instigator for community happiness and stress relief because informal sociability is something that may have happened regularly before the typhoon in the Philippines through for example town fiestas, which bring the community together and serve as an opportunity to bond (Usamah et al.; Bankoff, 2007). The strengthening of bridging relationships also relates to the Filipino notion of '*pakikisama*' (getting along) and '*pakikipakapwa*' (relating). According to Usamah and colleagues, this value is a crucial component of rural communities and '[…] can be interpreted as "smooth interpersonal relations"' (Usamah, Handmer, & Mitchell, 2014, p. 185). This indicates that the karaoke also worked as an opportunity for community togetherness because community togetherness is deemed as important in Filipino culture. This suggests that the Philippines lends itself especially well to the notion of strengthening bridging relationships through informal sociability. Still, research in other countries does suggest that informal sociability contributes to resilience, so although the context of the Philippines does appear to lend itself especially well to informal sociability other studies suggest such recreational activities may also work in different contexts (Warde, Tampubolon, & Savage, 2005, Hemingway, 1999).

6.8 Conclusion

The chapter addressed the following research questions:

- How are communities included into the project?
- How can the community include themselves?
- How diverse is the inclusion of community voices?
- Can participatory communication contribute to bridging and linking relationships?
- What contextual factors may impact participatory communication contributing to social capital?

The karaoke does not fit into the category of community ownership or questioning power imbalances and does not align with the definition of participation according to Freire (1970) and Arnstein (1969). However, my data suggests that the 'white noise' of participatory communication, in the case of Radyo Bakdaw the karaoke, contributed to strengthening some relationships between broadcasters, humanitarians and the affected community, which is a crucial component of community resilience. The data also shows that both the locations openness and overall inclusiveness of the event appeared conducive to strengthening these relationships. This suggests that participatory communication in the form of informal sociability can contribute to forms of community resilience.

However, it is questionable how long lasting the impact of the karaoke was. Did relationships last longer than the radio station, for instance? Another finding was that the concept of informal sociability and its participatory nature worked especially well in the context of the Philippines because it leaned on a pre-existing culture of public informal sociability, openness to strangers and an importance of relationships. Therefore, the concrete example of using karaoke for informal sociability may not be easily transferable to other contexts. The karaoke was not planned to contribute to these characteristics of community resilience. Rather, it developed almost organically into an opportunity for strengthening relationships and contribute to mental wellbeing. Although, the local Radyo Bakdaw staff who managed the whole process of the karaoke did become aware of some of these functions when reflecting upon them they were not a set goal for them. Ultimately, the chapter provided evidence

that participatory communication that traditionally would be considered 'low level' participation can contribute to some instances of community resilience and is relevant enough to give it further consideration and research.

Chapter 7: Sustainability, social and human capital of radio staff

7.1 Introduction

In this final analysis chapter, we move away from investigating social capital of the wider community, to exploring the same in relation to the local radio staff. The following chapter will thus explore the collected data in regard to how the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw may have contributed to the development and strengthening of social and human capital of the local station staff and how this may impact community resilience. This will aid to answer my research question regarding the sustainability of participatory communication and community resilience. The chapter further addresses the question if participatory communication can contribute to bridging relationships and general reciprocity, however these themes are examined in relation to the radio staff rather than the wider community.

While Radyo Bakdaw was set up as a humanitarian project, the current drive for sustainability in humanitarian projects through crucial policy documents such as the agreements of the Wold Humanitarian Summit (2015) make it important to explore the sustainability of the station. This is best done through questioning whether participatory communication also influenced the local radio staff. Staff social and human capital are relevant to community resilience for two reasons. Firstly, it can be argued that local radio staff themselves will be more resilient through higher social capital as a small part of the local community. Secondly, if the participatory communication of the station may have contributed to some aspects of social capital, this is in great part due to the participatory approach of the broadcasters. Therefore, if broadcasters can be shown to have learned new participatory communication skills, this could suggest that their contribution to social capital may continue if broadcasters continue to use the participatory approach they learned at Radyo Bakdaw. I will partly relate this skill building of staff to human capital literature as it helps set my data into a conceptual context.

While some authors, such as Olken (2009), argue that radio may diminish social capital, there have also been claims, for instance by Van Vuuren (2013), that community radio may contribute to the social capital of the volunteers at the station.

Van Vuuren found that two important factors played into this strengthened social capital. These were the age composition of volunteers and the decision-making hierarchy of the station (2013, p. 18). Furthermore, she suggests that '[…] an emphasis on community development, which encourages broad participation from the community, can result in a successful community radio station' (2001, pp. 18-19). This implies that a more participatory station could contribute to social capital. Radyo Bakdaw does not fall into the exact category of a community station led by volunteers, since Radyo Bakdaw broadcasters were paid. However, the gathered data suggests that it may have had a similar impact on some of the staff's social capital partly due to its participatory approach. Further, there is evidence that implies that the participatory approach of the station may have contributed to the human capital of staff, such as learning participatory broadcasting skills and gaining confidence in approaching persons of authority. I argue that if the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw in some instances contributed to social capital (see chapter 5 and 6), this is in great part due to the participatory communication skills of the broadcasters. Therefore, these skills and their continued use could be an indication of the sustainability of this type of social capital strengthening participatory communication.

Humanitarians at times joke that their main contribution is in training and building up the capacity of their local staff. No matter whether this joke is accurate or not, there is a growing interest in the capacity building of local staff (Jeffereys, 2013; UN-OCHA, 2016). Literature on disaster resilience has also been arguing that strengthening and building human capital is extremely important to the resilience of communities (Buckland & Rahman, 1999; Mayunga, 2007). According to Mayunga's capital based approach to resilience, human capital is one of the most important capital types leading to a resilient community (2007). Mayunga's indicators for human capital are: education, health, skills and knowledge/information. As Smith et al. explain, human capital can be '[…] both innate and derived or accumulated, embodied in the working-age population […]' (Smith, Simard, & Sharpe, 2001, p. 3). Mayunga focuses more on education based human capital and claims that human capital is often understood as '[…] education and includes knowledge and skills that are accumulated through forms of education attainment, training, and experience' (2007, p. 8). This suggests that human capital is both a variety of skills, knowledge,

habits, and social and personality attributes. Accordingly, as this research investigates the contribution of experiences and training gained at a participatory radio station, the focus will be on learned skills and improved or newly acquired knowledge as traits of human capital. While one might argue that the media attracts a group of individuals with certain and perhaps similar social and personality attributes it would be hard to prove how and if at all a participatory communication approach would influence these characteristics of human capital. Skills and knowledge on the other hand, although subjective to a certain extent, are possible to trace.

Within a disaster context authors such as Mayunga often see human capital as knowledge about disaster risk (2007), I argue that strengthening the participatory communication skills of media workers, in this case radio broadcasters, can also be counted as human capital that may be beneficial to not only the resilience of the broadcasters themselves, but also to the resilience of the community they serve, as these kinds of skills may mean a more resilient media to serve the public during the next calamity. Radio staff could take on a role as '"super-connected" members [of a community]' (Fullilove and Saul, 2006, Longstaff, 2005) through having built up connections with other stakeholders. These stronger connections can mean that broadcasters can work as a hub (in this case for information and communication) for the community in case a disaster strikes, thus relying on each other's support and building on their skills and connections to serve their community. It is therefore of interest to not only explore how a humanitarian radio station may impact the relationship of its listeners and other external stakeholders such as humanitarian organisations or local government, but also to investigate what impact participatory communication may have on its local staff.

Section 7.2 will begin by offering crucial context about the radio staff (7.2.1) and then investigate the data as to how the participatory approach of the station may have contributed to social capital of the local staff in the forms of relationship building (7.2.2), reciprocity (7.2.3) and confidence building (7.2.4). The second part of the chapter explores the participatory communication skills of staff members and their potential impact on the sustainability of social capital (7.3). The chapter concludes that participatory communication did contribute to social capital in some instances,

such as reciprocity and self-confidence. However, in other areas such as strengthened relationships the contribution of participatory communication was less clear (7.4).

7.2 Staff social capital

The following subsections will investigate if the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw contributed to strengthening and building bridging relationships amongst the staff. These bridging relationships will be examined through two key themes: friendship and mutual support. The third subsection will examine confidence building through the participatory approach of the station as an indicator for social capital. To make it easier to follow the evidence regarding staff relationships, it is crucial to understand the different roles of the local staff and staff composition, which is what the next section sets out to explore.

7.2.1 Context: who are the local staff?

I will focus on the potential strengthening of bridging relationships and skill building of the core staff, which consists of five women and four men. These relationships can be defined as bridging relationships since staff members are not related to each other, come from different social classes and were not close friends before starting to work at Radyo Bakdaw. Almost all broadcasters in this group worked at Radyo Bakdaw for the whole time that the station was on air. Only two broadcasters took a break from working for Radyo Bakdaw (RB3SM) or quit shortly before the station ceased to broadcast (RB4SM). The longer work time at Radyo Bakdaw would suggest that if bridging social capital was built through the participatory approach of the station, this group would have been most exposed to it. Therefore, any signs of social capital should be most visible within this group. Moreover, data on the core group was richer, as I had the opportunity to observe these staff members for the whole length of my first field trip and I could conduct follow up interviews with all of them during field trip two. Table 5 gives an overview over the different staff members of the core group. I categorise four broadcasters of the core staff as senior broadcasters (RB1Sf, RB4SM, RB3SM, RB2Sm) since they had previous professional broadcasting and partially reporting experience and were older than the junior broadcasters (33 upwards). The age of staff members ranged from 18 years to mid-forties.

Table 5 Radyo Bakdaw core staff

Code	Role at Radyo Bakdaw	Previously employed at Radyo Natin	Gender	Occupation after Radyo Bakdaw	Age
RB1Sf	Senior Broadcaster	Yes	Female	Temporary NGO CwC staff	46
RB2Sm	Senior Broadcaster	Yes	Male	Freelance broadcaster also at Radyo Natin	31
RB3Sm	Senior Broadcaster	Yes	Male	Broadcaster at Radyo Natin/personal secretary of the mayor	47
RB4SM	Senior Broadcaster	Yes	Male	Broadcaster at Radyo Natin/Position in mayor's office	41
RB5Jf	Junior Broadcaster	Yes	Female	DJ at Radyo Natin/then moved to Manila	23
RB6Jf	Junior Broadcaster	Yes	Female	Continued studies in tourism, call centre	20
RB7Sm	Broadcaster	Youth volunteer	Male	Student in broadcast media	18
RB8Af	Administrative Assistant	No	Female	Looking for work	33
RB9Af	Administrative assistant/producer	No	Female	Small business owner, student	24
RB13Jf	Fixer, trainee broadcaster	No	Female	Temporary NGO CwC staff	25

All staff obtained college education, however their financial situations appeared quite diverse. While some broadcasters could be counted as middle-class, others seemed to struggle financially before and after working for Radyo Bakdaw. All staff are native Guiuananons and therefore speak the local dialect Waray-Waray. Although, some of the staff had worked or studied in other towns in Eastern Samar prior to the typhoon and one worked abroad in the United Arab Emirates previously, all staff was rooted in Guiuan, where they have family and friends. As established in chapter five (accountability and generalised reciprocity) this meant that all staff was affected by the typhoon and therefore also represented a part of the affected community. This suggests that their own resilience can also be seen as partial community resilience.

Technicians and drivers are excluded from this study, as the skills they may have learned were significantly different from those of broadcasters and these skills are less connected to participatory communication that may impact the community in the future. Moreover, most of them were not employed for the whole time that the station was operating. Staff members, including some fixers and research assistants, who worked at the station for less than two months are also excluded as it is less likely that their social and human capital would have been strengthened in such a short time. Moreover, as they were hired towards the end of my first research trip

and I could not observe them regularly at the station nor interview them. This means that my conclusions will be limited to only a part of the individuals working at the station.

7.2.2 Staff relationships: friendship and mutual support

The following section will examine if relationships of the broadcasting staff changed through them working in a participatory radio station. I do this by investigating data about mutual support and friendship. It is important to note that this data set was collected during the second field trip, when Radyo Bakdaw had already ceased broadcasting for over four months, as this means that the evidence in this section speaks to the state of staff relationships after they stopped working together. This means that the findings will also give an impression about the sustainability of these built relationships.

Friendship

Seven of the broadcasters had worked or volunteered at the same time at Radyo Natin before the typhoon (see table 5) and thus knew each other to some extent before they started working at Radyo Bakdaw. However, they had not collaborated on a shared radio programme, instead they all had separate shows. One of the senior broadcasters who had worked for Radyo Natin for over a decade shed light on the difference between core staff and extended staff and connected this difference to the time each group worked at the station:

> *'[…] At the start of Radyo Bakdaw, almost all of us knew each other because we came from the same radio station, Radyo Natin. When we formed Radyo Bakdaw, almost all of us started Radyo Bakdaw. All the people [the core staff] came from Radyo Natin so I know all of them. In the middle of the operation at Radyo Bakdaw [January 2014], there were some [new] people. They were hiring DJs, researchers… Then they started, new faces, at Radyo Bakdaw and that was fun. I liked them. We added people to the team. I liked that. I enjoyed Radyo Bakdaw, all those people involved on the team.' (RB3SM, FT2)*

He further explained, that he felt that this relationship grew deeper through the humanitarian radio training that the staff received:

> *Because of the training, additional training from Radyo Bakdaw. We have exchanged ideas of what we had known about broadcasting, because of the training of Radyo Bakdaw. That's it, we exchanged ideas. At Radyo Natin, we were friends but only there just to work and play music and additional music. But in terms of our knowledge of broadcasting, we didn't exchange ideas because we didn't have training during our days at Radyo Natin. But of course, at Radyo Bakdaw we had training from foreign broadcasters, then we could apply it ourselves and… we have exchanged ideas about those trainings. We have additional knowledge through that.* (RB3SM, FT2)

Through humanitarian radio workshops that broadcasters attended together, they came up with thematic shows which related on the one hand to the humanitarian cluster system and on the other to community concerns. These workshops were led by the international humanitarian journalism trainer, though the staff also received on-the-job training, e.g. by the station manager. An example of these programmes that staff developed in collaboration is a radio programme on how to save money, called 'Jessa wants money'. While one of the main concerns of the community was re-establishing livelihoods, this also related to the recovery cluster which is concerned with re-establishing livelihoods for the affected community. Another show, which related to the shelter cluster, followed one individual community member rebuilding his house with the help of IOM. For each thematic radio show, there were one or two responsible broadcasters who would present the show and one or two radio staff who would act as producers of the show. The broadcaster's quote suggests that for him it was this collaborative approach, in which the broadcasters took ownership of developing programmes, that strengthened their relationships. While he mentions the training the radio staff received from foreign staff members, their role appears to be less important, as he rather focuses on 'exchanging ideas' between broadcasters, which he alludes to be a different approach to Radyo Natin. This difference will be further explored later in the chapter.

Although, some of the broadcasters knew each other from their work at Radyo Natin, several of the broadcasters said they felt that they knew each other better after working for Radyo Bakdaw and that they now helped each other and relied on each other more (RB1Sf, RB7Jm, RB2Sm, RB6Jf, RB3SM). One of the senior broadcasters noted during the second field trip that she felt she and some of the other staff had

developed: 'a lasting kind of relationship' (RB1Sf, FT2) during their work at Radyo Bakdaw. A young female broadcaster also perceived this change of relationship between the core staff, as, when asked if relationships of staff changed through working at Radyo Bakdaw, she affirmed:

> *Yeah! I think so. We became more bonded, more closely together, especially with the presenters, because the Spice Girls– they were working in another environment compared to us. But between us and the presenters, the bonding still remains – we still miss each other; we still exchange text messages, things like that. It creates a more… a good atmosphere between us, it still remains.* (RB6Jf, FT2)

She confirmed, with an intonation of confidence, that the relationship between the core staff had changed and grew closer. Further, she evaluates that she perceived these relationships to be of a sustainable nature as 'they still remain'. The exception she names 'the Spice Girls' were five young research assistants, three of whom joined the team in January and two in February 2014. They were a lot younger (18 and 19 years old) than most of the broadcasting staff and their work was more separate from the station based staff, as they worked in different parts of the community conducting surveys and interviews and their work was not immediately connected to the radio programme. Another junior broadcaster explained that he felt that relationships between staff members were strengthened because of their work for Radyo Bakdaw:

> *'The friendship grew stronger between me and the other members of the team. Radyo Bakdaw of course was the reason why we all met and the bonding we had during the days were super fun which was one reason for our relationship to be stronger.'* (RB7Jm, FU)

While he does not clearly suggest that the participatory nature of the station contributed to the strengthening of these ties, he does state that he felt these friendships 'grew stronger' because of their work for Radyo Bakdaw. Another more senior male broadcaster confirmed, that he perceived friendships between the core staff remaining close:

> *'Yes, very much. We are still friends and there are even some reunions like that, but not really all of us. We have also time just to gather and just hang out. Like what we did here [a social gathering with food and drinks]. It's fun. We have, additionally, some friends, like me.'* (RB3SM, FT2)

The broadcaster implies that he continued to be friends with some of the staff members and still meets them, referring to a social meeting of some of the core staff that had taken place the same day as the interview. But he also alludes that he is not in touch with all the staff, such as the younger staff members. This gives further weight to the argument that the core staff developed closer relationships than the extended staff. The international station manager of Radyo Bakdaw similarly claimed that she perceived the core staff to have grown closer to each other in comparison to the extended staff network during their work at Radyo Bakdaw (RB14Sf, FU), thus confirming the perceived relationship strengthening talked about by staff members.

Mutual support

This strengthening of relationships also became apparent through actions of mutual support. During the second field trip, I observed that some of the core staff regularly helped each other out in different shapes and forms. For instance, one senior broadcaster (RB2Sm, FT2) would send out text messages with regular weather updates to the core staff members (and during my second field research to me as well) to warn of typhoons and update former staff members on where the typhoon was moving next. He obtained the updates either online or directly from the local weather station, whose station manager he had interviewed numerous times during his work at Radyo Bakdaw. During typhoon season, weather updates are highly relevant information in a high-risk typhoon area such as Guiuan. Even more so since the official meteorological government website (Pagasa) at times was not available. This suggests that the broadcaster used the linking relationships he built through his work with Radyo Bakdaw to help his new social network of friends from within the Radyo Bakdaw staff. It also suggests concern and support towards the other Radyo Bakdaw staff members and therefore alludes to strengthened relationships between him and the other core staff members. It is also relevant to consider that the broadcaster sending out the text messages had extremely limited finances at the

time, so spending money on phone credit meant a greater sacrifice than one might initially think and underlines once more the significance of this gesture of support.

Some of the broadcasters also started supporting each other in their daily lives, for instance through helping with transport or food. As one of the female senior broadcasters explained during the second field trip: *'[…] I help [name of broadcaster]. Sometimes I am at their house and I am the driver; [she] asks, '[…], can you pick up my boy?' we're helping each other.'* (RB2Sm, FT2). This displays that these particular staff members trusted each other enough to let their former colleagues take care of their children, which emphasises the strength of their bond. Although these two staff members knew each other before their work at Radyo Bakdaw, they said they did not help each other out in this way while they were working at Radyo Natin and perceived a significant change in their relationship through their work at Radyo Bakdaw: *'Me and [RB1Sf]… there are changes. Before, I'm not close to [RB1Sf], but now we are close already.'* (RB2Sm, FT2). The other senior broadcaster that RB2Sm refers to also mentioned him as an example of how broadcasters helped each other out, strengthening the evidence that their relationship had changed: *'Yes [we help each other] – like RB2Sm, he comes to the house and he has lunch! (laughs loudly) Sometimes I say, 'Can you buy snacks for me?'* […]' (RB1Sf, FT2).

Another form of this new support was financial, which closely relates to the benefits that scholars subscribe to bridging relationships (LaLone, 2012; Shaw & Nakagawa, 2004). After Radyo Bakdaw ceased broadcasting, broadcasters lent money to each other in times of financial need as one of the senior broadcasters explained: '*Of course, whenever there's a problem like with RB6Jf, like [she asks] 'RB1Sf, I need money' I say, 'Just come here to the house and I'll give you some.' […]'* (RB1Sf, FT2). One of the staff members that started out as a fixer and then worked as a trainee broadcaster also conveyed that she had helped other core staff members: '[…] for referrals and when they need to borrow some money.' (RB13Jf, FU). This shows that the financial support also related to helping to find job opportunities. Another example of this type of support was a senior broadcaster who tried to use his connections through his new job to find a scholarship opportunity for one of the younger female junior broadcasters. She is the single mother of two children and needed financial support to be able to continue her studies after Radyo Bakdaw had stopped running (informal

conversation RB1Sf, FT2). He said that he himself and another senior broadcaster (RB4SM) were looking for ways to support the younger broadcaster (informal conversation RB3SM, FT2). This was described as a new dimension of their relationship and a new level of support that did not exist prior to their work at Radyo Bakdaw (RB6Jf, RB1Sf, and RB3SM).

However, one of core staff members did not feel that relationships between staff had changed. Asked whether there were any changes in the relationships between her and staff members through working at Radyo Bakdaw, one core staff member responded that: '*No… It is exactly the same*' (RB5Jf, FT2). The core staff member that did not feel that her relationship changed with the other staff moved to the capital Manila shortly after the station shut down. So perhaps one reason that she felt there was no change in relationships could be that she was not engaged as closely from the beginning as she had already plans to leave town. Another reason could be that she started working again at Radyo Natin and that there were some animosities between the two stations - so much so that two Radyo Bakdaw broadcasters did not feel they wanted to go back to Radyo Natin since they did not agree with the style of management and work ethos (RB6Jf, RB1Sf). The work ethos of Radyo Bakdaw gave more responsibility to individual broadcasters and also had them work together on programmes that they themselves produced. This is a structural difference to how Radyo Natin organises their station – the latter asks broadcasters to work much more independently from each other. It seems unlikely that the young broadcaster did not see a change of relationships because of animosities between the stations though, as she was regularly in touch with other core staff members and seemed involved and on friendly terms with all of them. As such, this shows that staff relations may also have had some limits within the core staff due to personalities and personal goals.

Another person who was not mentioned at all by broadcasters and who did not answer my follow up question about friendship was a senior staff member who left Radyo Bakdaw a month before the station stopped broadcasting. From my observations during the first field trip, I noted that he always seemed slightly more reserved than the other staff members and less keen to spend social time with the other staff. This was also noted by the humanitarian journalism trainer who described him as 'quite withdrawn' (RB15Sm, FU). This broadcaster also appeared to

have a much stronger connection to Radyo Natin and appeared to struggle with the community centred approach of Radyo Bakdaw. However, there is no other data clearly showing why he was not included into this relationship building, as the other broadcasters did not seem comfortable speaking about their relationship to him on the record. This implies that there were other contextual factors that perhaps relate to political backgrounds, different approaches to broadcasting and/or personal reasons which might have hindered the building of bridging relationships. Another junior staff member that I identified in the core staff was also not mentioned by the broadcasters as somebody they were close friends with through the work at Radyo Bakdaw.

While the staff member appeared included in the core group during my first field trip, when I returned for my second field trip there appeared to be a rift between her and the other staff members. Once more staff members did not allude to this rift on the record - only in private, conversations with me. Therefore, I must attribute this disconnection to 'personal reasons'. However, this disconnect was not complete and appeared to be something that was changing gradually during my second field trip. Firstly, the staff member was a cousin of one of the core staff and it can be assumed that these relations continued even though they were not mentioned in the interviews. Secondly, one of the senior broadcasters told me that, even though she was upset with the staff member at first, they would '[…] remain friends' (RB1Sf, FT2). This suggests that the connection built during their time at Radyo Bakdaw may be strong enough to overcome dissonances. However, at the time of the second field trip there was no other interview data giving strong evidence for a re-connection of this relationship of the younger staff member and the rest of the group. Therefore, this serves as an example that these relationships were not immune to dissonances.

This evidence shows that within the ten core staff members there were different strengths of bridging relationships. Seven staff members indicated independently from each other that they considered each other to be friends and that these friendships were built through working at Radyo Bakdaw (RB1Sf, RB6Jf, RB3SM, RB2Sm, RB13Jf, RB7Jm, RB8Af). Within this group of seven, there also seemed to be slight differences in the strength of relationships. For instance, one junior broadcaster was mentioned less by the group of five, and while she said she made

friends, she did not feel that these friendships were different from when she worked at Radyo Natin. Another junior staff member was observed to be part of the core staff during the first field trip but seemed to have fallen out with the other staff members at the end of the broadcasting period of Radyo Bakdaw. However, while there had been some animosities there was still a shallow link of friendship between her and one of the senior broadcasters and a relative who worked at the station. The third staff member was not included for other contextual factors, which seemed to make it impossible for the other staff members to connect with him in the same way as they did within the group of seven. This indicates that the relationships of most of the core staff were strengthened and built and that six out of these seven broadcasters directly attributed this to working at Radyo Bakdaw.

Putnam acknowledges that social capital is built at the workplace (2000, p. 86), however he presents evidence that suggests that the social connections made at work are usually '[...] casual and enjoyable, but not intimate and deeply supportive' (2000, p. 87). The kind of social support that some of the Radyo Bakdaw staff gave to each other appears to fit into the category of intimate and deeply supportive social connections. But, while five of the seven broadcasters directly implied that their friendship was stronger or established through working at Radyo Bakdaw and the other two also acknowledged that the relationships had changed, there was no clear evidence as to how this related to the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw. However, the data suggests that these relationships did not appear to exist in this intensity when the broadcasters worked at Radyo Natin and that, as the previous chapters suggested, Radyo Natin appeared to be less participatory than Radyo Bakdaw - as a result of which, two of the broadcasters did not want to work there again. We can speculate that perhaps the participatory approach of the station contributed to these relationships, through giving broadcasters more responsibility in comparison to the other station, or through them working more closely together, as they were producers for each other's radio programmes and helped each other out with content. However, the link between the participatory approach of the station and the creation of bridging relationships between staff members is tenuous.

7.2.3 Reciprocity

The data suggests that broadcasters felt more connected to their community through their work at Radyo Bakdaw, which led some of the broadcasters to perceive themselves as more charitable than they were before working for the station. Some reported that this connection made them aware of the needs of vulnerable parts of the community and in some occasions led them to help disadvantaged community members. Putnam defines social capital as '[…] connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them' (2000, p. 19). He further argues that reciprocity will benefit a community since it will ultimately lead a stronger community which will share resources more evenly. I argue that this suggests that signs of staff members helping community members that are not their friends or relatives would indicate a strengthening of their social capital and may be read as a sign of community cohesion, which in itself is also valued as a characteristic of social capital (Putnam, 2000; Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2003; Tapsell, McCarthy, Faulkner, & Alexander, 2010). It could therefore be argued that signs of the broadcasters relating to their community more closely can be valued as contributing to social cohesion and thus be another indicator of the broadcasters gaining social capital. When asked if she felt that she knew the community differently through her work at Radyo Bakdaw one of the younger broadcasters answered:

> *'Yeah, I think so, because you realise that you're very fortunate, having eating [sic], you'd realise how fortunate you are, that you're able to eat at least three times a day; that you have a roof over your head. There are a lot of people in the community that still have small children who can't go to school because of lack of money and financial resources; they don't have proper houses and still live in tents. You realise how fortunate you are and one way or another, you want to be able to give back a little something, even just time for them.' (RB6Jf, FT2)*

This suggests that through the participatory nature of Radyo Bakdaw, some of the broadcasters formed a stronger sense of local community and local responsibility. Elson reaffirms this argument when claiming that community radio can contribute to 'a sense of local community identity' (Elson, 2000 cited in Van Vuuren, 2001, p. 3). This also relates to Putnam's argument that generalised reciprocity is part of social

capital. As an example, for how the broadcaster 'gave back', RB6Jf mentioned that she had given food to a few allegedly homeless/poor children. According to her, this gesture of generosity was because of her work at Radyo Bakdaw, as she explained:

> *'Yeah, because you get in touch with the people. Back then [at Radyo Natin], when you're just a disc jockey, it's just the mike and you. You don't see people, it's just the empty booth, the mike and your voice. But at Radyo Bakdaw, you were able to reach out to other people and connect to them personally.'* (RB6Jf, FT2)

Putnam argues that '[…] our readiness to help others – is by some interpretations a central measure of social capital' (2000, p. 116). This also speaks to humanitarian literature which argues that, strong social connections make it more likely that individuals help each other and therefore make a disaster response more efficient both economically speaking, through individuals helping each other with labour and finances, and through being able to be more unanimous in the response as a community (chapter 5 on accountability speaks to this as well). The argument that this altruism can partly also be credited to the participatory nature of Radyo Bakdaw is also underlined by the age of the participant. Putnam argues that age plays a crucial role in altruism and claims that individuals in their late thirties or early forties are most likely to volunteer (2000, p. 119). This would suggest that the quoted broadcaster, who was 20 at the time of the interview, would probably be less likely to be altruistic and adds substance to her claim that she felt inclined to help out because of her work at Radyo Bakdaw. One could therefore deduce that, because Radyo Bakdaw had a participatory approach, some of its broadcasters were more closely connected to the community and therefore also felt more solidarity, which in some instances may have contributed to a strengthened generalised reciprocity. Putnam defines generalised reciprocity as one individual helping another one without the expectation of any form of 'payback' (2000, p. 134). The above quote suggests that the broadcaster did not have any expectations of direct payback from helping out the children and thus suggests altruistic motives. This of course leaves out any kind of motivation to 'do good' in order to boost social status (an intention I am unable to prove). Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that there could be an underlying wish for approval or self-promotion, which might influence self-reported

altruism.

A young broadcaster with previous DJing experience, but no reporting experience, similarly proposed that she felt she could help change the day to day situation of disadvantaged community members through her Radyo Bakdaw work. She said that this professed impact of (participatory) broadcasting on the community was one of the things she enjoyed most from the skills and knowledge she felt she gathered at Radyo Bakdaw:

> *'For my part, [I learned, that] I can help them [the community] through radio, questioning [humanitarian organisations:] 'What are your plans [i.e.] here in Barangay Mayana, we [the community] don't receive any relief.' And then we accept their [the community's] texts and go to their place and do the reports and answer their questions. So, I really enjoyed reporting. Yeah, reporting… […]' (RB5Jf, FT2)*

Her saying that she enjoyed contributing to helping the community speak to the broadcaster, at least to some extent, appearing to be aware of the possibility to help the community through her work at Radyo Bakdaw and enjoying it. Moreover, it leads back to the argument about a potential impact on altruism, since she mentions that she enjoyed this type of reporting that 'helped' the community. This could suggest that her experience with supporting the community may lead her to take responsibility for social change in the future, since she learned that she enjoys helping the community and is now aware that she has the skills to do so. However, when she returned to her old broadcasting job she was not able to work as a broadcaster, as the station manager wanted her to be a DJ rather than a reporter.

Along with this perceived understanding of community needs, there seemed to be a new feeling of broadcasters gaining confidence in being able to contribute to a certain amount of social change through their work at Radyo Bakdaw. One of the younger broadcasters explained during the second field trip how she felt that her perception of the community, but also her own ability to foster change, was reshaped through her work at Radyo Bakdaw:

> *I think as a person, after Raydo Bakdaw, I realised that there is still a lot more that is needed to be done [sic], especially here in Guiuan. If only we had continued what we had started, maybe until now we are still up and running, we are still outside on the streets asking for people; listening to people; responding to their needs, particularly. I think, as a person, I realised that there is more needed to be done here in our place, and somehow you need to stand up and continue your life and inspire other people, don't just sit around and wait for a miracle to happen.* (RB6Jf, FT2)

This indicates that, through her work at Radyo Bakdaw, she started to perceive an alleged power of local media to contribute to social change. The station manager of the competing commercial station, Radyo Natin, similarly expressed this notion when I asked her whether it was hard to find sponsors for her station after the typhoon, she said she noticed that there were 'significantly more' advertisers because '[t]hey learned the existence and importance of radio' (RN1Sf, FT2). This is especially relevant, as the interviewee had long experience running Radyo Natin and therefore can be claimed to have a solid perception of media in Guiuan. Since Radyo Bakdaw was the only station broadcasting for almost four months after the typhoon in Guiuan, this suggests that this new awareness about the alleged importance of radio can be contributed to Radyo Bakdaw. She does not claim that the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw is the reason for this, nor the social change that the station may have contributed to. However, interviews with community members allude to the notion that the participatory approach of the station in the form of inclusion of community voices, answering community questions, and trying to solve community issues did appear to contribute to the popularity of Radyo Bakdaw. However, the Radyo Natin station manager could also have referred to the disaster context as the reason for this felt relevance of radio. Nevertheless, the Radyo Bakdaw broadcaster seemed to perceive that participatory media can potentially foster a certain type of social change and this may be counted as a newly built confidence of the broadcaster that could help broadcasters to question and potentially challenge those in position of power. This relates to the next section, which explores confidence building as a form of social capital.

7.2.4 Confidence building

Staff confidence is an important indicator of social capital as, according to Putnam, strengthened confidence in their perceived ability to contribute to social change can be counted as forms of social capital. Moreover, I argue that this confidence may contribute to the staff holding those in power accountable, which relates to the community social capital discussed in chapter five. One of the junior broadcasters was asked if her work at Radyo Bakdaw would have any impact on how she would work if another disaster should strike:

> *'Yeah, I think so. Because the first place, you know what they're doing, you know what they're up to and you feel comfortable because you somehow have a background of what that organisation is'* (RB6Jf, FT2)

This confidence also appeared to extend to some of the other staff, such as the community researchers. When asked, what she had learned at Radyo Bakdaw she replied: self-confidence. She further wrote:

> *'[..]I become confident while working at the radyo bakdaw, because I felt that my idea is very much welcome, the boss always hear [sic] your voice whatever idea you are thinking, you can say it out and I really felt appreciated [...] (RB11Rf, FU)*

Her answer suggests that her inclusion into the process of Radyo Bakdaw and the value that her ideas were given contributed to her self-confidence. This directly connects the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw in the form of ownership and inclusion to the theme of confidence building.

Another example of self-confidence relates to one of the junior team members. For instance, the youngest broadcaster had never had as much responsibility as at Radyo Bakdaw (RB7Jm in RBFGD, FT2). Despite having volunteered as a radio DJ on a youth show on Radyo Natin before the typhoon, he felt that his responsibilities at Radyo Bakdaw brought a new set of struggles, especially when questioning and challenging officials:

> *'For me it was my age I guess. I was doing the news, I was handling big issues for example the telecom posts and the NFA warehouse where I was talking to officials. Me being a youth and being part of that radio station, talking to officials and asking them favours to get this, do this. I think that's my main struggle'* (RB7Jm in RBFGD, FT2)

Although the broadcaster, who was only 18 years old, described talking to officials as a challenge, he did a well prepared and executed interview with John Ging, the Director of the Operational Division at UN-OCHA and other high-ranking officials. This suggests that the broadcaster conquered the challenge successfully. The warehouse the broadcaster mentions was an impactful news story on Radyo Bakdaw. A warehouse belonging to the National Food Authority (NFA), which stored rice, had collapsed during the typhoon. Since the debris was not removed, the stored rice began to rot and give off a terrible smell. The community complained to the station and the young broadcaster was the one to follow up the story and pressure the NFA. When the NFA did eventually remove the rice, some humanitarians and broadcasters had the impression that this happened mainly because of the continuous pressure through Radyo Bakdaw, in form of the young broadcaster. Beforehand the broadcaster had only worked as a DJ for a youth programme but had not done this kind of investigative journalism. It can therefore be deduced that the work at Radyo Bakdaw strongly contributed to the human capital of the broadcaster. This kind of skill of questioning and challenging those in power is also mentioned by Putnam, who laments the loss of such skills in the USA, which he connects to the alleged decline of social capital there. This ability to question authority can be argued to be enhancing the resilience of the local community, through having media experts with these kinds of skills who know how to hold those in power accountable in times of disaster (and in times of normalcy) and focus on providing this transparency and answerability to the community. The broadcaster is currently finishing his studies in Tacloban and plans to return to media work once he has graduated. While there is no guarantee that he will use his participatory broadcasting skills, him staying in the media sector means that he at least may have the opportunity to do so.

This implies that because broadcasters learned about the humanitarian system and had to interview humanitarians, some of them felt more confident. At Radyo Bakdaw

all broadcasters had to do interviews with humanitarians, question them and understand their mandates. Whereas, broadcasters at Radyo Natin stayed mainly in the station and used a researcher to collect stories. While there appears to be a slight change to this approach in Radyo Natin, during my second field trip there was only one broadcaster who seemed to sometimes be actively going out into the community. This also emphasises the difference of Radyo Bakdaw's approach, which expected all broadcasters to be in touch with the community. Without exception, all broadcasters would go into the community to do interviews, which at first was a challenge for some of the broadcasters (RBFGD, FT2). The Radyo Bakdaw broadcasters received some humanitarian journalism training as workshops and on the job training through the international humanitarians, but also learned from experience and teaching each other. Additionally, they were all required to critically interview high level organisations, such as the regional electricity company, humanitarian organisations and local government. Once more, there seemed to be less opportunity to do these kind of interviews at Radyo Natin. This can be argued as a different level of ownership and responsibility, which is directly related to the use of participatory communication at Radyo Bakdaw. This suggests that, due to this participatory communication, most broadcasters built an understanding of the humanitarian system and new confidence to approach humanitarian organisations themselves, which can be counted as a relevant contribution to their social capital and the resilience of the community. This is a contrast to Radyo Natin which relied on a few persons to be the main contact. This increased confidence suggests a rise in social capital as Putnam claims that being able to challenge authority and building up grassroots confidence is a characteristic of social capital (Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2003, p. 28).

7.3 Participatory broadcasting skills

The collected data gives evidence, which suggests that different parts of human capital were strengthened for some of the broadcasters. Literature on disaster resilience has also been arguing that strengthening and building human capital is extremely important for the resilience of communities (Buckland & Rahman, 1999; Mayunga, 2007). While authors such as Mayunga often see human capital as knowledge about disaster risks, I argue that strengthening the participatory

communication skills of media workers, in this case radio broadcasters, can also be counted as human capital that may be beneficial to not only the resilience of the broadcasters themselves, but also to the resilience of the community they serve, as these kinds of skills may mean a more resilient media to serve the public during the next calamity. As one of the core staff members stated, when asked what she enjoyed most about her time at Radyo Bakdaw, gaining knowledge was one of the three reasons she claimed she enjoyed: '*[a]nd then of course I got a lot of learnings [sic]*' (RB5Jf, FT2).

This section will look at the strengthening and building of participatory broadcasting skills and try to ascertain how sustainable these participatory skills were. One of the skills that staff felt they learned through working for Radyo Bakdaw was about news delivery, one of the senior broadcaster elaborated:

> *I'm always high-pitch with news delivery as you noticed with my first radio news high pitch, my pattern is on the other station, but now I learned that with delivering the news, it's not necessary [to use] a high-pitch. It's better with slow delivery, properly news-casting and properly reading the news. Also, I think for making stories it's also good to bring that to the other stations. Making a story not only on the big issues but from the small issues to the big issues.* (RB2Sm, FT1)

He goes on to describe the benefits of such calmer news delivery as a contribution to the understanding and accuracy of news for listeners. This indicates that his new skill also relates to the participatory key theme of access to information, as it suggests a conscious effort to ensure that listeners can follow the content and understand it. However, this is a very low level of inclusiveness, as it does not relate to the content of the news but only to the delivery technique. The broadcaster contemplates that other stations should also deliver the news in a calmer manner, a manner that may be more easily understandable to all kinds of listeners. This hints at the sustainability of this particular lesson learned, since it implies that the skills learned may have been transferred and spread to other individuals. After Radyo Bakdaw, the broadcaster continued to work for several different stations, which makes his wish to use his new or expanded knowledge at other stations more plausible. However, it is not clear if he

could do so as he was not working as a trainer or editor in chief. He could only apply the skills in his own work and share them with other broadcasters and his superiors in a more informal and less structural way. Whether these skills were appreciated, taken over or even noted by broadcasters at other stations is not proven, as the broadcaster did not work at any station that was in easy reach of my research area at the time of the second field trip. This does point towards the sustainability of his own human capital. Additionally, as he told me in personal correspondence, he was still using these techniques and further still used community centred broadcasting over two years after the project ended in 2016. Moreover, after my second field trip he was rehired by Radyo Natin and has been broadcasting a show called 'the peoples voice' together with two other former Radyo Bakdaw broadcasters (RB3SM and RB4SM). According to him the show is critical of organisations and government and he 'always includes the community' (RB2Sm, personal correspondence, March 19 2016).

This potential to spread the skills gathered at the station beyond the broadcaster's work at Radyo Bakdaw also becomes apparent in another interview. One of the younger staff members who started as a fixer and had no radio experience beforehand describes the new broadcasting skills she learned at Radyo Bakdaw in an interview conducted during the second field trip:

> *'I've learned a lot from Radyo Bakdaw, especially using audio clips for a show and Question of the Day. Audio clips are very helpful, especially if you need to pause and think of a new question on the show. Question of the Day is a way of encouraging text messages.'* (RB13Jf, FT2)

She explained that she used those skills in a one-hour radio show that she was hired to do for a humanitarian organisation at Radyo Natin, after Radyo Bakdaw ceased broadcasting. The question of the day was used at Radyo Bakdaw to generate input on specific topics from the community. The questions were changed every day. For instance, one was; 'what do you do to relax?', and another question was about how to use the typical food included in the relief distributions best. The answers to the question of the day were aired and discussed by the broadcasters. Even with this simple 'tool' there are different types of participation that can be detected. As Servaes argues, development workers that use participatory communication should not '[...]

create a need for the information one is disseminating, but one is rather disseminating information for which there is a need' (1996, p. 77).

The same can be argued in asking for information through the question of the day. Is the information relevant to the community or to the one who asks the question? At Radyo Bakdaw the question of the day was a mix of both. Some of the questions related to the mandate of humanitarian organisations: for instance, a question of the day regarding the safety of women was planned in cooperation with the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) whose mandate is to broaden the possibilities for women and young people to lead healthy and productive lives (United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), nd). Other questions were related to issues that broadcasters perceived to be relevant to the community, which had come up as key themes through text messages, when the broadcasters were interviewing or just talking to other community members. However, this distinction at times gets blurred as some questions asked by organisations may be very relevant to community members. Further, it could be suggested that both versions of the question of the day format is to a certain extent participatory as it asks information from the community rather than just disseminates information. The young staff member who used the 'question of the day format' recalled that she received several text message replies when she used the format in her NGO radio show. Although, she overall did not use much participation in her work for the organisation, using this format nevertheless included community voices into her otherwise less inclusive and not very community focused programme. This shows that certain skills that broadcasters used at Radyo Bakdaw may have contributed to a slightly more participatory approach of some of the local staff members in their following jobs, even if their overall approach was not very participatory.

Another tension was between one of the fixers (RB13Jf) and one of the senior broadcasters (RB1Sf). The fixer, a young woman, had found employment after Radyo Bakdaw working at a humanitarian organisation as their communications person. The senior broadcaster then also started to work for the same organisation as a part-time support to the fixer. In her new job, that also included a segment on the local radio, the fixer did not apply the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw. This led to conflict with the senior broadcaster (RB1Sf). The fixer was trying to maintain her

position of power, as having been employed first and having been the only communications person previously. RB13Jf therefore conveyed to the senior broadcaster that she was not needed and should not intervene through making changes that allowed for more participation. The broadcaster, although senior in age and experience to the fixer, almost quit her new job, to avoid the conflict. This implies several limitations to the social and human capital that some of the staff may have developed through working at Radyo Bakdaw. Firstly, it shows that if there was a barrier to implementing a participatory approach then social harmony may have overruled the motivation to use a participatory approach. This speaks to the Filipino culture, which according to Barnes, has a strong conciliatory focus and highly values 'smooth interpersonal relations' (2007, pp. 73-74). Secondly, it alludes to an underlying problematic of participation, which is that not all individuals are willing to foster an accessible, open and inclusive approach due to a large variety of reasons which may range from trying to monopolise power, to lack of skills or not wanting to increase a workload due to the requirements of a participatory approach. In the case of the fixer it appeared that she was more comfortable using an information dissemination approach that did not require her to go out into the community or try to involve communities more. This would have required more effort, for instance finding community members to talk on the radio show rather than her being the only voice on air or only using experts from her own organisation.

One of the junior broadcasters who had worked as a DJ at Radyo Natin before the typhoon, in which her work was completely studio based, suggested that she had learned several new skills while at Radyo Bakdaw:

> *[…] When I go back to Radyo Natin I'm ready to do some interviews on air, like street interviews. Everything I'll learn here at Radyo Bakdaw, maybe I can bring it to Radyo Natin. And apply it of course.* (RB5Jf, FT1)

These street interviews refer to the community interviews, which gives a slight indication of an adoption of a more community centred approach compared to what she was doing at Radyo Natin. The quote suggests that RB5Jf hoped to bring some of those new skills to Radyo Natin once she returned. This connotes a perceived increase in human capital in the form of participatory broadcasting skills, which she

implies she will continue to use upon returning to her previous work. This, in turn, puts forward an implication of a certain sustainability of these skills. However, despite her motivation to use her new interviewing skills at Radyo Natin she was re-employed as a DJ and not as a reporter and hence she was not able to use her new skills as she relayed during the second field trip. This relates to a fundamental problem of journalism training and thus human capital, which is that although new skills are being built, the system that the journalists return to is not necessarily giving them opportunities to use them. Nevertheless, it could be argued that these skills could be reactivated in an emergency, when the need for a more community centred radio might be clearer or if she would work for a different station.

The second part of the quote of the Radyo Bakdaw broadcaster: '*When I go back to Radyo Natin I'm ready to do some interviews on air, like street interviews. Everything I'll learn here at Radyo Bakdaw, maybe I can bring it to Radyo Natin. And apply it of course.'* (RB5Jf, FT2) relates to new participatory broadcasting skills, such as a different type of interviewing 'street interviews' as she calls them. These interviews required broadcasters to go out into the community and look for issues and topics relevant to the community or get the opinion of community members on certain issues, such as, for example, the state of the disaster response in a certain *Barangay*. Broadcasters reported that before the typhoon, when working at Radyo Natin, they would mainly sit in the studio and would only report on certain stories that a researcher had pitched them with approval of the station manager. As one of the broadcasters explained: '*There [at Radyo Natin] there's a researcher and you can make the news from that…*' (RB2Sm in RBFGD, FT2). Most broadcasters at Radyo Natin do not seem to go out into the community to capture needs, feedback and questions. This underlines the different community centred approach that broadcasters learned at Radyo Bakdaw.

The same young female broadcaster also described this different skill set between the two stations during my second field trip. However, she had realised by now that she was not allowed to apply these skills:

> *'At Radyo Bakdaw we do reports. I do interviews, I do live interviews. But at Radyo Natin I don't do reports, I don't do live interviews, it's only DJing, talking,*

presenting, that's all. I don't talk to the people really. At Radyo Bakdaw I talk to the people and listen to them, talk and listen, go to the places and get information for them. At Radyo Natin I don't do that' (RB5Jf, FT2)

The broadcaster suggests that her contact with the community is almost non-existent at Radyo Natin, whereas at Radyo Bakdaw she felt that it was her job to listen to community concerns and find information requested by the community. This indicates a new participatory skill set which has a bigger focus on the community, both in receiving information from them and giving information relevant to the community, and suggests a quite significant increase in human capital. However, the chance to apply these skills seemed to be of a rather short-lived nature for her. The broadcaster worked for Radyo Natin before the typhoon and after having worked for Radyo Bakdaw. Although she had started out with the aspiration to use her new more inclusive broadcasting skills and said that she enjoyed serving the community (RB5Jf, FT2), when she went back to Radyo Natin she ended up not being able to use these skills since the station manager wanted her to 'only' work as a DJ playing songs and chatting about music. This shows that although some of the broadcasters have gained new skills and knowledge and voiced that they preferred a more participatory approach, for some of them their post Radyo Bakdaw work context made it hard to implement these skills. Other broadcasters did confirm that they were able to include their new participatory approach in their work and, when asking a senior male broadcaster during the second field trip if he applied anything he learned at Radyo Bakdaw in his new position, he affirmed:

'Yes, of course! One of those is what are the people's concerns. Yeah, that's really important because now I'm with the mayor. Now I'm the private secretary of the mayor, so many people go into the office. Yes. During my training at Radyo Bakdaw and my radio days, it really helped knowing what to tell people, how to handle people. I know how to get their concerns and problems. I also know how to get answers to their problems. It really helped. It was a big help, really' (RB3SM, FT2)

His quote suggests that the broadcaster was aware that one of the skills he learned was a more community centred approach, but also that he seemed to find this

approach to be important for his new work for the mayor. His suggestions that he was using what he had learned in his new position at the town hall implies that the human capital gained in some cases may have had a lasting impact on the community. The impact of this is especially interesting since he holds an important position in local government now. This position could also be part of the reason why it was possible for RB3Sm to apply these participatory skills, as he appeared to have more freedom and seniority than the young female staff member who went back to Radyo Natin and was told to DJ instead of working as a broadcaster that did reports and interviews. After starting to work in the town hall the broadcaster was anecdotally referred to as 'the little mayor' or the 'mayor's right hand', which could either imply simple politeness and social schmoozing or that he was perceived to be influential within the community. If it is a reference to his importance within the community, then him claiming to use a more community centred approach could have a significant impact on the community. However, there is no corroborative evidence proving that his own perception of being more community focused in his work after Radyo Bakdaw was accurate. Furthermore, the findings presented in this chapter could indicate that a participatory approach may contribute to the longevity of learned skills even in the context of a short-term humanitarian programme.

7.4 Conclusion

The evidence investigated in this chapter explores the potential impact of participatory communication on the radio staff. Through this, it answers my sub research question of whether participatory communication can strengthen relationships and generate reciprocity - in this case within the local radio staff. Additionally, the chapter addresses the question of the sustainability of social capital through looking at whether participatory communication skills may be maintained and therefore extend beyond the lifetime of the project. This is important to investigate as there has been an increasing amount of effort to link humanitarian projects with longer term development goals.

The data suggests that the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw did contribute to strengthening and building both characteristics of social as well as human capital of the local Radyo Bakdaw staff in some instances. The strengthening of social capital in

the form of closer relationships amongst staff members could be confirmed for seven out of ten observed staff members. However, this strengthening did not extend to all staff members and more importantly could not be exclusively attributed to participatory communication. However, the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw appears to have played a contributing factor in the new understanding and empathy of broadcasters towards their own community and especially those disadvantaged which implied reciprocity and could have further implications on how the broadcasters will deal with community members in the future. Additionally, the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw meant that some broadcasters were more aware of the diverse issues their community faced, which in some instances led to strengthening of generalised reciprocity amongst the staff.

Some of the staff members felt more confident in challenging authority and working on behalf of the community. This was connected to the inclusive approach of Radyo Bakdaw, which led the broadcasters to perceive themselves as contributing to social change within their community. Moreover, some of the staff gained participatory broadcasting skills and could contribute to maintaining social capital strengthened through participatory communication (such as discussed in chapter 5 and 6). But even though several of the broadcasters claimed they used these participatory skills in their new employment after Radyo Bakdaw, it is not always possible to verify this claim. Some of the broadcasters were observed to practice a more participatory approach, but some seemed to only use the language of participation rather than practice it. This may also have to do with the very limited time frame of the station as staff members who did not appear to use the participatory approach of the station were the ones not working as long for Radyo Bakdaw as the staff members who did use a more participatory approach afterwards.

In summary, the data analysed in this chapter suggests that participatory communication may not only impact the wider community a project aims to serve, but also the local community members involved in the project. Firstly, through a participatory approach towards the staff, in which they take responsibility and feel that their voice is valued thus gaining confidence. Secondly, through the broadcasters using participatory communication, which in some instances connects them more closely to the community and may lead to general reciprocity. And lastly

through strengthening relationships amongst radio staff members. This means that social capital building projects should not just be investigated in their 'external' impact but also their 'internal' impact. The chapter established that participatory communication contributed to some but not all discussed themes of social capital within the core staff. However, it was limited through contextual factors, such as pre-existing inter-personal relationships and media landscape. Finally, the discussed findings suggest that several broadcasters are still using the participatory communication skills they learned during their time at Radyo Bakdaw. While more research is needed on the continued use of these skills, this may be an indication that participatory communication may be an opportunity to expand the impact of short-term humanitarian projects.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has examined the role of a participatory humanitarian radio station in contributing to community resilience within the typhoon Haiyan response in the Philippines. In chapter five I scrutinised how participatory the communication of Radyo Bakdaw was and how this may have contributed to accountability, in the forms of transparency and answerability of power holders. Chapter six explored how participatory communication in the form of karaoke may have impacted stress relief and assisted with bridging and linking relationships. Chapter seven examined relationship building between Radyo Bakdaw members and how participatory communication may have impacted them. In part one of the conclusion, I return to my overarching research question:

'If and how participatory communication can contribute to community resilience in a disaster context?'

Section 8.2 will answer this question and illustrate if and how participatory communication may contribute to different types of community resilience through discussing the main findings of my case study. The section will answer the research questions identified in chapter two (participatory communication framework) and chapter three (resilience framework) by examining how participatory communication may contribute to: firstly, bridging relationships (between community members), secondly, linking relationships (between community members and powerholders), and thirdly, linking relationships (between broadcasting staff and powerholders). Section 8.2 will discuss the main findings of my research, first reiterating the results regarding the two key participatory communication themes and then investigate the instances in which participatory communication contributed to community resilience. Section 8.2.3 examines how the two themes of access to information and community inclusion interacted within the case study. Part 8.2.4 will assess cross-cutting contextual factors and their influence on how participatory communication could contribute to community resilience. The fifth section (8.2.5) debates the sustainability of the different contributions of participatory communication. In 8.3, I will discuss the learning outcomes of conducting an empirical study of participatory

communication in a disaster context and reflect on the implications for further empirical research. Section 8.4 will discuss the implications my study has for wider policy and illustrate potential key themes for further research. Finally, section 8.5 will summarise the main finding and relevance of my study as offering novel and original insight into how participatory communication works in disaster contexts and proposing an innovative way of how to empirically research participatory communication in a disaster.

8.2 Main findings from the case study

My data mainly investigates community resilience through examining the strengthening and building of bridging and linking relationships as indicators of social capital. These relationships were examined along three key themes: social solidarity within the community and accountability of power holders (chapter 5), informal sociability and stress relief (chapter 6), and Radyo Bakdaw staff's social capital (chapter 7). My main findings will first explore the two key themes of participatory communication defined in the participatory communication framework (chapter 2): access to information and inclusion of community voices. Some of the sub research questions interlink, such as the question of how community members can include themselves. Section 8.2.4 then discusses the results grouped by key social capital themes, such as accountability and general reciprocity, mental wellbeing, relationship and skill building.

8.2.1 Access to information

My sub research questions relating to access to information were the following:

- Where does information come from?
- How can the community include themselves?
- How diverse is the access given to information?
- What role does localness play in information? How is information made 'local' or 'appropriate'?

Radyo Bakdaw based most of their programming on community input that they received through text messages directly from community members, walk-ins or by asking community members about issues in their lives. These channels were also

open for the community to include themselves in the station, ask questions and relay problems that they hoped the station would contribute to solving. The diversity in access also becomes evident in their on-air interviews of which over one third consists of community members sharing information with their own community. However, some of the programming was also tailored around the humanitarian organisations involved in the programme who would introduce their work on air. Nevertheless, there was very little 'messaging' type programme. The station made information accessible to the affected community in several ways, using different channels, such as on-air broadcasting, but also by answering text messages and queries of listeners that dropped by the station. However, this access was limited through reach of mobile network and broadcasting range. Moreover, older people may have been less likely to send text messages or approach the station. Using the local vernacular Waray-Waray for most content appeared make station more approachable for some listeners. Moreover, some of the listeners seemed to appreciate hearing their peers on air rather than exclusively listening to experts.

The data also revealed that access to information can also be of a physical nature, as it seemed that giving physical open access to one of the stations entertainment programmes, a karaoke competition, meant that communities could interact with each other and to a certain extent build up relationships. We should therefore, include in our further research of participatory communication, the idea of physical access. Moreover, this physical access to information meant that shallow linking relationships between the affected community and international humanitarians and linking relationships between the broadcasters and international humanitarians were built. The latter appeared to make it easier for some broadcasters to confidently navigate the humanitarian system and through this further contribute to the transparency and answerability of the response. Overall, this suggests that in regard to access to information, Radyo Bakdaw used participatory communication in most instances.

8.2.2 Community inclusion

The sub research questions regarding community inclusion were:

- Is the community seen as a passive audience that should be educated or are their opinions valued?
- How are communities included into the project?
- How diverse is the inclusion of community voices?

The community inclusion element of participatory communication appeared quite strongly in the collected data. Station records showed that in studio interviews, a diverse range of voices was present including different social classes, gender and age, while interviews implied that there was a strong focus on community centred reporting from the radio staff. Most of the core broadcasting staff, who were involved in the project, seemed to understand their role as serving the community and helping to solve community problems. However, some of the staff who were not working for the whole duration of the project seemed to value community in their positions after Radyo Bakdaw.

This inclusion led to some community members perceiving the station as solving their problems and serving them better than the other less participatory local radio station. This meant that perhaps community members were more likely to use Radyo Bakdaw to solve their problems thus, facilitating community members sharing concerns about accountability with the station. Moreover, this community inclusive approach meant that potentially weakened bridging relationships within the community were strengthened through Radyo Bakdaw, for instance through supporting community members in helping each other and understanding each other better. These different strands of participatory communication were often difficult to separate, which is why section 8.2.3 will answer how the two themes of participatory communication interacted.

8.2.3 Intertwining key themes of participatory communication

The different strands of participatory communication identified in my framework (chapter 2): access to information and community inclusion were not mutually exclusive. Instead they were interacting and at times, the participatory approach of the station conflated the two themes, for instance when looking at communication channels. There were different ways to access the information the station gave,

individuals could text, drop by etc. However, how the station dealt with the input they received from the community, i.e. how they would use a text message from a listener, related to the inclusion of community voices, i.e. was the content of the text used and how was it used? Simply establishing a text hotline was not enough, it appeared to matter how this text line was used by the station, for example, giving basing content/information on community needs and addressing problems relevant to the community, such as giving information on electricity. This shows how, for instance, Lerner's idea of bringing about social change through simply providing better technology does not work. Even though advancing technology is still frequently claimed as the next 'magic bullet' within humanitarian policy (Madianou, Ong, Longboan, & Cornelio, 2016), it seems that it is much more about how the technology is made accessible to and owned by the community. Through providing a service through which problems could be solved or at least addressed, Radyo Bakdaw contributed in some instances to establishing some new links between the different strata of the response while also supporting the existing ones. Through providing a social space for community members from different areas and helping individuals to support each other the station also fostered community cohesiveness. Moreover, when looking how access to information impacted different types of community resilience these two key themes overlapped and interacted. For example, when looking at the theme of accountability, which I defined as transparency and answerability. While we could judge transparency as only 'giving access to information' to make the disaster response more transparent, this would leave out the question how this information is determined, which is where inclusion becomes relevant. Because the station based their information on community input, they could contribute to transparency in instances that the community found most necessary, for example in explaining details about aid deliveries. This implies that different strands of participatory communication are highly interlinked and should be seen in their entirety rather than judged in different levels. This directly contradicts publications such as by Arnstein, who offer us a clear hierarchy of participation (1969) rather than an approach that shows the complexity of participatory communication when it is implemented in the realities of a project. This further suggests that we should see participatory communication as an interwoven ecology rather than a tick box approach which we can judge at different levels.

8.2.4 If and how did participatory communication contribute to community resilience?

The four main areas explored (general reciprocity and accountability, relationship strengthening and stress relief, and relationship and skill building) show varying degrees of evidence that there is a clear link between participatory communication and community resilience. Within the themes of general reciprocity and accountability the contribution of participatory communication appears the strongest, while the causality between participatory communication within staff relationships and informal sociability appears more fickle. While there is some evidence suggesting that participatory communication influenced bridging and linking relationships in these two themes as well, the contextual factors such as the disaster context itself and political structures within the community may have played an equal, if not bigger role (see section 8.2.5 for a discussion of the contextual factors).

Accountability and general reciprocity

My data suggested that there was a link between Radyo Bakdaw's perceived political balance, the answering of community issues publicly and the likelihood of community members approaching the station with their issues. This implies that the participatory approach of the station enabled them to follow up on issues of accountability in the forms of transparency and answerability that mattered to the community. The transparency on the relief process and key stakeholders that Radyo Bakdaw provided was greatly based on questions and inputs from the community, the same was found for answerability. The station would follow up complaints of listeners, interview all parties of a complaint and report on them and through this, was able to make stakeholders answer to community complaints and change their actions. Further, the station facilitated instances of material and immaterial generalised reciprocity between different community members. There appeared to be less occurrences of such type at the less participatory Radyo Natin. While the latter seemed less inclined to get involved in community issues and for the occasions that they did used their institutional links, Radyo Bakdaw aimed to find solutions using community capacity and saw themselves as serving the community.

Relationship strengthening and stress relief

My research also found that through informal sociability programmes, i.e. a live karaoke competition, the station contributed to some instances of relationship building between community members, which used karaoke as an opportunity to spend social time together and reconnect after the disaster. Further, informal sociability provided an opportunity for community members and individual humanitarians to connect. However, these relationships were found to be of a shallow level and need further research to explore their impact more thoroughly (see 8.3.1). Finally, there was strong evidence suggesting that the karaoke contributed to stress relief of the affected community. These contributions were mainly possible because of the open and inclusive approach of the karaoke. While the concept of a live karaoke competition was not novel in Guiuan, there had been no such programme that allowed for a live audience and would have such a variety of competitors. Moreover, the inclusion of humanitarian stakeholders into the programme was unprecedented in the area. While Arnstein (1969) and Freire (1996) may judge an entertainment programme such as the karaoke as mere therapy, rather than citizen empowerment, I argue that by ignoring this type of communication we miss out on its potential contributions. Thus, these findings also underlined my argument that we should step away from a binary top-down versus bottom-up concept of participatory communication.

Relationship and skill building

In order to look into the sustainability of Radyo Bakdaw, I examined if and how the participatory approach of the station had an impact on the staff. The local staff were the most likely to continue using a participatory approach and thus, maintain the participatory communication which my other two chapters showed can impact community resilience. My data showed strengthened relationships for seven out of ten staff members, which some of the staff members attributed to having worked at Radyo Bakdaw. Moreover, some of the staff members were more likely to engage in acts of reciprocity towards the community and felt they understood the needs of the community better through the community centred approach of the station. Some of the station staff felt that having worked at Radyo Bakdaw improved their confidence to interact with important stakeholders, which implies that they may be more likely to enforce transparency and answerability in a future disaster. Finally, some of the

core staff claimed that they continued using participatory communication in their work after Radyo Bakdaw went off air, while others were hindered from doing so due to the local media landscape. However there needs to be further research to investigate the impact of this continued participatory approach by station staff.

In summary, while my study does not lend itself to greater claims of generalisations, it offers a basis for further comparative research and a framework of thinking about participatory communication in a disaster context as well as its contributions to community resilience. Ultimately, my research provides evidence that suggests that participatory communication can contribute to various themes of community resilience in a disaster context. Notwithstanding, contextual factors. The contextual factors which influenced my research results will be examined in the following section.

8.2.5 Contextual factors

Contextual factors, such as political and socio-cultural structures, played a large role in all types of relationships that this study explored. There were two key factors which emerged from the data throughout the analysis chapters: political structures and cultural structures. The relevance of these contextual factors was also established by a study on resilience and information eco-systems, which argued that '[t]he ability for information to foster community resilience depends on broader factors that define the context […]' (Susman-Peña, 2014, p. 24). Political structures especially impacted participatory communication, while socio-political structures appeared to mainly impact social capital.

The political landscape of Guiuan had a big impact on my research. The only local radio station, Radyo Natin, was perceived as being politically biased in favour of the ruling party (the *Nacionalista* party) of the current mayor Christopher Sheen Gonzales. This perceived bias of Radyo Natin and balance of Radyo Bakdaw became apparent in three different data sets: the community data set (FT2), the Radyo Bakdaw staff data set (FT1 and 2) and the second community survey (FT2). This perception of political bias of Radyo Natin was partly due to the station manager being the sister in law of the mayor. This connection of Radyo Natin to the town hall

also became apparent through the fact that Radyo Natin re-opened a temporary studio in the town hall after they restarted broadcasting after typhoon Haiyan. This had several implications. For the participatory approach of the station this political bias meant that some listeners of Radyo Bakdaw recognised voices of broadcasters that had formerly worked at Radyo Natin and may have therefore, judged Radyo Bakdaw as politically biased too. One of the broadcasters described this was a problem he faced on occasion when asking for interviews (RB2Sm, FT2). While he claimed that in the end, everybody talked to him, it suggests that the perceived political bias of Radyo Natin may have influenced how Radyo Bakdaw too was perceived. This may have had an impact on how well Radyo Bakdaw could serve the community as some community members may have been held back from contacting the station, thus influencing how diverse the voices were that Radyo Bakdaw included. However, for the most part the data shows that listeners noticed a difference between the two stations, even the few cases which thought that Radyo Bakdaw and Radyo Natin were the same station were clear that during the 'Radyo Bakdaw' time what they thought was Radyo Natin was more politically balanced (c13m, FT2).

Secondly, this perception of political balance appeared to make community members more likely to identify Radyo Bakdaw as listening to their concerns and helping them. As one of the community interviewees claimed:

> *'[Radyo Bakdaw is] Purely balanced. They are not political. They are more focused on helping people to recover, communicating with people. Non political.'* (C6m, FT2)

In some instances, this perceived political balance also appeared to be linked to the involvement of an international humanitarian organisation in the project. Internews did not use 'heavy branding', for example, the station was always called 'Radyo Bakdaw' and not 'Internews Humanitarian Information Service' and when broadcasters wore Radyo Bakdaw t-shirts to go into the community to do interviews, there was no Internews branding on those shirts. On air, there also was little mentioning of Internews. However, most of the community interviewees seemed aware that there was some international influence at the station. This indicates that

whether a participatory communication project is perceived as helping the community by listeners may also depend on the perception of the project's political balance. This could have further implications as to whether communities will include themselves into the participatory project, thus directly impacting on the community centeredness of a project. Finally, the political structure of the media in Guiuan may have also impacted the internal relationships of Radyo Bakdaw staff, some of whom favoured more balanced reporting, while others appeared to see their role as closely connected to the government. This perhaps further influenced why some staff members were not as closely connected to the core group of staff. However, there is very little data evidencing this argument.

The second contextual factor was the cultural environment of the Philippines. Cultural norms and traditions in some instances, impacted the effectiveness of participatory communication and in others, may have been a more traceable impact on social capital than participatory communication was. Both bridging and linking relationships were influenced by socio-cultural structures. While the cultural environment obviously permeates all my findings, it was particularly relevant in two instances: informal sociability and social solidarity. Within the theme of informal sociability, the cultural context of the Philippines meant that the contribution of participatory communication and cultural traditions on linking relationships became conflated. The Filipino notion of cultural openness and cosmopolitanism during fiestas (Guevarra, Gatchalian, & Sir Tiatco, 2014) related to my findings that informal sociability seemed to be an opportunity to strengthen linking relationships between humanitarian entities and communities. This made the impact of participatory communication harder to trace. Moreover, the importance of social relations in the Philippines (Bankoff, 2007) implied that informal sociability linked to cultural and social norms of 'togetherness', which once more influenced the impact of participatory communication and made the impact of participatory communication less clear. Other themes such as traditional community support networks (Bankoff, 2007) influenced research themes, such as social solidarity related to bridging relationships between different parts of the community. However, these pre-existing patterns of community support did not appear to be a barrier to participatory communication. Instead, it presented an environment in which it was potentially easier for participatory communication to strengthen mutual help and solidarity

between community members. Further, this underlines the need to acknowledge these contextual factors more. Some of the discussed literature seemed to underemphasise the impact that these contextual factors can have, for instance, publications such as by Norris and colleagues who compare studies from various countries without noting the potential impact that such contextual factors may have played on the results they discuss (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008). Ultimately, this suggests that contextual factors can both strengthen and blur the contribution of participatory communication and that we cannot make sweeping statements about the impact of participatory communication.

8.2.6 Sustainability of social capital

While humanitarian projects are short-lived, there have been increased efforts to link humanitarian and development projects (Hinds, 2015) and develop local capacity (human capital) to respond to disasters (CHS Alliance, Groupe URD & the Sphere Project, 2014). This is especially important in the area of resilience, as the World Humanitarian Summit (WHS), one of the pillars of humanitarian policy, affirmed: 'Commit to increase investment in building community resilience as a critical first line of response […]' (2015). The quote belongs to one of the core commitments of core responsibility four of the WHS: Natural Disasters and Climate Change. Managing Risks and Crises Differently. This highlights the necessity of looking at the sustainability of social capital strengthened by participatory communication. However, we must acknowledge that the goal and funding of the station was not to be a development project and can therefore only expect a limited approach to sustainability.

Regarding bridging relationships and linking relationships between community humanitarians, the impact of participatory communication was short lived. Once the station ceased broadcasting much of the direct impact of Radyo Bakdaw concluded as well. The general reciprocity and stress relief, was tied to the operations of Radyo Bakdaw. While the impact on individuals who for instance, attended the karaoke and felt less stressed, may have had a longer lasting impact on their well-being. The accountability that participatory communication appeared to contribute to was of a very direct and localised nature, the transparency and answerability relied on the

station to enact it rather than on a structural mechanism of redress which could have persisted longer. We can speculate whether Radyo Bakdaw increased the expectations of listeners that radio would solve their problems, and whether this demand could yield results in changing the function of existing media. This is partially implied in the interview of the Radyo Natin station manager who said that more people were coming to the station after they restarted broadcasting (RN1Sf, FT2). However, she did not clearly link this to the impact of Radyo Bakdaw, therefore there is no evidence to clearly support any assumptions about more structural sustainability.

Perhaps if the project would have run longer and Radyo Bakdaw's collaboration with other stations would have been more extensive than a few workshops, this impact would have been stronger. However, if the Radyo Bakdaw project would have been extended, it would arguably have turned into a development project, which may also have been problematic. As O'Keefe et al. elaborate on when building a system to evaluate a humanitarian project they had to '[...] address the relationship between disaster and development because of arguments about creating an aid dependency culture. The difficulty was in defining the 'cut-off point' for emergency assistance' (O'Keefe, Kliest, Kirkby, & Flikkema, 2001, p. 22). This sheds light on the ambiguity of when humanitarian response ends and development begins. On the one hand Radyo Bakdaw could be argued to have had a potentially bigger influence on the affected community and the broadcasters if they would have stayed longer. However, this would have turned the project into a development project, which it was not meant to be. This opens bigger questions about building resilience during the response phase and the interaction between humanitarian and development projects, which overstep the limitations of this thesis. However, it implies that we need to look more closely into the connection of the development and humanitarian field in resilience building as policy documents such as by the WHS suggest (2015).

The clearest evidence about sustainability was in regard to the bridging relationships within the Radyo Bakdaw staff and their participatory communication skills, which may continue contributing to some elements of social capital. This relates to the call of the WHS to focus more on building local capacity. The WHS further argues that: 'Preparedness and response should be 'as local as possible, as international as

necessary" (World Humanitarian Summit, 2015, p. 1). Seven out of the ten core radio staff claimed to still be friends and mutually support each other. The bigger impact may have been the participatory skills gained by the Radyo Bakdaw staff, who some of them claimed to still be using. This suggests that some of the impact of participatory communication may continue and in some instances, be transferred to different work contexts, such as government work. However, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of contextual factors to this continuation of participatory communication. For instance, while three of the broadcasters continued to host a show which they claim has a strong community focus, there is no evidence on how the community perceived that programme. Moreover, one of the broadcasters alleged that she was not allowed to use participatory broadcasting skills, which suggests that media landscape and work hierarchies may hinder the sustainability of participatory communication. Finally, there is no clear evidence on a sustained impact of most of the themes relating to social capital. Nevertheless, it does signal that participatory communication also impacts communication staff using it and participatory communication skills can be transferred into different contexts. The next section will discuss the implications results such as these offer for the fields of academia, and humanitarian policy and practice.

8.3 Implications for academia, practice and policy

The following three sections will discuss what implications my research has on firstly academia, secondly humanitarian policy and thirdly humanitarian practice.

8.3.1 Implications for academia

My introduction (chapter 1) identified two crucial gaps in the literature: a lack of empirical studies on participatory communication and resilience, and an absence of details on communication processes and platforms within the literature. Through my research, I have developed an empirical research framework to research participatory communication in disasters, contributed to filling identified gaps within the literature and given original empirical evidence that explores how participatory communication works in disasters and what it may contribute to, thus, offering new insights that other academics can use for future research endeavours.

The results of my research (8.2) offer empirical evidence on how participatory communication works in a disaster and its contributions to community resilience. This offers empirical evidence for studies such as by Longstaff who offer little evidence for their claims (2005). Moreover, my research offers details on which communication parameters we can focus in future research, i.e. access to information and community inclusion. My participatory communication framework also offers a more precise categorisation of information, which could add further explanation to publications such as by Longstaff who do not give detail on what they mean by information, where it is sourced and how it could be made relevant to communities (2015).

One of my key contributions is, showing that stepping away from a top-down versus bottom-up view of communication enables us to investigate different types of participatory communication and their contribution within a disaster context, rather than simply judging normative levels of participatory communication. For this I proposed a new **framework to research participatory communication in a disaster**, which identified two key themes for research: access to information and community inclusion. I argued that instead of judging for instance information dissemination as inherently top-down we need to investigate how information is sourced and what kind of information channels are used and contextualise information. Moreover, I proposed that we need to examine more thoroughly how communities are included, how diverse their inclusion is and what value is given to community voices. My research has shown that my non-binary framework for participatory communication was well suited to research participatory communication in a disaster context. Looking at different types of participatory communication helped discover impacts of communication which might have otherwise gone unnoticed, such as links between participatory entertainment communication and relationship building and stress relief. This helped challenge the lack of consideration for communication which normative approaches to participation such as Arnstein would value as 'low level ownership' type of communication (1969). For instance, through using a more open framework to participatory communication I considered all different types of communication Radyo Bakdaw used rather than only looking at levels of community ownership displayed by Radyo Bakdaw. This allowed me to examine a much wider set of

participatory communication types used by the station and question what they may contribute to. Therefore, future research may consider using and building upon this framework to research participatory communication in humanitarian contexts.

For this research, the concept of **social capital** served as a tool to examine and discuss the key theme of my research, participatory communication and question if and how it may contribute to community resilience. However, the wide definition of social capital may raise questions of how meaningful the concept is, if so many themes can be included in it. This vagueness is a reoccurring critique of social capital as Shaw and Nakagawa argue, 'with the rapid proliferation of the literature on different areas of social capital, it might be reasonable to question whether the theory really is such a "cure-all" concept.' (2004, p. 9). Nevertheless, as a tool for an exploratory study such as mine, it served its purpose of making community resilience more concrete through offering themes such as relationship building and informal sociability, tracing if and how participatory communication may contribute to it. While my research is firmly situated within the field of communication, we need to further explore social capital in its own right and the role of communication in it. Therefore, future research may consider examining communication from a social capital standpoint.

While my study aimed to answer research questions, it also brought up new questions and opportunity for further study. There are several themes that **future research** should explore. As section 8.3 discusses, having used a single case study with comparative elements, generalising my findings is only partly possible. However, as explained in my methodology chapter (chapter 4) Radyo Bakdaw is similar to other participatory communication projects in humanitarian response that are implemented by Internews and other organisations such as BBC Media Action and First Response Radio (FRR). FRR for example exclusively sets up radio stations in disaster contexts and helps rebuild radio stations that have been destroyed by disasters (First Response Radio, n.d.). Moreover, as I argued in chapter four (section 4.5) while my research investigates the case of a radio station and the affected community it aimed to serve, my research examines participatory communication rather than the medium of radio. This suggests that while my research does not claim to be generalizable and notwithstanding contextual factors (section 8.2.5), it is likely

to have wider relevance as similar projects exist and even projects that are not using the same medium may be able to apply and test my results.

I recommend that future research should consider two comparisons: firstly, it should compare similar participatory communication projects in order to test if my findings can be generalised in different contexts. This could mean researching a similar participatory communication project in a different disaster context or a different country. This would also clarify the impact of contextual factors that I found in my study, such as the impact of media landscape. In Guiuan there was only one other radio station where Radyo Bakdaw broadcasters could work and it seemed like the use of their participatory skills was not always possible due to the work ethos of the station. However, this may be due to specific management reasons. Perhaps, a different station would have encouraged the broadcasters to continue using participatory communication more strongly. Secondly, future research should investigate if my assumption holds true that it matters more how a medium is used rather than what the medium is. This could be done through doing a comparative study of a different medium, such as an info desk or an online project for instance, to see whether these types of medium could achieve similar results. An interesting comparison could have been the #quakeHELPDESK project in Nepal, that was implemented by the INGO Accountability Lab after the Ghorka Earthquake in 2015. The project's website states that:

> *'#quakeHELPDESK works to ensure public accountability in Nepal's earthquake relief efforts while providing a platform for affected communities, emergency responders, and volunteers to report gaps at the last mile.'* (Accountability Lab & Local Interventions Group, n.d.)

This suggests that the project had similar ambitions to Radyo Bakdaw but used a different format, which would make it an excellent comparison.

My data only offered limited evidence that participatory communication hindered or undercut community resilience. Two examples were a male and a female Barangay official that felt the station was undermining their relationships with their constituents (chapter 5). One of the cases was a Barangay Capitana who had kept a

generator that had been donated for the use of the entire community for herself. In this case, one might argue it was not the participatory approach of the station that undermined the relationship with her constituents but her own behaviour. The second case is more interesting, as the Barangay official said that he had just started his post and that constituents used the radio to air complaints before he could prove himself as trustworthy. This may suggest that perhaps, in some instances, the station took up space that would have been otherwise filled by local administration. However, there was no further evidence for this. On the contrary, other Barangay officials used the station to ask questions for their community and add pressure on for example private sector companies (see chapter 5 on ESAMELCO). Nonetheless, it would be interesting for further research to focus on whether participatory communication can also undermine linking relationships especially with local government officials.

It has been argued that humanitarian projects map on to pre-existing social inequalities (Madianou, Ong, Longboan, & Cornelio, 2016). Additionally, social capital has been argued to be a 'double edged sword' which may be exclusionary, for instance along gender lines (Ganapati, 2012). The reason that this did not show up in my data may be because I was not able to visit very remote areas, which were potentially also excluded from receiving radio signal, or if they had signal they might not have been able to contact the station. This means that even though my data used a diverse sample and triangulated all findings there may be pockets of disadvantaged community members that were excluded from both the station and my research. Perhaps, we could even go so far as to question whether the participatory approach of Radyo Bakdaw which did include a diverse but limited sample of community voices, blinded the station to those limits, i.e. those who were not included. Ultimately, this means that future research should therefore explore more extensively who is excluded from participatory communication and why.

The results from my accountability chapter particularly invite comparative research as the link between participatory communication and accountability is the strongest within my collected data. Evidence for this type of accountability were found in connection to different stakeholders (humanitarian organisations, private sector, and government) and in all my data sets. This suggests that results are most likely to be

replicable and provides ample foundation for follow up research. An interesting comparison could be made to a community radio project facilitated by IFRC that aims to serve earthquake affected communities in Nepal (The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2017). While the short overview of the radio online does not explicitly mention accountability, the station seems to have similar features such as a phone hotline to gather feedback and answer questions and a self-prescribed community focus. Therefore, future research might consider examining if a similar project will deal with community issues that relate to transparency and answerability amongst powerholders in the same way. This kind of future research has particular contemporary relevance as accountability is of rising importance (Madianou, Ong, Longboan, & Cornelio, 2016) within the humanitarian field and thus, validates further research.

The chapter on staff relationships and skills (chapter 7) strongly links to contemporary humanitarian policy, which argues that local capacity building is crucial and that humanitarian projects should try to facilitate longer, development style impact (CHS Alliance, Groupe URD & the Sphere Project, 2014; Hinds, 2015). The link between participatory communication and staff relationship building was not quite as evident, therefore further explorative research is needed to track relationship and skill building over time. However, my data did show that the station staff learned participatory skills and valued participatory communication principles such as serving the community. This means that further research should follow up and explore how well these skills can be transferred after a participatory communication project ends. This would further contribute to exploring the tension between development and disaster work through investigating the longer-term development type impact of short term humanitarian projects. Projects in refugee camps which last much longer than Radyo Bakdaw could offer a longer-term perspective on the impact of participatory communication on relationship and skill building. FilmAid international for example facilitates a multimedia project in Daadab refugee camp, which includes a newspaper run by refugees (FilmAid International, 2013). Although the context is different, and not directly related to natural hazards, this might offer an interesting contrasting case study that could give longer-term insights into the impact of participatory communication projects on local staff.

The chapter on informal sociability, relationship building and mental wellbeing (chapter 6) was the least expected and while this is clearly a more exploratory part of my research it warrants follow up research. There is very little research into the psycho-social implications of participatory communication and lower level participatory communication, especially so in a disaster context. This may be because participatory communication scholars want to promote a higher level of participation rather than a lower one (Mefalopulos, 2003, p. 259). However, as I established in my participatory communication framework ignoring the 'lower levels' of participatory communication means missing out on what they may contribute to. Future research should investigate whether different forms of informal sociability can yield similar results such as strengthening relationships and stress relief. One opportunity could be to examine drama projects such as by the organisation Hua-Dan who runs participatory theatre projects (Hua Dan, 2017). The organisation works mostly in development contexts but also ran a humanitarian project after the 2008 earthquake in Sichuan, China and thus could provide a comparison to Radyo Bakdaw's karaoke. Another comparative research case could be the organisations Clowns without Borders, which was founded 'to offer humor as a means of psychological support to communities that have suffered trauma' (Clowns Without Borders USA, 2016). Moreover, future research should examine the sustainability of these strengthened relationships between community members and community members and humanitarians. While my research showed a change, for instance, in the relationships between humanitarian workers and community members, we should investigate further if this change had an impact on their work.

Ultimately, my study explains how participatory communication is connected in multiple and complex ways to community resilience and has proposed a new approach of how to investigate participatory communication in a disaster. This offers opportunities to build further research upon these new insights and investigate whether my findings hold true in other contexts. Moreover, my research challenges the assumption that a normative hierarchy of participatory communication juxtaposing top-down versus bottom-up is useful to empirically research participatory communication. Instead, I propose a new framework that allows to empirically investigate the multiplicity of participatory communication in

humanitarian contexts.

8.3.2 Implications for participatory communication projects in disasters

The findings of this study indicate that it may be valuable to pursue mainstreaming participatory communication projects within the humanitarian sector. The evidence presented in this thesis has shown that participatory communication can contribute to several types of community resilience such as transparency and answerability of different stakeholders, generalised reciprocity, participatory broadcasting skills and mental wellbeing. My research further illuminated important contextual factors which may detriment or contribute to the impact of participatory communication. While my study researched a full participatory communication project, the implications also extend to other humanitarian projects which seek to address accountability and inclusion of affected community members.

Having diverse communication channels that did not only receive information but also answered and reacted to it, made the station approachable and offered a wider possibility to include community voices. This directly relates to a core principle of participatory communication, to ensure that participants can impact the outcome, in this case, the radio content. This diversity was enhanced, through actively going into the community to include community members. It appeared important that the community perceived the station as politically balanced and listening to community problems. Listening to communities also meant having content that had different community voices on air rather than mainly interviewing experts or officials. Another contributing aspect was the public nature of answering to community issues, through hearing that problems were solved, community members not only felt more confident in sharing their issues but also had the opportunity to help each other. Being able to give practical details on the relief, such as distribution schedules and when for example electricity would be reinstated as well as where and how this was done, contributed to transparency. Humanitarians collaborating with the project found it useful not only to share information with the community but also as a way to receive qualitative feedback from the community.

Moreover, having a social event that was open and accessible to everybody and

related to local culture served to relieve tension amongst the local population. This type of social event brought the community together, which appeared to a certain extent to have an impact on re-strengthening social relationships after a severe disruption of them through the disaster. The event also served as an opportunity for humanitarians and local community to connect in an informal way that allowed for shallow yet friendly interactions. This suggests that participatory communication projects should consider integrating opportunities for this type of informal sociability into their projects. These events should, on the one hand, offer an opportunity for the local community to interact with individual humanitarians and, on the other hand, for the community to spend social time together that in turn, allows to relieve stress and strengthen relationships disrupted by the disaster.

Letting local community members take charge of significant parts of the project and teaching them participatory skills, in this case the radio staff, helped their confidence and to be more mindful of the wider community they are a part of. This may be the most long-lasting impact of the project and directly links to the contemporary humanitarian agenda as highlighted in the WHS. This suggests that even a shorter participatory communication project can have a longer lasting impact and implies that we should find ways to enhance this contribution more consciously. This further underlines the importance of a well thought through exit strategy for projects. More precisely, humanitarian projects need to think not only about their impact on the affected community and the gap they may leave behind, but equally they should consider their impact on the local personnel they hire and how they can be supported in continuing to use their learned skills in the future.

8.3.3 Implications for policy

While this is an academic study, my research also aimed to bridge practice and academia through its embedded participatory methodology, which allowed me to investigate as an academic as well as a humanitarian involved in the response. Although these implications are derived from a communication project, they are in a way cross-cutting as communication with affected communities is becoming mainstreamed into the system (Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), 2016). There are two main areas that I will address in this section: recommendations on participatory

communication projects in humanitarian contexts and recommendations for the policy documents I critiqued in chapter one, when I set out the gap in the literature.

My research has argued that we need a more detailed understanding of communication. Often policy documents do not provide us the necessary details on what they mean by terms such as 'two-way communication' or communication in general, which makes it hard to implement communication and trace its impact. My participatory communication framework lends itself to define participatory communication more clearly in policy documents such as the Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA) or its predecessor the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (SFDRR). For instance, my participatory communication research questions could be used as parameters for how to define participatory communication in disaster contexts, i.e. participatory communication should use diverse channels to access information and include community voices.

Rather than simply instructing media to stimulate 'strong community involvement in sustained public education campaigns and public consultations at all levels of society' (UNISDR, 2005, p.10) as the HFA does, based on my research, the HFA could now include more details on the communication process. For instance, a policy document as the HFA or SFDRR may include that community should have diverse channels of access to information and inclusion, that media should actively reach out to vulnerable communities, and that media should aim to base content on community input. This still leaves enough space for signatory countries to implement the recommendations according to their own context, while offering details on the communication process. Similarly, the SFDRR, which recommended media to 'take an active and inclusive role at the local, national, regional and global levels' (UNISDR, 2015, p. 213), could add more details on how exactly the media could 'stimulate a culture of prevention and a strong community involvement' (UNISDR, 2015, p. 213). For example, the paragraph could be expanded and propose to ensure diversity in community involvement and also include that content should be based on community input.

Policy research papers such as by OCHA that conclude that 'an effective communication channel is needed' (Lopez, 2013, p. 18) in disaster contexts but fail to

include further detail on what that could look like, could now suggest that one possibility would be a participatory communication project, which produces community based content, uses local vernacular, and aims to link communities with humanitarian organisations, rather than exclusively sending public service announcements.

Moreover, my study has shown that participatory communication is well suited to disaster contexts and can contribute to aspects of community resilience. Therefore, policy documents may consider emphasising the link between participation and communication more strongly rather than separating them as for example the SFDRR or the OCHA research paper do. In addition to these wider policy implications, my research also provided more concrete implications on how to implement participatory communication projects in disasters, which is what the following section will discuss.

8.3 Methodological implications and limitations

My research is based on an embedded case study with comparative elements. While multiple case studies give more opportunity for generalization (Rule & John, 2015, p. 9), using a single case study with comparative elements instead of a full comparative multi case study approach permitted an in-depth account of a process that captures the nuances of the research themes (Zainal, 2007). In the case of Radyo Bakdaw, it allowed to trace the processes of how participatory communication works in a disaster and question if it contributes to community resilience. While using a single case study with comparative elements meant limited generalisability, my case study is the first of its kind and offers a new and tested way of empirically researching how participatory communication works in a disaster context. Additionally, the case study lends itself as an excellent starting point for further research (see section 8.3.1).

Moreover, using a single in-depth case study allowed me to build up relationships of trust and participate in the broadcasters' life. Additionally, researching a single case study meant I could look at the sustainability of participatory communication over a longer time-period (see section 8.2.2). Using embedded action research and participatory elements had the advantage that I not only observed the disaster

response but I also experienced it, which made it easier to see the barriers to communication and pick up on subtle strands of relationships, especially amongst the local staff. However, my involvement in the project also meant I was prone to sympathising with the broadcasters and being swept up in the adrenaline pumped environment of a disaster response. This is where my different data sets played a valuable role in confronting my assumptions through triangulating my data. Having text messages, surveys, and interviews for the community data set offered in-depth material to not only explore social capital within the community, but also to test perceptions of participation from the radio staff and myself. The data set on staff relationships and their impressions of participation, the role and impact of participatory communications were further triangulated through humanitarian key informants and humanitarian survey data. During the analysis process, vigorous reflection on my own involvement and assumptions helped further address this potential bias.

The disaster context was a relevant influence on my research, which continued into the second field trip. During the first field trip, the disaster meant that I could not reach areas that I would have liked to visit as transport was limited and not all roads were open. This especially impacted the representativeness of community survey 1. Moreover, being embedded in a humanitarian organisation meant that at times I would be involved in day to day business that did not enable to sit 'at the side-lines' and take notes. For instance, during the first field-trip Guiuan was hit by a tropical cyclone, which meant that I helped the radio staff taking down the outside tarp so it would not get damaged in the storm and help with other emergency support. However, this involvement meant I also experienced the intensity of the first storm after typhoon Haiyan made landfall, which helped me build closer relationships to the radio staff and relate to the experience of the community. Additionally, conducting research within a disaster response meant that I could not gather much community data, as community members were pre-occupied with rebuilding their lives. The first survey helped answer some of the gaps in the qualitative community data set from the first field research trip. During the second field research trip, the disaster context still impacted my research, albeit less so. A few days after I arrived, there was a typhoon that confined me to my bungalow for three days. Again, I found this experience to be extremely educational as it made me relate to the community. I

had not had time to buy a radio before the typhoon hit which meant I experienced a complete information black out until one of the broadcasters send me a weather update via text message. This made me understand much more clearly why survey respondents had mentioned the importance of the regular weather updates so frequently, and how Radyo Bakdaw asking experts of the weather station for interviewed was a sign of giving access to information that was crucial to the community. Contextual factors, such as the Filipino patronage system also impacted my findings. As some community interviewees, may have mistaken my role as a researcher for a humanitarian worker and may have felt they could not criticise humanitarian organisations in front of me. Once more data triangulation tried to address this hurdle.

In summary, using a participatory action research approach was the ideal choice for researching a participatory communication project in a disaster context. However, using diverse quantitative and qualitative data sets was essential to compensate potential biases and gaps caused by the disaster context.

8.5 Concluding remarks

The thesis began by inviting the reader to join me in a short road trip through the destroyed landscape of Eastern Samar and meeting people desperate for information on their loved ones, relief services and generally information to help them make decisions in a situation of overwhelming uncertainty. I would like to conclude my thesis by recounting a small discovery I made in February 2017. As I was reconfirming small details of my work, I also visited the Radyo Bakdaw Facebook page. I noticed a post from 5 December 2014 which was titled 'SEVERE WEATHER BULLETIN FOR: TYPHOON "#RubyPH (HAGUPIT)'. Typhoon Hagupit (locally known as Ruby) was the first typhoon with extremely high winds of up to 230km/h that would take a similar route through the Philippines as typhoon Haiyan. While typhoon Hagupit was not predicted to be as strong as typhoon Haiyan, there was serious trepidation about the impact that the storm would have on a population that was partly still in emergency shelter (BBC Media Action, 2014). Under the Radyo Bakdaw Facebook post on typhoon Hagupit a young man had written *''Wow, my radyo bakdaw pa ngean? Hain na kamo?*'', which can be translated to 'Wow, Radyo Bakdaw is still on

air? Where are you located now?' This suggests two key things. Firstly, that a year after typhoon, Haiyan Radyo Bakdaw staff still feel that they want to share crucial information with their community. Secondly, some former listeners may hope for the station to be reinstated or be happy if it was. While this is a single instance, it was echoed in my research data in which community members expressed the wish for Radyo Bakdaw to return to Guiuan, a wish that was also emphasised by the core staff of the station. This once more underlines the importance of participatory communication in disasters and the need to continue research into how participatory communication works and what it can contribute to in a disaster context. My thesis has started this research and hopes to serve as a basis for further exploration of the subject.

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