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Promoting Social Change in the Arab Gulf: Two Case Studies of
Communication Programmes in Kuwait and Bahrain

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Abstract

The thesis presents rich empirical analysis of the role of public relations in facilitating participation in social change in the Arab Gulf. The focus is on what public communication approaches are used and how they are regarded from the perspectives of the key social actors.

It presents an historical and sociological background of public communication and media in the Arab Gulf. Moreover, it provides in-depth analysis of two empirical case studies in the Arab Gulf: Ghiras, the national drugs prevention programme in Kuwait, and Be Free, the voluntary anti-child abuse programme in Bahrain.

This thesis relates the practice of public communication in the Arab Gulf society to Arabic culture and ethics. The thesis uses a qualitative constructivist paradigm to “re-construct” the multiple realities initially constructed by social actors in the cases to provide original insights on the role of public communication and public relations in social change in the Arab Gulf. It presents a new perspective of 'social change' in the two cases that is tied to Islamic ethics. Besides, it re-constructs original Arabic-oriented understanding of 'relational' and 'persuasion' approaches, which differs from the Western paradigm. One of the key contributions of the thesis is its adaptation of relevant Western communication models to the empirical Arab Gulf cases to identify some of the crucial factors of the practice and role of public communication in the Arab Gulf.

The unique contribution of this thesis is that it develops a greater understanding of alternative cultural context that might contribute to the adaptations of existing theory and therefore a first step towards new models. It introduces a theoretical framework for other scholars to develop an Arabic public communication ethics theory and to build up a cultural model of the practice of public communication and public relations in the Arab Gulf. The thesis generates key theoretical implications that contribute to the theoretical discussion on the value and role of media, public relations, social marketing, and public communication in the Arab Gulf society at the age of globalisation.

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION OF THE THESIS

INTRODUCTION:

This thesis provides detailed qualitative data about the role of public communication and public relations in social change in the Arab Gulf societies. It describes the role of interdisciplinary theoretical communication approaches used in public communication programmes in promoting social change. Multiple perspectives are provided of communication planners, journalists and the target audiences. Focusing on two case studies, the thesis sheds light on the relationship between key players and their respective role in social change in specific Arab contexts. Thus, this thesis contributes to public relations and social marketing research and offers new theoretical understanding of public communication practice and ethics in the Arab Gulf.

Social change in the Arab Gulf:

The Arab Gulf is located in the Middle East region between Iran and the Arabian Peninsula (Figure 1.1). The Cooperative Council of Arab Gulf States consists of six Arab Gulf states that share the same culture, history, language, religion and economic interests: United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Oman, and Qatar. The discovery of oil in the Arab Gulf in the 1930s put the Arab Gulf societies face-to-face with the challenge of development. After the discovery of oil in the Arab Gulf, people moved from working in agriculture and fishing to work in the oil industry that provided them with fixed salaries (Al Shaygey, 1989, 97; Najem, 1993, 401). Moreover,

Social change may be defined as 'the significant alteration of social structures (that is patterns of social action and integration), including consequences and manifestations of such structures embodied in norms (rules of conduct), values, and cultural products and symbols' (Moore, 1963, 34). The Arab Gulf societies started to move from tribalism towards modernisation and globalisation (Najem, 1993, 401). It is interesting to see the combination of 'modernisation' brought by new technologies and highly developed health and education systems in the Arab Gulf on one hand, and the society's restricted cultural traditions on the other hand. Public relations academic Kruckeberg observed,

Upon first consideration, the Middle East might appear to be a "Third World" region that is significantly different from the West in its culture-to the point where corresponding public relations ethics likewise would be substantively different from those embraced in Western "First World" countries. However, at least some of these assumptions might be gross misperceptions. Many Middle East countries have a "First-World" economic vitality, technological base and accompanying infrastructure. Oil and other revenues have been used to rapidly develop several of the countries to "First World" levels (Kruckeberg, 1996, 186-187).

This is why it is important to study the role of public communication in promoting social change in relation to its cultural, social, and political environment in the distinctive Arab Gulf societies in this thesis. This thesis usefully draws upon concepts from communication ethics to understand processes in Arab communities and cultures.

The selection of case studies:

An objective of this thesis is to explore the way communication campaigns are used and regarded from key players in two case studies in the Arab Gulf. Two programmes were selected for analysis: Ghiras, the national anti-drugs programme in Kuwait, and Be Free, the voluntary anti-child abuse project in Bahrain. Several criteria were used to aid selection: first, the two cases were outstanding communication programmes used to promote social change in one of the Arab Gulf countries by non-profit organisations; second, since this research sought to study how communication campaigns are used in

their real-life context, the cases offered unique chances for observation; third, the cases were typical and therefore representative as historically communication campaigns were organised either by national entities or by voluntary entities (see in Chapter 4 'The History and Sociology of Media and Public Communication Campaigns in the Arab Gulf' pp. 100-139).

Aims and objectives:

This thesis raises basic question about the role of public relations and public communication approaches in society in the age of globalisation. It contributes to the issues of the value and impact of these disciplines at the first place. The thesis aims to address these issues through focusing on broad questions about the role of public communication and public relations in social change in the Arab Gulf:

- What is the role of public relations and public communication in social change in the Arab Gulf?
- How can communication approaches facilitate community participation and empowerment in social change in the Arab Gulf?

The purpose of this research is to explore the way communication campaigns have been used by communication planners and regarded from the perspectives of key players in two case studies in the Arab Gulf. Therefore, the thesis aims to achieve the following objectives:

- To provide a unique insight into the notion of 'social change' in two case studies in the Arab Gulf.
- To generate new understanding of persuasive communication and public relations used in two Arab Gulf case studies in relation to Arabic communication ethics.

- To link empirical research on the role of media, public relations, persuasion, and relational approaches in two Arab Gulf cases with appropriate theoretical concepts.

This thesis is a contribution to the research on the relationship between communication and culture through studying the role of public communication in the Arab Gulf society and Arabic communication ethics, which will be explained now in the next section.

Theoretical contributions of the thesis:

This thesis aims to fill the gaps in the knowledge on the role of communication in social change and communication ethics in the Arab Gulf. First, there was no prior evidence that Western communication theoretical models work in the Arab Gulf context. Moreover, the existing research suffered from being Western centric through studying communication theories in a Western context. Most of the campaigns in the literature were studied within a Western perspective. There is a considerable gap in the literature in generating Arabic public communication theory. Therefore, the theoretical contribution of this thesis is that it adapts Western communication theories customised to Arabic culture to bring new insights on the practice and role of public communication and public relations in the Arab Gulf.

In addition, another limitation in the literature was the lack of interdisciplinary theoretical analysis of public communication campaigns. Although various approaches from different communication disciplines are interrelated in practice, the literature currently falls short of providing insights into how different communication approaches have been used in real-life context. In addition, social psychological theories have been the dominant theoretical paradigm in the campaigns literature, while less attention has been paid to discuss the implications of other theories at the community level. That is

why this thesis drew on interdisciplinary approaches from public relations, social marketing, and health promotion literature to analyse public communication campaigns in two case studies in the Arab Gulf.

Another gap in the field which this thesis seeks to address is the focus on studying the way communication campaigns are used by communication planners, while little attention has been paid to study the perspectives of other key players such as journalists, activists, and the target audiences. Hence, this thesis provides in-depth data on the perspectives of the key players in the cases. Furthermore, this thesis introduces new perspective of looking at public communication discourse ethics through relating them to the theoretical community-based concepts of 'empowerment' and 'participation'. The thesis argues that these theoretical concepts are important to provide rich analysis of communication ethics when promoting social change in a specific context.

Structure of the thesis:

The thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapter 1 'Introduction of the Thesis' introduces the thesis and the theoretical limitations of the field, in addition to the contributions of this research to the body of knowledge. Chapter 2 'Public Communication Campaigns: Key Concepts and Debates' offers the main definitions, debates, background of the field, besides literature review of the theoretical framework of the thesis. Chapter 3 'Methodology' discusses the main methodological paradigm and techniques adopted. The findings of the thesis are presented in three chapters: Chapter 4, Chapter 5, and Chapter 6. Chapter 4 'History and Sociology of Media and Public Communication Campaigns in the Arab Gulf' presents the history and sociology of media and public communication campaigns, in addition to the key agents of social change in the Arab Gulf societies. Chapter 5 'The Case Study of Ghiras, the National

Project for Drugs Prevention in Kuwait' provides detailed analysis of the findings of the first case study of drugs prevention programme in Kuwait, while Chapter 6 'The Case Study of Be Free, the Voluntary Anti-child Abuse Programme in Bahrain' presents the analysis of the findings of the second case of anti-child abuse programme in Bahrain relating the findings to the theoretical framework and previous literature discussed in Chapter 2. Finally, in Chapter 7 'Conclusions & Implications', the thesis provides the conclusions and discussion of main theoretical insights and implications of the cross-case analysis.

CHAPTER TWO:
PUBLIC COMMUNICATION CAMPAIGNS:
KEY CONCEPTS & DEBATES

INTRODUCTION:

This chapter reviews key theoretical developments and issues in the field of public communication campaigns in order to provide analytical context for the findings of this thesis. The chapter begins by introducing an historical background of public communication campaigns and the various approaches and concepts used within different communication disciplines such as public relations, social marketing, and health promotion. Second, it discusses the nature of public communication campaigns and focuses on key ethical issues in the field. Third, it provides the key theoretical underpinnings of public communication campaigns by dividing them into two main categories: social psychological theories, and community-based theoretical concepts. Finally, this chapter reviews the theoretical approaches used in the literature to study drugs addiction and child abuse prevention, besides the literature on the communication techniques used to promote social change in Arabic literature. This chapter plays an essential role in establishing the theoretical framework for this thesis.

History of public communication campaigns:

Public communication campaigns are not a new phenomenon. They have their roots in public education campaigns such as the campaigns to free the slaves in ancient Greece and Rome (Kotler & Roberto, 1989, 5; Donovan & Henley, 2003, 7). These

early campaigns focused on a single issue, but they challenged basic cultural beliefs. There has been very little research that provides detailed analysis of the history of public communication campaigns in a specific context or within a specific discipline.

Paisley offered detailed discussion of the history of public communication campaigns in America (Paisley, 1981) in which he explained that prior to 1800, issues such as the abolition of slavery, the rights of women and abstinence from alcohol were raised. Subsequently, the period from 1800 to the Civil War (1861-1865) belonged to special-interest groups which formed associations such as the National American Woman Suffrage Association (Ibid., 27). Paisley argued that the earliest campaigns relied on personal persuasion backed by printed materials to disseminate the message (Ibid., 28). He indicated that after the Civil War, the third historical phase was distinguished by the rise of new mass media of newspapers and magazines and the role of muckrakers in these campaigns (Ibid., 27). Paisley's research is a very significant contribution to the literature on public campaigns because it is the first research that provides a critical analysis of the historical phases of public communication campaigns in a specific context.

In this thesis, it is argued that communication techniques used in specific campaigns cannot be sensibly analysed without understanding the historical and sociological background of media and public campaigns in the Arab Gulf context. Therefore, this thesis seeks to provide a contextual background of the history and sociology of media and public communication in the Arabic and Islamic context prior to the presentation of the case studies. In the next section, an introductory background will be provided about how public campaigns have been used within various communication disciplines.

Communication campaign: the meeting place for communication approaches

Several disciplines have used communication approaches to promote social change: public relations, social marketing, and health promotion. A number of studies have explained the role of public relations campaigns in social change (Moffitt, 1999; Ferguson, 1999; Volter & Rommele, 2002). Other studies explained the role of public relations in improving the relationship between the organisation and the community (i.e. Baskin et al., 1997; Cutlip, et al., 1985; Crable & Vibbert, 1986; Grunig & Hunt, 1984). In addition, several scholars explained the contribution of social marketing in the field of health promotion (Lefebvre & Flora, 1988; Hastings & Haywood, 1991; 1994). Besides, some studies focused on the role of social marketing approach in planning, implementing and evaluating public communication campaigns (i.e. Kotler & Roberto, 1989; Andreasen, 1995; Donovan & Henley, 2003).

Although these disciplines have borrowed some communication concepts and approaches from each other, no research has studied how these approaches have been interrelated in real-life context. Broom, Lauzen and Tucker attempted to divide the conceptual domain and operational 'turf war' between public relations and marketing (Broom et al., 1991, 219). However, they explained that in practice, the boundaries between public relations and marketing are blurred as some PR firms and departments do 'marketing communication' and advertising agencies and some marketing departments offer 'public relations' services (Ibid.).

Grunig J. and Grunig L. referred also to the 'blurred distinction' between public relations and marketing functions in the health-care organisations (Grunig & Grunig, 1991, 262). They explained that 'confusion between marketing and public relations occurs because the techniques of public relations often are used in support of marketing theory, and the techniques of marketing often are used in support of public relations

theory' (Ibid.). The problem here is that when marketing practitioners use public relations, it is usually reduced to a mere technique in support of marketing (Kotler & Andreasen, 1987, 577). They concluded that 'competitive pressures have caused many health-care organisations to sublimate public relations to the marketing function', which results in 'a more asymmetrical approach to public relations' (Ibid., 275). However, no research studied this interrelated relationship between marketing and public relations in real-life communication campaigns and this thesis helps to fill that gap by drawing on interdisciplinary theoretical concepts from social psychology, health promotion, and communication. At this point it is useful to review communication approaches within various disciplines.

Background to communication approaches within different disciplines:

This section aims to introduce the role of media and various communication approaches in social change. Public relations, social marketing and health promotion are the key disciplines which use communication approaches to promote social change at the community level. Although these disciplines have different origins, they have used interrelated communication approaches through their history to promote social change at the community level. Key to these has been the role of the media. Therefore, this section presents brief background of the role of media in addition to various communication approaches used to promote social change within different disciplines through introducing persuasion approach to social change, persuasion and education approaches of public relations, social marketing approach, health promotion approaches, and the concepts of 'dialogue', 'symmetry', 'exchange' and 'relational paradigm' in communication planning.

The role of media in social change

The role of media in social change has been a debatable issue in the communication planning literature. For many decades, the hypodermic theory of mass media or bullet theory of magic media effects was the dominant paradigm in the field of mass communication. This theory was dominant at the period from the early 1940s as a result of the influence of the power that propaganda appeared to have in the Second World War, when many people 'shared a fear that Hitler-style demagogue could rise to power in the United States through the force of mass communication' (Severin & Tankard, 1992, 247). The hypodermic theory suggests that media has magic effects through influencing isolated individuals in a direct way (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1982). As opposed to the hypodermic model of mass media effects, in the 1940s, other scholars argued that media had limited effects (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944).

Furthermore, other communication models emphasised the effect of mass media in social change such as Rogers and Dearing's (1987) model of agenda setting (Figure 2.1). This model suggested that media, the public and elite policy-makers were connected and placed in key positions to set the news agenda (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, 109). The model represents the different kinds of effect of mass media on the public agenda and policy agenda, the influence of public agenda on the policy agenda, and the effect of the policy agenda on the media agenda. Public, media and policy agendas are influenced by personal experience and interpersonal communication and by real-world events. This model emphasises the role of gatekeepers and influential media. The key significance of this model is that it connects the role of media in social change to interpersonal communication and environmental indicators of the importance of an agenda issue.

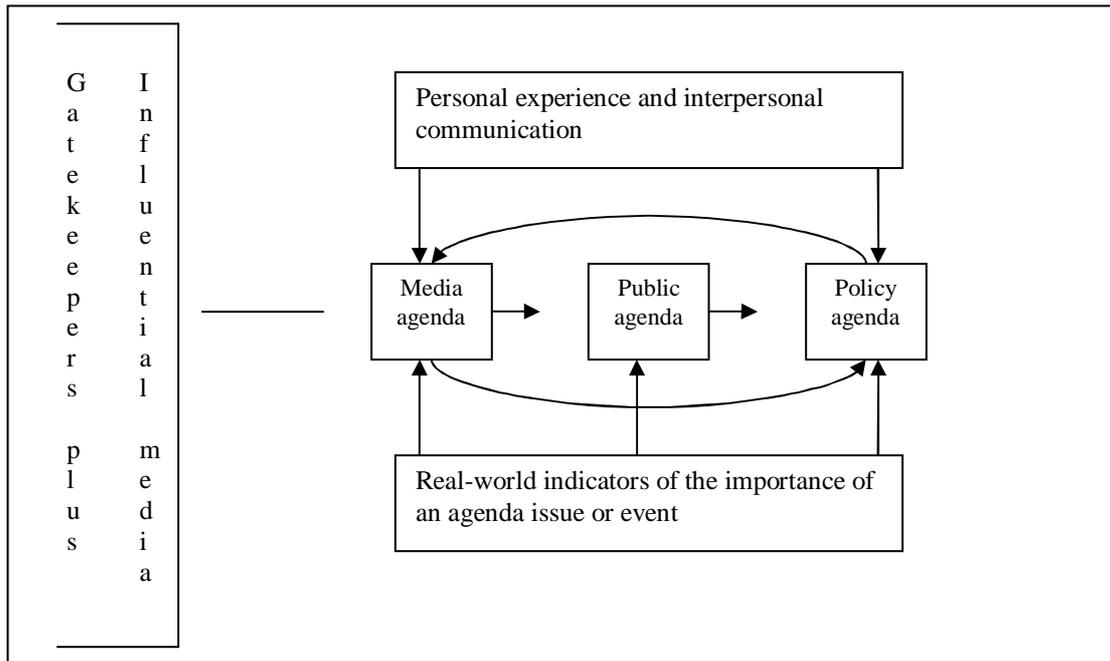


Figure 2.1: Rogers and Dearing's (1987) model of agenda-setting.

In another communication model of the role of media in social change, McQuail & Windahl (1993, 129) stated four images of societal effect from mass media: freedom and change, integration and cultural identity, normlessness and loss of identity, dominance and uniformity (Figure 2.2). The first dimension of this model (the vertical line) shows that 'social effects are either positively valued and the media viewed optimistically or they are disliked and the media viewed with pessimism' (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, 129). The second dimension (the horizontal line) shows that mass media can 'have an effect on society in the direction of dispersal and fragmentation (a centrifugal effect)' or it 'can work towards integration and unity of culture and society, strengthening social bonds and social control (the centripetal effect)' (Ibid., 129-130). This model provides both optimistic and pessimistic visions of the role of mass media in social change.

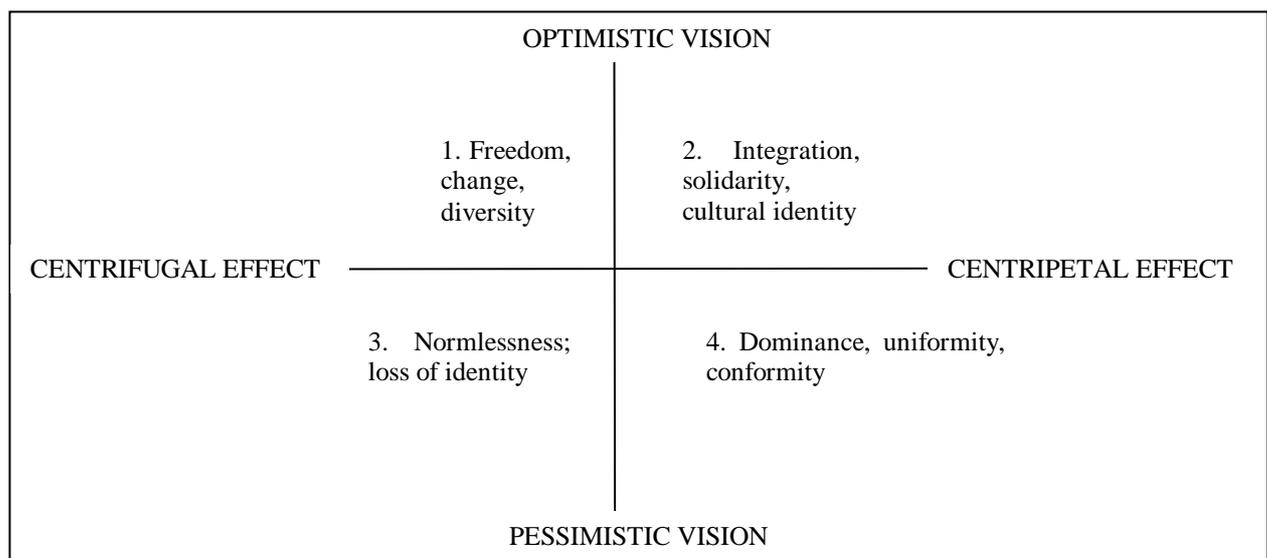


Figure 2.2: Centrifugal/centripetal model: four images of societal effect from mass media (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, 129).

Another important area of research on media effects is the uses and gratifications approach based on Blumler and Katz's (1974) view that media uses and gratifications are concerned with '(1) the social and psychological origins of (2) needs, which generate (3) expectations of (4) the mass media and other sources, which lead to (5) differential patterns of media exposure (or engagement in other activities), resulting in (7) other consequences, perhaps mostly unintended ones' (Ibid.). McQuail and Windahl (1993, 134) expressed this statement in Figure 2.3. This model focuses on 'the uses of media content for fulfilling needs or providing gratifications' (Ibid., 132) through 'asking the audiences what they think, feel and appreciate on the basis of their personal media use' (Ibid., 133). The strength of this model is that it looks to audiences as active participants in social change. The role of media and interpersonal communication in promoting social change is one of the key themes in the two case studies in this thesis. However, no research provided Arabic-based theories about the role of public communication in social change. That is why this thesis attempts to offer new theoretical understanding of

the role of public communication in social change in two case studies in the Arab Gulf. In the next section, it is helpful to introduce the different communication approaches that are used to promote social change in the literature.

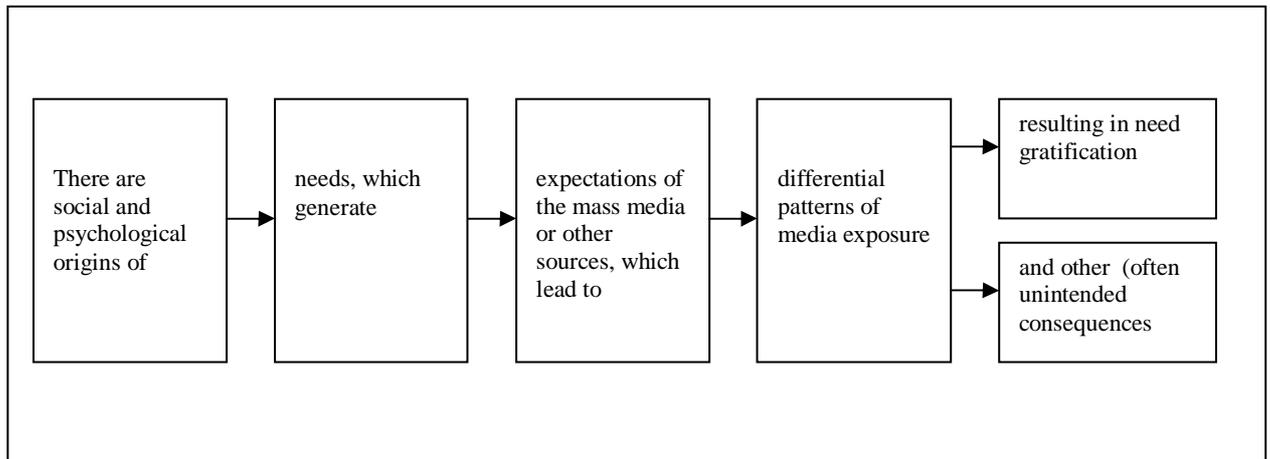


Figure 2.3: The uses and gratifications approach: basic formula (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, 134; based on Blumler and Katz's articles, 1974).

Persuasion approach to social change

The persuasion approach is the most traditional approach to communication campaigns used by public relations, social marketing, and health promotion to promote social change. This approach is based mainly on social psychological theories that suggest that behaviour change will take place if people are motivated to the new behaviour. This approach uses social advertising and linear media communication techniques that could be related to the bullet theory of magic media effects. Figure 2.4 shows Grunig and Hunt's publicity model (1984) where communication is a one-way process where propagandistic communication is dominant. This model is based on a persuasion approach that suggests the powerful influence of mass media and ignores the role of feedback in communication.

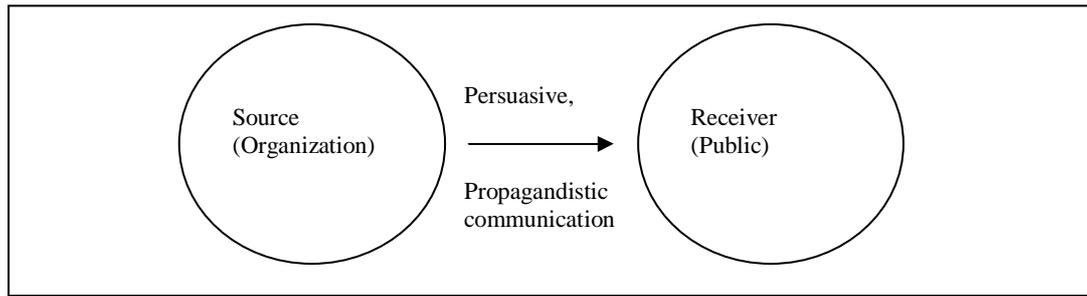


Figure 2.4: The agent/publicity model (Grunig & Hunt, 1984).

Miller referred to persuasion as,

...situations where attempts are made to modify [attitude and/or] behavior by symbolic transactions (messages) that are sometimes, but not always, linked with coercive force (indirectly coercive) and that appeal to the reason and emotions of the intended persuadee (s)' (Miller, 1987, 45).

'Mass persuasion' was associated with propaganda suggesting that propaganda is persuasion on a one-to-many basis (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, 17). British PR practitioner Traverse-Healy claimed, 'Propaganda can be a weapon in the armoury of public relations or public relations can be employed as an instrument of propaganda' (Traverse-Healy, 1988, 3). For instance, in the Second World War, propaganda was used through deceptive and exaggerated information circulated by both the Allies and the Germans (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, 123).

On the other hand, Toth claimed that the practice of persuasion by public relations practitioners could not be looked at as purely unethical (Toth, 1996). Edgett argued that the persuasion function itself is neither good nor bad, but 'it is the way in which the function is carried out that makes the difference' (Edgett, 2002, 23). L'Etang argued that, 'The concept of free will is important in separating persuasion from negative connotations of manipulation, coercion, 'brainwashing', and propaganda' (L'Etang, 1996, 113). Therefore, using the persuasion approach in communication campaigns cannot be separated from the question of communication ethics. In the following section, more

discussion will be presented about the shift in public relations from persuasive approaches towards looking at public campaigns as a means of distributing information to the target audiences.

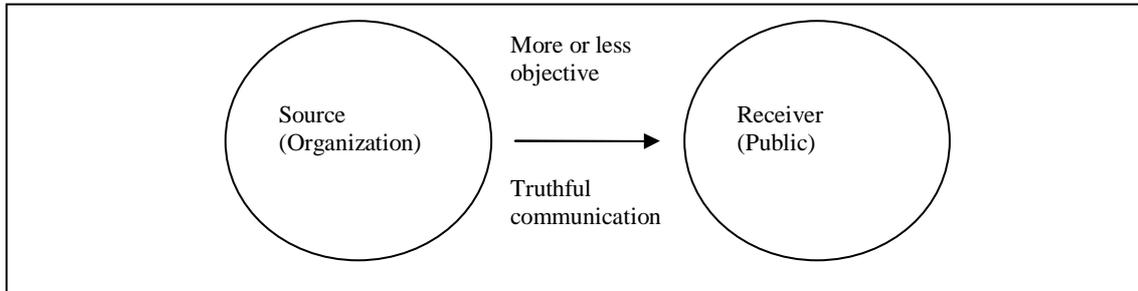


Figure 2.5: The public information model (Grunig & Hunt, 1984).

Persuasion and information approaches of public relations

Hutton explained that public relations programmes or campaigns based on the persuasion model focused on promotion, propaganda or the 'engineering of consent' (Hutton, 1999, 205). The ethical problems resulted from the use of manipulation approaches such as the lack of free choice facilitated the shift in public relations research to information approaches of social change. Figure 2.5 shows that public information model of public relations is based on the assumption that an organisation should communicate truthful information to its public. Although this model is still looking at communication as a one-way process from an organisation to its public, it emphasises the public information role of public relations. The association of the term 'persuasion' with the history of propaganda and manipulation makes PR practitioners prefer to describe their task as distributing information or educating the target audiences. The public information model of public relations refers to 'the style of public relations in which a client-organization serves primarily as an educator and information clearinghouse' (Hutton, 1999, 207). For example, PR practitioners play the role of

educators in non-profit organisations such as colleges, churches and health agencies. However, it is debatable whether information approaches can be separated from persuasion approaches in public campaigns. This debate is discussed in the 'Definitions of public communication campaigns' section, pp. 37-40.

Social marketing approach to social change

Social marketing has developed as a separate discipline from public relations. It borrowed concepts, theories and strategies from commercial marketing to promote social change (Kotler, 1972; Kotler & Zaltman, 1971). The birth of social marketing was with Wiebe's question: 'Why can't you sell brotherhood and rational thinking like you sell soap?' (Wiebe, 1952; cited in Solomon, 1981, 282). It was not until the 1970s when Kotler referred to a new sub-area of marketing called 'social marketing' (Kotler, 1972; Kotler & Zaltman, 1971). Kotler and Zaltman defined social marketing as, 'The design, implementation and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution and market research' (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971, 5).

Several studies distinguished major differences between social and commercial marketing (i.e. Rothschild, 1979; Bloom & Novelli, 1981; Mckee, 1992; Egger et al., 1993; Rangan et al., 1996; Donovan & Henley, 2003). These studies concluded that social marketing is more difficult to implement than commercial marketing because it is difficult to define the key issue and the exchange process in social marketing. In addition, social marketing often targets hard-to-reach, at-risk groups in society (Black et al., 1980; Whitehead, 1992; Smith, 1997). Besides, it focuses on high-involvement decisions such as giving up smoking or changing diet (Lefebvre & Flora, 1988).

Moreover, political and ethical considerations play a significant role in social marketing programmes, which makes it far more complex than commercial marketing.

It is informative to observe how the four Ps of marketing or the marketing mix is applied in social marketing: the product can be an idea or certain practices (such as road safety, or equal rights for women); the price can be cultural costs (such as the cultural exclusion the parents might suffer from if they do not circumcise their female child), social costs (such as the embarrassment a person may experience after asking a sex partner if he has a condom) or psychological costs (such as the psychological pain when talking about the experience of being physically abused); place is the distribution or media channels used to make the product, service or idea; promotion is raising publicity about a campaign; and sometimes a fifth P is added that provides another marketing concept useful to social planner which is the positioning of the product in the target market (Solomon, 1989; Kotler & Roberto, 1989; Perloff, 1993; Windahl et al., 1992; Andreasen, 1995; Donovan & Henley, 2003; Hastings, 2007).

Various definitions of social marketing attempt to differentiate social marketing from propaganda and manipulation through focusing on the voluntary behaviour of the target audiences (i.e. Andreasen, 1995; Kotler & Roberto, 1989; Rothschild, 1999). However, various ethical issues might be raised such as the extent to which the target audiences are autonomous or have access to participate in social change (these will be discussed in detail in the section about 'Ethical issues in public communication campaigns' pp. 40-43). Several studies provided a framework to study social marketing approach (Kotler & Roberto, 1989; Solomon, 1989; Andreasen, 1995; MacFadyen et al., 2002; Donovan & Henley, 2003). Other researchers raised some debates about the applicability and contribution of social marketing in the field of health promotion (Lefebvre & Flora, 1988; Hastings & Haywood, 1991; 1994; Hastings et al., 2000).

Social marketing also aims to go beyond individual behaviour change to address the change of organisations and societies (i.e. Hastings et al., 1994; Lawther & Lowry, 1995; Lawther et al., 1997; Murray & Douglas, 1988). Hastings emphasised the social marketer's tendency to go beyond targeting the individual customer and market towards targeting key public who control the social context such as policy makers, health professionals, and regulators (Hastings, 2003, 10). This is why this thesis does not only study the perspectives of the target audiences, but it also studies those of key journalists and activists on the role of a social marketing programme in social change in the Arab Gulf.

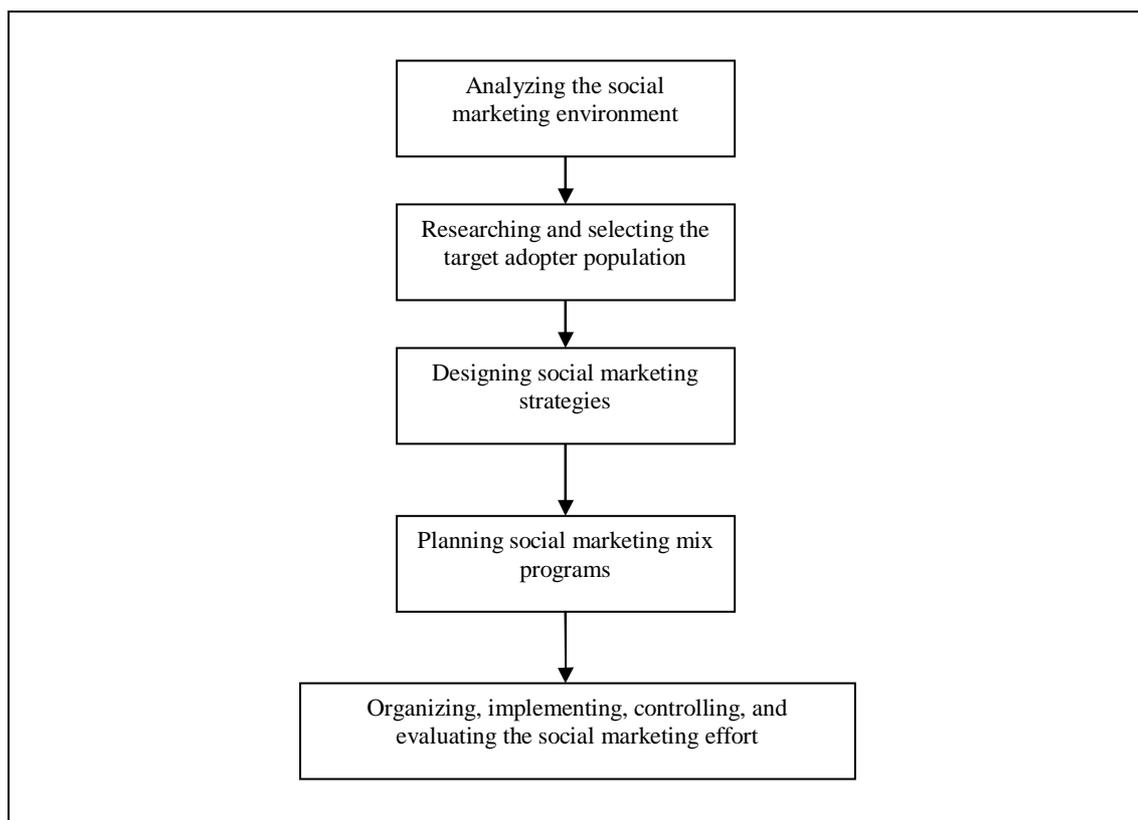


Figure 2.6: Steps in the social marketing management process (Kotler & Roberto, 1989, 39).

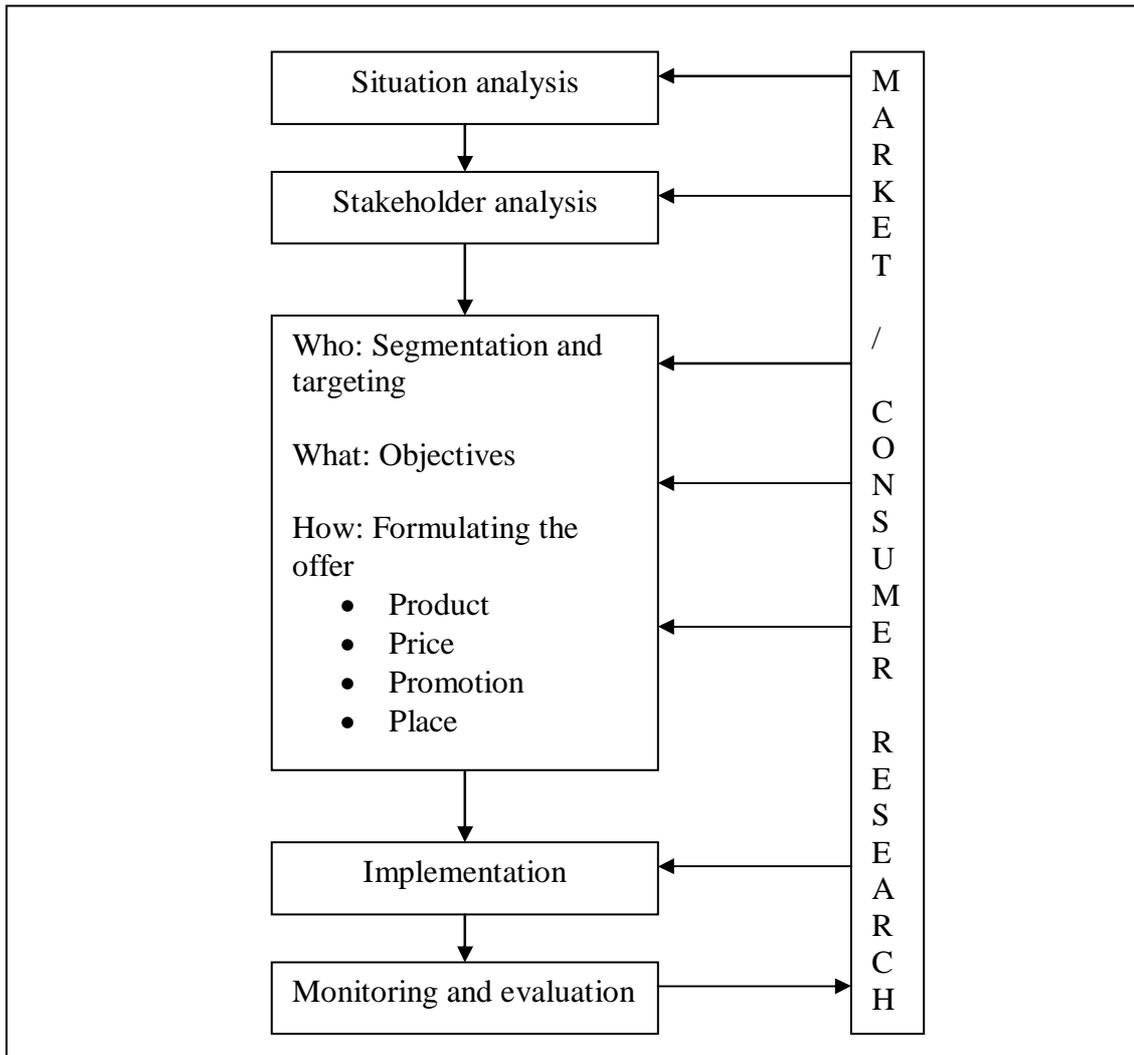


Figure 2.7: A social marketing plan (adapted from Hastings & Elliott, 1993).

Kotler and Roberto (1989, 39) looked to social marketing as a management process starting from analysing the social marketing environment, researching and selecting the target adopter population, designing strategies, planning social marketing programmes, towards organising, implementing, controlling, and evaluating the social marketing effort (Figure 2.6). This perspective challenges the old perspective of marketing as a mere social advertising technique. It is related to Hastings' (2007) perspective that strategic planning is a core element of social marketing. Based on Hastings and Elliot's (1993) model of a strategic social marketing plan (Figure 2.7), Hastings explained that a

social marketing plan should be based on strategic planning (Hastings, 2007, 50). He explained that this plan offers not only 'a progressive process of learning about the market and its particular exchanges' but also it is 'cyclical' as the process takes place between initiatives (Ibid.).

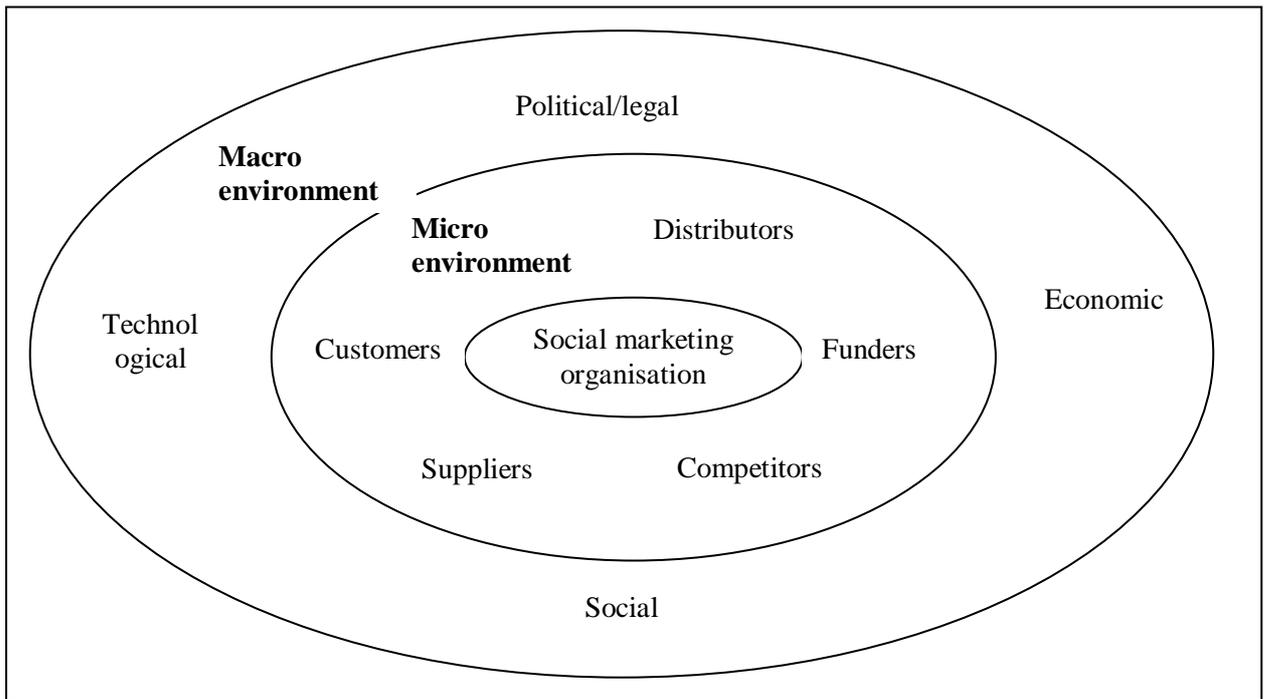


Figure 2.8: The marketing environment (Hastings, 2007).

This process starts with situation analysis through providing a SWOT analysis, where the strengths and weaknesses of marketing organisation are laid alongside the opportunities and threats of the environment (Ibid., 51-53). This strategic vision enhances the role of social marketing in influencing policy makers, legislators, and opinion leaders. Figure 2.8 shows how complex is the task of social marketer to move from 'micro level' marketing towards the macro political/legal, economic, social and technological environment. The second step reported by Hastings (2007, 57-60) is segmentation and targeting based on personal characteristics, past behaviour, or benefits different customer groups are seeking. Besides, he recommended that the target should

be viable and big enough to warrant attention, accessible, and responsive to the social marketer efforts (Ibid., 60). Then, the social marketer should state measurable, achievable objectives (Ibid., 64-66). After that, the offer should be formulated based on the key marketing mix (product, price, place, and promotion) to be as appealing, accessible, available and appreciated as possible (Ibid., 67-74). Finally, Hastings argued that good positioning of a product is guided by two factors: 'how the consumer sees the product and how it measures up to the competition' (Ibid., 75). The failure of social marketers to design and implement a careful strategic plan and the dependence on social advertising campaigns will limit the programme's impact in behaviour change and might result in the failure of these campaigns.

In all the steps of the process of social marketing as a strategic planning process, 'consumer orientation' appears to be a key factor. 'Consumer orientation' is one of the key marketing principles that is related to the 'exchange' element in marketing that is based on understanding the consumer, which will be discussed in detail in 'Marketing exchange and relational paradigm' section pp. 31-34. After providing a background of the social marketing approach to social change, other recent communication approaches in health promotion literature will now be discussed.

Health promotion approaches

The United Nations conference at Alma-Ata in 1978 in the Soviet Union established the goal of 'health for all by the year 2000' that emphasised the role of community in social change (WHO, 1978). The World Health Organization's *Health for All by the Year 2000* (WHO, 1981) and the Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion (WHO, 1986) set the foundation for the evolution of the recent concept of health promotion that emphasised the need for a collective approach to health. These two initiatives 'have

been highly influential in shaping the direction of health promotion theory in the 1980s and 1990s' (Carey, 2000, 27). The concept of 'health promotion' developed as a new communication approach to change at the community level. Figure 2.9 assumes that there are seven possible dimensions of health promotion that are interrelated (where the three circles cross): prevention services, preventive health education, preventive health protection, health education for preventive health protection, positive health education, positive health protection, and health education aimed at positive health protection (Jones & Naidoo, 2000; Downie et al., 1990; Tannahill, 1985).

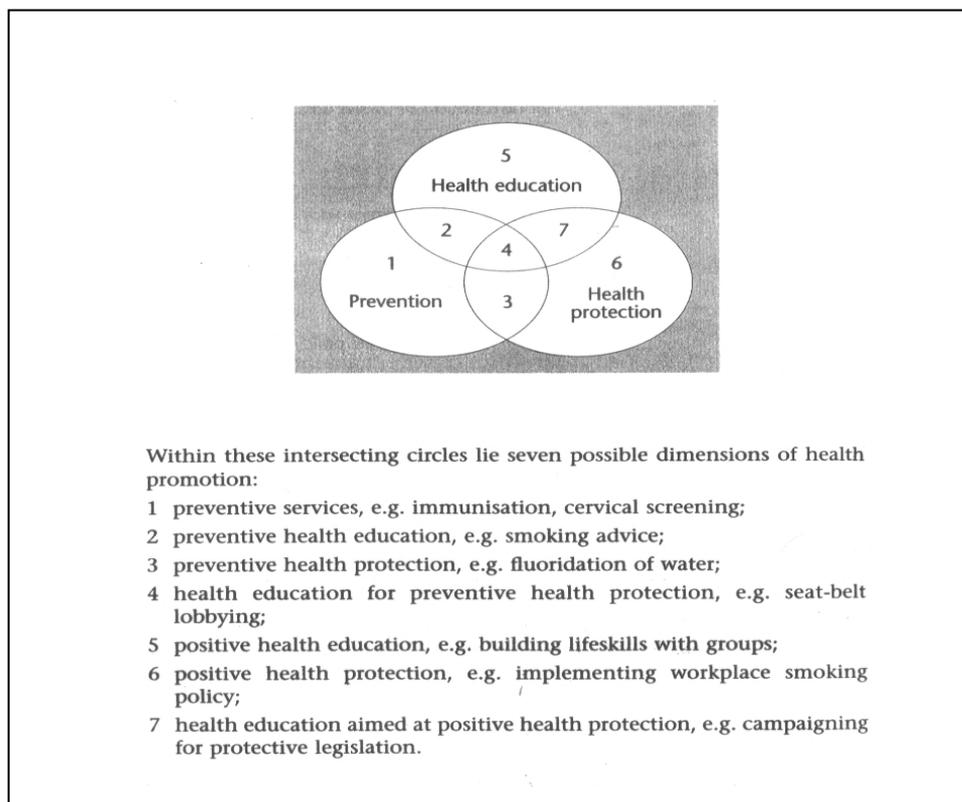


Figure 2.9: A model of health promotion (Downie et al., 1990).

One of the key health promotion approaches in the literature is the media advocacy approach (i.e. Tones & Green, 2004; Sidell, 2002; Tones, 1997). Wallack referred to media advocacy as 'the strategic use of mass media for advancing a social or public

policy initiative' (Smoking Control, 1988, cited in Wallack, 1990, 157). Media advocacy implies the tactical rather than strategic use of public relations as 'unpaid publicity' to generate unpaid coverage of an issue through media. The media can be used as an instrument to lobby for policy change or generate support from opinion leaders (i.e. Reid et al., 1992; Wyllie & Casswell, 1992). The significance of this approach is that it moves from social psychological approaches to community-based communication. Therefore, this thesis studies the use of media advocacy approach in two case studies in the Arab Gulf.

Dines and Cribb argued that health promotion is a wider ranging term than health education that is only 'one route to the improvement of people's health' (Dines & Cribb, 1993, 28). Tones and Green noted that according to the health education model, coercive strategies and techniques are unacceptable (Tones & Green, 2004, 24). Voluntarism was emphasised as a significant characteristic of health education which was defined as,

...any combination of learning experiences designed to facilitate voluntary actions conducive to health...Voluntary means without coercion and with the full understanding and acceptance of the purpose of the action (Green & Kreuter, 1999, 27).

However, in many cases it is difficult to achieve freedom of choice because of negative socio-economic and material circumstances (Tones & Tilford, 2001, 33). For example, poverty, inequality, or lack of access to affordable healthy food will impede the freedom of choice (Tones & Green, 2004, 26-27). Therefore, several studies recommended moving from the educational and preventive models of health promotion towards the empowerment model that aims not only at influencing individual choices, but also at creating health public policy (Tones & Tilford, 2003, 94; Tones & Tilford, 2001, 39; Tones, 2001, 12). Detailed discussion of the concept of empowerment will be presented in 'Individual and community empowerment' section, pp. 53-57.

Theoretical shift to the concept of 'dialogue'

After introducing the key approaches in communication disciplines, it is helpful to discuss the concept of 'dialogue' in these disciplines. The importance of the concept of 'dialogue' in this thesis is derived from its association with issues of power and ethical communication in public campaigns. It could be compared to the concept of 'feedback' in communication models as it emphasises the role of target audiences in the process of communication (See Figure 2.10). It is interesting that there appear to be complementary theoretical shifts in the literature of communication planning from persuasion and education approaches towards 'symmetry' in public relations, 'exchange' in marketing, and 'empowerment' in health promotion. These concepts can be related to the concept of 'dialogue' or 'mutual relationships'. Kent and Taylor cited Buber's modern concept of dialogue that suggested that 'dialogue involves an effort to recognize the value of the other—to see him/her as an end and not merely as a means to achieving a desired goal' (Kent & Taylor, 2002, 22). Buber emphasised reciprocity, mutuality, and involvement through viewing others as equals rather than as mere objects (Buber, 1970; 1985; cited in Kent & Taylor, 2002, 22).

However, the concept of dialogue is complex and could not be measured through studying one activity or using one methodology. Botan suggested that 'dialogue manifests itself more as a stance, orientation, or bearing in communication rather than as a specific method, technique, or format' (Botan, 1997, 192). Kent and Taylor noted, 'Dialogue is not a process or a series of steps', but it is 'a product of on going communication and relationships' (Kent & Taylor, 2002, 24). Therefore, in the following sections some communication concepts will be discussed such as public relations symmetry and marketing exchange and will be related to the relational thinking in Western and Arabic literature.

Public relations symmetry and relational thinking

Key public relations scholars who have been largely responsible for establishing the discipline (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1992; J. Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Dozier et al., 1995) recommended the shift from the stage of manipulation, where it is 'assumed to use whatever means are available to achieve desired public opinion and action' to the stage of mutual understanding (Baskin et al., 1997, 30-31). Grunig and Hunt (1984) referred to various assumptions of the two-way symmetrical model in the writings of practitioners such as Lee, Bernays, and John Hill: 'telling the truth', 'interpreting the client and public to one another', and 'management understanding the viewpoints of employees and neighbors as well as employees and neighbors understanding the viewpoints of management' (Grunig & Hunt, 1984, 42). Figure 2.10 shows the two-way symmetric model of public relations where there is a flow of balanced communication between an organisation and its public. The two arrows in this figure illustrates that communication is mutual between the organisation and its public.

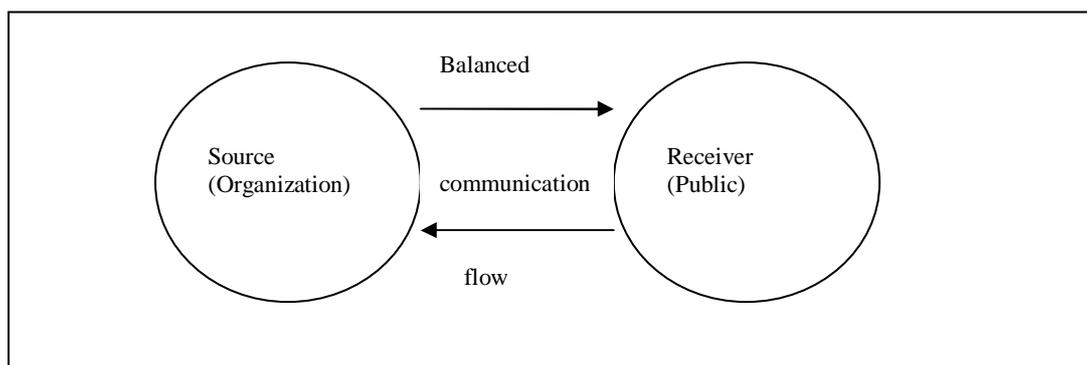


Figure 2.10: The two-way symmetric model (Grunig & Hunt, 1984).

In 1995, Dozier et al. identified a research-based PR model called the mixed-motive model that combined asymmetrical practices with the long-term goals of the two-way symmetrical model of the practice of PR in organisations (Dozier et al., 1995, 101).

This model assumes that before starting a PR programme, PR practitioners should look at attitude survey to make sure they describe the organisation or clients in ways their publics would be most likely to accept, and to determine public attitudes toward the organisation and how those attitudes might be changed (based on two-way asymmetrical model) (Ibid.). Besides, they should conduct surveys or informal research to find out how much the management or clients and their publics understand each other (based on two-way symmetrical model) (Ibid.). Moreover, this model suggests that after completing a PR programme, PR practitioners should conduct research to determine how effective the programme has been in changing people's attitudes (based on two-way asymmetrical model) (Ibid.).

Ethical problems associated with the use of the concept of 'persuasion' in public relations facilitate the shift towards the concepts of 'symmetry' and 'dialogue'. PR practitioner Traverse-Healy claimed, 'One of the features distinguishing public relations from propaganda is the extent to which dialogue has been established between the subject institution and the public or sections of the public; the degree to which public consultation is undertaken and public participation practised' (Traverse-Healy, 1988, 13). This discussion is based on Habermas' communication discourse ethics that viewed all moral action as communicative and stated that dialogue —not monologue—is essential to humans understanding each other (Leeper, 1996, 133). In her discussion of Habermas' theory, L'Etang explained that the unequal distribution of power would inhibit the potential for 'the general symmetry requirement' or 'ideal speech communication' (Ray, 1993, 26; cited in L'Etang, 1996, 121).

Therefore, the role of public relations in organisations cannot be isolated from issues of communication ethics. It was argued that managing communication between organisations and their publics to maintain the highest ethical standards of dialogue is

'the core ethical responsibility of public relations from which all other obligations follow' (Pearson, 1989a, 128; cited in Edgett, 2002, 4). Pearson (1989b) argued that public relations departments are the moral keepers of their organisations as they are the departments that prescribe how dialogue with the target public will be carried out (cited in Edgett, 2002, 4).

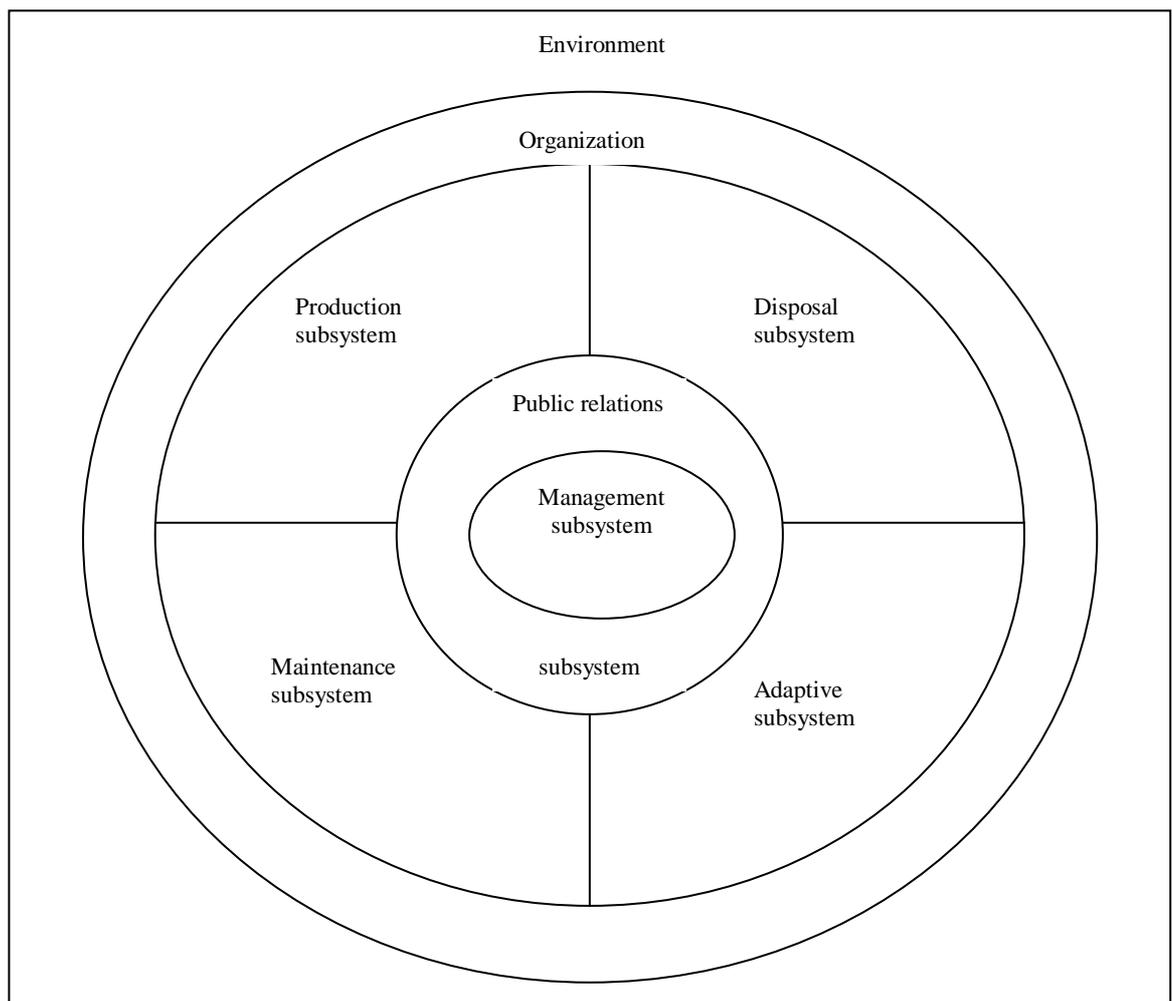


Figure 2.11: A generic view of organisational subsystems and of the location of the public relations subsystem (Grunig & Hunt, 1984).

Grunig & Hunt looked to organisation as a 'system' and argued that PR practitioners 'function at the edge of the organization, serving as a liaison between the organization and the external groups and individuals' (Grunig & Hunt, 1984, 9). Figure 2.11

illustrates Grunig and Hunt's argument that 'Public relations generally is part of the management subsystem, although it may often support other subsystems' (Ibid.). This figure demonstrates that the management function of public relations supports production, disposal, maintenance and adaptive subsystems in the organisation system.

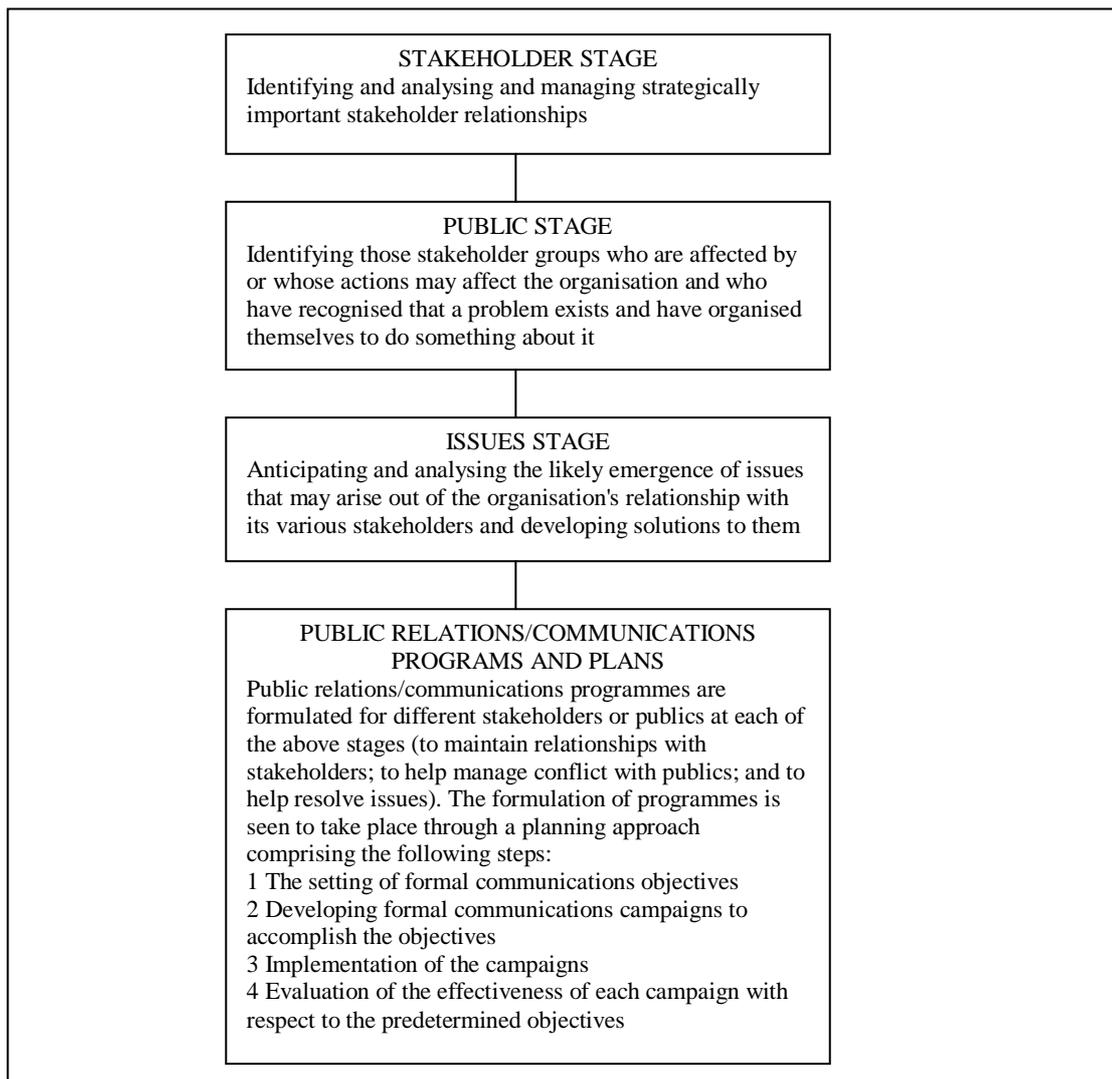


Figure 2.12: Grunig and Repper's model of the strategic management of public relations (Moss and Warnaby's (1997, 63) illustration of the framework introduced by Grunig & Repper, 1992).

Grunig and Repper (1992) suggests that public relations can play a key role in managing relationships with all parts of an organisation's environment through analysing and responding to environmental pressure and balancing various stakeholder

interests. Figure 2.12 is Moss and Warnaby's (1997) adaptation of the key steps recommended by Grunig and Repper (1992) to achieve strategic management of public relations. Moss and Warnaby (1997, 63) used the framework introduced by Grunig and Repper (1992) and presented it diagrammatically. This framework suggests that there should be a public relations strategy that starts from identifying and managing strategically important stakeholder relationships towards developing public relations/communication programmes and plans.

Kent and Taylor claimed that in order to incorporate dialogue into public relations, it should be looked as a relationship building (Kent & Taylor, 2002, 30). The concept of 'relationship management' has been a shift in the way to look at the role of public relations in organisations. Several PR scholars recommended moving from looking at public relations as a publicity technique to a relationship-building function (Broom et al., 1997; Yi-Hui Huang, 1997; Ledingham and Bruning, 2000; Kovacs, 2001). Ehling argued that the shift from the manipulation of public opinion towards a relationship-centred approach is 'an important change in the primary mission of public relations' (Ehling, 1992, 622). Cutlip et al. defined 'relationship management' in public relations as 'the management function that establishes and maintains mutually beneficial relationships between an organization and the publics on whom its success or failure depends' (Cutlip et al., 1994, 2). This discussion associated the relationship-management function of public relations with its role in facilitating the participation of the target audiences.

Marketing exchange and relational paradigm

Having established the concept of 'public relations symmetry' and the role of public relations as a 'relationship management' function, it is helpful to discuss the concept of

'marketing exchange' and its relationship to relational thinking in social marketing. Exchange theory has its roots in economics and psychology (Houston & Gassenheimer, 1987). Several marketing scholars considered 'exchange' as a core concept of marketing (Alderson, 1957; Bagozzi, 1975; Hunt, 1976; Kotler, 1984; Houston & Gassenheimer, 1987). Hastings and Saren (2003, 309) cited Bagozzi's (1979) definition of exchange as 'the transfer of tangible or intangible items between two or more social actors'. The concept of 'exchange' is a crucial element of marketing because it distinguishes social marketing from propaganda and manipulation. The concept of exchange suggests the role of the consumer as an active participant in the communication process.

Bagozzi (1975) advanced the idea that there is an exchange in social marketing relationships. A number of scholars indicated that the concept of exchange is a crucial element of social marketing (Lefebvre & Flora, 1988; Lefebvre, 1996; Leathar & Hastings, 1987; Smith, 1997). The concept of exchange in social marketing can be related to the notion of consumer orientation because it emphasises the significant role of the consumer in the exchange process. Several studies emphasised that consumer orientation is one of the key elements of social marketing (Lefebvre & Flora, 1988; Lefebvre, 1992; Andreasen, 1995). Andreasen argued that social marketing programmes should be customer-cantered and start with an understanding of the needs and perceptions of the target audiences (Andreasen, 1995, 14). It is suggested that the driving force behind exchange is need satisfaction (Houston & Gassenheimer, 1987, 16).

In this thesis, the 'exchange' in the social marketing case could be achieved when the programme facilitated the participation of the target audiences. In other words, the concept of exchange suggests that the social marketing programme should start with consumer needs and provide them with access to resources to participate. Otherwise, it

would result in excluding the target audiences who did not have access to resources or it might be limited to imposing change from the perspectives of the communication planners, which would result in one-way communication. Therefore, an important feature of this thesis was its analysis of the role of social marketing in facilitating participation from the multiple perspectives of communication planners, journalists, activists, and the target audiences.

Along with the tendency to shift towards relational thinking in public relations, a number of scholars argued that the focus in marketing should not be on transactions but relationships (Berry, 1983; Gronroos, 1994; Gummesson, 1994). Hastings and Saren noted that exchange theory and relationship marketing could provide fruitful areas for further developing the function of social marketing in bringing beneficial behaviour change (Hastings & Saren, 2003, 315). Hastings explained that from the relational marketing perspective, 'the task of the marketer is to ensure that the company does all it can to build, enhance, and retain long-term customer relationships' (Hastings, 2003, 8). The importance of this paradigm is that it places attention on the customer's needs and perceptions. However, relational thinking could create difficulties for social marketers in terms of funding because they usually depend on short-term, publicity funded contracts (Hastings, 2003, 6). It was argued that one of the key ethical problems of the exchange concept in social marketing is that, 'Social marketers face problems in ensuring consumers are capable of communication and delivery and also have the ability to accept or reject the offer' (Hastings & Saren, 2003, 310). Therefore, the question of acquisition access to resources is important when studying the role of social marketing exchanges in facilitating participation in the thesis.

To sum up, the shift towards relational thinking in public relations and social marketing literature was associated with the role of public programmes in facilitating

participation. This discussion emphasises the significance of the issues of communication ethics in public communication campaigns. Table 2.1 summarises the complementary theoretical approaches used in public relations, social marketing, and health promotion literature. However, these Western theoretical concepts and models cannot be imposed on the practice of public communication in the Arab Gulf without relating it to Arabic culture and Islamic ethics and values. Hence, next section will discuss the possibility for developing theoretical models for public communication ethics in the Arab World.

Discipline	Theoretical underpinnings	Communication approaches
Public relations	Social psychological theories Communication theories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Persuasion/propaganda - Education/information - Media advocacy - Symmetrical communication
Social marketing	Marketing theories Social psychological theories Communication theories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Persuasion/propaganda - Marketing exchange
Health promotion	Social psychological theories Communication theories Community theoretical models	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promotion/persuasion - Education/information - Media advocacy - Empowerment

Table 2.1: Key disciplines, theoretical underpinnings & communication approaches

Theoretical models for Arabic public communication ethics

The practice of public communication in the Arab Gulf cannot be taken in isolation of its cultural context. Therefore, the contribution of this thesis is that it aims to generate new theoretical understanding of the practice of public communication and public relations in the Arab Gulf. Kruckeberg argued,

Sophisticated public relations is being practiced in the Middle East. However, the models used in that geo-political region are not identical to U.S. models, nor to those in other Western countries that are usually considered part of the "First World." In particular, Moslem culture heavily influences practice throughout much of the Middle East (Kruckeberg, 1996, 182).

Therefore, before studying the case studies in this thesis, historical and sociological background will be provided on the notion of social change and public communication in the Arabic context.

Some scholars have studied public relations in the Arab world in relation to the US models, while have fallen short of generating original theoretical framework of the practice of public relations in the Arab societies. For example, Kirat claimed that public relations in the Arab World is still limited to Grunig's agent/publicity model of PR (Kirat, 2005, 327). He suggested a move towards the 'perception of public relations as communication management rather than mere production of messages or book keeping and employee supervision' (Ibid., 329). Kruckeberg (1996) argued that the Arabic communication ethics that were derived from the Islamic culture of social responsibility and community norms would enhance the possibility for the practice of public relations as a relationship management function. He noted,

While Middle East Moslem social systems may seem ultimately patriarchal and hierarchical to Westerners, and while matters of religion may not be open for deliberation, Middle East society also remains highly tribal and communal in nature-with the symmetrical attributes of such communalism... Furthermore, many of the basic tenets of Islam encourage symmetrical dialogue to manage conflict, to improve understanding and to build relationships with one another. Finally, there is a religious mandate to love and to take responsibility for one another (Kruckeberg, 1996, 188).

Hence, Arabic public communication ethics theory should be considered in the context of Islamic ethical theory and Arabic values, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4 on the 'History & Sociology of Media and Public Communication Campaigns in the Arab Gulf' pp. 101-104.

The first Arabic communication ethics model was proposed by Vujnovic and Kruckeberg (2005). They developed 'a morally/ethically defensible “organic theory” of public relations' that opposed the public relations literature that 'predominantly suggests that only those publics that have direct consequences for the organization... are publics with whom public relations practitioners should deal' (Vujnovic & Kruckeberg, 2005, 340). They suggested that, 'A biological metaphor can be used in supporting this “organic” theory of public relations in which the organization is an organ and society is a body as a whole' (Ibid.). This theory suggests that relational paradigm is more appropriate in the Arab World:

Much of this process involves communication as a social ritual, rather than communication as transmission of information; it involves interpersonal communication, rather than mass communication. It involves relationship-building, as opposed to persuasion. Of course, much of this process exists traditionally in Arab culture, and these rich traditions should be recognized and examined for their utility and value in developing an Arab model of public relations to help resolve the plethora of 21st-Century issues that threaten global stability and ultimately the well-being of all cultures and societies (Vujnovic & Kruckeberg, 2005, 342).

Hence, this thesis attempts to take this argument a step further through providing qualitative empirical research of the role of public relations and public communication in facilitating participation in two case studies in the Arab Gulf. The contribution of this thesis is that it provides greater understanding of public communication ethics in the Arab Gulf. It offers rich analysis of both media and interpersonal communication in Arab Gulf cases. It goes beyond studying the concept of 'power' to study the broader theoretical concept of 'empowerment' that addresses change in relation to structural, social/political environment from the multiple perspectives of communication planners, journalists, and the target audiences. The thesis argues that providing in-depth analysis of the role of public relations and public communication in the Arab context could contribute to the broader theoretical understanding of the role of PR and communication

in society. After providing a background to the key communication approaches used to promote social change in the literature, it is helpful to present now the key definitions of public communication campaigns in the next section.

Definitions of public communication campaigns:

Since a background to different communication approaches used to promote social change has now been provided, it is useful to proceed to define public communication campaigns in this section. There has been a large debate in the literature on the nature of public communication campaign and whether it should be defined within a persuasion or an information model. Several studies argued that 'information campaigns' should be differentiated from 'persuasive campaigns'. For example, Salmon cited Atkin's (1981, 265) argument that information campaigns benefit individual receivers or society, whereas persuasion campaigns benefit the 'private self-interest of the sponsoring source' (Salmon, 1989, 34). He associated the term 'asymmetric communication' used by Bauer (1964) and Grunig (1987) with manipulative campaigns, while associated symmetric communication with information campaigns where organisations disseminate 'straight facts' (Salmon, 1989, 34).

Dervin argued that information-as-construction model is more appropriate in communication situations than information-as-description model that assumes that information has objective values and can be separated from the observers (Dervin, 1989, 72). Moreover, information-as-construction model suggests that information is created by human observers and can never be separated from the observers who created them (Ibid.). In this thesis, the researcher adopts the constructivist assumption that the process of designing public communication campaigns is 'constructed' or 'invented' by key social actors in the cases, their social action, and language. The constructivist-

interpretivist paradigm used in this research assumes multiple, shared reality by individuals in the groups (Guba and Lincoln, 1998, 206), as will be discussed in Chapter 3 'Methodology' in 'The research paradigm' section, pp. 73-76. The unique aspect of this thesis is that it goes beyond analysing the way campaigns planners 'constructed' communication techniques used in public campaigns to study how these techniques were regarded from the perspectives of journalists, activists and the target audiences.

The definition of public communication campaigns as a strategy to achieve social control (Paisley, 1981; Salmon, 1989; McGuire, 1989) could be connected to the information-as-construction model that assumes that information is created by social actors. This is related to the background of communication campaigns discussed earlier as manipulative activities and their historical association with propaganda. It is argued that information campaigns emerge as a 'social control strategy' or 'solution' to a 'problem' defined by the organisation (Salmon, 1989, 21). This could be related to the ethical question of power and control while seeking social change: 'who defines the problem?' or in other words 'who decides what conditions to be changed?' Dervin explained that 'certain 'knowledges', the knowledges created by those in power, get preferential status; other knowledges are 'subjugated', reduced in availability to 'alternative' outlets or diminished by lack of media space or resources' (Dervin, 1989, 70). Therefore, this thesis attempts to bring in-depth insights about the extent to which 'participation' and 'empowerment' were facilitated in public communication campaigns.

Furthermore, we cannot simply say that information campaigns are completely different from persuasion campaigns, because it is difficult to disseminate mere 'facts' without influencing the choices of the individuals. Rakow indicated that although the word 'information' is used to replace 'persuasion', which is associated with propaganda and manipulation (Rakow, 1989, 165), 'information' cannot be thought of as 'innocent'

or some 'pure good' because it is the product of complex social relations (Ibid., 170). It is argued that the use of the information-not-persuasion rationale might be considered as 'a strategy employed by an organisation to gain an acceptance of its activities' rather than 'some absolute indication of its moral and ethical imperative' (Salmon, 1989, 36). That is why it is important to address the issues of ethics when studying public communication campaigns in this thesis.

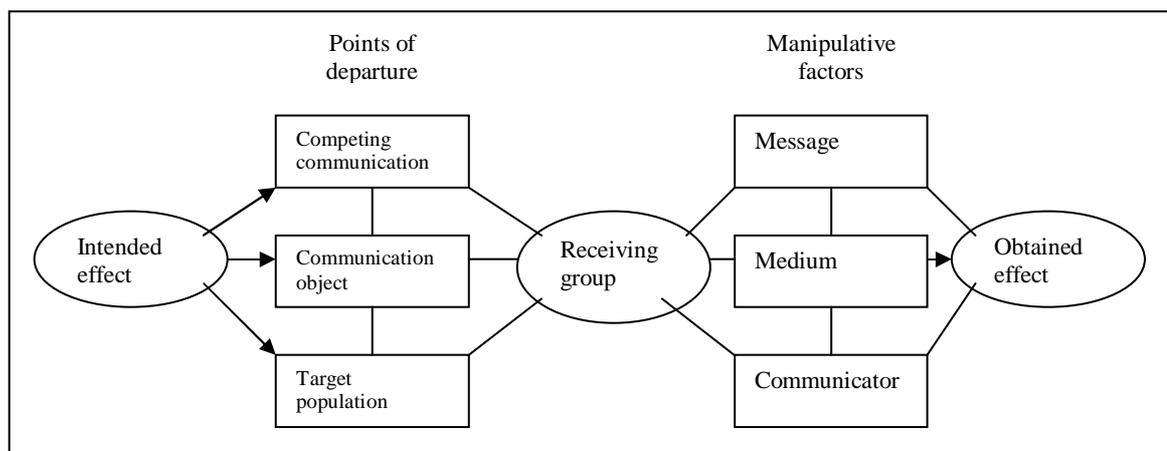


Figure 2.13: A model of a communication campaign (Nowak and Warneryd, 1985).

Apart from defining public communication campaign as a social control strategy, other scholars provided some definitions and elements of public communication campaign as a systematic process of social change (Rogers & Storey, 1987; Kotler & Roberto, 1989; Devine & Hirt, 1989; Newsom et al., 1996). These two perspectives are not contradictory, but they have defined public communication campaigns from different angles. Nowak and Warneryd (1985) provided a model of a communication campaign as a process of multiple elements (Figure 2.13). These elements are: the intended effect, competing communication, the communication object, the receiving group, the channel, the message, the communicator, and obtained effect. This model shows how different elements of a communication campaign are interrelated as a

change of one element may result in change in others. For example, McQuail and Windahl (1993, 184-185) explained that when the campaigner changes the aim (the intended effect) of the campaigns, all or some of other elements will alter.

Andreasen distinguished between public campaigns and public programmes as public programmes are long term and may include one or more specific campaigns (Andreasen, 1995, 70). Public communication campaigns were defined as,

...purposeful attempts to inform, persuade, or motivate behavior changes in a relatively well-defined and large audience, generally for non-commercial benefits to the individuals and/or society at large, typically within a given time period, by means of organized communication activities involving mass media and often complemented by interpersonal support (Rice & Aktin 1989; adapted from Rogers & Storey, 1987).

However, this definition failed to acknowledge the role of public relations in public communication campaigns.

This thesis uses a qualitative approach to study public communication campaign not only as a systematic process, but also as a social control strategy relating it to the concepts of 'participation' and 'empowerment'. Therefore, this research takes account of the issues of power and ethics when studying public communication campaigns, which will be discussed now in the next section.

Ethical issues in public communication campaigns:

Having provided a background of the history and definitions of public communication campaigns, it is helpful to raise key ethical issues discussed in public campaign literature. The question of ethics is one of the most crucial questions when studying public communication campaigns. Jaksa and Pritchard referred to ethics as the science that is 'concerned with how we should live our lives' and 'focuses on questions about what is right or wrong, fair or unfair, caring or uncaring, good or bad, responsible or irresponsible, and the like' (Jaksa & Pritchard, 1994, 3). Ethics was defined as an

'inquiry into the nature and grounds of morality where morality means moral judgments, standards, and rules of conduct' (Tsalikis & Fritzsche, 1989, 696). Bowen explained that moral philosophy investigates the composition and justification for moral principles that are called normative ethics (Flew, 1979; cited in Bowen, 2004, 67). De George (1995) defined normative ethics as 'a tripartite process of revealing, developing, and analytically justifying moral maxims' (cited in Bowen, 2004, 68).

The nature and history of public communication campaigns as a social control strategy raise various ethical issues. The most considerable ethical issue in public communication campaigns is the problem of power imbalance through the absence of dialogue between the organisation and its public. One of the main consequences of power imbalance was explained by Donovan and Henley who indicated that ethical dilemmas invariably arise when the assumption of individuals' autonomy is questioned (Donovan & Henley, 2003, 166). Ballou et al. defined autonomy as 'the quality or state of being self-governing' or more specifically, as 'the capacity of an agent to determine its own actions through independent choice within a system of principles and laws to which the agent is dedicated' (Ballou et al., 1998, 105). Littlewood argued,

We can define an autonomous person as one who has an independent capacity to make and carry out the choices which govern his or her actions. This capacity depends on two main components: ability and willingness (Littlewood, 1996, 428).

Pollay claimed that there are three key domains of judgment relevant to the ethical evaluation of persuasive communication drawing upon an analogous analysis of advertising: the products, the process and the by-products or effects (Pollay, 1989). It is argued that while in advertising, dimensions of ethical concern often focus on the product's importance and safety, 'the danger posed by public information campaigns is more likely to be described in terms of 'dangerous ideas', 'revolutionary rhetoric', or threats to morals, convention and the status quo' (Ibid., 188). This can be related to

another ethical problem described by Donovan and Henley as 'moral imperialism' where public campaigners impose values on people who may not share those values and who may have good reasons for not wanting to share them (Donovan & Henley, 2003, 172). Therefore, this thesis studied Arab Gulf public communication campaigns in relation to cultural, social and political environment.

The second ethical problem discussed by Pollay is the process. He argued that in the case of some public campaigns, communication planners would disseminate false information and exaggerated promises such as in the case of political campaigns (Pollay, 1989, 188-189). Moreover, individuals are rarely informed of the physical and emotional pain that they must go through when changing their behaviour (Ibid., 189). For example, in the case of anti-smoking campaigns, the public are rarely informed of the stages of pain they will face when they will try to quit, and very few campaigns do provide them with skills to overcome these painful stages.

The third ethical problem discussed by Pollay is the by-product or the unintended consequences of public communication campaigns (Pollay, 1989, 189). Campaigns might result in unexpected impacts or side effects such as 'anxiety', 'conflict' or in a psychological term a state of 'dissonance'. Several scholars offered a critical analysis of unintended side-effects of using social marketing for health promotion (i.e. Buchanan et al., 1994; Donovan & Henley, 2003). For instance, Donovan and Henley discussed the risk of increasing the prevalence of victim blaming such as blaming the victim of AIDS for being gay or a drug user (Donovan & Henley, 2003, 175). Furthermore, Henley and Donovan (1999, 176) argued that it is possible that messages might have an adverse effect on people outside the target market. For example, a campaign targeting young people to warn them not to drive fast by using the threat of serious injuries such as

handicaps or death will inevitably trigger painful memories of people who suffered from these consequences.

Hence, ethical issues are important to be raised in the case studies in this thesis. Public communication campaigns involve complex processes that address people's morals, values, culture and lifestyle.

Theoretical framework of public communication campaigns:

The use of theoretical foundations in the campaign literature has been functional as explained in Lewin's words 'nothing is so practical as a good theory' (cited in McGuire, 1989, 43). However, there is no single theory of public communication campaigns as several disciplines have provided various theories. Thus, this section reviews both individual levels of communication theories (social psychology theories) and macro levels of communication theories (health promotion theories at the community level).

Many studies have cited social psychological theories and explained their implications for designing public communication campaigns at the individual level of communication within various disciplines such as social marketing (Donovan & Henley, 2003; Lefebvre, 2001), public relations (Ferguson, 1999; Moffitt, 1999; Windahl et al., 1992), and health communication (Devine & Hirt, 1989; Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987; McGuire, 1981; 1989; Reardon, 1991). Other studies have studied public communication campaigns at the community level using health promotion perspective (i.e. Thompson & Kine, 1999; Tones, 2001; Tones & Tilford, 2001; Tones & Tilford, 2003). Therefore, this section reviews the key theoretical underpinnings at the individual and community levels of communication.

Social psychological theories

Lindesmith et al. referred to social psychology as 'an interdisciplinary field located midway between sociology and psychology' and 'occupies central places on the borderlines that separate anthropology, history, and literature' (Benson, 1993; cited in Lindesmith et al., 1999, 3). Social psychological theories were the first in the literature to look at how attitudes and behaviour are related. Therefore, they have considerable implications for understanding, implementing and evaluating public communication campaigns at the individual level.

In the mid of the twentieth century, there had been a great debate between some scholars who found significant correlation between attitudes and behaviour (such as Warner & DeFleur, 1969), and other scholars who did not (Corey, 1937; Kutner, et al., 1952; Calder & Ross, 1973; Schuman & Johnson, 1976; Wicker, 1969). However, most contemporary studies concluded that there is a strong relationship between attitudes and behaviour under some situational factors (Warner & DeFleur, 1969), individual factors such as self-monitoring (Snyder, 1987, Snyder & Swann, 1976; Snyder & Tanke, 1976; Ajzen, et al., 1981), direct experience (Fazio & Zanna, 1981), and measurement issues (Wicker, 1969; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977).

Several social psychological theories have been used in public campaigns to achieve change at the individual level: behaviourist theories, cognitive theories, message-based theories, and contemporary theories (Appendix 1; summarised in Table 2.2). To begin with, the behaviourist theories have their roots in the classical school (Watson, 1919; Pavlov, 1927; Skinner, 1938), followed by a number of contemporary studies (Rachlin, 1970; Bandura, 1969; 1977). Behavioural approach emerged in the field of social psychology to study observable phenomena as opposed to 'mental' processes (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1982, 23).

Key theoretical categorization	Key theories	Implication in the field of communication planning
<p>Behaviourist theories</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Classical learning (Staats & Staats, 1958; Watson & Johnson, 1972). - Instrumental learning - Social learning (Bandura 1977; 1986; Peter & Olson, 1987). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pairing the stimulus that has a negative response with one that has a positive response will result in more effective communication (Reardon, 1991, 41). - Responses become stronger, the more they are associated with rewards (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 23). - Audiences will adopt new behaviour to associate themselves with an attractive source (Devine & Hirt, 1989, 239).
<p>Cognitive theories</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The theory of reasoned action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; 1980). - Attribution theory (Heider, 1946; 1958; Jones & Davis, 1965; Jones & Nisbett, 1971). - Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957). - Protection motivation theory (Rogers R. W., 1975; 1983). - Social judgement theory (Sherif & Hovland, 1961). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People rationally calculate the costs and benefits of engaging in a particular action. - It suggested that receivers are concerned with establishing the validity of the information they receive (Reardon, 1991, 58). - When attitudes and behaviour are contradictory, the person experiences uncomfortable psychological tension that called 'cognitive dissonance'. - People are motivated to protect themselves from social and psychological threats. - The message should lie within the latitude of acceptance, and avoid messages that would fall into the latitude of rejection of the target audience.

Table 2.2: Social psychological theoretical underpinnings (follows)

<p>Message-based theories</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inoculation theory (McGuire, 1961; Hovland et al., 1953; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Tannenbaum & Norris, 1966). - One-sided and two-sided messages (Ferguson, 1999, 162; Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 149). - Explicit and implicit conclusions - Emotional appeals - The use of verbal and nonverbal communication (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987; (Moffitt, 1999, chapter 4). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Target audiences could be inoculated against the possibility of encountering counter arguments in the future by combining supportive and refutational messages. - The campaigners might choose to use two-sided argument to 'inoculate' their audience against counter arguments (Hovland et al., 1953; McGuire, 1961). - Most of the research on explicit and implicit conclusions suggested that the messages should specify explicit conclusions for the audience (Cope and Richardson, 1972; Fine, 1957; Leventhal et al., 1967). - Strong fear appeal does not work; instead it would lead to defensive avoidance of the message (Backer et al., 1992). - Verbal: the speech style, preparation and speech dialects, beginning and ending, asking questions, and managing the image of witnesses and defendants. <p>Non-verbal: Voice, body movement, eye contact, distance and touching, speech fluencies and delivery style, speech rate and voice qualities.</p>
<p>Contemporary theories</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Elaboration Likelihood Model (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981; 1986). - Personality theory (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987). - McGuire's communication/persuasion matrix (McGuire, 1981; 1989). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A process model that argues that communication recipients respond to persuasive messages through central and peripheral routes to persuasion. - Audiences attend to messages that appear close at hand, personally relevant and important to their lives in physical and psychological appeals. - The model suggests that persuasion is a long and complex process that consists of input factors (the independent variables that can be manipulated) and output factors (the successive response substeps required for effective communication).

Table 2.2: Social psychological theoretical underpinnings

One of the most significant behaviourist theories that has been discussed widely in the field of persuasive communication is learning theory (Staats & Staats, 1958; Watson & Johnson, 1972). This theory suggests that when a particular response follows a given stimulus, the repeated pairing of this (conditioned) stimulus with a neutral (unconditioned) stimulus will eventually result in the elicitation of the response from the sole presence of the neutral stimulus (Reardon, 1991, 41). The implication of this theory in public communication campaigns is that pairing the stimulus that has a negative response with one that has a positive response will result in behavioural change. Classical learning, operant learning, and social learning theories are explained in Appendix 1 and summarised in Table 2.2.

As for cognitive theories, they go beyond the limitations of behaviourist thinking through studying how the target audiences process and interpret the received information. As opposed to behaviourism, the cognitive school has focused mainly on the mental activities of human beings (i.e. intra-communication). DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach noted that cognitive thinking 'has been developed mainly in the present century by social psychologists whose training is in psychology rather than sociology' and many of its concepts have emerged from 'impressive experimental research' (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1982, 23). They explained that, 'The cognitive orientation is an outgrowth of the gestalt psychology of the 1920s, field theories advanced during the 1930s, and a large contemporary literature in experimental social psychology' (Ibid., 27). Key cognitive theories are presented in Appendix 1 and summarised in Table 2.2. The main contribution of cognitive theories is that they look at the target audiences as active interpreters of information rather than passive receivers. These theories have great importance in this thesis because it goes beyond studying how communication

planners design the campaign techniques to encompass analysis of how the target audiences receive messages.

INPUT: Independent (Communication) Variables OUTPUT: Dependent Variables (Response Steps Mediating Persuasion)	SOURCE	MESSAGE	CHANNEL	RECEIVER	DEST- INATION
	number unanimity demographics attractiveness credibility •••	type appeal type information inclusion/omission organization repetitiveness •••	modality directness context •••	demographics ability personality life style •••	immediacy/delay prevention/cessation direct/immunization •••
1. Exposure to the communication					
2. Attending to it					
3. Liking, becoming interested in it					
4. Comprehending it (learning what)					
5. Skill acquisition (learning how)					
6. Yielding to it (attitude change)					
7. Memory storage of content and /or agreement					
8. Information search and retrieval					
9. Deciding on basis of retrieval					
10. Behaving in accord with decision					
11. Reinforcement of desired acts					
12. Post-behavioral consolidating					

Figure 2.14: McGuire's communication/persuasion model as an input/output matrix (McGuire, 1989, 45).

Furthermore, several theories have been reported in the communication planning literature as a framework to design communication messages such as message-based theories and contemporary models that are explained in Appendix 1 and summarised in Table 2.2. One of the most cited contemporary theoretical models in campaign literature is McGuire's communication/persuasion matrix or the input/output model (McGuire, 1981; 1989, Figure 2.14). McGuire provided 12-step analysis of the output side of the persuasion process, which he referred to as 'the successive response substeps required if the communication is to be effective' (Ibid., 48). McGuire found that audiences are

likely to take shortcuts that shorten or even reverse this long list of steps (McGuire, 1969; 1985). However, this model is still limited to a linear model that failed to look at persuasion as a complex process. Rogers' diffusion of innovation theory has been built on McGuire's communication/persuasion model, but put more emphasis on the role of interpersonal communication, as will be discussed now in the next section.

Diffusion of innovation and the role of supplementation

Rogers' diffusion of innovation theory is one of the most cited contemporary theories in communication planning (i.e. Rogers E. M. 1983; Kotler and Roberto, 1989; Tones & Green, 2004). Rogers defined diffusion as 'the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system' (Rogers E. M., 1995, 5). The strength of this theoretical model is that it does not only suggest the combination of mass and interpersonal communication, but it also explains how this combination can be implemented effectively. Rogers (1995) argued that mass media communication is the most successful way of creating awareness of new idea, product or practice, whereas interpersonal channels are more effective in getting the target audiences to accept and adopt the new idea (cited in Donovan & Henley, 2003, 113).

The diffusion of innovation theory could be connected to the concept of supplementation. Perloff defined supplementation as the situation that occurs 'when a media message is reinforced by similar messages that are delivered through other communication modalities' (Perloff, 1993, 322). Several scholars recommended using supplementation strategy in communication campaigns through combining mass and interpersonal communication techniques (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1949; Wallack, 1981; Kotler & Roberto, 1989; Perloff, 1993; Tones & Green, 2004). Several studies criticised

the lack of interpersonal communication techniques in many public communication campaigns. Therefore, the need to combine mass and interpersonal communication has been stressed by several studies. In the case of public relations campaigns, Moffitt indicated that 'some campaigns specialists recognize the media as the sole or at least primary kind of communication channel' (Moffitt, 1999, 174). As for social marketing programmes, McKenzie-Mohr and Smith suggested that for the most complex behaviour, multifaceted approaches were needed (McKenzie-Mohr & Smith, 1999, 7).

Bettinghaus and Cody recommended that communication planners should maximise efforts by 'using the mass media to gain attention and to educate, while using face-to-face communication to reach those influentials most important to the persuasive effort' (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 180). That is why it is important to study the role of both media and interpersonal techniques in the communication programmes. This thesis attempts to study how both media and interpersonal communication techniques were used in Arab Gulf campaigns, in addition to analysing how they were regarded from the perspectives of journalists, activists, and the target audiences.

Health promotion theories at the community level:

While the previous section reported the key theoretical underpinnings for studying communication planning at the individual level, some studies have focused on promoting social change at the collective level. As discussed earlier, health promotion is one of the key disciplines that studied communication campaigns at the community level. These studies have been derived from the growing recognition that behaviour is greatly influenced by the environment where people live (Thompson & Kinne, 1999, 29). Some scholars argued that behavioural change at the macro level could be achieved

by changing community norms about health-related behaviour (i.e. Abrams et al., 1986; Stunkard et al., 1985; Farquhar et al., 1985b).

Tones stressed the reciprocal relationship between the individual and the environment as health is determined by the existence of equity and social justice, which is rooted in people's social, economic and cultural circumstances (Tones, 2001, 7). He emphasised the importance of creating healthy public policy in order to change adverse environments (Tones, 2001, 8). Bell & Newby (1971) argued that community consists of 'locality, an interdependent social group, interpersonal relationships, and a culture that includes values, norms, and attachments to the community as a whole as well as to its parts' (cited in Thompson & Kinne, 1990, 47-48). Hence, it is important to study the role of cultural norms and values in promoting social change in a specific society.

However, most of the major health initiatives that used the community approach to change behaviour have paid 'little attention to norm and value change and seldom measure such change, relying instead on measuring individual change' (Farquhar et al., 1985a; Leventhal et al., 1980; cited in Thompson & Kinne, 1999, 30). That is why this thesis goes beyond studying individual approaches of social change. The next section provides a discussion of the collective approaches of collaboration and participation, the concepts of community and individual empowerment, and some ethical issues related to the concept of 'empowerment'.

Collective approach to collaboration and participation

While social psychological theories have studied change at the individual level, health promotion theories have taken a collective approach to social change. As discussed earlier in the 'Health promotion approaches' section pp. 23-25, *Health for All by the Year 2000* initiative set the foundation for the evolution of the recent concept of

health promotion that emphasised the need for a community approach to health (WHO, 1981). It has developed a comprehensive strategy that consists of three key components: collaboration, community participation and equity (Ibid.). The significance of this framework in this thesis is to study communication techniques used in public campaigns in relation to political/social environments.

Several studies have stressed the importance of partnership and collaboration in health communication (i.e. Haggart, 2000; Markwell & Speller, 2001; Sidell, 2002). Haggart claimed that intersectoral collaboration could be operationalised at each level of policy and/or decision making when individuals from health, social, voluntary and private bodies work together to meet the needs of their target audiences (Haggart, 2000, 14). Bracht et al. defined coalition as '... an organization of individuals representing diverse organizations, factions or constituencies who agree to work together in order to achieve a common goal' (Bracht et al., 1999, 95). Besides, several studies reported participation as a crucial component of community approaches to health promotion (Haggart, 2000; Carey, 2000; Green, 1986). A number of scholars explained that participation could be achieved at the community level when the public affected by a problem were involved in planning and promoting it (Green, 1986; Vandavelde, 1983).

However, it is difficult to achieve participation at the community level in some communication programmes where power is not equally balanced. Haggart referred to the phenomenon identified by Bracht and Tsouros (1990) as the phenomenon of 'community elite' who might be promoting themselves into the position of power (Haggart, 2000, 17). The concept of 'community elite' could be related to the concept of 'opinion leaders'. Carey argued that the participation process often depends on key players such as active members of the community, community leaders or community groups, which will raise a vital question: 'do these individuals reflect the needs or

concerns of the whole community or just their own?' (Carey, 2000, 38). Puddifoot (1996) claimed that while there is some evidence that community groups can represent the views of the community, the extent to which this is the case is difficult to establish (cited in Carey, 2000, 38). This argument can be related to the spiral of silence theory (Noelle-Neumann, 1991) that suggests that 'people tend to conceal their views if they feel they are in a minority and are more willing to express them than if they think they are dominant' (McQuail, 2000, 462). Therefore, the thesis studies the role of public communication in facilitating 'participation' in two social change programmes in the Arab Gulf from the perspectives of journalists, activists, and the target audiences.

The significance of the concept of 'participation' in the thesis is that it is connected to the notion of empowerment at the collective level. Laverack argued that participation is basic to community empowerment as it describes the involvement of individual community members in small groups and in large organisations (Laverack, 2004, 86). The concepts of participation and empowerment are important when studying communicating social change at the community level in this thesis. Therefore, broader discussion of the concepts of individual and community empowerment will be provided in the next section.

Individual and community empowerment

The notion of 'empowerment' is a key concept in this thesis as it helps to study communication techniques in relation to the social/political environment. Health empowerment is one of the most recent communication approaches to social change in the field of health. Wallerstein (1992) defined empowerment as 'a social-action process that promotes participation of people, organizations and communities towards the goals of increased individual and community control, political efficacy, improved quality of

life and social justice' (cited in Laverack, 2004, 47). Several studies recommended moving from the educational and preventive models of health promotion towards the empowerment model that aims not just at influencing individual choices, but also at creating health public policy (Tones & Tilford, 2003, 94; Tones & Tilford, 2001, 39; Tones, 2001, 12).

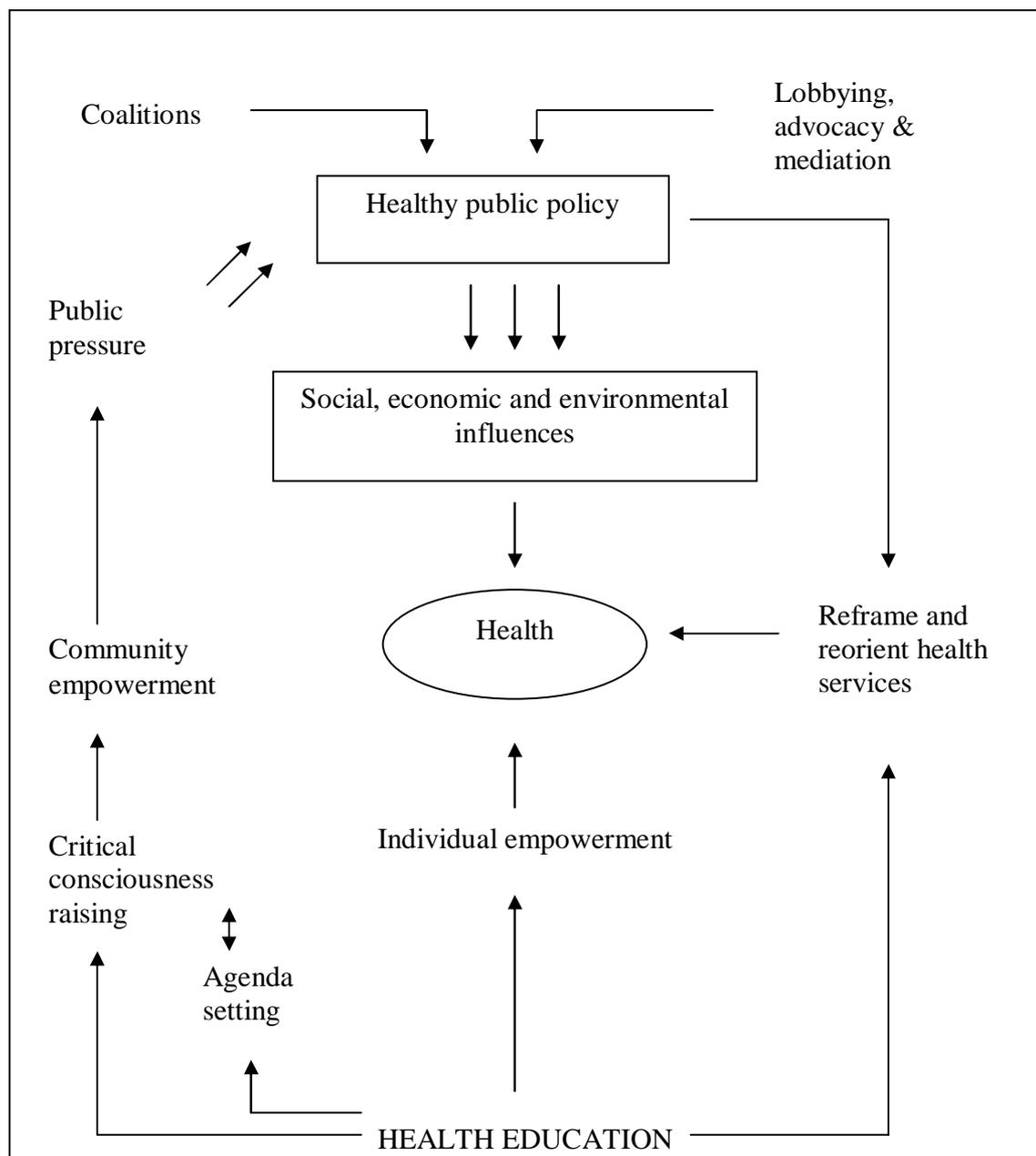


Figure 2.15: An empowerment model (Tones & Tilford, 2001).

Figure 2.15 shows Tones and Tilford's empowerment model that is based on two key foundations: creating healthy public policy by lobbying and advocacy, and new health education approach through strengthening individual capabilities and facilitating choice of action (Tones & Tilford, 2001, 49). This model represents the interrelated relationship between individual and community empowerment. It assumes that health education will lead to individual empowerment in addition to agenda setting and critical consciousness raising, which will result in community empowerment. Consequently, public pressure will cause healthy public policy, which will help in reframing health issue and will affect social, economic and environmental influences that can contribute to health. This model stresses the role of coalitions, lobbying, advocacy and mediation to achieve healthy public policy.

Since several studies distinguished between individual and community empowerment, it is helpful to stretch out this debate in the literature. Tones defined individual empowerment as, '...a state in which an individual actually possesses a relatively high degree of power: that is having the resources which enable that individual to make genuinely free choices' (Tones, 1994, 169). Tones emphasised some of the key empowering tactics at the individual level such as stressing beliefs about control and self-efficacy beliefs, values such as self-esteem, in addition to the provision of life and health skills (Tones, 1994, 169; Tones, 1997, 40). However, acquiring self-efficacy is not sufficient, as it should be combined with the provision of access to resources that would enable the individuals to achieve what they want to achieve. Sidell explained that psychological empowerment requires 'enabling people to participate by raising their consciousness and confidence', while political and economic empowerment is 'bound up with the unequal distribution of resources' (Sidell, 2002, 62). Therefore, it

is difficult to study the notion of individual empowerment in isolation of community empowerment in this thesis.

Community empowerment was defined as 'a social-action process in which individuals and groups act to gain mastery over their lives in the context of changing their social and political environment' (Wallerstein and Bernstein, 1994, 142; cited in Tones & Tilford, 2001, 101). This definition looks at the inter-connection between individual and community empowerment. This interrelated relationship was emphasised by several scholars (i.e. Bracht et al., 1999; Tones, 2001; Tones & Tilford, 2001). Tones explained that this reciprocal relationship is based on the assumption that empowered individuals are needed to mobilise communities, and an empowered community, on the other hand, will also generate norms and a social support system that will reinforce individual empowerment (Tones, 2001, 9). However, although there has been a feeling that people need support and enablement to adopt their behaviour, the common theme in much of the 1990s 'empowerment' rhetoric has been similar to 1980s individualism (Carey, 2000, 33).

One of the key indications of community empowerment is the extent to which the target audiences have access to resources and training programmes. Carey claimed that without ensuring the provision of the resources to the community, 'community development approaches to health promotion would fail to address power imbalances and possibly exacerbate the situation, by encouraging victim blaming where the victim is the whole community' (Carey, 2000, 42). Therefore, collective action is needed to support individual psychological approaches to health promotion through providing the target audiences with access to resources that will 'empower' them to assess their behaviour and decide to change it. It can be concluded from this discussion that it is significant in this thesis to go beyond using social psychological theories when studying

the communication techniques in the Arab Gulf cases towards analysing the role of public communication in facilitating 'empowerment' and 'participation' in the Arab Gulf. The concept of 'empowerment' in health promotion literature raises several ethical issues that will be discussed now in the next section.

Ethical issues related to 'empowerment'

One of the key ethical issues when using the concept of 'empowerment' in this thesis is the nature of communication campaigns where power is imbalanced. Swift and Levin proposed a three-stage model of empowerment that suggested that people could move from their state of powerlessness to be powerful (Swift and Levin, 1987). However, Sidell argued that the problem of the three-stage model of empowerment seems to lie in 'how people who perceive themselves as powerless can feel motivated to make the leap into joining up with others if there are no structures in place for that to occur' (Sidell, 2002, 60). Therefore, before promoting change, communication planners should assure that the target audiences are provided with the access and the resources to move towards this change. Gruber and Trickett (1987) argued that there is 'a fundamental paradox in the idea of people empowering others because the very institutional structure that puts one group in a position to empower also works to undermine the act of empowerment' (cited in Sidell, 2002, 60).

The dilemma between health promotion and empowerment has been stressed by Duncan and Cribb who raised the questions: 'can the two separate intentions – allowing self-determination and seeking health improvement – be reconciled?' and 'do advocates of empowerment want to help people or do they want to change people?' (Duncan & Cribb, 1996, 340-341). Sidell cited Grace's (1991) argument that 'attempts to empower actually mask attempts by health professionals to maintain control (Sidell, 2002, 60-61).

Therefore, this thesis studies the concepts of 'empowerment' and 'participation' in the cases from the multiple perspectives of communication planners, journalists, activists, target audiences, besides analysing the communication discourses. Based on Freire's research (1972), Sidell claimed that people could be liberated through acquiring a critical awareness of the world in which they live, which would enable them to identify problems as they see them not as those in positions of power see them (cited in Sidell, 2002, 61). Bracht et al. argued that critical consciousness or awareness might develop through participation in a group or other mediating social structure, which would contribute to both psychological and community empowerment (Bracht et al., 1999, 88).

Key health promotion theoretical concepts & models	Definitions
- Collaboration	- Individuals from health, social, voluntary and private bodies work together to meet the needs of their target audience.
- Participation	- People affected by a problem are involved in planning and promoting it.
- Empowerment	- A social-action process that promotes participation of people, organizations and communities towards the goals of increased individual and community control, political efficacy, improved quality of life and social justice. It could be achieved through using health education and persuasion techniques to strengthen individual capabilities and facilitate choice of action, creating healthy public policy by lobbying and advocacy, and providing the target audience with training and resources.
- Individual empowerment	- A state in which an individual actually possesses a relatively high degree of power: that is having the resources which enable that individual to make genuinely free choices.
- Community empowerment	- A social-action process in which individuals and groups act to gain mastery over their lives in the context of changing their social and political environment.

Table 2.3: Key health promotion theoretical concepts

To sum up, the notions of 'empowerment' and 'participation' are used as key analytical concepts in this thesis because it goes beyond the narrow framework of the social psychological theories that focus on change at the individual level. The contribution of this research is that it studies the role of public communication in facilitating community participation and empowerment from the perspectives of journalists, activists, the target audiences, and through analysing interpersonal and media discourses. Table 2.3 presents key health promotion theoretical concepts in this thesis. After providing a discussion of the theoretical framework of this thesis, it is helpful to review in the next section the literature on communication techniques used in campaign literature.

Communication techniques used in public campaigns:

After presenting the key theoretical underpinnings at the individual and community levels of communication, this section aims to review the literature on the approaches used to study communication techniques of public campaigns. It focuses on discussing key communication techniques reported in the literature of drugs prevention and anti-child abuse programmes, in addition to the approaches used to study communication techniques in the Arabic literature.

Communication techniques used in drugs prevention programmes:

Since the first case study in this thesis is a drug prevention programme, it is useful to review the communication techniques and approaches used in the literature of drugs prevention interventions. Several scholars used functional approach to study anti-drugs programmes through providing practical tips of good communication practice (i.e. Home Office Drugs Prevention Initiative, 1998a; 1998b; Henderson, 1995). Hastings

and Stead used a functional approach to implement social marketing theoretical underpinning to design drugs prevention programmes (Hastings & Stead, 1999, 24-28). Other programmes used 'media advocacy' or 'unpaid publicity' to generate unpaid coverage of an issue through media by lobbying for policy change or by generating support from opinion leaders (i.e. Reid et al., 1992; Wyllie & Casswell, 1992). Although some studies reported that these programmes achieved attitude and knowledge change (i.e. Wallack, 1990), Hastings and Stead criticised that 'little systematic research has been conducted into their effectiveness on outcomes such as behaviour change' (Hastings & Stead, 1999, 7).

A number of studies focused on using media in drugs prevention (i.e. Hastings & Stead, 1999; Dorn & Murji, 1992; Flay & Burton, 1990). Coggans and Watson (1995) argued that media campaigns aiming at behaviour change are unlikely to succeed, but they can reinforce beliefs and agenda setting (cited in Home Office Anti-Drugs Co-ordinating Unit & Drugs Prevention Advisory Service, 2001, 23). The Home Office's report (2001) explained that several large-scale mass media campaigns in the 1980s did not succeed because they used messages and approaches which the literature suggests to be ineffective such as the use of fear appeals techniques (i.e. Hale and Dillard, 1995) or simplistic 'say no' messages (i.e. Schilling & McAlister, 1990).

Several scholars found that multi-faceted or integrated interventions, that used mass media and interpersonal communication techniques such as schools programmes and community activities, were effective in creating behaviour change (i.e. Perry et al., 1992; Backer et al., 1992; Pierce et al., 1990). Hastings and Stead reported a number of multi-faceted projects that have achieved long-term changes in the health behaviour of the target audience such as the well-known Stanford Five-City project and the North Karelia community projects in the 1970s (Hastings & Stead, 1999, 3). One of the

substantial contributions to the literature of drugs prevention was the research conducted by Stead et al. (2000) and Mackintosh et al. (2001) of the development and evaluation of NE Choices programme. NE Choices was a multi-component drugs prevention programme for adolescents that was based on social marketing theory and social influence model (Stead et al., 2000, 8). The considerable strength of this research is its use of both quantitative and qualitative methods to evaluate the programme through using longitudinal survey, formative research, observation, and focus groups.

Some recent studies stressed the importance of community-based programmes to prevent drugs addiction (i.e. Home Office Anti-Drugs Co-ordinating Unit & Drugs Prevention Advisory Service, 2001). Since 1990, the Home Office Drugs Prevention Initiative has been piloting a community-based approach to drugs prevention through small teams that were set up to work with local communities (Hastings & Stead, 1999). The research conducted by the Home Office Anti-Drugs Co-ordinating Unit with the assistance of Drugs Prevention Advisory Service stressed the increasing importance of a national anti-drug strategy at the community level (Home Office Anti-Drugs Co-ordinating Unit & Drugs Prevention Advisory Service, 2001). This study reported that the government's communication with the public relied mainly on media campaigns, which have been largely ignored recently because of the little research evidence of the effectiveness of these campaigns or their support of local activity (Ibid., 7).

However, there is no reference in the drugs prevention literature to the role of public relations or social marketing programmes in facilitating community empowerment. That is why this thesis aims to study the role of public communication approaches in facilitating community empowerment in a drugs prevention programme in Kuwait. After discussing the key communication techniques reported in drugs prevention

literature, the next section will discuss communication techniques used in anti-child abuse interventions.

Communication techniques used in anti-child abuse interventions:

Since the second case study is an anti-child abuse programme, it is helpful to discuss the communication techniques used in the literature of child abuse interventions in this section. This section begins with presenting definitions and types of child abuse. Then, it discusses the main communication preventive approaches and techniques used in the field of child abuse prevention relating them to the concepts of participation and empowerment at the community level. This section studies mainly preventive interventions and excludes reactive interventions or treatment programmes because they are not the focus of this thesis.

Definitions and types of child abuse

Several scholars argued that child abuse is not a new phenomenon as children have been the subject of violence since ancient time when children suffered several kinds of physical, emotional and sexual abuse (i.e. Inglis, 1978; Jobling, 1978; Kemp, 1978). Other scholars looked at the issue from sociological angle and focused on the social context where the problem occurred (i.e. Finkelhor, 1984; Russell, 1984). Corby explained that, 'Child abuse is a socially defined construct' and 'a product of a particular culture and context and not an absolute unchanging phenomenon' (Corby, 2000, 66). In addition, social cultural theories suggested that child abuse is related to the cultural support to the use of physical punishment on children (Gelles and Cornell, 1985, cited in Corby, 1989, 35).

Social constructionists claimed that social abuse exists only when society labels it as such. Meadow noted, 'A child is considered to be abused if he or she is treated in a way that is unacceptable in a given culture at a given time' (Meadow, 1997, 1). Moreover, Rogers (1989) argued that 'child abuse does not exist in itself, but it made real only by our constructions, that is by the way we think and talk about it' (cited in Mayes, et al., 1992, 10). In Britain, the Department of Health guidelines (DoH, 2000) offered formal definitions of child abuse that referred to four key types of abuse: physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, and neglect (Table 2.4).

Type of abuse	Definition
Physical abuse	It involves 'hitting, shaking, throwing, poisoning, burning or scalding, drowning, suffocating, or otherwise causing physical harm to a child' (DoH, 2000, 5).
Sexual abuse	It involves 'forcing or enticing a child or young person to take part in sexual activities, whether or not the child is aware of what is happening' (DoH, 2000, 6).
Emotional abuse	It is 'the persistent emotional ill-treatment of a child such as to cause severe and persistent adverse effects on the child's emotional development' (DoH, 2000, 5-6).
Neglect	It is 'The persistent failure to meet a child's physical and/or psychological needs, likely to result in the serious impairment of the child's health or development' (DoH, 2000, 6). It involves 'a parent or carer failing to provide adequate food, shelter and clothing, failing to protect a child from physical harm or danger, or the failure to ensure access to appropriate medical care or treatment' (Ibid.).

Table 2.4: Department of Health definitions of child abuse type

Communication approaches of child abuse prevention

After providing key definitions and types of child abuse, this section aims to introduce communication approaches used in anti-child abuse programmes. The main approach used in the child abuse prevention literature is public education approach at two key levels: educating children, and educating parents and community at large. Several scholars used empirical research to study educational anti-child abuse programmes at the preschool level (i.e. Borkin & Frank, 1986; Stillwell et al., 1988; Gilbert et al., 1989; Conte et al., 1985). Other scholars studied a number of preventive programmes for primary children most of which used drama to convey their message (i.e. Swann et al., 1985; Sigurdson et al., 1986). Few studies discussed the adverse effects of preventive programmes for children that might create fears (Kraizer et al., 1988; Leventhal, 1987). The second category of child abuse research focused on programmes that aim at educating parents and community through creating general awareness of child abuse issues (i.e. Crow, 1985; Del Castillo, 1985; Gray et al., 1983; Finkelhor, 1984). Mayes et al. argued that educating parents and community is essential to overcome the denial of many adults of the problem (Mayes et al., 1992, 60).

In the anti-child abuse literature, three key prevention interventions that target parents at the community level were reported: primary, secondary and tertiary prevention. The first two prevention interventions are based on a communication approach, while the third intervention focuses mainly on treating at-risk parents. The primary prevention intervention takes a collective approach to prevent child abuse at the community level through promoting children's well-being in general and good parenting through facilitating supportive communities and enabling social and economic policies (Macdonald, 2001, 118; Stratton, 2002, 91).

Various studies in the field of child abuse prevention recommended empowering the target audiences (i.e. Macdonald & Macdonald, 1999; Macdonald, 2001). It was argued that effective parenting interventions should empower parents through enhancing the confidence of parents, promoting self-sufficiency and reducing dependency on external sources of support (Sanders & Cann, 2002, 147). Macdonald indicated that despite the good impact of educational programmes in increasing the knowledge of children about child abuse, there is 'no evidence that such programmes in fact help children to protect themselves in situations of real threat' (Macdonald, 2001, 22). This argument could be connected to the earlier discussion in this chapter that psychological empowerment should be supported by community empowerment to achieve social change.

However, most of child abuse prevention interventions have been based on behavioural theories of social change such as cognitive-behavioural approaches to parent-training for parents with young children (Macdonald, 2001, 154). Based on Belsky and Vondra's (1989) argument, Daro claimed that theories of parental practice have evolved from reliance on 'linear or main effect' frameworks into models which recognise the interaction of multiple casual agents (Daro, 2002, 128). Moreover, social learning theory has been used in anti-child programmes through using modelling to help parents acquire new skills. Daro argued that if knowledge is the only barrier between good interactions and good parenting, simple, educational programmes such as written material or group presentations will fill this gap (Ibid.). However, for many parents, the inability to communicate well with their children is not simply a matter of insufficient knowledge (Ibid.).

The focus on using behavioural persuasion approaches in anti-child abuse programmes raises the question of the role of public communication approaches in facilitating community empowerment and participation. Macdonald suggested that the

target audiences could be empowered at the community level by providing them with services, information that would maximise their choices, and a means to ensure their involvement in their lives (Macdonald, 2001, 22). Moreover, some scholars argued that the participation of the target audiences in decisions and plans 'can enable people fundamentally to alter the perception of problems often held by professional staff' (Beresford & Croft, 1993; Striefal et al., 1998; cited in Macdonald, 2001, 21). Therefore, this thesis aims to go beyond focusing on social psychological approaches to study the role of public communication approaches in facilitating community participation and empowerment in an anti-child abuse programme in Bahrain. The next section will present key techniques and approaches used in the Arabic literature.

Approaches to study communication techniques in Arabic literature:

After reviewing the literature on the approaches used to study communication techniques to prevent drugs addiction and child abuse in Western literature, it is useful to review the Arabic research on communication approaches used in public programmes. There is an absence of Arabic-oriented theoretical framework in the Arabic literature on communication planning. Few scholars in the Arabic literature studied the way public communication campaigns have been used in the Arabic context depending mainly on a descriptive approach (Al Maleh, 1985; Asab, 1981; Al Awadey, 2002; Abu Al Saad, 1981; Al Maklooth, 1996). Other scholars used functional theoretical approach based on brief explanation of some Western social psychological theories (Al Jaber, 1981b; Al Sarayra, 1991). However, these studies fell short of providing original theoretical understanding of the role of public communication approaches in facilitating the participation of the target audiences in social change.

Few Arabic scholars used the case study approach to study some communication programmes such as Abu Al Saad's (1981) case study of the national campaign to fight illiteracy in Iraq, and Al Sarayra's (1991) case study of a family planning campaign in Hatem in Jordan. However, these studies were limited to study the narrow perspective of communication planners and ignored issues of power and participation at the community level. Therefore, this thesis attempts to fill the gap in the existing Arabic literature through using multiple theoretical underpinnings to study how communication approaches were used and regarded from the perspectives of communication planners, journalists, and the target audiences. Health promotion concepts of 'participation' and 'community empowerment' are significant in this thesis to study communication techniques in relation to their Arab Gulf context.

Various studies in the Arabic context focused on the way communication techniques were designed, and failed to provide rich insights on the role of public communication approaches in facilitating participation at the community level (Asab, 1981; Al Awadey, 2002; Abu Al Saad, 1981). These studies recommended using strategic planning through establishing specialised departments that would specify measurable objectives and evaluation benchmarking, in addition to training the staff working in these departments (Ibid.). Al Awadey attributed the absence of strategic planning for long-term goals in national literacy campaigns in the Arab Gulf societies to the lack of communication specialists and the failure to use integrated communication techniques (Al Awadey, 2002, 54). However, these studies failed to develop new theoretical insights on Arabic public communication or Arabic communication discourse ethics.

Other Arabic studies cited some Western theoretical models such as theories of media effects and agenda setting (Al Jaber, 1981b) and Paisley's (1981) social control theoretical approach that consists of three strategies: education, engineering and

reinforcement (Al Sarayra, 1991). Moreover, Al Sarayra explained the practice of some Western communication models used in family planning programmes such as the practice of social marketing model in Egypt, community-based distribution, traditional communication channels and single-medium communication that have been practised in some developing countries (Ibid., 105-106). However, these studies failed to go beyond using a descriptive approach to explain Western theories and models towards providing the implications of these theories in the Arabic context. In other words, no Arabic research developed original theoretical insights on the practice of communication approaches in the Arab Gulf in relation to Arabic ethics and environment. Hence, the contribution of this thesis is that it offers detailed empirical data on the way communication approaches are used and received in the Arab Gulf to develop new theoretical understanding of the role of public relations and public communication approaches in promoting social change in relation to Arabic ethics and culture.

Conclusion:

This chapter attempts to pull together key communication concepts and approaches from multiple theoretical disciplines that have framed public communication programmes. It could be concluded from this chapter that there are some major limitations of the literature on public communication campaigns. First, the existing literature is Western centric as the theoretical communication concepts and models were limited to Western context. Although some studies discussed some public campaigns in the developing countries, they did not provide in-depth analysis of the way communication approaches were used to promote social change in their political, socio-cultural context. This vacuum in the knowledge could be attributed to the lack of theoretical public communication models and concepts in the Arabic literature.

Therefore, the theoretical contribution of this thesis is that it adapts Western communication theories to Arab empirical cases and attempts to develop theoretical implications on the role of public communication approaches in the Arab Gulf.

In addition, another absence in the literature is the lack of interdisciplinary theoretical analysis of public communication campaigns in the literature. This chapter highlights the importance of social psychological theories and health promotion community-based concepts to study communication techniques used in public campaigns. However, the literature on drugs prevention and anti-child abuse interventions fell short of providing in-depth insights of how the notions of empowerment and participation have been used and regarded in real-life campaigns. Social psychological theories have been the dominant theoretical paradigm in the campaign literature, while less attention has been paid to discuss the implications of other theories at the community level. Therefore, the concepts of 'empowerment' and 'participation' have emerged from this theoretical discussion as a significant framework to study communication techniques and approaches in relation to social/political environment in this thesis.

Arabic literature has used mainly a descriptive approach and failed to relate communication campaigns to Arabic communication ethics. Moreover, Arabic scholars have been limited to study the narrow viewpoint of communication planners and ignored the perspectives of journalists, activists, and the target audiences. Therefore, this thesis aims to overcome the limitations of the existing literature by studying communication techniques used in public campaigns in the Arab Gulf in relation to their broader environment. This research attempts to go beyond studying social psychological techniques towards offering qualitative analysis of how these techniques were used to facilitate community participation in social change. This contributes to the broader aim of this thesis to study the role of communication in the Arab Gulf societies.

Despite the attempt of few studies to relate the practice of public relations in the Arab societies to the Arabic communication ethics (Kruckeberg, 1996; Vujnovic & Kruckeberg, 2005), they fell short of generating comprehensive Arabic theoretical framework. Although these studies suggested the possibility for the practice of public communication as a relationship-building function in the Arab World, there has been an absence of in-depth empirical Arab cases of the practice of public relations and public communication. Hence, this thesis attempts to take this suggestion a step further through providing empirical research. The contribution of this thesis is that it offers new theoretical understanding of the role of public relations and public communication ethics in the Arab Gulf. In the following chapter, the key methodological approach to achieve these aims will be discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION:

Now that the key concepts, models, history, theoretical background and debates raised widely in the literature of public communication campaigns have been reviewed, the methodological framework for this thesis will be presented. This chapter explains research questions, paradigm choice, data collection, and how the findings are structured and analysed. Important issues such as sampling, access, transcription and coding techniques in addition to the verification procedures are explained. Finally, this chapter highlights the limitations of this research.

Research questions and focus:

As it is clear from the review of literature, Western and Arabic literature has failed to provide detailed empirical research of real-life public communication campaigns to develop original theoretical understanding of the role of communication approaches in social change in the Arab Gulf. As discussed in the 'Introduction of the Thesis' p. 4, the thesis attempts to fill the gap in the past literature by raising basic questions about the role of public relations and public communication in social change in the Arab Gulf in the age of globalisation, and how communication approaches can facilitate community participation and empowerment in social change in the Arab Gulf. In order to answer the basic questions of the thesis, the following specific questions were addressed:

- What is the historical and sociological background of media and public campaigns in the Arab Gulf?
- What is the notion of 'social change' and 'communication ethics' in the Arabic culture?
- How media and communication were launched in the Arab Gulf and under what influences?
- What are the key communication agents in the Arab Gulf?

Subsequently, process questions were raised:

- What is the role of political, economic, social and cultural factors in the launch and implementation of each communication programme in the Arab Gulf?
- What is the role of media in each project?
- What is the role of planning and evaluation processes in each project?
- How communication techniques are used to promote social change in communication campaigns in the Arab Gulf?
- Are participation and empowerment facilitated in the cases?

Qualitative effects questions were also raised:

- How are public communication techniques related to the theoretical concepts of 'participation' and 'empowerment'?
- How is public communication regarded from the perspectives of journalists, activists and the target audiences?
- To what extent are target audiences and activists empowered?

Two key community-based theoretical concepts: participation and empowerment have been highlighted as important in communication ethics and fundamental to normative literature in public relations and social marketing. The focus on these concepts was seen as important in this research because it enabled it to go beyond

studying individual techniques to social change to provide a broader contextual understanding of communication approaches in relation to the social/political environment. Likewise the background of communication models proved invaluable in helping the researcher to step back from the detailed empirical data to perceive broader patterns and structures in the work. This contributes to the broad aim of the thesis to provide theoretical understanding of the role of public communication and communication ethics in facilitating participation in social change in the Arab Gulf.

The research paradigm:

This thesis provides in-depth understanding of the way public communication campaigns are used to promote social change in the Arab Gulf context through using constructivist-interpretive paradigm. The constructivist paradigm was used in this thesis to facilitate understanding of multiple perspectives. Constructivist thinking is based on the assumption that 'contrary to common sense, there is no unique 'real world' that preexists and is independent of human mental activity and human symbolic language' (Bruner, 1986, 95, cited in Schwandt, 1998, 236). Lincoln and Guba assumed that what is real is a construction in the minds of individuals (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 83). Schwandt explained, 'constructivism means that human beings do not find or discover knowledge so much as construct or make it' as we 'invent concepts, models and schemes to make sense of experience and, further, we continually test and modify these constructions in the light of new experience' (Schwandt, 1998, 237).

Therefore, this thesis adopted the constructivist assumption that the way communication approaches are used in public campaigns is 'constructed' or 'invented' by key social actors in the cases, their social action, and language. It is argued that in order to understand the role of communication in empowerment and participation in social

change, the researcher goes beyond studying the viewpoint of communication planners to study the perspectives of key social actors involved in the cases. This research assumes that campaign planners, journalists, activists and target audience are the ones who 'construct' how communication techniques could be related to the notions of participation and empowerment. In addition, observing real-life interpersonal activities and studying media discourse played a significant role in constructing theoretical understanding of communication ethics and power relationships in the cases.

Community-based concepts of 'empowerment' and 'participation' were used to 'reconstruct' new theoretical interpretations of the way public campaigns were employed to promote social change in the Arab Gulf context. In other words, the role of theory in this constructivist paradigm was 'instrumental' to develop new theoretical insights on the role of communication approaches in social change through interpreting the empirical findings in their Arab Gulf context. Listening to the multiple perspectives of journalists and target audiences helped to reconstruct new meanings of the notions of community empowerment and participation in the Arab Gulf context. Schwandt indicated that,

The constructivist or interpretivist believes that to understand this world of meaning one must interpret it. The inquirer must elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of social actors. To prepare an interpretation is itself to construct a reading of these meanings; it is to offer the inquirer's construction of the constructions of the actors one studied (Ibid, 222.).

The constructivist-interpretivist paradigm provided understanding and reconstruction of participant constructions that influenced practice. The selection of the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm raises some ontological, epistemological and methodological issues concerned with the nature and role of theory in the research, which will now be discussed.

The constructivist-interpretivist paradigm used by this thesis assumes multiple, shared reality by individuals in the groups (relativist ontology) (Guba and Lincoln, 1998, 206). In such a qualitative paradigm, the reality is constructed by the individuals involved in the research (Creswell, 1998, 4). By using constructivist-interpretivist paradigm, the thesis suggests that the reality is 'multiple' and 'pluralistic' and constructed by the social actions, language and artefacts produced by the research participants. This relativist ontology was achieved by analysing the research participants' 'realities' in their real-life context. By interpreting the language, actions and artefacts used by communication planners, journalists, activists and target audiences, this thesis took the challenge of reconstructing the notions of participation and empowerment in Arab Gulf public communication campaigns. It used multiple sources of evidence (in-depth interviews, participant observations, focus groups, and media analysis).

Case study is the most appropriate approach to achieve this constructivist ontology, because it allows the researcher to use multiple sources of evidence and to analyse these multiple realities in their own context. The case study is defined as a 'bounded system' that is bounded in time and place (Creswell, 1998, 61), which helps to provide in-depth description of the communication techniques used in specific campaigns in the Arab Gulf context within specific period of time. Daymon and Holloway emphasised that case study inquiry enables the researcher 'to collect 'rich', detailed information across a wide range of dimensions about one particular case or a small number of cases' (Daymon & Holloway, 2002, 106).

Moreover, in this constructivist-interpretivist paradigm 'the investigator and the object of investigation are assumed to be interactively linked so that the 'findings' are *literally created* as the investigation proceeds' (transactional and subjective epistemology) (Guba and Lincoln, 1998, 207). This thesis goes beyond focusing on the

target audiences as the main social actors to study the broader perspective of journalists, activists, and analysing media and interpersonal discourse. This approach aims to provide wider understanding of notion of community empowerment and ethics in the Arab Gulf context. The constructivist-interpretivist paradigm assumes that to understand this world of meaning, 'the inquirer must elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of social actors' (Ibid., 222). The researcher has been present in the research through observation, interpretation and analysis as will be discussed now in more detail in the following section.

The relationship between the researcher and the researched:

As discussed in the previous section, the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm of this thesis assumes that 'the investigator and the object of investigation are assumed to be interactively linked so that the 'findings' are *literally created* as the investigation proceeds' (Guba and Lincoln, 1998, 207). The researcher was involved in interactive relationships with the key social actors in the research: communication planners, journalists, activists, and the target audiences. The researcher established direct relationships with the research participants through interviews, focus groups, and observation, which enabled her to acquire in-depth understanding of the cases. The role of the researcher in this interpersonal relationship is to 'construct' new realities based on the realities initially held by the key social actors in the cases. Thus, the researcher was present in the research through her involvement with the research participants in the process of data collection to 'construct' their multiple realities in their real-life contexts. Moreover, the researcher was present in the entire thesis through her 'reconstructions' of

new insights of the realities initially held by the research participants that she was involved with directly.

The personal nature of social constructions suggests that 'individual constructions can be elicited and refined only through interaction between and among investigator and respondents (hermeneutical and dialectical methodology) (Guba and Lincoln, 1998, 207). Therefore, the research required the establishment of rapport with participants and ensuring the verification of the research at the same time. Being an Arab, Muslim woman from Bahrain facilitated the researcher's interaction with the research participants and helped her to be accepted in their real-life context. Spending months doing the empirical research enabled the researcher to be highly involved with the key social actors in the cases. Besides, it played a key role in the process of learning as the researcher's involvement in the research allowed her to enrich her understanding as a constructivist researcher of the realities initially 'constructed' by the research participants.

The fact that the researcher comes from the same cultural background of the participants and speaks the same dialect helped her to gain their trust and to communicate better with them. In addition, it was useful in acquiring cultural understanding of the participants' speech and body language. The cooperation of the research participants helped the researcher to conduct rich empirical research with multiple data gathering techniques. However, she was aware that coming from the same Arabic, Islamic cultural background might impose a personal bias on the research. Therefore, the researcher tried to control her own bias through triangulating the cases and providing thick description, contrary findings, and alternative explanations of these findings. For example, she interviewed conservative as well as liberal journalists and activists to reflect different perspectives. Detailed discussion and examples on the

researcher's experience and interaction with the research participants will be discussed in 'The researcher's final reflection on the research experience' pp. 304-309.

Approach to data collection:

To begin with, answering the initial research questions about the historical and sociological background of media and communication in the Arab Gulf suggests providing a historical component to this research. Therefore, in order to answer the introductory questions, this thesis used secondary resources and oral history through interviewing eight of the key players of media and communication in the Arab Gulf societies (See the list of interviewees in Appendix 2). In addition, the thesis used multiple case study approach for several reasons: first, the use of multiple cases enables the researcher to study different perspectives of communication programmes such as studying them within different organisational structures; second, it allows the researcher to identify distinctive features by exploring similarities and contrasts between cases (Daymon & Holloway, 2002, 108); and finally, it allows some measure of 'analytic generalisation' of theoretical insights, which will be discussed in detail in the 'Methods of verification' section pp. 94-96.

Sampling:

This thesis used a purposeful sample of two public communication programmes in the Arab Gulf. These programmes were selected by the researcher to serve the theoretical paradigm of the research and to answer the research questions. Two long-term programmes to promote different aspects of social change in the Arab Gulf were selected. The first case, *Ghiras*, is a national communication project in Kuwait that was launched in 2000 for drugs prevention. The second case is *Be Free* programme, an anti-

child abuse programme implemented by a voluntary organisation that was launched in 2002 in Bahrain. Both communication programmes studied in the thesis are long-term that are still going on.

Ghiras	Be Free
<p>Communication techniques: The communication techniques were studied from the launch of the project until six months following the beginning of the research. From January 2000 until December 2004.</p> <p>The researcher observation and involvement in the field research: From mid July until mid December 2004 (six months)</p> <p>Interviews with communication planners, journalists & activists They were held from 17-7-2004 until 14-12-2004</p> <p>Focus groups with the target audiences They were held from 3-10-2004 until 16-12-2004</p> <p>Discourse analysis The researcher studied <i>Al-Khabas</i> and <i>Al-Watan</i> newspapers, two of the highest circulation, daily national newspapers in Kuwait, from the first of November 2002 until the end of January 2003 during one of the programme's biggest campaign.</p> <p>Semiotics analysis Social semiotic analysis was used to analyse the visual signs of the TV adverts used in ten of Ghiras campaigns from January 2000 until May 2004.</p>	<p>Communication techniques: The communication techniques were studied from the launch of the project until six months following the beginning of the research. From March 2002 until November 2004.</p> <p>The researcher observation and involvement in the field research: From end of May until early November 2004 (six months)</p> <p>Interviews with communication planners, journalists & activists They were held from 5-6-2004 until 28-11-2004</p> <p>Focus groups with the target audiences They were held from 11-12-2004 until 30-1-2005</p> <p>Discourse analysis The researcher studied <i>Akbar Al-Khaleeg</i> and <i>AlAyam</i> newspapers, two of the highest circulation, daily national newspapers in Bahrain, from the first of August 2002 until the end of October 2002, during one of the programme's biggest campaign to find Fatima, an escaped, abused child.</p>

Table 3.1: The time framework for the case studies

Since case studies are 'bounded systems', the researcher studied the communication techniques used in each case from the first date of its launch until six months following the beginning of the research. The researcher was involved in the two case studies from the end of May 2004 until the end of January 2005. The techniques of each case were studied from the launch of each project until December 2004. The interviews and focus groups with key social actors in the cases were held until January 2005. This time framework was selected to enable the researcher to study the background and the 'process' of developing these communication techniques over time relating them to the broader system. In addition, this time frame allowed the researcher to take part in the actual real-life activities and to observe the real process of implementing these techniques in their own contexts until the last month of the bounded case. Table 3.1 illustrates the time framework for the case studies.

Data gathering techniques:

Secondary archival resources were used in addition to conducting open interviews with eight of the key players of the launch of media and communication in the Arab Gulf societies (Table 3.2). As for the case studies, several gathering techniques were used. One of the strengths of the case study approach is that it uses multiple data gathering techniques that can be considered as a method of triangulation, which will be discussed in detail in the verification section. Yin explained that data collection techniques are complementary sources of evidence, and 'a good case will therefore want to use as many sources as possible' (Yin, 1994, 80). Therefore, the research used two types of triangulation: different perspectives on the case through studying two case studies, and different methods of data collection. This thesis used multiple data gathering methods or 'sources of evidence': interviews with communication planners, journalists and activists, focus groups with target audience, media discourse analysis,

semiotic analysis of the adverts of one of the programmes, and observation of interpersonal communication activities. The data gathering techniques started with finding access to these two programmes by seeking permission of the organisations where they take place.

Date of Interview	Access	The interviewee
1. 29-6-2005	Snowballing	Shams, one of the first volunteer PR practitioners in the non-profit sector in the seventies
2. 13-11-2005		Wajeeha Al-Buharnah, one of the active volunteers since the seventies
3. 20-11-2005		Mohammad Mosaed Al-Saleh, one of the pioneers of the print media in Kuwait who started in 1953-1954
4. 27-11-2005		Mohammad Al-Jassem, the ex-editor of Al-Watan newspaper in Kuwait and one of the key journalists
5. 28-1-2006		Hasan Kamal, one of the pioneers of the broadcast media in Bahrain who started in 1955
6. 28-1-2006		Barween Zainal, one of the pioneers of the broadcast media in Bahrain who started in 1963
7. 1-2-2006		Ali Siar, one of the pioneers of the print media in Bahrain who started in 1952-1953
8. 15-2-2006		Wedad Al-Maskatey, one of the active volunteers since the seventies

Table 3.2: Interviews with historical figures

Interviews with communication planners, journalists, and activists

After getting the access to these programmes, interviews were the first data collection technique to be used. Long open interviews and focus groups that lasted 60-90 minutes were conducted with the programmes' teams to talk openly about the background of these programmes, why and how they were established in the first place, who sponsored

them, and the way communication planners planned and used communication techniques. These interviews and focus groups were important in setting the background of the cases. Daymon and Holloway explained that the advantage of choosing pre-constituted groups, who are members of a particular project group, is that 'they are more natural, and therefore participants may be comfortable in each other's company' (Daymon & Holloway, 2002, 190). Therefore, the researcher spent less time and effort to establish rapport among the group and to warm up the discussion.

Moreover, snowballing interviews were held with 10-12 journalists and activists involved in each case. List of the interviewees and the date of every interview in the two cases are appended in Appendix 2 and reported in Table 3.3. Most of the interviews were held face-to-face or on the phone. Only three interviews were held on line. Every interview lasted 25 to 45 minutes. This small sample was selected to provide in-depth data as McCracken indicated that in such a qualitative study, 'less is more' (McCracken, 1988, 17). These interviews were semi-structured as researcher used interview guide with a focus on the topic issues to be covered, but the sequencing of questions was not the same for every participant as it depends on the process of each interview and the response of each individual (Daymon & Holloway, 2002, 171). This approach allowed the researcher to ensure discussing the key issues in each interview and at the same time to provide interviewees with more freedom to express their feelings and perceptions about every key issue. The way these interviews were reduced and analysed will be discussed in the section about 'Reduction of the data, analysis, and theorisation' pp. 90-94. Sample interviews transcripts from the two cases are appended in Appendix 3.

Date of Interview	Access	The interviewee
Ghiras:	Snowballing	
1. 17-7-2004		Kameel Jadaon, the manager of the marketing consultancy that conducted summative evaluation of Ghiras campaigns
2. 18-7-2004		Ekbal Al-Ahmad, journalist and liberal activist
3. 19-7-2004		Osama Al-Qatari, journalist
4. 19-7-2004		Effat Sallam, journalist
5. 19-7-2004		Awayd Al-Meshaan, the secretary-general of the National Committee for Drugs Control
6. 19-7-2004		Mohammad Mamlook, journalist
7. 19-7-2004		Hanan Al-Dahood, journalist
8. 20-7-2004		Adnan Al-Rashid, the vice-editor of Al-Anbaa newspaper and treasurer of Journalist Association
9. 28-11-2004		Dr Wael Al-Hasawey, writer and academic
10. 8-12-2004		Buzaid, journalist
11.12-12-2004		Mohammed Al-Malifey, journalist
12.14-12-2004	Ahmed Shehab, journalist	
Be Free:	Snowballing	
1. 3-8-2004		Samah Allam, journalist in the family section
2. 26-8-2004		Lamees Dhayf, journalist
3. 29-8-2004		Nazeeha Saeed, journalist
4. 1-9-2004		Salwa Al-Moayad, writer, activist & the head of Cultural Committee at Bahraini Association for Childhood Development
5. 4-9-2004		Wafa Al-Hellaw, lawyer, writer & activist
6. 12-9-2004		Zahrah Hamdan, journalist
7. 6-10-2004		Hanan Salem, journalist
8. 9-10-2004		Dr Bannah Bu-Zaboon, psychiatrist and activist in domestic violence
9. 11-10-2004		Abdul-Nabey Al-Akrey, activist and researcher in child laws
10. 28-11-2004	Abdullah Khalifa, journalist	

Table 3.3: Interviews with journalists and activists in the two cases

Focus groups with the target audiences

Five focus groups were arranged with the key target audiences in each case. Some of these focus groups were held face-to-face, while others were held on-line. The use of both on-line and face-to-face focus groups helped get in-depth information through face-to-face communication, and at the same time gave participants the opportunity to express their opinions more freely on-line. The number of participants in each focus group was between six to ten participants, because the researcher was aware that the larger the group, the more noisy it becomes, and the more difficult for every participant to participate in the discussion (Daymon & Holloway, 2002, 192). It was essential before starting the interviews and focus groups to establish rapport with the participants. The researcher started explaining the research's objectives, and emphasising that the participants' experiences and opinions are of great importance and interest of the research.

In the first case, three focus groups were held with teenagers, while two groups were arranged with parents. In the second case, two focus groups were arranged with parents, while three focus groups were held with children between the age of 12 to 16 who could understand the questions and express their ideas clearly. The researcher got access to the target audiences through contacting people who attended the projects' activities and snowballing. As for the on-line focus groups, the researcher chose some universally accessible websites that have chatting rooms specialised in family or children and teenagers problems. The researcher was aware of the ethical issues regarding interviewing children such as the power inequality between the researcher and children, the lack of autonomy and free choice to participate in the research, and the risk of causing harm for children or victim blaming. Therefore, the children were selected from pre-constituted groups who joined these groups to express their opinions and talk about

their problems. Thus, they have the knowledge to participate and the courage to talk. For example, two of the focus groups were held face-to-face with children from a Bahraini association for child rights who volunteered to talk about children problems. The on-line focus group was with children who were members of on-line group for child problems. The researcher obtained permission of children and their parents and explained to them exactly the aim and process of the research. The participation in all the focus groups was voluntary and the participants were given the choice to participate and the right to talk openly and ask questions. The researcher ensured the safety of all the target audiences from harm through interviewing them in safe closed places (such as some conference rooms or halls) and keeping their privacy as their names were not revealed in the thesis. Table 3.4 explains the way the focus groups were accessed and arranged, and key ethical issues regarding conducting the focus groups.

All the discussions of interviews and focus groups were tape-recorded in addition to the use of printing materials in the case of on-line interviews and focus groups. Moreover, the use of field notes allowed recording the researcher's main impressions, summary of the interviews and focus groups, comments on any materials shown by the interviewees, and any critical incidents that might benefit the research. After all the interviews were completed, data analysis began with transcribing all interviews and group discussion tapes in Arabic. Then, Arabic transcripts were translated to English. The process of transcribing the whole data is significant not only to record all the details, but also to allow the researcher to enhance her understanding of the most critical statements and themes. This was a very essential step before the analysis of the data. The way these focus groups were reduced and analysed will be discussed in the section about 'Reduction of the data, analysis, and theorisation', pp. 90-94. Sample focus groups transcripts are appended in Appendix 3.

Focus group	Date	Details & comments (Access & process)	Ethical issues
Focus group 1 (Ghiras)	3-10-2004	On-line with teenagers and youth in Kuwait. Accessed through a Kuwaiti website specialised in the youth problems. Youth were more open to talk about the problem.	<p>1. The researcher took the permission of all the target audiences.</p> <p>2. She explained to them very clearly the aim and process of the research.</p> <p>3. The participation in all the focus groups was voluntary.</p> <p>4. The participants were given the choice to participate and the right to talk openly and ask questions.</p> <p>5. The researcher ensured the safety of all the target audiences from harm through interviewing them in safe places and keeping their privacy as all their names were not revealed in the thesis.</p> <p>6. The selected children were members of pre-constituted groups (between the ages of 12 to 16) who volunteered to join these groups to express their opinions and talk about their problems. Being members of a group empowered children to talk and participate in the focus groups.</p>
Focus group 2 (Ghiras)	5-10-2004	Face-to-face with teenagers and youth. Accessed through direct contact in the activities and through snowballing. The participation was voluntary.	
Focus group 3 (Ghiras)	10-12-2004	Face-to-face with parents. Accessed through direct contact in the activities and through snowballing. The participation was voluntary.	
Focus group 4 (Ghiras)	11-12-2004	On-line with parents. Accessed through a Kuwaiti website specialised in family problems. Parents were willing to talk about the issue of drugs and familiar with virtual communication.	
Focus group 5 (Ghiras)	16-12-2004	On-line with kids and teenagers in Bahrain. Accessed through a Bahraini website specialised in kids' problems. Kids were more open to talk about the problem. They talked about real cases of child abuse.	
Focus group 1 (Be Free)	11-12-2004	Face-to-face with children from a Bahraini association for child rights who volunteered to talk about children problems. So, they have the knowledge to participate and the courage to talk.	
Focus group 2 (Be Free)	18-1-2005	Face-to-face with parents. Accessed through direct contact in the activities and through snowballing. The participation was voluntary.	
Focus group 3 (Be Free)	27-1-2005	Face-to-face with parents. Accessed through direct contact in the activities and through snowballing. The participation was voluntary.	
Focus group 4 (Be Free)	28-1-2005	Face-to-face with parents. Accessed through direct contact in the activities and through snowballing. The participation was voluntary.	
Focus group 5 (Be Free)	30-1-2005		

Table 3.4: The time, process, access, and ethical issues regarding focus groups in the thesis

Print media discourse analysis

Furthermore, the thesis used print media discourse analysis. Since this thesis used a constructivist paradigm to analyse the data, the definition of discourse analysis offered by Potter has been adopted:

[Discourse analysis] has an analytical commitment to studying discourse as texts and talk in social practices. That is, the focus is not on language as an abstract entity such as lexicon and set of grammatical rules (in linguistics), a system of differences (in structuralism), a set of rules for transforming statements (in Foucauldian genealogies). Instead, it is the medium for interaction; analysis of discourse becomes, then, analysis of what people do (Potter, 1997, 146, cited in Wood & Kroger, 2000, 3-4).

In other words, the thesis is looking at language of newspapers not as a mere tool for description or a medium of communication; instead, it looks to language as a social practice, as a way of doing things. Based on Austin's (1962) theory of speech acts, Wood and Kroger (2000, 5) developed the approach of looking to language as an action, or in other words, what discourse is doing. The researcher attempts to analyse 'what is being done', not 'what it is about' (Ibid.). For example, in this thesis, the researcher studied how the notions of 'empowerment' and 'participation' were constructed through media discourses.

Based on a constructivist-interpretivist paradigm, discourse analysis was used to bring in-depth understanding of how people use language to construct their accounts of social world. Thus, the thesis looked at newspapers' discourse to bring better understanding of how the reality was constructed through discourse, and attempted to 'reconstruct' this reality using a critical discourse analysis relating it to community-based concepts of 'empowerment' and 'participation'. Van Dijk argued that discourse analysis could provide critical insights about power relationships and social problems in communication and interaction (Van Dijk, 1985, 7). In this thesis, the focus was on studying language as 'a reality-creating social practice' (Fowler, 1985, 62).

The thesis used discourse analysis of a purposeful, three-month sample of all the newspapers' articles about one of the programme's campaigns in two of the highest circulation national newspapers in each programme. In the case of Be Free, the researcher selected *Akbar Al-Khaleeg* and *AlAyam* newspapers, two of the highest circulation, daily national newspapers in Bahrain. They were studied from the first of August 2002 until the end of October 2002, during one of the programme's biggest campaign to find Fatima, an escaped, abused child. In the case of Ghiras, the drugs prevention programme, the researcher selected *Al-Khabas* and *Al-Watan* newspapers, two of the highest circulation, daily national newspapers in Kuwait. These newspapers were studied from the first of November 2002 until the end of January 2003 during one of the programme's biggest campaign. More details about the print media analysis procedures will be discussed in the 'Reduction of the data, analysis and theorisation' section pp. 90-94.

Semiotic analysis of TV adverts

While discourse analysis was used to study the print media discourse in the two cases, social semiotic analysis was used to analyse the visual signs of the TV adverts used in ten of Ghiras campaigns from January 2000 until May 2004. Porter explained that, 'A semiotic understanding of meaning stresses the possibilities of meaning held within a "sign" (e.g., a word, picture, sound, or any image one experiences that invites a conception or experience of something) (Porter, 1992, 280). This thesis used the theoretical and analytical framework offered by Kress and Leeuwen (1996) in their approach to social semiotics. They explained that,

Any semiotic system has to be able to represent, in a referential or pseudo-referential sense, aspects of the experimental world outside its particular system of signs. In other words, it has to be able to represent objects and their relations in a

world outside the representational system. That world may of course be, and most frequently is, the world of other semiotic systems (Kress & Leeuwen, 1996, 40).

They argued that 'as grammars of language describe how words combine in clauses, sentences and texts', their approach to social semiotics describes 'the way in which depicted people, places and things combine in visual 'statements' of greater or lesser complexity and extension' (Ibid., 1). The thesis used the framework provided by Kress and Leeuwen (1996) to study the power relationships constructed by advertising images. Further discussion on the semiotic analysis procedures will be discussed in detail in the 'Reduction of the data, analysis and theorisation' section pp. 90-94.

Observation

Observation is another important technique that was used in this thesis to record systemically 'events, behaviors, and artefact (objects) in the social setting chosen for study' and to 'discover complex interactions in natural social settings' (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, 107). In this research, observation allowed the researcher to be involved in the process of designing and implementing communication techniques used to promote social change in their own social contexts. The researcher played the role described by Daymon and Holloway as 'observer as participant' where the observer participated only by being there (Daymon & Holloway, 2002, 208). The advantage of this type of observation is 'the possibility to ask questions, to be accepted as a researcher but not called upon to play a role as a member of the workforce or social group' (Ibid.). Furthermore, it enabled the researcher to be involved in promotional workshops and to analyse communication tactics used in interpersonal communication that could never be achieved using alternative technique. The researcher used field notes to record all the small events, speeches, behaviour or artefacts that might be of benefit to the research.

Besides, the researcher kept a research diary of detailed observation of every activity she attended. Exact names, dates, and locations of activities were recorded. Sample transcripts of the observation diary for the two cases are appended in Appendix 4.

Reduction of the data, analysis and theorisation:

Marshall and Rossman defined data analysis as 'the process of bringing order, structure, and interpretation to the mass of collected data' (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, 150). Therefore, transcripts of interviews and focus groups, field notes and comments, observation diary, and newspapers' articles were translated from Arabic to English. Then, they were coded through the process of reading and re-reading. After that, the key statements were quoted and reduced to key codes or categories (Appendix 5, Table 1). Finally, these categories were reduced to key themes and dimensions for the study (Appendix 5, Table 2). For example, the categories of 'access to schools', 'access to legislations', 'elite communication', 'lack of resources' were reduced to the key theme of 'community empowerment' (Appendix 5, Table 2). Comments, opinions, examples and discussion were arranged under key themes. A variety of community-level theories (health promotion and theoretical communication approaches to social change), and individual-level theories (social psychological theories) were used in the analysis and interpretation to discuss the main themes and findings. Theoretical concepts of 'empowerment' and 'participation' have been the key analytical focus of this thesis to provide in-depth insights about how communication techniques and approaches were used and received in the Arab Gulf context.

As for the discourse analysis, it focused on two key themes at the community level that emerged from the sociological and historical background of communication campaigns in the Arab Gulf: (1) the question of power and participation, and (2) the

notion of social responsibility. The discourse analysis drew an analogy between these two themes and analytical concepts developed earlier by Wood and Kroger (2000): agent-patient distinction (which was related to the first category of power and participation), and positioning and function category (which was related to the second theme of the notion of social responsibility). Wood and Kroger defined the agent-patient distinction as the distinction between 'what is done *by* a person and what is done *to* a person' (Wood & Kroger, 2000, 101). They explained,

An agent is someone who is seen to make choices, follow plans, and orient to rules (Peters, 1960). A patient is someone who is seen to suffer the consequences of external forces or internal compulsions... it involves a way of seeing people, not a claim about whether they actually are agents or patients... If a person is constructed or positioned as an agent, he or she can be assigned responsibility, blame or credit for his or her actions (Wood & Kroger, 2000, 101).

This agent-patient distinction was studied in this thesis to bring implications to the power relationships established through media discourses and to relate them to community-level notions of participation and empowerment.

Positioning was a fundamental analytical category used in the discourse analysis in this research. Wood and Kroger defined positioning as 'the constitution of speakers and hearers in particular ways through discursive practices, practices that were at the same time resources through which speakers or hearers can negotiate new positions' (Wood & Kroger, 2000, 100). In other words, this category raised questions such as 'who produced the discourse?', 'how it is produced to shape an attitude?' and 'how the audience are produced by the discourse?' Positioning has key considerations of 'the way in which people are both producers of and produced by discourse' (Ibid., 101). Positioning can be related to the question of function such as why the discourse was produced by certain people and why the audiences were positioned in a certain way. This analytical category has considerable implications for the previous category of power and participation as will be discussed in detail in the analysis chapters. Examples

of how these categories or realities were constructed in the discourse at the first place were provided in the analysis such as the use of pronouns, metaphors, symbols and syntax. Then, they were 'reconstructed' using key analytical concepts of community empowerment and participation.

In addition, this thesis used the social semiotics framework provided by Kress and Leeuwen (1996). The selection of this framework was because it studied the 'ability of semiotic systems to represent objects and their relations in a world outside the representational system or in the semiotic systems of a culture' (Ibid., 45). In other words, the contribution of this framework is that it studied the power relationships created by the visual images in the ads with the viewer. Therefore, Kress and Leeuwen's framework was selected to study how visual communication techniques could be related to the concepts of empowerment and participation through analysing how images in advertisements designed the position of the viewer through using five key analytical categories: identification and interaction, social distance, involvement, power, and modality (Ibid.).

First, identification and interaction were studied in the images through studying the way participants in the ads positioned themselves to the viewer: were they looking at the viewer? How were they looking at the viewer? In other words, the thesis looked at the 'imaginary relation' between the represented participants in the images (characters in the ads) and the viewer. In the 'demand' visuals, the participant in the ads would look at the viewer and demand that the viewer should enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him or her (Ibid., 122). The 'offer' visuals offered the represented participants (characters in the ads) to the viewer as items of information or objects of contemplation (Ibid., 124). While in the demand visuals, the viewer was the object of

the look and his/her position was defined by the represented participants, the viewer was the subject of the look in the case of offer visuals (Ibid.).

The second analytical category used in studying advertisements in this thesis was the size of frame and social distance. Kress and Leeuwen explained that the choice between close-up, medium shot and long shot would define the social distance between the represented participants and the viewer (Ibid., 130). For instance, close-up shot suggested closer relation with the viewer than medium shot. In this imaginary relation between participants and the viewer, participants were portrayed to be either 'friends' to the viewer or 'others' (Ibid., 132). The third category used in the semiotic analysis of adverts in this thesis was involvement and horizontal angle. Frontal angle suggested involvement: 'what you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with' (Ibid., 143). The oblique angle, on the other hand, suggested detachment: 'what you see here is not part of our world; it is their world, something we are not involved with' (Ibid.).

The fourth category was power and vertical angle. Kress and Leeuwen argued that if a represented participant is seen from a high angle then that means, at the imaginary level, that the viewer has power over the represented participant- the represented participant is seen from the point of view of power (Ibid., 146). On the other hand, if the represented participant is seen from a low angle, then that means, at the imaginary level, that the represented participant has power over the viewer (Ibid.). If the visual is at eye level, then the point of view is one of equality and there is no power difference involved (Ibid.). The analysis of visuals was studied in relation to the textual analysis of the slogans used in the adverts. In addition, these key analytical coding categories were analysed using multiple theoretical underpinnings. By using theoretical framework to

analyse the 'realities' constructed by communication planners, new critical insights were raised to 'reconstruct' these realities.

While the existing Arabic research was limited to the use of descriptive approach to explain communication techniques, theory played a significant role in analysing the findings of this research. The role of theory in this thesis was 'instrumental' to bring new insights and in-depth understanding of the communication techniques used in public campaigns in the Arab Gulf in relation to community-based theories. Based on the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm, this project used theory to 'reconstruct' new rich meanings and interpretations of the role of public communication in facilitating empowerment and participation in the Arab Gulf context.

Methods of verification:

Several methods were used by the researcher to ensure the quality of the research. According to interpretive scholars, the quality of the research is characterised by authenticity and trustworthiness through the whole research project (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Daymon and Holloway explained that 'a study is authentic when the strategies you have used are appropriate for the 'true' reporting of participants' ideas, when the study is fair, and when it helps participants and similar groups to understand their world and improve it' (Daymon & Holloway, 2002, 93). By using a multiple range of data collection techniques, the researcher achieves 'data sources triangulation'. Yin highlighted that with triangulation, 'the potential problems of construct validity also can be addressed, because the multiple sources of evidence essentially provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon' (Yin, 1994, 92). Moreover, by using multiple theoretical underpinnings to analyse the same data the researcher will establish 'theory triangulation' (Ibid.).

In addition, in such a constructivist-interpretivist paradigm, terms such as credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability will replace the usual positive criteria of internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, 27). Daymon and Holloway defined 'internal validity', as 'the extent to which the findings of a study are 'true', and whether they accurately reflect the aim of the research and the social reality of those participating in it' (Daymon & Holloway, 2002, 90). Lincoln and Guba (1985) replaced the notion of internal validity with 'credibility' that is achieved when participants recognise the truth of the findings in their own context (cited in Daymon & Holloway, 2002, 93).

In such a constructivist paradigm, the aim is not to generalise the cases' findings on other cases in other contexts. In other words, based on the constructivist paradigm, the researcher used theory to provide new insights of the initially 'constructed' realities by key social actors in the cases, and to bring in-depth understanding or 'reconstructions' of these realities. Therefore, interpretive scholars replaced the notion of external validity with 'transferability' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Guba & Lincoln, 1989), where the research should attempt to achieve 'analytic generalisation' or 'theory-based generalisation'. Therefore, if the findings of the research have been repeated in several contexts and situations in the cases, the researcher can achieve 'analytic generalisation' of theoretical insights or prepositions.

In addition, 'dependability' is another criterion developed by interpretive researchers to replace the positive notion of reliability. In order to achieve some measure of dependability in such a qualitative paradigm, Daymon and Holloway recommended that the researcher should 'set up an audit trial or a decision trial' in order to 'record the data, methods, and decisions' that the researcher has made during the research (Daymon & Holloway, 2002, 90). Audit trial will allow other researchers to follow the same process,

help the readers to understand the decisions made, and provide a way of establishing and indicating the quality of the study (Ibid.). Therefore, as Yin suggested (1994, 63), the researcher designed clear case protocol that included: an overview of the project, field procedures, case study questions, and guide to the analysis of the case to maximise the research's reliability. Besides, the researcher organised all the collected data in a clear database. For instance, all field notes, comments, transcripts and media materials were organised in files with specific dates, places and names of participants involved.

Finally, constructivist or interpretivist scholars used the notion 'confirmability' to replace the positive criterion of 'objectivity' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). In order to achieve 'confirmability', the researcher showed continuous evidence in the analysis by discussing the rationales of every finding by several methods of evidence such as citing interviewees, focus group discussions, newspaper articles, observation, giving examples, and providing contrary findings. Yin emphasised that by providing contrary findings, 'the likelihood of bias will have been reduced' (Yin, 1994, 59). Therefore, the researcher did not ignore data that were inconsistent with other findings or contrary to her own beliefs, but instead they have been presented to offer an alternative explanation for the evidence the researcher collected. Moreover, by providing thick description of the cases, processes, techniques, people involved, print media articles, and linking them to the existing literature and background, the researcher will enable the reader to 'feel, hear and see exactly what it is like to be in the setting' (Daymon & Holloway, 2002, 100). Thus, it is helpful to show continuous evidence and make the reader understand how the findings have been achieved.

Integrating research findings:

The various sources of data were brought together by inductive reading and re-reading and coding of transcripts contextualised with existing theories and histories of public communication and main communication models. The data were re-sliced by key themes rather than by methodological tool. As discussed in the 'Reduction of the data, analysis and theorisation' section pp. 90-94, the key statements were reduced to key codes or categories. Then, these categories were reduced to key themes and dimensions for the study.

The limitations of the research:

There is no methodology without limitations. First, the scope of the research was limited to provide qualitative analysis of communication techniques used in two public programmes in the Arab Gulf context in relation to the notions of community empowerment and participation. This qualitative scope includes 'meanings', 'concepts', 'experiences', 'perspectives', and 'insights', and excludes numbers and quantitative data. Thus, quantitative evaluation was excluded because it does not fit with the scope of the research's inquiry. Second, defining the boundaries of each case as a 'bounded system' is always a critical issue in designing case studies. This thesis analysed media and interpersonal techniques in a specific period of the programmes because it is difficult to observe all the techniques used in long-term programmes that will last long years.

Third, in the interviews and focus groups, the researcher depended on the honesty of a small group of practitioners using their own 'perspectives' and 'experiences'. In such a constructivist paradigm, there is no one objective reality as it is the participants who construct their 'realities' in their own contexts. Conducting interviews with communication planners, journalists, activists, and target audiences helped triangulate

the cases. Moreover, using other sources of evidence such as observation and media discourse analysis provided different perspectives of the same context. In addition, the process of translating the data from Arabic to English made it difficult sometimes to transfer the exact, original 'expressions' and 'terms' used by the participants or in the media discourses. Besides, it is difficult sometimes to translate the 'cultural meaning' of a word or a phrase. For example, various participants answered some of the research questions using few words or phrases without explanation because they knew that the researcher had the same cultural background and would understand their vocabularies such as 'the culture of silence', 'It's derived from Islamic norms', or we 'devoted our time for Allah (God)'. Therefore, the researcher kept asking the interviewees to explain more and translated their detailed explanations where it was difficult to translate the cultural meaning of specific Arabic phrases using exact English vocabularies.

Another limitation is the dependence on the researcher's ability to control her bias and develop a systematic study. Therefore, this study attempted to develop a systematic case protocol through organising orderly scheme for data collection and analysis. Last, although the research used two case studies, its findings cannot be generalised onto other cases or another culture. Therefore, this study does not aim to generalise its findings on other contexts, but it rather seeks to provide in-depth understanding of the role of communication approaches in two important public programmes to promote social change in the Arab Gulf. Using multiple theoretical underpinnings to 'reconstruct' the meanings initially 'constructed' by the key social actors in the cases might result in analytic generalisation or generalisations about theoretical prepositions.

Conclusion:

To sum up, this thesis is a step towards filling a gap in the previous literature that failed to provide original theoretical insights on the role of public communication approaches in promoting social change in the Arab Gulf. It raised initial questions about the historical and sociological background of media and public communication campaigns in the Arab Gulf. Key research questions emerged from these questions about the process of using communication techniques to promote social change in public campaigns in the Arab Gulf, and how these techniques were regarded from the perspectives of various social actors in the cases in relation to the concepts of empowerment and participation. This project follows the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm by studying the multiple perspectives of communication planners, journalists, activists, and target audiences.

This chapter has set the key methodological foundation for the thesis through providing detailed explanation of research questions, research theoretical framework, research paradigm, approach to data collection, data collection and management techniques, sampling, verification procedures and the limitations of the thesis. The next chapter aims to frame the background to the empirical findings of the case studies by providing background on the history and sociology of media and public communication campaigns in the Arab Gulf societies.

CHAPTER FOUR
HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY
OF MEDIA AND PUBLIC COMMUNICATION
CAMPAIGNS IN THE ARAB GULF

INTRODUCTION:

After providing the theoretical and methodological background of this thesis, it is helpful to frame the research with a discussion of the history and sociology of media and public communication campaigns in the Arab Gulf context. This chapter aims to answer the introductory research questions on the notions of 'social change' and 'communication ethics' in the Arabic culture, the history and sociology of the launch of media and communication, and the key communication agents in the Arab Gulf. This chapter plays an important role in this research as it introduces the findings of the two case studies, which will be discussed in the following chapters, with a historical and sociological background derived from Arabic archival sources and oral history of some of the key players in the Arab Gulf.

This chapter begins with a background to the concepts of social change, participation, and social responsibility in the Islamic and Arabic culture. Then, the chapter discusses the challenge of modernisation in the Arab Gulf and the rationales for the launch of public communication campaigns. After that, the chapter provides a brief history of media and the literature on the role of mass media in promoting social change in the Arab Gulf. Finally, it provides a historical background of social change campaigns in

the Arab Gulf. This is achieved by reviewing literature in two linked areas: a review of the national campaigns in the Arab Gulf, and a discussion of the role of voluntary associations in promoting social change in the Arab Gulf societies.

The Arabic notion of social change and communication ethics:

It is difficult to study public communication campaigns in the Arab Gulf society without understanding the cultural and social values derived from Islamic culture and Arabic ethics in the Arab Gulf countries. The birth of Islam in the Arabia was combined with a big social change revolution against racism of powerful Arabic tribes. Islam was rejected at first because it opposed slavery and called for equal rights between men and women, black and white, poor and rich, Arabs and non-Arabs, which threatened the power of rich Arabic tribes. Khaloosh claimed 'Islamic preaching aimed at a radical social change by abandoning slavery, helping the weak and bringing dignity and equality' (Khaloosh, 1982, 90). It was a big challenge for Islam to change the early Arabic tribalism where belonging to a well-known Arabic tribe means power and authority over others. Therefore, the strategies used by Prophet Mohammad have been considered in the Islamic culture as the first ethical foundation for communicating social change.

The first Islamic campaign, *Da'awah* or *Tabligh*, has been considered as a model to best spread social change values in addition to the Qura'n, the Muslim holy book, which explains the main factors to help change takes place. In the Qura'n, God teaches His prophet that the best way to invite people to new ideas is using reason, wisdom, understanding the public and using the most appropriate ways to talk to them: 'Invite (all) to the Way of thy Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching; and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious' (Holy Qura'n, Chapter/Surah 16- An-Nahl,

Verse 125). In the Islamic culture, these techniques are fundamental and applicable to any place and time. Furthermore, from an Islamic point of view, in order for any change to take place, it should start from people's attitudes and intentions: 'That is because Allah never change the grace He hath bestowed on any people until they first change that which is in their heart' (Holy Qura'n, Chapter/Surah 8- Al-Anfal, Verse 53). Therefore, the concept of 'social change' in the Islamic culture could be connected to the ethical concept of 'participation' discussed earlier in the thesis where the target audiences should be involved in social change. Participation is an important Islamic theme as the community should play an active role in social change. The concept of community participation in the Arabic culture is derived from the Islamic notion of social responsibility that will be discussed in the next section.

Islamic ethics of participation, social responsibility & the concept of 'Ummah':

Islam looks at the society as an interactive, complementary system rather than separate individuals. Social change is an important Islamic theme that invites every individual to work with and for others rather than living for his/her own interests. Therefore, Al Kater stressed that voluntarism in the Arab Gulf has its roots in Islamic culture that fosters social welfare and social responsibility; as from an Islamic perspective, every individual in the society has a responsibility towards the others (Al Kater, 1993, 23-24). It is a strong value in Islamic culture to encourage everyone in the society to work for others and to have a big social responsibility and commitment towards the society. Therefore, community participation is a key Islamic theme. Mowlana explained,

A Special concept of social responsibility theory is designed around the ethical doctrine of 'commanding to the right and prohibiting from the wrong'. This concept has taken on an extra dimension of its own in the Islamic communities and societies throughout history, because Islam, as an all-inclusive systematic religion,

is an interrelated set of ideas and realities covering the entire area of human notion and action, beliefs and practices, thought, word, and deed. This is particularly important in light of the fact that Islam is not only a set of theological propositions, as are many other religions, but also a set of comprehensive legal frameworks that govern every action of the individual in society and in the world at large (Mowlana, 1996, 121).

From an Islamic point of view, the core system is the society, not the individual. This is best described by the concept of Islamic 'Ummah' where Muslims everywhere are united by being Muslims regardless of their ethnicities or nationalities. Prophet Mohammad described the Islamic Ummah as a 'one body'; if any part of this body, any individual, is in pain, the whole body will suffer. Therefore, every member of this community is responsible for the others: 'The Believers, men and women, are protectors, one of another: they enjoin what is just, and forbid what is evil' (Holy Qura'n, Chapter/Surah 9- At-Taubah, Verse 71). This concept of 'Ummah' emphasises collectivism and participation, not individualism. Mowlana explained, 'The notion of community in Islam makes no sharp distinction between public and private; therefore, what is required of the community at large is likewise required of every individual member' (Mowlana, 1996, 122-123). Therefore, the concept of 'Ummah' or the unified Muslim community forms the foundation for a collective action for social change. That is why this thesis studies communication approaches in the cases in relation to cultural values and community-based theoretical underpinnings. In other words, this research attempts to go beyond studying psychological approaches used to promote social change towards relating communication techniques to the collective concepts of 'participation' and 'empowerment' at the community level.

As discussed earlier in the thesis, the first Arabic communication ethics model was proposed by Vujnovic and Kruckeberg (2005). This theory recommended an 'organic theory' of public relations ethics in the Arab World where the organisation is an organ and society is a body as a whole (Ibid., 340). Historically, public communication plays

the role of 'relationship-building' in the early Islamic Empire as Prophet Mohammad built collations and alliances with different groups in the society. This supports the arguments of some scholars in the literature (Kruckeberg, 1996; Vujnovic & Kruckeberg, 2005) that Islamic and Arabic ethics facilitate the practice of public communication as a 'relationship-building' in the Arab World. However, despite the great recognition of the role of community in social change in the Arabic culture, there is a lack of research on the implications of the Islamic ethics of participation and social responsibility in the practice of public communication in real-life Arab Gulf contexts.

To sum up, social change campaigns in the Islamic culture start from and for the community. While the tendency to collectivism started in the 1980s and 1990s in Western health promotion literature discussed earlier, collectivism has deep roots in the Islamic culture. Working for the best of the community and social responsibility to participate in improving the community are key Islamic principles. Therefore, many social change campaigns in the Islamic culture have been derived from these strong themes of social responsibility and participation raised by Islamic ethics and the desire to convey the Islamic social messages. Although the notion of community empowerment is connected to the notion of collectivism and participation, there is no reference to the concept of 'community empowerment' in the Arabic context. Therefore, the unique contribution of this thesis is that it is the first to study the role of communication in the Arab Gulf in relation to the notion of empowerment. Hence, this thesis aims to bring new theoretical insights on communication practice and ethics in two non-profit organisations in the Arab Gulf.

Historical and sociological background of media in the Arab Gulf:

After discussing the background of the notions of social change, communication ethics, social responsibility, and participation in the Islamic culture, it is helpful to introduce the sociology and history of media and communication in the Arab Gulf states. This section aims to answer the research questions about the launch of media and communication in the Arab Gulf, the key political, social and economic influences, and the key communication agents in the Arab Gulf. Few scholars studied the sociology of media in the Arab Gulf countries (Al Shaygey, 1989; Essat, 1983; Najem, 1993). In the early twentieth century, the Arab Gulf states were isolated from other societies because people were poor and had to work most of the day in fishing and agriculture to earn their livings (Al Shaygey, 1989, 14). Moreover, the tribalism in the Arab Gulf societies was still strong, which made people far away from the problems of their broader environment and pay little attention to education or intellectual activities (Ibid.). The public opinion against the British policy in the Arab Gulf was the motivation for people in the Arab Gulf to write their opinions in Arabic newspapers (Ibid., 29).

Before the First World War, people used traditional interpersonal communication to know the news of their small community or tribe and did not feel the need to communicate with other societies. That is because of the simple, small societies, illiteracy, and the lack of technology and financial resources in the early twenties in the Arab Gulf (Ibid., 84). After the First World War, people started to write in the Egyptian newspapers such as *Al-Akbar Al-Masreyah Newspaper* and *Al-Shoorah* about improving their societies and criticising the British policy in the Arab Gulf (Al Shaygey, 1989, 75, Najem, 1993, 399). People in the Arab Gulf started to feel belonged to the Arabic nation not just their small tribes (Ibid.). Before the First World War, people used to receive Arabic newspapers, but they started to participate in these newspapers after the first war

(Al Shaygey, 1989, 76). The war made people feel the need to know the news of the world (Ibid., 77).

However, the participation of the community in the early Arabic media was limited. Essat argued that although there were several intellectual clubs in the Arab Gulf, only their members participated in their activities (Essat, 1983, 60). This limited participation raises the question of community empowerment and the extent to which the target audiences were provided with access to the early newspapers. Most of the early magazines were published by the individual efforts of some intellectuals such as Abdul-Aziz Al-Rashid who launched the first magazine in the Arab Gulf *Al-Kuwait* (Al Shaygey, 1989, 84), and Abdullah Al-Zayed who established the first newspaper in Bahrain (Ibid., 103). They got the support of their governments and British authority in the Arab Gulf to publish these magazines, which will be discussed in detail in the section about print media.

The discovery of oil in the Arab Gulf in the 1930s put the Arab Gulf countries face-to-face with the challenge of development. After the discovery of oil in the Arab Gulf, people moved from working in agriculture and fishing to work in the oil industry that provided them with fixed salaries (Al Shaygey, 1989, 97; Najem, 1993, 401). Moreover, investment and commerce flourished in the Arab Gulf (Ibid.). The discovery of oil in the Arab Gulf resulted in social and economic challenges in the second half of the twentieth century (Al Jassaney, 1982, 207). The Arab Gulf societies started to move from tribalism towards modernisation and globalisation (Najem, 1993, 401). According to the cultural imperialism thesis, globalisation is a form of 'Westernisation', where Western domination of the global information and entertainment industry is imposed on the Third World cultures (Thussu, 2000; Tomlinson, 1991). For instance, the British influence in the Arab Gulf states was through establishing intellectual clubs and schools

that encouraged people to be open to what was going on all over the world (Al Shaygey, 1989, 29). As a result, there was a combination of the society's restricted cultural traditions on one hand and the 'modernisation' brought by the British technologies and economic development resulted from the discovery of the oil on the other hand.

This rapid development could not be separated from certain images and lifestyles that might affect the traditions and even the way of thinking and viewing the world in the Arab countries. Clark (1997) indicated that the expansion of information and communication technologies coupled with market-led liberal democracies contributed to the creation of what has been called a global civil society, though others have identified tensions between globalisation and fragmentation (cited in Thussu, 2000, 76). This argument is emphasised by the modernisation theory that suggests transmission to a modern way of life and towards more freedom from cultural traditions. However, the social change towards modernism raises the conflict between cultural identity and the modern lifestyle promoted by Western business. For instance, people in the Arab countries are exposed to the messages that speaking English and following the trendy Western fashion will associate them with a modern, better image of themselves. These messages will spread unconsciously to the minds of the people of these countries who are exposed to the dominance of Western powerful media and advertisements. Said argued that cultural imperialism has been operating at both the conscious and the unconscious level, providing images of what 'good' life means and seeking to shape people's identities (Said, 1985).

Although cultural traditions are still strong in the Arab Gulf countries, the dominance of Western messages results in a risk of cultural conflict within the people in these countries who might end up feeling 'incoherent' and 'fragmented'. Thompson pointed out:

Traditions and cultural heritages of many so-called Third world countries were shaped by a long and often brutal process of cultural conflict, a process through which many traditional practices were destroyed and some of the values and beliefs of external powers were imposed on indigenous populations. But the imposition of values and beliefs was rarely a straightforward matter (Thompson, 1995, 170).

This conflict is emphasised by Ken Booth who indicated, 'identity patterns are becoming more complex, as people assert local loyalties but want to share in global values and lifestyles' (cited in Lipschutz, 1992, 396). Therefore, the launch of media in the Arab Gulf states has been a result of the instant need to deal with several social problems resulted from the challenge of globalisation and development in the Arab Gulf countries.

Looking more deeply at the sociological environment of media in the Arab Gulf, there have been a number of factors that influenced the launch of media at the first place. The Arab Gulf countries that have the same culture, religion, language, share the same characteristics of media as well. Essat explained three key factors that influenced the launch of the press in the Arab Gulf: the Arab Gulf ruling families, the discovery of oil, and the British colonisation (Essat, 1983, 91). First, the ruling families in the Arab Gulf states played a key role in supporting or stopping newspapers, because they should approve any issue that would be raised in these newspapers (Ibid., 94). The early newspapers in the Arab Gulf were launched by the support of the ruling families (Ibid.). These newspapers did not discuss people's key problems (Ibid.).

The second factor is the discovery of oil in the thirties in the Arab Gulf that provided newspapers with financial resources to improve their technical qualities (Ibid., 101). Besides, the oil companies helped to provide newspapers with financial support through placing their ads and economic pages in national newspapers (Ibid.). The third factor is the influence of the British colonisation on the launch of the press in the Arab Gulf states (Ibid., 96). As discussed earlier, the British colonisation supported the launch of

some newspapers to be used as propaganda to its positive image in the Arab Gulf such as *Bahrain* newspaper (Ibid., 97). *Bahrain* newspaper was stopped in 1944 by the British authorities because its invitation to the unity of Arabic nations (Ibid., 98). After the end of colonisation in the Arab Gulf in the seventies, the number of newspapers increased and newspapers started to enjoy more freedom (Ibid., 104).

Applying media liberation theories, media in the Arab Gulf countries could be best viewed within the frame of the model of dominant media where media organisations were owned and controlled by a small number of interests (McQuail, 2000, 69). The early media in the Arab Gulf states was owned and controlled by the powerful governments and British authorities with limited freedom for alternative voices to appear. Therefore, Essat explained that the press suffered in the Arab Gulf from strict censorship from the ruling governments that set strict rules for publishing, and a number of early newspapers were stopped (Essat, 1983, 127). Thus, audiences were 'constrained or conditioned to accept the view of the world offered, with little critical response' (McQuail, 2000, 69). It was not until the late seventies and eighties when the national broadcast media was launched and financed by the Arab Gulf governments. Since the late nineties, satellite channels have widespread in the Arab Gulf countries, in addition to the wide access to the Internet, which has provided access to new media in the Arab Gulf (Al Aofey, 1998, 25-6). In the following sections, more detailed discussion of the history and sociology of the print and broadcast media in Arab Gulf states will be discussed supported with oral testimonies of a number of key players of the launch of media in the Arab Gulf in order to set the background to study public communication campaigns.

Print media

This section aims at answering the research question about the launch of the print media in the Arab Gulf societies and the key influences in order to bring better understanding of the role of media in the two case studies. The print media started in Bahrain and Kuwait in the late twenties and thirties, while it started in other Arab Gulf states in the sixties and seventies (Al-Jassaney, 1982, 207). Al Awaaney divided the launch of press in Kuwait into three main periods: the first period in 1928 with the publishing of *Kuwait*, the first newspaper in the Arab Gulf, the second period is in 1946 with the launch of *Beathah*, and the third main period was in 1961 when a number of private newspapers and magazines were launched in Kuwait (Al Awaaney, 1984, 199). The print media started in the Arab Gulf by the individual efforts of some activists and writers who established private newspapers with limited resources (Ibid.). Mohammad Mosaed Al-Saleh, one of the first Kuwaiti journalists, explained,

The birth of press in Kuwait and the Arab Gulf was a result of the feeling of a number of intellectuals and educated people that there should be a way to express their opinions in order to develop their countries (20-11-2005).

In 1939, Abdulla Al-Zayed, Bahraini writer and activist, launched *Bahrain* that was the first newspaper in Bahrain and the second in the Arab Gulf states, but the British authority in Bahrain practised strict censorship on this newspaper (Al Shaygey, 1989, 103). The newspaper enjoyed the support of the British authority because it defended its policy in the Arab Gulf (Ibid.). In other words, this newspaper was used by the British authority as a means of propaganda during the Second World War. This newspaper was sponsored by Al-Zayed and the government's adverts (Ibid, 110). In 1944, Al-Zayed argued that the newspaper was stopped because of the high price of papers (Ibid., 110). However, Mubarak Al-Khater claimed that the newspaper was stopped by the British authority because Al-Zayed wanted to publish an article to encourage the unity of the

Arab states, which was against the British interests (Ibid., 110-111). Ali Siar, one of the first Bahraini editors, explained,

The press in Bahrain was established first by Abdullah Al Zayed in the late thirties... Abdullah Al-Zayed was the father of press in the Arab Gulf. Then, I established with Mahmood Al-Mardey and Yosuf Al-Sheeraway the first newspapers in Bahrain (1-2-2006).

After the Second World War, there was a tendency towards development and social change in the Arab Gulf (Al Shaygey, 1989, 119). The tribal Arab Gulf societies became more modern and developed (Ibid.). Besides, the voluntary efforts in the Arab Gulf played a key role in establishing schools, intellectual clubs, and newspapers (Najem, 1993, 399). As a result, a number of magazines were established in the late forties and early fifties such as *Al-Beathah*, 1946, *Kademmah*, 1948, in Kuwait and *Bahrain Voice*, 1950, in Bahrain (Al Shaygey, 1989, 123-129). These magazines discussed social problems in the Arab Gulf societies and called for Arabic unity (Ibid., 129). Najem explained that although the early newspapers and magazines lacked good staff and good editing, they were the first media channels in the Arab Gulf (Najem, 1993, 189).

After the Second World War, two main tendencies were dominant in the Arab Gulf nations: 'National Arabism tendency' where people were united by the idea of working for the Arabic nation and proud of being Arabic but at the same time open to different cultures, and 'Islamic tendency' where people were close to their Islamic culture and more careful when dealing with Western ideas (Najem, 1993, 403-404). In the 1950s, the press in all Arab countries was affected by the rise of Arabic nationalism, which was the result of Egypt's political revolution on 23rd of July 1952 against the political, monarchy system in Egypt and the dominance of the call of Jamal Abdul Nasser, the Egyptian president, to have a one unifying Arabic nation (Ibid.). This national tendency was obvious in several magazines and newspapers in Bahrain that called for national

unity such as *Bahrain Voice*, 1952, *Al-Kafelah*, 1952, *Al-Watan*, 1955, *Al-Meezan*, 1955, *Al-Shoalah*, 1955 (Ibid., 190-191). Ali Siar noted,

The launch of the press in the fifties in Bahrain was with Bahrain Voice that was popular in Arab countries. It has an 'Arabic nationalism' tendency affected by Jamal Abdul-Nasser movement in Egypt. Abdul-Nasser's call for Arabic nationalism was popular in Arabic countries that suffered from colonisation. Moreover, education started in Bahrain in 1919 and there were a number of educated and intellectual people at that time who felt the need for the launch of press in Bahrain. The feeling of the Bahrainis that they need to convey their views against the British colonisation urged the launch of press. There was a need to find a channel to express their opinions. Bahrain Voice was a monthly newspaper that didn't satisfy this need. Therefore, I launched Al-Khafelah, the first weekly newspaper in Bahrain that adopted the Arabism tendency against colonisation. However, this newspaper was stopped by the British authority in 1955. This early newspaper lacked staff and technical resources (1-2-2006).

Mohammad Mosaed Al-Saleh, one of the first journalists in Kuwait, talked about his experience with the early media:

I started writing in 1953-1954 in Beatha Magazine. After graduation from the College of Law in 1958, I established a weekly magazine called Al-Hadaf in 1961 and I was its chief editor. In 17 April 1974, Al-Watan newspaper was launched and I was its general manager until 1993 when I started writing in Al-Qabas newspaper (20-11-2005).

Al Shaygey explained a number of barriers that impeded the development of the early newspapers in the Arab Gulf such as legislative procedures, the few numbers of people who read newspapers, and the lack of technical resources (Al Shaygey, 1989, 161). As for the legislative barrier, there was no press legislations in the Arab Gulf until the middle of fifties (Ibid., 175). Therefore, the governments or the British authority used to have the right to stop any newspaper without any legislative law (Ibid.). Ali Siar talked about the strict censorship practised by the British authority on the Arab Gulf early newspapers:

I was the chief editor of Al-Watan that replaced Al-Khafelah in the fifties... I suffered a lot from the restrictions set by the British authority in Bahrain. We didn't have any freedom to write and the British consultant had the authority to change or delete any article or news. In the late fifties, this newspaper was closed and a number of journalists were arrested or exiled such as Al-Baker, Al-Shamlan,

and Ebraheem Fakhraw... I was exiled to Kuwait at that time. The British authority set the restrictions in front of press freedom in the Arab Gulf (1-2-2006).

The first press law in Bahrain was in 1953 that gave the government the right to approve the launch of any newspaper and to practise strict censorship (Essat, 1983, 112; Al Shaygey, 1989, 177). It stated some punishments for editors who did not obey the rules stated by authorities (Ibid.). As a result of this law, *Al-Khafellah* and *Bahrain Voice* were stopped for two months (Al Shaygey, 1989, 177). In 1956, the press law was improved and allowed newspapers to be launched without the need to be approved by any censorship committee, but it was still limited to the strict censorship of the governments and British authorities (Ibid., 115). Relating the history of print media in the Arab Gulf to the sociological theories of press, the early print media in the Arab Gulf countries could be best understood through authoritarian theory where strict censorship and punishment for deviation from rules laid down by the political British authority (McQuail, 1994, 127; McQuail, 2000, 153).

In 1965, the publication law in Bahrain gave newspapers more freedom, but the authorities still have the right to stop any newspaper without any justifications (Essat, 1983, 116; Al Shaygey, 1989, 178). In Kuwait, the first press law was established in 1956 (Essat, 1983, 118-119; Al Shaygey, 1989, 178-179). In 1961, this law was improved and gave more freedom for publication (Al Shaygey, 1989, 182). In 1965, the new publication law replaced the previous press law (Essat, 183). In the other Arab Gulf states, publication laws were launched in the sixties and seventies (Ibid., 121-127). Although these new laws gave more freedom to the press, this freedom was limited by the strict censorship of the Arab Gulf governments. Kuwaiti newspapers enjoyed more freedom than other Arab Gulf states because of the support of the government and the constant call of their writers for press freedom (Essat, 1983, 129-130). Kuwaiti

newspapers called constantly for their rights to write freely without any kind of censorship (Ibid, 133). However, many newspapers were stopped because they discussed sensitive political and social issues openly (Ibid., 130).

Al Shaygey argued that political considerations played a key role in limiting the freedom of the press and setting strict legislative censorship in the Arab Gulf (Al Shaygey, 1989, 183). However, he claimed that the early press legislations in the Arab Gulf were not practised in reality, but the press depended instead on the good relationship between the newspapers' editors and the governments in the Arab Gulf states (Ibid., 183-184). The common rule in all the publication legislations in the Arab Gulf states was to avoid criticising the governments or the ruling families (Essat, 1983, 134).

In the seventies, national news agencies were launched in the Arab Gulf states for the first time as newspapers used to depend on radio news from international news agencies (Essat, 1983, 66). Moreover, after the end of the British settlement in the seventies, a number of new newspapers were launched. The first daily, national newspapers in Oman were *Al-Watan*, 1971, and *Oman*, 1973 (Al Awaaney, 1984, 162). In Qatar, the first Arabic newspapers were *Al-Arab* daily newspaper in 1973, *Al-Rayah* daily newspaper in 1979, in addition to several magazines that were launched in the seventies and eighties (Ibid., 171-173). In the UAE, several Arabic, daily newspapers were issued in the seventies such as *Al-Etehad*, *Al-Wehdah*, *Al-Khaleeg*, *Al-Bayan* and *Al-Fajr* (Al Awaaney, 1984, 33). In 1983, the press developed in Saudi Arabia as eight private press associations were given permission to issue a number of newspapers and magazines in several areas in Saudi Arabia (Al Awaaney, 1984, 99).

In 1976, *Akbar Al-Kaleeg* was established as the first daily newspapers in Bahrain that covered political and local news. In March 1989, *Al-Ayam* was established as the

second daily newspaper in Bahrain. This new newspaper gave the space for the young generations to express their point of views (Najem, 1993, 198). In addition, several magazines were launched in the seventies and eighties in Bahrain such as *Al-Mawakef*, 1973, *Al-Watheekah*, 1982, and *Panorama Al-Kaleeg*, 1983. In Kuwait, a number of daily, political newspapers were launched such as *AL-Ra'y Al-A'am*, 1961, *AL-Seyasah*, 1965, *Al-Khabas*, 1972, *Al-Watan*, 1974, *Al-Anbaa*, 1976 (Al Awaaney, 1984, 200; Essat, 1983, 308-316). The editors of Arab Gulf newspapers realised the importance of the participation of readers in these newspapers and, therefore, they assigned specific pages to publish the opinions of the readers and reply to them (Essat, 1983, 147).

Al Shaygey explained that the press in Bahrain and Kuwait focused on expressing the opinions of the Arab Gulf societies rather than publishing the news (Al Shaygey, 1989, 186). Mohammad Mosaed Al-Saleh emphasised,

The most unique characteristic of the Arab Gulf press is the big focus on local news... it would assign a whole page for an interview with an officer or for reportage about local issue (20-11-2005).

The press encouraged the participation of the Arab Gulf societies in social change through relating the individuals to the problems of their communities (Al Shaygey, 1989, 186). Ali Siar argued,

The press played a positive role in social change... The target audiences are affected by what is written in local newspapers. I believe in the long-run impact of the print media in social change in the Arab Gulf (1-2-2006).

However, there is an absence of literature on the extent to which participation and empowerment was facilitated at the community level to achieve social change. Therefore, this thesis attempts to fill this gap in the Arabic literature by providing in-depth analysis of how media and interpersonal communication could facilitate community empowerment and participation. Moreover, many social issues were considered as taboos and were not discussed in the Arab Gulf media such as sexual

abuse. Essat explained that Arab Gulf newspapers used to lack reportages about sensitive social issues (Essat, 1983, 147).

Mohammad Mosaed Al-Saleh explained that the lack of specialised journalists in the Arab Gulf made the role of the print media in social change in the Arab Gulf very limited,

The Arab Gulf press still lacks full-time specialised journalists. We don't have journalists that are specialised in economics, or literature, or Arabic issues. Therefore, the lack of specialised media makes the role of the Arab Gulf press in social change is limited (20-11-2005).

Ali Siar explained the influence of conservative Arabic traditions on the Arab Gulf print media,

Press freedom is important, but at the same time there should be a respect to people's conservative traditions. Although Bahrain was affected by globalisation, we still have strong Islamic identity in Bahrain. Social change in our society couldn't be taken in isolation of our cultural identity (1-2-2006).

Mohammad Al-Jassem argued,

The press in Kuwait has played a significant role in social change. Although some writers adopted Islamic conservative perspective, other liberal writers supported social change. For example, Kuwaiti press supported Arabic real TV programmes such as Al-Wadey and Star Academy despite the conservative perspective that rejected this kind of programmes (27-11-2005).

However, he highlighted, 'One of the key barriers for the freedom of the press is the conservative social barrier related to the social relationships in the society and the rules of the tribal society in Kuwait' (27-11-2005). Therefore, it is important to study the role of cultural factors in the launch and uses of media in the Arab Gulf media. The notion of social change in the Arabic communication was limited to a conservative perspective, which will be studied in more detail in two case studies in the Arab Gulf.

From media studies perspective, it is difficult for the print media to move from authorisation theory towards liberation model because of the political system in the

Arab Gulf states that would encourage the power of political elites on the media. However, the challenge of globalisation resulted from open satellite channels and new media in the Arab Gulf has put the Arab Gulf governments under the pressure of change. Therefore, since the late nineties, the print media in the Arab Gulf countries has enjoyed more freedom as a result of the pressures of several activists and liberal associations.

However, the independence of the print media from the governments has been limited. Mohammad Al-Jassem said,

The press freedom in the Arab Gulf is limited nowadays because of political considerations. However, it is said that new press law will be issued to give more freedom to Kuwaiti newspapers and facilitate issuing new newspapers. All the Arab Gulf countries, except Bahrain, have limited press freedom because of the censorship of the political governments. Therefore, the newspapers in these countries focus on the Arab issues such as the news of Iraq and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict rather than discussing local problems. The key barrier for the development of the press in any country is restrictions of publishing. If these restrictions were omitted, the press would develop in the Arab Gulf countries. Moreover, competition among newspapers is crucial to develop newspapers and attract public opinion (27-11-2005).

Furthermore, the extent of press freedom has varied in every Arab Gulf state. For instance, Essat argued that Kuwait has enjoyed more freedom in the press than many Arab nations because of the diversity of social and political associations and the pressures of liberal activists who called for the freedom of the press (Essat, 1983, 129). Moreover, after the launch of the National Action Charter in Bahrain in 2001 and the democratic parliamentary elections in 2002, the press has become more independent from the government and enjoyed more freedom. Ali Siar emphasised,

Nowadays, the press enjoyed great freedom in Bahrain... journalists could criticise the government and ministers openly. Since I started writing in Akhbar Al-Khaleeg ten years ago, I never have any problem publishing my opinions freely... Journalists in Bahrain have big freedom nowadays (1-2-2006).

That was because the government has approved new press laws that gave journalists the right to express their free views openly, in addition to establishing social associations' law that provide the opportunity for various political and social associations to be launched in Bahrain. As a result, new independent, political, daily newspapers were launched in Bahrain such as *Al-Wasat* in 2002, *Al-Meethag* in 2004, *Al-Watan* in 2005, and *Al-Waqt* in 2006.

Broadcast media

After discussing the sociology and history of print media in the Arab Gulf, it is helpful to provide a background of the historical development of broadcast media in the Arab Gulf. During the Second World War, people in the Arab Gulf were affected by some foreign radio channels such as Berlin Channel in 1938 that promoted the image of German support of the Arabic unity and criticised the British policy in the Arab states (Al Shaygey, 1989, 100). In the same year, B.B.C. established a new Arabic radio channel to attack German policy and emphasised its role in developing the Arabic states (Al Shaygey, 1989, 101; Najem, 1993, 402). Moreover, the British authority forbade listening to Berlin radio channels in public places (Najem, 1993, 401). However, Berlin radio channel was effective in creating public opinion against Britain in the Arab states (Al Shaygey, 1989, 102) through calling for Arabic unity and criticising the British support of the Jewish settlement in Palestine (Najem, 1993, 401-402). Hasan Kamal, one of the pioneers in national broadcast in Bahrain, explained,

During the Second World War, the British authority manipulated the news. It used the radio to transmit its news during the war. Bahrain was away from the outside world after the war. Therefore, there was a feeling among the Bahraini intellectuals that there should be a national radio (28-1-2006).

It was not until the 1950s when public broadcast was launched by the governments in the Arab Gulf countries. The public radio started in Saudi Arabia in 1949 (in Jeddah and Mecca), Kuwait in 1951, Bahrain in 1955, Qatar in 1968, the UAE in 1969, Oman in 1970 (Al Awaaney, 1984). Barween Zainal explained the launch of radio in Bahrain,

Bahraini radio was one of the first radios in the Arab Gulf. It has played a key role in increasing social awareness towards many issues in Bahrain. It was established in 1955 with limited staff and limited resources. The reporter was the director, and the number of staff was very few. Even the number of radio tapes was limited. At the beginning, there were only two studios: one was for broadcasting and the other was for recording the programmes. The radio broadcast was only for two hours, and then it developed to be in the morning period. Now we have the radio broadcast for 24 hours. There was great cooperation... we were working as one family. Ebraheem Kanao was the father of radio in Bahrain. The key pioneers are Hasan Kamal, Abdul-Rahman Abdullah, Ateek Saeed, Ali Takey, and Ali Yateem (28-1-2006).

Hasan Kamal talked about his experience with the national radio,

I participated in some radio programmes since the launch of Bahrain radio on 21 of July 1955. At the beginning, there was few people working in radio... and there were only two studios. There were a number of Egyptians working in radio in addition to a number of the educated and intellectuals in Bahrain. The Bahraini radio was established by the efforts of Ebraheem Kanao, Abdul-Rahman Abdullah, Ali Takey, Ahmad Kamal, and Saeed Al-Hindi (28-1-2006).

In Kuwait, a number of public radio channels started in the late seventies and eighties (Al Awaaney, 1984, 213). In Bahrain, four public radio channels were launched: Channel 1, Channel 2, Bahrain FM, and Holy Qura'n channel in 1982 (Najem, 1993, 417). In 1979, the national radio broadcast was launched in Saudi Arabia (Al Awaaney, 1984, 110). The radio was an important media channel for the Arab Gulf states in order to access local and international news before the launch of the television (Essat, 1983, 73-75). Barween Zainal, one of the first women working in the national radio, talked about the role of women in early Bahraini radio:

I participated for the first time in radio in 1963 in a programme for children. At that time very few women were working in radio... so, they offered me to work there. The first women worked in radio were Alice Samaan, Amina Hasan, and then I joined them with Badriah Abdul-Latif, Ameena Al-Shamlan, and Aisha Abdul-Latif. Egyptian and Lebanese teachers in Bahrain used to report radio

programmes in the beginning, while Bahraini women were few at that time (28-1-2006).

In Kuwait, TV broadcast started in the early sixties, but more public TV channels were launched in the early seventies (Essat, 1983, 163). The colour TV in Oman started in 1974, while TV broadcast started in 1973 in Qatar (Ibid., 179). In 1965, the first black-and-white TV broadcast started in Saudi Arabia, and was not until 1976 when the colour TV started (Ibid., 116-119). The UAE started its black-and-white broadcast in 1969, while the coloured TV broadcast started in 1974 (Al Awaaney, 1984, 45). As for Bahrain, although the TV started in 1973, it was not until 1975 when the Ministry of Information has been in charge of managing a comprehensive plan to train its staff and develop its programmes (Najem, 1993, 425). Because the broadcast in the Arab Gulf states was owned and financed by the governments, a number of programmes have been produced to educate and increase the awareness of the society of many issues such as family, health and educational programmes. Hasan Kamal explained that radio in the Arab Gulf has established a direct relationship with the audiences:

The national radio in Bahrain has received good reaction from the audiences who kept contacting radio programmes, discussing their problems, and giving their feedback openly. We have audience mail where they could express their problems and views (28-1-2006).

Barween Zainal emphasised,

The national radio has established direct relationship with the audiences through live programmes and audience hot lines. For example, we have the Open Day programme where we get direct phone calls from the audiences to listen to their problems and recommendations. This helps us to develop our programmes and know what our audiences want (28-1-2006).

Along with media freedom theories, McQuail claimed that 'liberation theory has found it difficult to cope with the public broadcasting model in particular', because 'it gives primacy to the needs of society or the collective needs of citizens rather than to

individual rights, consumer freedom or market forces' (McQuail, 2000, 156). In the case of Arab Gulf states, public broadcasting has reflected the conservative perspectives held by the collective Arab Gulf cultural traditions. Barween Zainal argued,

I think we have big freedom to discuss many social issues openly such as drugs addiction, and marriage and family sensitive problems. The audiences react continuously to the issues we discuss. Our aim was to satisfy our audiences. I think national radio play a significant role in discussing social issues and in developing the society (28-1-2006).

However, this goal to satisfy the needs of the society limits the notion of social change in the Arab Gulf broadcast to a conservative perspective. For instance, serious sensitive problems in the Arab Gulf such as child abuse or sexual problems would be discussed in a conservative way in order to respect the collective cultural traditions of the community. In other words, public broadcasting attempts not to shock the conservative Arabic audience who would consider these topics as taboos. Hasan Kamal emphasised, 'I think nowadays the broadcast freedom is restricted because of the conservative Islamic influence on the broadcast' (28-1-2006). However, there is no reference in the literature to any audience research that has been conducted by the governments to study the attitudes of Arab Gulf societies towards discussing sensitive problems in public broadcasting.

While Arab Gulf public broadcast is very conservative and close to the community's norms and traditions, people in the Arab Gulf states nowadays have access to satellite channels and are more open to various cultures and alternative views. The popularity of satellite channels in the Arab Gulf states has resulted in a big challenge for local channels that would attempt to improve their programmes in order to compete with popular satellite channels (Al Aofey, 1998, 25-6). Therefore, there is an increasing need for audience research, training the staff working in TV production, in addition to conducting cooperative production projects in order to be able to compete with the big

production of other satellite channels (Ibid.). It is argued that this competition results in positive changes in the Arab Gulf local channels through improving the news programmes and giving more freedom in TV programmes that have given the opportunity for the audience to criticise and discuss several sensitive problems in the society openly, which rarely happened before the Second Gulf War and the competition of satellite channels (Ibid., 29). The main barriers in TV production in the Arab Gulf countries were the limited budget, the lack of long-term plans, the lack of trained staff and organisational structure, the lack of marketing, in addition to the strict censorship (Ibid., 63-77).

To sum up, the structure of media system in the Arab Gulf societies has been a reflection of the collective, political system. Therefore, this thesis used a collective approach to study communication programmes relating them to their broader environment. It could be concluded that the rapid development, globalisation and competition of new media and open satellite channels have made it crucial for the media system in the Arab Gulf to move from the dominant theory model where the power is flowing from above towards a more open sphere of diverse views and perspectives. However, the development of media in the Arab Gulf towards more freedom is limited with the power of political system that set very strict censorship regulations on the media. Understanding the history and sociology of media system in the Arab Gulf states has key implications in studying public communication campaigns in the Arab Gulf states, which will be discussed in detail in the analysis chapters. In the following section, detailed discussion will be provided on the role of mass media in promoting social change in the Arab Gulf societies.

Research on the role of mass media in promoting social change in the Arab Gulf

Several studies have emphasised the role of mass media in promoting social change in the Arab Gulf societies (Al Jaber, 1981a; Hussain, 1988; Al Hassan, 1981; Kareem, 1990; Al Sedeekey & Hassan, 2000). Various scholars used a qualitative approach to study the role of media in promoting public awareness about some social issues such as road safety (Moklef, 1998) and environmental awareness in the Arab Gulf (Al Awadey, 2002; Al Sarawey, 2002; Al Kadban, 2002). Very few scholars used a quantitative approach to study the role of media in social change (i.e. Hashem, 1999). Al Jaber argued that social development in the developing countries is connected to the ability of media to increase the public awareness of the society (Al Jaber, 1981a, 76). Moreover, Hussain stressed the significant role of mass communication in the Arab Gulf, especially TV, in promoting social development such as literacy, social, health, and environment awareness (Hussain, 1988, 135). He emphasised the need for comprehensive national communication campaigns rather than unconnected communication activities that lack strategic planning (Ibid., 147).

Kareem indicated that the main role of mass communication is to increase the awareness of the importance of social participation in development and educating people to be part of this development (Kareem, 1990, 137). Al Sedeekey and Hassan explained that mass media, especially broadcast, plays a significant role in social change in the developing countries, because of the high rates of illiteracy and the low economic salaries where it is popular that groups would watch TV or listen to radio in one house or public places (Al Sedeekey & Hassan, 2000, 119-120). While most of the research on the role of media in promoting social change in the Arabic literature used descriptive, qualitative approach, Hashem used a quantitative approach to study the role of TV programmes in modifying social attitudes towards handicapped children in

Bahrain (Hashem, 1992, 71). He concluded that mass communication programmes were effective in changing some negative attitudes towards the handicapped by increasing the awareness of the society of basic facts and information about them (Ibid., 118).

To sum up, several Arabic studies highlighted the prominent role of mass media in promoting social change. The research on the role of media in the Arab Gulf societies argued that mass media could achieve social change if some conditions are met such as implementing strategic, comprehensive approaches and conducting audience research. However, most of this literature was restricted to a descriptive approach that failed to provide in-depth analysis of the way public campaigns are used to promote social change in the Arabic context relating them to their collective environment. Additionally, although the previous studies enhanced the interrelated relationship between mass media and social development, there has been a considerable absence of Arabic theoretical model of mass communication. As highlighted earlier, there is a lack of media sociology theories in the Arabic literature. Moreover, Arabic studies fell short of studying how media discourses were used in the Arab Gulf context in relation to theories at the individual and community levels of communication. For instance, although the existing research claimed that media encouraged social participation in change, no research studied how media has dealt with issues of power and participation. Therefore, this thesis aims to study media discourses used in two case studies in relation to community-based concepts of empowerment and participation.

Social change campaigns in the Arab Gulf:

After providing a background to media role in society and the media system, this section aims to introduce social change campaigns in the Arab Gulf. It discusses a historical background of national campaigns, the role of voluntary associations in

promoting social change in the Arab Gulf, the role of public relations and social marketing in non-profit organisations, and the barriers that impede implementing public campaigns in voluntary associations in the Arab Gulf societies.

Historical background of national campaigns in the Arab Gulf

After providing a historical and sociological background of the launch and role of media in the Arab Gulf, it is helpful to present a background of the launch of social change campaigns in the Arab Gulf societies. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the discovery of oil in the Arab Gulf in the thirties was the shifting historical point for the Arab Gulf societies from the harsh sea-life to the modern style of life. This big transformation was accompanied with a substantial social change. A number of social change campaigns have been launched from the middle of the 20th century to increase the awareness of the Arab Gulf societies of many social issues. However, most of these early campaigns lacked strategic planning and well-trained staff (Al Maleh, 1985; Asab, 1981; Al Awadey, 2002; Abu Al Saad, 1981; Al Maklooth, 1996). In the modern history of the Arab Gulf, two main social entities have played a significant role in launching social change campaigns and programmes: Arab Gulf governments, and voluntary associations.

To begin with, Arab Gulf governments have adopted a number of national campaigns. Most of the national public campaigns in the Arab Gulf have been a result of the increasing need to solve a serious social problem that would impede the development in the Arab Gulf states. Therefore, several big literacy campaigns were launched in the seventies in the Arab Gulf. However, it was not until the eighties and early nineties when these campaigns became more organised and followed a planned schedule. For instance, in the period from 1983 until 1993 in Bahrain, a number of five-

year plans have been organised by the Ministry of Education using broadcast advertisements, press releases and interpersonal communication through face-to-face meetings and open seminars to encourage illiterates joining these programmes (Al Amadey, 1992, 43-55).

Moreover, illiterates were provided with access to join free classes in most of the towns in Bahrain (Ibid.). These programmes were successful in reducing illiteracy in Bahrain because communication campaigns were accompanied with providing illiterates with access to join free literacy sessions. In Kuwait, in 1981 the literacy national campaign was supported by legislations and using various media channels such as broadcast serials, advertisements, and press releases, besides providing access for the elderly and housewives to join these classes (Kuwait Government, 2004, 1). This literacy campaign succeeded to reduce the number of illiterates in Kuwait from 48.35% to 11.5% in the period from 1970 to 1993 (Ibid.). This emphasises the role of community empowerment in achieving social change through communication programmes in the Arab Gulf.

In 1976, the Arab Gulf Association of Cooperative Programmes Production was established to produce public broadcast programmes that aim at increasing the public awareness of various social and educational issues, besides emphasising the Arabic and Islamic cultural values shared by all Arab Gulf societies (Centre of Media Documentary in the Arab Gulf, 1988, 160). A number of broadcast programmes were produced by the association to target children and families to increase their social and cultural awareness of many issues such as health, environment and social responsibility through several broadcast programmes such as 'Your Health', 'Open SimSim', 'Stories from the Gulf', 'Our Life' and 'The House of Abu Khalid' (Ibid., 161-2).

Moreover, various programmes have been produced in the last two decades by the national public broadcast channels in the Arab Gulf to increase the awareness of several social issues such as illiteracy, health, and road safety. However, they were mainly media-based public service announcements and did not follow a scheduled plan or a strategic campaign. As discussed earlier, several studies in the Western literature emphasised the importance of supplementation strategy through combining media and interpersonal communication (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1949; Wallack, 1981; Kotler & Roberto, 1989; Perloff, 1993; Tones & Green, 2004). Bandura's social learning theory (1977) assumed that campaigns are more likely to succeed when media messages are reinforced by similar messages that are delivered through interpersonal communication channels.

Therefore, the key limitation of most of the early national campaigns in the Arab Gulf states was their failure to integrate media with interpersonal communication techniques within a well-scheduled plan. Moreover, it is questionable whether these campaigns managed to move from individual communication techniques towards providing the target audiences with access to achieve social change. Therefore, this thesis aims to study the role of communication approaches used in two public programmes in the Arab Gulf in facilitating community empowerment and participation.

The role of voluntary associations in promoting social change in the Arab Gulf

After providing a brief background of the launch of national public communication campaigns in the Arab Gulf societies, it is important to discuss the role of voluntary associations in promoting social change. Voluntary associations played a significant role in social change and development in the Arab Gulf. Wajeeha Al-Baharnah, one of the pioneers in the voluntary work in Bahrain, associated voluntary work with the need

for development: 'Voluntary work is any non-profit activity, done without any payment by individuals for the development of their societies'. As discussed earlier in the section about 'Islamic ethics of participation, social responsibility & the concept of Ummah', pp. 102-104, voluntarism in the Arab Gulf has its roots in Islamic culture that emphasises that every individual in the society has a responsibility towards the other. Sham, a volunteer PR practitioner in one of the non-profit organisation in the Arab Gulf, said,

Voluntary work should be derived from your heart... you are not paid for your work, but you believe in your responsibility to do something good for your society... it is derived from the strong Islamic principles of social responsibility. I sacrificed many of my family time for my work, but I enjoyed it. I feel proud of my work... I really like it (29-6-2005).

Various scholars in the Arabic literature emphasised the role of voluntary and non-profit associations in implementing programmes to promote social change in the Arab countries in the last two decades. Most of the studies used a historical, qualitative approach to study how these associations started in the Arab Gulf societies and their role in promoting social change (Al Akras, 1982; Mattar, 1985; Al Kater, 1993; Abdul Wahab, 2000; Musalam, 2002). Al Kater used a historical approach to study the beginning of social work in the Qatari society and the Arab Gulf countries discussing the launch of voluntary associations after the discovery of oil (Al Kater, 1993, 32-41). She pointed out that voluntary associations used public campaigns to educate people of many social, health, and cultural issues such as social inclusion of handicapped children, family and illiteracy by using interpersonal communication such as public activities, seminars and conferences (Ibid., 45).

It was argued that historically, voluntary associations promoted social change in three ways: interpersonal meetings with the target audiences to discuss their personal problems and needs, prevention media-based programmes, and promoting social

awareness at the community level through public seminars and activities (Al Akras, 1982, 44-45). These associations played a significant role in fighting illiteracy in the Arab Gulf countries by raising social awareness, conducting academic research, organising training programmes and centres (Mattar, 1985, 56).

While the previous studies took a historical paradigm, other scholars used a quantitative approach to study the role of voluntary associations in promoting social change in the Arab Gulf (i.e. Hamza, 1983; Rashid, 1990; Al Terkestaney, 1996). Hamza concluded that although voluntary associations were established before the ministries of social affairs in the Arab Gulf countries, their structures were still incomplete and there was still a need to develop their aims and objectives (Hamza, 1983, 130). Another quantitative study was conducted by Rashid who discussed the relationship between voluntary associations that aim at social change, governmental associations in the UAE, and the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (Rashid, 1990). He found that there has been a cooperation between governmental and voluntary associations to achieve social development (Ibid., 61).

Several kinds of voluntary associations in the Arab Gulf constitute the foundation for social change in the Arab Gulf such as feminist, Islamic, health, social and public associations. In the fifties, feminist voluntary associations played a key role in increasing the social awareness of the role of women in the public life in the Arab Gulf states (Fakhro, 1990, 60). Al Nahdah Association was the first feminist association in the Arab Gulf established in 1955 in Bahrain followed by a number of feminist voluntary associations that aimed at raising the awareness of women and improving their status in the society in addition to educating them their rights (Fakhro, 1990, 61-2). Wajeeha Al-Buharnah explained,

Al-Nahdha Society was the first feminist association launched in 1955 in Bahrain. It was established by Aisha Yateem... In 1961, the Association of Motherhood &

Child Care was established by a number of volunteers such as Lulwa Bint Mohammad Al-Khalifah, Salwa Al-Omran, and Faekah Al-Moayad. The feminist voluntary work started in Bahrain by the elite of women from the royal families and rich women (13-11-2005).

Wedad Al-Maskatey emphasised,

Aishah Yateem was the pioneer... she established Bahrain Nahdah Association, the first feminist voluntary association in the Arab Gulf, and she was its head from 1955 until 1975. Besides, Lulwa Bint Mohammad Al-Khalifah, Salwa Al-Omran, and Faekah Al-Moayad are the first women who established voluntary work in Bahrain. I worked in Bahrain Nahdah Association in 1976 and I became its head in 1980. There used to be only four or five voluntary associations in Bahrain... Therefore, we were cooperating with each other and with the Ministry of Labour and Social Affair (15-2-2006).

Feminist thinking in the Arab Gulf voluntary associations was affected by some Arabic liberal feminist writers who called for breaking the traditions and rules of Arabic society by calling for the full equality between men and women such as Nabwyah Mosa, Huda Shaarawy, Safyah Zakloul, Sohayr Al-Kalamawy, Amina Al-Saad and Nawal Al-Saadawey (Khareeb, 1988, 156-7). They called for a combined liberal and radical change in the whole society. Some of the voluntary associations in the Arab Gulf were established and managed by women and aimed to empower women to acquire their rights and to make their voices heard. Their principles were similar to the liberal feminist thinking in the Western literature that argued that 'the inequity is simply a matter of irrational prejudice that can be solved through rational argument' (Steeves, 1987, 100). The liberal feminist thinking advocates working within the system to achieve equity.

Some of the feminist associations called for radical change that goes along with the Western radical feminist thinking that suggests changing the organisational value system to appreciate feminine values (Foy, 1980; Naisbett, 1982; Mann, 1986; Levine, 1990). One of the most prominent incidents in the history of feminist campaigns in the Arab Gulf that called for radical change was when a group of Bahraini and Kuwaiti

women burnt their Abayah, traditional cloth that covers women from their head to feet, which was a symbol of their reform against cultural restrictions and their call for social change (Al Najar, 2000, 43-44). Wajeeha Al-Baharnah talked about the history of feminist associations in Bahrain,

The number of voluntary associations increased in the sixties in Bahrain as a result of the launch of national media, in addition to the development of education and the establishment of a number of intellectual associations in Bahrain. In 1970, Awal Association and Rafa Association were launched in Bahrain. At that time, the volunteers were mostly educated women who were active in intellectual activities at that time such as Layla Fakhrao, Shaikha Muneerah Fares Al-Khaleefah, and Najat Al-Mosawey (13-11-2005).

Wedad Al-Maskatey talked about voluntary work in the fifties and seventies:

Since the mid fifties until the seventies, the number of female graduates increased in Bahrain and there was an increasing need for voluntary work in the Bahraini society. Voluntary work flourished in the seventies in Bahrain and started to change its focus... In other words, in the fifties, charity was the main goal for voluntary associations, but in the seventies they started to call for the rights of women and family and to increase the awareness towards various social issues. Our aim was to fulfil the needs of the society. Our target was the society as a whole, but our activities focused on educating women and providing them with access to attend some classes to help them finish their education. Besides, we were trying to help them through establishing nurseries for their children. Also, we arranged several workshops and seminars to increase social awareness (15-2-2006).

Besides, a number of social, health and public associations played an important role in increasing the social awareness in several fields, which will be discussed in detail in the following section about the role of voluntary associations in social change.

These early campaigns launched by voluntary associations depended mainly on public education approach to social change through face-to-face meetings and interpersonal seminars in public places, in addition to writing some press releases of their activities in the local print media. Wajeeha Al-Baharnah emphasised,

The key communication techniques used by voluntary associations in Bahrain are: organising educational and intellectual workshops, seminars, conferences, media campaigns to raise public opinion, and meetings with opinion leaders (13-11-2005).

However, there is a lack of research on the impact of these programmes and their activities on the Arab Gulf societies. These programmes were based on the taken-for-granted assumption that increasing public awareness will result in behaviour change, while there has been a failure to study the extent to which the target audiences were provided with resources to achieve change at the community level. No research has studied the extent to which participation was facilitated by these programmes. The question of participation is essential because most of the seminars organised by these early programmes were mainly attended by the elite such as educated women and feminist activists. Therefore, this research attempts to study communication techniques used in two communication programmes in the Arab Gulf in relation to the community-based concepts of empowerment and participation from the multiple perspectives of communication planners, journalists, activists, and target audiences.

The role of public relations and social marketing in non-profit organisations

While the previous studies highlighted the role of voluntary associations in promoting social change in the Arab Gulf, several Arabic scholars explained the role of public relations in non-profit associations (Fahmey, 1984; Keshk, 1998; Ahmed, 2000; Saleh et al., 2000; Badawey, 2001; Al Shafaey & Morsey, 1999). However, no research has studied public relations campaigns in the Arab Gulf societies. Besides, most the Arabic literature used a descriptive approach to discuss the role of public relations in non-profit organisations without providing theoretical insights on the practice of public relations campaigns in the Arab Gulf (Keshk, 1998; Ahmed, 2000; Saleh et al., 2000; Badawey, 2001). This might be because public relations departments are not old in the Arab organisations. Kirat noted,

The time period of the public relations departments and agencies is relatively short, not exceeding 30 years. This time period is not long enough to have a well-

established culture of effective, responsible and powerful public relations in the Arab World (Kirat, 2005, 325).

Moreover, it was pointed out that although public relations played prominent role in governmental and voluntary associations, there are no specialised public relations departments in social associations in Arab countries (Keshk, 1998, 249).

Interpersonal techniques such as meetings and seminars have been the main tactics used in public relations campaigns to establish relationships with the society in the Arab World (Ahmed, 2000, 179). Shams, a volunteer PR practitioner in the Arab Gulf, emphasised the role public relations played in voluntary organisations in establishing contacts and relationships with the society. She noted,

In the past, people in Bahrain used to confuse PR with sales of goods of ideas. But, I think PR has developed now in Bahrain. I think PR is based mainly on establishing relationships and contacts with people. As a PR practitioner, I should have good relationships with the organisation's publics. If people don't trust you, they won't attend your functions. The role of public relations in the Arab Gulf society is to build relationships that give life to the organisation. From my perspective, there is no limitation for the role of PR in voluntary organisations. Without PR, it is difficult to get the money and resources to sponsor voluntary activities of non-profit organisations (29-6-2005).

This supports the arguments of some scholars in the literature that that relational paradigm of public relations is appropriate in the Arab World (Kruckeberg, 1996; Vujnovic & Kruckeberg, 2005). However, although Shams talked about the ideal picture of public relations as relationship-building in the Arab Gulf, she explained that 'public relations in many organisations is still limited to the publicity function' (29-6-2005). Kirat stressed that public relations was used mainly in the Arab Gulf as a publicity function:

Arab common sense PR is public information and publicity. The objective is mostly to portray positively those individuals and organizations whose tasks consist of performing secondary PR jobs such as assisting customers, guests, fulfilling hospitality functions at the expense of professional public relations, strategic planning, research and providing top management with sound advice (Kirat, 2005, 324).

This might be because public relations in the Arab World suffered from misconception and lack of professionalism, in addition to its reduction to secondary roles in the organisation (Kirat, 2005, 328-331). Moreover, public relations in the Arab Gulf has a marginalised role in the organisation and vague image of its practice, besides its confusion with marketing (Al Saqer, 2003, 39). Shams explained her experience as one of the first volunteer PR practitioners in a non-profit organisation in the Arab Gulf,

I participated in voluntary work 30 years ago as a PR practitioner in a non-profit organisation in Bahrain. It's something I did for God sake... I felt that I have a responsibility to play towards my society. My key activities as the one in charge of PR activities in the organisation were organising activities for fund-raising, establishing contacts, getting sponsorship and donations for our activities, in addition to publishing press releases about our activities in the newspapers. Moreover, I used to promote our activities in TV and encourage people to volunteer or support voluntary work. Moreover, I represent the organisation in many countries such as Nairobi, Johannesburg, Egypt, Qatar, and Jordan (29-6-2005).

However, Arabic literature used mainly a descriptive approach that failed to bring new theoretical understanding of the role of public relations in the Arabic context. That is might be because of the lack of Arabic social psychology and health promotion theories in the Arabic literature. Therefore, this thesis aims to bring new theoretical insights on the role of public relations in two non-profit entities in the Arab Gulf.

Al Terkestaney's research (1996) was the only study that highlighted the role of social marketing approach in public communication campaigns in voluntary associations in the Arab Gulf. Al Terkestaney used both qualitative and quantitative questionnaires distributed to the people in charge in voluntary associations in Saudi Arabia (Ibid., 156). He concluded that there was an absence of specialised social marketing departments to plan and implement comprehensive social campaigns in these associations; therefore, their communication activities were limited (Ibid., 164). However, this study was limited to study communication techniques from the perspective of communication planners. Moreover, this research failed to go beyond

describing the communication activities used by voluntary associations to relate them to issues of power and participation at the community level. Besides, there is an absence of Arabic social marketing theory in the literature.

Therefore, it could be concluded from this discussion that the contribution of this thesis is that it provides original theoretical insights on the role of public relations and social marketing approaches in the Arab Gulf. Moreover, this thesis takes a qualitative approach to bring in-depth understanding of how public relations and social marketing techniques were used to promote social change in relation to the notions of community empowerment and participation. In addition, this thesis aims to study communication techniques from the multiple perspectives of communication planners, journalists, activists, and the target audiences. The next section will discuss the key barriers that impeded the implementation of public campaigns in voluntary associations in the Arab Gulf.

Barriers that impede implementing public campaigns in voluntary associations

Although the existing Arabic literature emphasised the role of voluntary associations in social change, there have been key barriers that impeded implementing communication campaigns in these associations. Some scholars emphasised the need for further research to study voluntary social work in order to specify the barriers and improve its role in the Arab Gulf societies (Al Kater, 1993, 75; Al Terkestaney, 1996, 179). Moreover, several studies criticised the lack of strategic planning of measurable objectives and evaluation in public campaigns implemented by voluntary associations (Namer, 1985, 227; Rashid, 1990, 66; Mathnaney, 1994, 11). Al Terkestaney claimed that the lack of systematic planning in voluntary associations might be because all the management members were in charge of promoting activities (Al Terkestaney, 1996,

165). As a result, they did not recognise the need to establish independent departments for social marketing (Ibid.). Therefore, he recommended establishing social marketing departments with specialised staff in these associations, in addition to training the staff to plan long-term campaigns (Ibid., 178).

Another interesting cultural, psychological barrier was raised by Al Terkestaney who argued that some donors and members of voluntary associations would feel uncomfortable using the word 'marketing' because it has a 'profit' connotation (Al Terkestaney, 1996, 165). That is because voluntary activities are intended in the first place, in the Saudi culture, for God sake. In other words, in this Muslim society, people participate in voluntary work because of the Islamic strong belief of social commitment. They want to feel better towards themselves by doing something good that will be rewarded by God, not something intended to have economic reward. It can be related to Arabic ethics where social responsibility and helping the others should be derived from people's good intentions and Islamic commitment.

Furthermore, the limited relationship between voluntary associations and media was another barrier discussed by several studies in the Arabic literature (i.e. Al Kater, 1993; Hamza, 1983; Mathnaney, 1994). These studies explained that voluntary associations usually pay little attention to establish good media relations (Ibid.). Although the use of media relations implies the presence of public relations in these associations, Arabic research did not refer to the role of public relations in these associations. Moreover, Atteyah criticised that most of the past research focused on the role of mass media in public communication campaigns, while less attention has been paid to interpersonal communication techniques (Atteyah, 1985, 96). Thus, this thesis attempts to fill this gap in the literature by providing in-depth analysis of both media and interpersonal

communication techniques used in two real-life communication campaigns in two case studies in the Arab Gulf.

Along with the Western research on health promotion at the community level, various studies stressed the instant need to move from psychological approaches towards a collective approach to social change through cooperation, participation, and providing the target audiences with access to resources (Al Kater, 1993; Namer, 1985; Rashid, 1990; Sheker, 1998; Hussain, 1988; Hamza, 1983). Several scholars highlighted the need for a collective approach to social change in voluntary association through collaborating with the government and other Arab voluntary associations to achieve economic support (Al Kater, 1993; Namer, 1985; Rashid, 1990). In addition, voluntary associations sought cooperation with the society through encouraging social responsibility and involving community leaders in social change (Namer, 1985, 216). This collective approach to social change could be connected to Arabic communication ethics of community participation and social responsibility.

According to Al Gammal, participation was limited in voluntary associations that failed to establish cooperation with the target audiences as they were limited to the individual powers of specific elites such as activists and opinion leaders (cited in Sheker, 1998, 47). Therefore, voluntary associations should facilitate social participation to achieve collective change in the Arabic societies (Hussain, 1988, 68). This argument emphasised the instant need for community participation discussed earlier in the Western literature on public communication at the community level (Haggart, 2000; Carey, 2000; Green, 1986; Vandavelde, 1983). These studies explained that community participation could be achieved through providing the target community with access and resources to social change. The lack of resources is one of the major barriers facing voluntary associations that aim to promote social change at the collective

level (Hamza, 1983; Rashid, 1990). Hamza emphasised that there has been a lack in the resources for communication planning in the Arab Gulf societies such as the few numbers of buildings for these associations and the few numbers of specialists, besides the lack of training programmes (Hamza, 1983, 135-136). Therefore, it is essential in this thesis to study communication techniques in relation to their broad environment.

Conclusion:

This chapter aims to answer the initial research questions through framing historical and sociological background of media and public communication in the Arab Gulf. It could be concluded from this chapter that the notion of social change in the Arab Gulf is connected to the conservative values of participation, collectivism, and social responsibility derived from Islamic principles. Public communication campaigns in the Arab Gulf context have their origins in the Islamic culture and Arabic ethics that foster the community role in social change.

The perspective of public communication as a relationship-building function has deep roots in the Arabic culture, where commitment towards the society is a core Islamic value. This could be related to Vujnovic and Kruckeberg's 'organic theory' of public relations ethics in the Arab World where the organisation is an organ and society is a body as a whole (2005, 340). Some participants and scholars argued that public relations in the Arab Gulf is still limited to a publicity function. However, no research has provided theoretical insights on the role of public relations and public communication in promoting social change in the Arab Gulf in relation to Arabic communication ethics and community-based notions of participation and empowerment.

The sociological shift in the Arab Gulf states accompanied with the discovery of oil and the transformation to a modern life style results in the need for media and public

communication. The launch of media was a companion of development in the Arab Gulf. The launch and structure of media in the Arab Gulf was influenced by three key factors: the discovery of oil, the British colonisation, and the Arab Gulf ruling families that practised strict censorship on the media. Therefore, media freedom was limited in the Arab Gulf states. However, the rapid development, globalisation and competition of new media and open satellite channels have made it crucial for the media system in the Arab Gulf to move from the dominant theory model where the power is flowing from above towards a more open sphere of community participation. This supports Kirat's argument that, 'With the advent of globalization, information technology and the information and digital society, organizations whether private or public are giving more importance to their public and public opinion' (Kirat, 2005, 325).

Historically, there have been two key social change agents in the Arab Gulf: governmental and voluntary entities. However, no research has previously provided in-depth analysis of communication techniques used in these two associations relating them to notions of empowerment and participation at the community level. Thus, this thesis aims to fill this gap. This chapter frames the background to the findings of the two case studies that take place in national and voluntary associations in the Arab Gulf. In the following chapter, in-depth analysis of the findings of the first case study of Ghiras, the national project for drugs prevention in Kuwait, will be provided using the methodological and analytical framework discussed in the previous chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE:
**THE CASE STUDY OF GHIRAS, THE NATIONAL
PROJECT FOR DRUGS PREVENTION IN KUWAIT**

INTRODUCTION:

The previous chapter provided a historical and sociological background to the role of media and public communication in social change in the Arab Gulf. Although the notion of social change in the Arabic culture involves collectivism, participation, and social responsibility, there is a failure to provide rich insights on the role of communication in collective change in the Arabic context. Therefore, this thesis attempts to fill this gap in the literature by providing detailed analysis of the way communication techniques are used in public campaigns to promote social change in the Arab Gulf in relation to the community-based notions of participation and empowerment from the perspectives of communication planners, journalists, activists, and the target audiences.

This chapter and the one that follows present the findings of two case studies conducted by the key change agents in the Arab Gulf: governmental and voluntary associations. This chapter provides the findings of the first case study of Ghiras, the national project for drugs prevention in Kuwait. The chapter begins with introducing the background of the project through discussing the role of political, economic, and cultural factors in the launch of the social change programme in Kuwait. Then, it studies the role of media in the project. After that, the chapter provides detailed analysis of the processes of planning, implementing, and evaluating the project's campaigns. After that,

this chapter attempts to provide detailed analysis of the way communication techniques are used in the project from the perspectives of communication planners, journalists, activists, and the target audiences in relation to concepts of participation and empowerment at the community level.

The role of political, economic, and cultural factors in the launch of Ghiras:

This section aims to introduce the case study through explaining the role of political, economic and cultural factors in the launch of Ghiras in Kuwait. It discusses the launch of the project in Kuwait, the sociology of change, the cultural barrier of denial and the use of community-based approach to prevent drugs in Kuwait.

The launch of Ghiras in Kuwait

Ghiras, the national project for drugs prevention, took place in Kuwait which is situated northeast of Saudi Arabia at the northern end of the Persian Gulf, south of Iraq (<http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0107694.html>). Kuwait is one of the smallest countries in the world as the total area of Kuwait is about 6,880 sq mi (17,820 sq km) with a population of 2,257,549 (2004 est.) (Ibid.). The project was launched in 2000 by the National Committee for Drugs Control that was the national umbrella for the project. The team explained that the project started with signing a cooperating protocol between governmental, private and voluntary associations in Kuwait in October 1999: the National Committee for Drugs Control, Kuwait Awqaf Public Foundation, Circle Complete Communication Services, Union of Consumer Co-operative Societies, and Kuwait Finance House. Other associations joined this protocol after some months of its launch such as the Ministry of Information, the Ministry of Education, the University of Kuwait, MTC Vodafone, MacDonald's, the Scientific Centre, Al-Khabas Newspaper,

Kuwaiti Association of Journalists, and Kuwaiti Association for Smoking and Cancer Prevention. This social coalition of governmental, private and voluntary sectors in Kuwait has played a key role in launching the project, which will be discussed in detail in the section of 'The role of collaboration and social coalitions' pp. 155-157.

Along with the question of why a social change campaign will be launched at a specific time and a specific place, most of the national social campaigns in the Arab Gulf have been a result of the increasing need to solve big social problems that would impede the development in the Arab Gulf states. Drugs have become a serious problem in Kuwait that affected the national economy and security (Al Hameedan et al., 2003). The number of the cases of drugs dealing increased from 92 cases in 1995 to 246 cases in 1999 in Kuwait (Ibid., 77-78). Besides, the numbers of the cases of drugs taking increased from 128 cases in 1995 to 438 in 1999 (Ibid., 78-79). The number of drugs crimes increased in Kuwait to 1095 in 1999 (52 crimes to every 10000 of the population) (Ibid., 75-76). Osama Al-Qatari, journalist, stressed that:

Ghiras began as a result of the increase of the problem of drugs addiction in Kuwait. After 1998, the problem has become serious... many people died because of drugs. The government and specialised associations in Kuwait started paying more attention to the problem (19-7-2004).

Ali Al-Hajrey, the manager of the project, explained that the launch of the project in January 2000 was a result of the failure of the early anti-drugs campaigns in Kuwait:

The first anti-drugs campaigns in Kuwait failed because they used direct advice and sometimes gave orders! Our aim was to move from the assumption 'It is a problem that we do not know anything about and we cannot do anything to stop' to 'it is something that might happen to anyone of us and we can stop it (18-7-2004).

This discussion could be related to the results of the report offered by the British Home Office (2001) that argued that several large-scale mass media campaigns in the 1980s in the UK have not succeeded because of the use of ineffective messages and approaches such as using fear appeals (i.e. Hale and Dillard, 1995) or simplistic 'say no' messages

(i.e. Schilling & McAlister, 1990). Therefore, the launch of Ghiras was a result of the increase of drugs crimes in Kuwait and the government's attempt to gather the efforts under a unifying national umbrella in one big project after the failure of the early small campaigns.

The sociology of change

The discovery of oil in Kuwait in the 1930s was accompanied with rapid economic and social development. Since 1946, it has been the world's second-largest oil exporter (<http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0107694.html>). The government encourages industry through establishing numerous industrial companies, extending assistance to them, granting loans and facilities, and providing infrastructures and protection to developing industries (http://www.awqaf.org/E_KapfLinks/kuwait/production.htm). The shift from sea-based to oil-based economy was accompanied with social change and highly developed health and education system. As for the political system, Kuwait is a constitutional monarchy, governed by the Al-Sabah family. The parliamentary council has played a key role as a legislative body in Kuwait. However, Kuwaiti society has grown increasingly conservative under the influence of Islamic fundamentalists who form the majority of the parliamentary council (<http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0107694.html>).

Understanding the sociology of change in Kuwait is significant to understand how communication campaigns were used to promote social change. Thus, Ghiras could not be studied in isolation of the broader social and cultural context, which is affected by political and economic transformation. Modernisation and globalisation are the key cultural factors in the history of social change in the Arab Gulf societies that moved

from tribalism towards a modern lifestyle. Awayd Al-Meshaan, the secretary-general of the National Committee for Drugs Control and the head of Ghiras supervisory committee, emphasised the role of globalisation in the increase of drugs addiction in the Kuwaiti conservative society:

Although Kuwait is a conservative society, globalisation and money are key reasons for the high rate of drugs addiction in Kuwait. Globalisation results in less faith in traditional values and principles. We cannot judge faith only from outside appearance... it is something that comes from inside. The lack of true faith makes it easier for drugs dealers to deceive the youth (19-7-2004).

The conflict between globalisation and cultural identity might result that people in the Arab Gulf would feel 'incoherent' and 'fragmented'. This conflict was emphasised by Mohammad Mamlook, journalist:

The strict cultural traditions in Kuwait make the youth imprisoned in little opportunities to express themselves. On the other hand, they are open to the global world and have money and spare time... As a result, teenagers find themselves lost and fragmented (19-7-2004).

This is related to Thompson's argument that 'traditions and cultural heritages of many so-called third world countries were shaped by a long and often brutal process of cultural conflict, a process through which many traditional practices were destroyed and some of the values and beliefs of external powers were imposed on indigenous populations' (Thompson, 1995, 170). Therefore, it is important to study Ghiras in relation to its broader environment and culture. The team argued that they used a community-based approach to social change to overcome the cultural challenges, which will be explained in the following section.

Denial and community approach to social change

The team indicated that they used a community approach through enhancing values and norms associated with drugs prevention. As discussed in the review of literature,

several studies argued that behavioural change at the community level could be achieved by changing community norms about health-related behaviour (i.e. Abrams et al., 1986; Stunkard et al., 1985; Farquhar et al., 1985b). Thompson and Kinne argued that most of the major health initiatives that used community approach to change behaviour have paid 'little attention to norm and value change' (Farquhar et al., 1985a; Leventhal et al., 1980; cited in Thompson & Kinne, 1999, 30). Several members of the team highlighted the cultural challenge they have faced when talking about the issue of drugs that has been a taboo in the Kuwaiti society. Ali Al-Zaidey explained,

Launching the project was the biggest challenge we faced because we started from denial. No one used to talk about the issue; it was treated as a sensitive issue. It was so sensitive to go and talk with people in the government and people in charge about drugs. It was not easy at all to talk about it in public and make the society participate in the issue. Our challenge was to change the way everybody used to see the issue as the problem of government, police and hospitals, and transfer it to a social concern through increasing the awareness of individuals and families (18-7-2004).

A number of journalists and activists discussed the culture of silence and the need to change the social norms first to achieve social change. For instance, Adnan Al-Rashid, the vice-editor of Al-Anbaa newspaper and treasurer of the Association of Journalists, emphasised that the culture of silence is a key challenge:

The cultural perspective towards drugs addiction should be changed. Even if the addicted people are recovered in our society, it would be difficult for them to get married because most of the Kuwaiti families would reject them. The problem is that in our society we still see the problem from a very narrow perspective. The problem is that in our culture we feel 'embarrassed' and find it 'sensitive' to talk about the problem openly. Even when the recovered addicted are interviewed on TV, their faces wouldn't be shown or they would be shown from the back. We should get out of the culture of silence (20-7-2004).

The team explained that the first challenge was to change the perspectives of the conservative Kuwaiti society. Dr Zawba emphasised that the project aimed at breaking the culture of silence:

There used to be a complete denial towards the problem of drugs in Kuwait on one hand, and a pressure from the United Nations to do something to solve the

problem on the other hand...The project aimed at transferring the problem of drugs from a sensitive 'taboo' or a 'mysterious, dangerous world' presented by the first 'No for drugs' campaigns in Kuwait to make fighting drugs the social responsibility of every Kuwaiti citizen (18-7-2004).

This argument stresses the need for a supportive environment to enhance the Arabic ethics of social responsibility and public participation in the project. Ali Al-Hajrey, the manager of the project, explained that the project aimed at transferring drugs to a social, public issue that everyone in the Kuwaiti society would be concerned about (18-7-2004). Awayd Al-Meshaan indicated that this approach has increased social awareness towards drugs in Kuwait:

In the past, no one would talk about the problem even if there is a drug addicted inside the family, because it used to be shameful in the Kuwaiti culture to talk about it. Nowadays, mothers are more aware; if they noticed anything unnatural in their children's behaviour, they would call and ask for our consultancy. Even universities' students are very willing to participate in Ghiras workshops and to volunteer to serve society (19-7-2004).

Effat Sallam, journalist, stressed the role of Ghiras in breaking the silence and increasing social awareness:

In the past, there used to be denial towards the issue and the problem was hidden. The addicted used to be afraid to speak up in order not to affect their families' reputation. But, nowadays people start to understand that drugs addiction is a disease. There is a good response from the Kuwaiti society to Ghiras campaigns (19-7-2004).

Ekbal Al-Ahmad, writer and activist, emphasised,

In the nineties, no one ever used to talk about the problem. For Kuwaiti society, it was a mysterious world. I think if Ghiras had started in the nineties, people wouldn't have accepted its messages. But, I think when Ghiras started, people were ready to accept to talk about drugs (18-7-2004).

One of the participants explained that 'the project succeeds in transferring drugs to a public issue through positioning its messages through media and its various interpersonal activities' (Focus group 3, 10-12-2004). One of the youth said, 'The Kuwaiti youth have started talking about the problem differently and become more

aware about the problem' (Focus group 1, 3-10-2004). One of the parents stressed, 'Everyone was talking about Ghiras messages and slogans... it succeeds to transfer drugs from a sensitive issue that people don't feel concerned about to a public issue' (Focus group 5, 16-12-2004). One of the parents explained the personal impact of the project on his attitude towards the issue:

The project has affected the way I used to look at the issue. I used to see drugs as a problem that didn't concern me and would never happen to me, or to my family. However, I started seeing things differently after watching Ghiras adverts on TV and in streets (Focus group 4, 11-12-2004).

On the other hand, denial was still a key problem indicated by several target audiences in the focus groups. For instance, one of the teenagers wondered, 'Honestly, I'm not sure to what extent we suffer from drugs in Kuwait' (Focus group 2, 5-10-2004). Another participant stressed, 'We don't talk openly about the problem... it is still a mysterious, sensitive topic in our society' (Focus group 3, 10-12-2004). Moreover, it is ironic that several participants reported that people started talking about the project not the issue. For instance, one of the youth commented, 'I could feel the project's impact from people's speech about the project's ads and their discussion about the significance of its slogans and messages' (Focus group 2, 5-10-2004). Buzaid, journalist, argued,

People started talking whether Ghiras has been effective or not, rather than talking about the problem itself. It means that the project succeeds to be well known in the Kuwaiti society. But, it's questionable to what extent people could speak about drugs openly nowadays (8-12-2004).

Although the team claimed that they took a community-based approach to social change, it is questionable how collective change could be achieved in relation to the notions of community participation and empowerment, which will be discussed later in this chapter. The following section will discuss the role of the Kuwaiti media in breaking the silence and increasing the social awareness and participation towards the issue.

The role of media in the project:

After introducing the political, social, economic, and cultural factors that accompanied the launch of Ghiras in Kuwait, it is helpful to study the role media played in the project in this section. As discussed earlier, although there is no reference to media sociological theories in the Arabic literature, several studies emphasised the role of mass media in promoting social change in the Arab Gulf societies (Al Jaber, 1981a; Hussain, 1988; Al Hassan, 1981; Kareem, 1990; Al Sedeekey & Hassan, 2000). This supportive role was explained by a number of journalists in the case. For example, Hanan Al-Dahood, journalist, noted:

I think Kuwaiti media has succeeded in increasing the awareness of the society in many public issues. It is media that helps to spread any issue in the society and anticipate people to know more about it (19-7-2004).

However, Ahmed Shehab, journalist, explained that media could either enhance negative health images or play a positive role in fighting social problems such as drugs in Kuwait:

Media could play an effective role either to fight or to enhance social problems in our society. I think our Arabic media has promoted the images of drugs dealers as powerful, rich and somehow attractive characters. Therefore, it is time to use media to fight these wrong images, using scientific, well-planned strategy (14-12-2004).

The team used a media advocacy approach to establish good relations with the media. Based on participant observation, the researcher observed that the public relations department in the project managed to establish media relations with the Kuwaiti media. This enhances the role specialised public relations department could played in media relations. The new campaign was launched with a press conference where several journalists and stakeholders attended (The Scientific Centre, 11 am, 15-7-2004). Various journalists praised the considerable role Kuwaiti media played in positioning the issue and the project. The Kuwaiti media played the role described by Flora and

Cassady as 'a promoter of programs' where media has been used to 'familiarize audience members with health behaviours, products, and services, and to encourage them to participate in programs' (Flora & Cassady, 1990, 147).

However, some of the journalists explained that Kuwaiti media played limited role in promoting social change. It is interesting that most of the interviewees talked about the role national media 'should play' in the project. It might be because of the notion of social change in the Arabic culture that is associated with participation and social responsibility. As discussed in the previous chapter, the national media in the Arab Gulf societies was associated historically with social development and promoting social change. Some interviewees referred to the notion of 'social responsibility' in the Arabic culture that assumed that media should be 'responsible' for promoting social change. Several journalists blamed the media for the increase of drugs addiction in Kuwait and argued that its role in the issue was insufficient. For instance, Adnan Al-Rashid criticised the limited role Kuwaiti national media played to deal with the issue:

I don't think Kuwaiti media is plying its complete role in increasing social awareness towards drugs, as the paid efforts are still insufficient. We never see any TV interview with any of drugs dealers. It would be useful for people to listen to them, to understand more what is going on, and to know how the operation is directed. Media should discuss the issue openly. We should change the way the issue is represented on TV. There is an instant need for specialised media (20-7-2004).

A number of the participants in the focus groups explained that Kuwaiti national media, especially the broadcast, is still not playing a sufficient role in dealing with the issue. One of the participants emphasised, 'The issue should be discussed openly in the national broadcast media through open-discussion programmes' (Focus group 3, 10-12-2004; Focus group 5, 16-12-2004). McQuail claimed that public broadcasting model 'gives primacy to the needs of society or the collective needs of citizens rather than to individual rights, consumer freedom or market forces' (McQuail, 2000, 156). In the

Arab Gulf countries, public broadcasting has reflected the conservative perspectives held by the collective Arab Gulf cultural traditions. Therefore, serious sensitive problems in the Arab Gulf such as drugs addiction have not been discussed openly in public broadcasting in order to respect the collective cultural traditions of the community. Therefore, although the project managed to establish media relations with the national print media and broadcast, the media coverage of the issue was limited.

From a media studies perspective, media in the Arab Gulf countries can be best viewed within the model of dominant media where media organisations are owned and controlled by the powerful, political and economic elites with limited freedom for alternative voices to appear (McQuail, 2000, 69). Ekbal Al-Ahmad argued,

There is no specialised media that aims at promoting social change in Kuwait, because media is directed nowadays by the individual interests of power. The way any issue is discussed in the press is subject to a net of interests such as who are the sponsors of the newspaper and what the public opinion about the issue is. Besides, it depends on the media agenda, and the newspapers' economic interests (18-7-2004).

It is difficult for media to move from authorisation media theory towards liberation model because of the collective system in the Arab Gulf states that encouraged the power of political and economic elites on the media. Moreover, the conservative Islamic and Arabic traditions limited the scope of freedom in the Arab Gulf media.

The team explained that in order to position the issue of drugs in the print media, Ghiras established a coalition with the Association of Journalists and assigned annual prizes for the best media coverage such as articles and reportages about drugs. The assigning of these prizes raises some ethical questions of 'bribery': are these prizes used by the project to 'bribe' the journalists to write about the issue? Is it ethical to reward the journalists because they cover specific issues? These ethical questions could be connected to the notion of 'social responsibility' that the interviewees argued that national media should adopt: do Kuwaiti media write about drugs because of its social

responsibility towards the issue or to be rewarded? Adnan Al-Rashid explained that these prizes were assigned due to the insufficient role played by the Kuwaiti media to cover the issue:

The efforts paid by Kuwaiti media are not sufficient. If the media was doing its complete role to increase the social awareness towards drugs, why would there be a need to establish journalistic prizes? If the media had been covering the issue and writing about the problem sufficiently, there wouldn't have been a need for such a competition. Journalists should write about the problem because they believe how serious it is, not just to be rewarded. I think the problem is that we don't have specialised media. The issue of drugs needs specialised journalists to write about the problem... it needs journalists who have the knowledge and experience to write about it. If we had specialised journalists, we wouldn't need to arrange a competition and assign prizes to make journalists write about the problem (20-7-2004).

Assigning these prizes to 'make' journalists write about the issue could be understood within operant or instrumental behaviourist theory that assumes that responses become stronger, the more they are associated with rewards. Bettinghaus and Cody pointed out that 'instrumental learning works because people want to maximize rewards and minimize punishments' (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 23). Ekbal Al-Ahmad, journalist, commented, 'The prizes encouraged journalists to write about the issue, because they know that there is a reward by the end of the day' (18-7-2004). Again, it raises the ethical question of the independent role of media and social responsibility: Do journalists write about the issue and cover the project's activities just to be rewarded? While some journalists stressed their feelings of social responsibility to write about the problem of drugs in Kuwait, others complained because they have not been rewarded. For instance, one of the interviewed journalists noted, 'I think it is unfair competition... many journalists wrote several reportages and paid big efforts to cover the issue, and haven't been rewarded, which is disappointing' (19-7-2004). This discussion questions the ethical role of the media in the social change project.

Furthermore, a number of journalists explained the impact of Ghiras on the media coverage of the issue: 'There used to be media coverage about drugs in Kuwait before Ghiras but it was limited'; 'The media coverage on drugs has increased after Ghiras'; 'It gave more attention to the issue' (19-7-2004). Ahmed Shehab, journalist, highlighted the role Ghiras played in increasing media coverage about the issue:

Ghiras helps to increase media coverage about drugs as the number of reportages and articles has increased after the launch of Ghiras. The most distinguished impact of the project is that it has involved media to play an active role in social development (14-12-2004).

To sum up, Ghiras managed to establish media relations with the Kuwaiti print media through establishing a coalition with the Association of Journalists. Public relations specialists in the project played a key role in positioning the project's activities in the media. Although the interviewees highlighted the notion of 'social responsibility' that the national media should have, the participants argued that Kuwaiti media played insufficient role in drugs prevention. Therefore, journalistic rewards were used to encourage journalists to write about the issue. Several questions should be raised about how the media represented the project in relation to the notions of 'participation' and 'empowerment' established through media discourse such as: Did media invite participation to social change or was limited to a linear communication model? Therefore, qualitative discourse and semiotic analysis will be offered later in this chapter to bring in-depth understanding of the media techniques used in the project in relation to the concepts of community empowerment and participation. Before analysing the communication techniques used in Ghiras, the next section will explain the processes of planning, implementing, and evaluating the project.

The processes of planning, implementing, and evaluating the project:

This section aims to introduce the communication techniques used in Ghiras through answering the initial research question about the processes of planning, implementing, and evaluating the project. It discusses the planning and evaluation processes, the role of collaboration and social coalitions, the process of designing messages, in addition to marketing exchange and the question of participation.

Planning and evaluation processes

The programme's team explained that Ghiras took a social marketing approach to promote social change at the community level. It was observed that the project was implemented by a specialised communication consultancy that conducted a long-run, scheduled plan. Although the team explained that they assigned specific goals for every campaign, they fell short of specifying measurable objectives or strict benchmarking. For example, the team explained that they aimed to increase the social awareness of the parents and the youth without specifying the percentage or the benchmarking for the aimed change.

The team referred to the segmentation of target audiences when planning their community-based campaigns. Andreasen explained that segmentation involves the partitioning of target populations into subsets or segments (Andreasen, 1995, 174). The project's team stressed that messages were designed to target assigned segments using specific tools and channels. Awayd Al-Meshaan explained the segmentation strategy used in the project,

In the past, there used to be a problem in the way media was targeting the Kuwaiti society. It used to use a one-way language, addressing all the Kuwaiti society using the same messages. Unfortunately, the National Committee for Drugs Control failed to reach its target audience; it was because of the absence of multiple messages to target different segments of the society. We can't use the same language and the same tactics to target all groups in the Kuwaiti society. The way of talking to the youth should be different from the way of talking to old men; the

way of talking to men should differ from the way of talking to women. We aim at targeting each segment using a suitable message with suitable language and tools (19-7-2004).

Ahmed Shehab, journalist, praised the segmentation strategy used by Ghiras:

One of the most distinguished characteristics of Ghiras is that it moves from targeting all the Kuwaiti society using the same messages to target every segment in the society using specific, well-planned messages. Therefore, the project established some allies such as 'Ghiras Journalists', 'Ghiras Students' and 'Ghiras Girls'. This strategy makes the project's messages more effective (14-12-2004).

However, the team did not explain if this segmentation strategy was based on systematic audience research or need assessment. Andreasen argued that there is a lack of systematic attention to segmentation possibilities in social marketing programmes (Andreasen, 1995, 175).

The team emphasised the fundamental role of research in planning and evaluating their campaigns:

As for formative research, we usually use documentary research or focus groups to decide about the new value that will be enhanced in each campaign. The main research our campaigns are based on is the research conducted by the University of Kuwait about the relationship between the loss of values and drugs addition in the Kuwaiti society. Moreover, we hired a marketing consultancy to conduct the summative evaluation of our campaigns in a systematic way (18-7-2004).

Kameel Jadaon, the manager of the communication consultancy that Ghiras hired to conduct summative evaluation research of Ghiras campaigns, explained the methodology used to evaluate the project's campaigns:

We have been hired to conduct the summative evaluation of public opinion in Kuwait after every campaign implemented by Ghiras. We usually take a sample of 400 people from all the areas in Kuwait, half of them should be males (aged between 15-22) and half of them should be females (aged between 15-24); half of them should be married and half of them should be single. The survey's questions are mainly focused on drugs awareness, recall and recognition of the campaigns' slogans, pictures and messages (17-7-2004).

Ahmed Shehab, journalist, praised the significant role of the evaluation research in the project: 'One of the strengths of Ghiras is that it is based on statistics and on-going

evaluation research' (14-12-2004). However, the lack of specific objectives made it difficult to measure the success of the project's campaigns. This might be because the team focused on looking at the project as a long-term process that could not be measured from the direct outcomes of its campaigns. Besides, the project focused on evaluating mass media adverts, while there was little concern about studying grass roots communication. Moreover, most of the conducted evaluation research was quantitative and focused on attitude change rather than behaviour change. This approach is based on the taken-for-granted assumption that attitudes and behaviour are related.

The role of collaboration and social coalitions

It was observed that Ghiras have created social alliances with governmental, private and voluntary sectors in Kuwait since its launch in October 1999. Andreasen claimed that social marketing programmes should obtain the assistance of a wide range of individuals and groups through creating strategic partnerships (Andreasen, 1995, 289). This can be related to the relational paradigm in social marketing where 'the task of the marketer is to ensure that the company does all it can to build, enhance, and retain long-term customer relationships' (Hastings, 2003, 8). The team explained that establishing partnerships with the key target audiences is important to achieve long-term relationships. The team stressed the role of public relations as a social marketing tool to build social coalitions with different entities in Kuwait. The team explained that public relations department contacted various associations in Kuwait to establish social coalitions. Although public relations was used as a relationship-building function, it was mainly used as a technique in support of social marketing and did not play a role in decision making. Moreover, the role of public relations in advocating for legislative change was limited.

Collaboration has been one of the key strategies recommended by *Health for All by the Year 2000* initiative (WHO, 1981). Besides, the report offered by the Home Office Anti-Drugs Co-ordinating Unit & Drugs Prevention Advisory enhanced three key communication strategies for developing national anti-drugs programmes: partnership, co-ordination, support and research evidence (Home Office Anti-Drugs Co-ordinating Unit & Drugs Prevention Advisory Service, 2001, 20). However, the team explained that establishing the social alliance was a challenging task. Dr Zawba highlighted:

Finding an association that will pay money to increase the awareness of the society and believe that communication can change social behaviour was not an easy task. Establishing the protocol itself to prevent a sensitive problem that has not been discussed openly before was a big challenge; especially with the bureaucracy and routine that governmental associations suffered from. In addition, prevention campaigns were considered ineffective. Sponsors usually think it would be more useful to build a hospital to treat the addicted than to design a prevention campaign (18-7-2004).

Ali Al-Hajrey, the manager of the project, explained,

In 1998 and 1999, several meetings were arranged by Circle Consultancy to plan for the launch of the project. It was agreed that the project should be based on 'social coalition' that would consist of governmental, voluntary and private associations in Kuwait. The National Committee for Drugs Control has been the leading institution, while the supervisory committee has been the managing umbrella for the project (18-7-2004).

Haggart argued that collaboration could be operationalised at each level of policy and/or decision making, when individuals from health, social, voluntary and private bodies work together to meet the needs of their target audience (Haggart, 2000, 14). Al-Meshaan emphasised the considerable role the coalitions played in positioning drugs prevention as a public issue in Kuwait:

When the National Committee for Drugs Control started in 1997, it used to work separately from society and other associations in Kuwait. Therefore, we started planning for cooperation with various sectors to be more effective. Here, the idea of establishing social coalitions started especially with the limited budget assigned for us by the government.... Therefore, we started targeting sponsors and partners to establish a long-term public communication project. We arranged several meetings in the late nineties and succeeded by the end of 1999 to establish coalitions with governmental, private and voluntary sectors in Kuwait (19-7-2004).

It is significant that Al-Meshaan emphasised the role of the social coalitions established by the project in encouraging social participation in Kuwait (19-7-2004). This could be related to Sidell's argument of the importance of a 'healthy alliance' in enabling people to increase control over and to improve their health and well-being (Sidell, 2002, 45). The team indicated that the alliance has served two key functions; first to offer financial budget to the project, and second as a means to reach the target audiences. They explained that the sponsors have provided the budget or some services and access. For example, the Ministry of Education has provided the project with access to schools, and the Ministry of Information has offered access to the media, while some private associations have provided financial support. Ekbal Al-Ahmad, journalist, said,

Social coalitions have been very useful because they gave Ghiras the support it needed. The governmental support provided Ghiras with access to studies and statistics, and opportunity to meet people in charge and to enter governmental schools. In addition, the coalitions provided Ghiras with the budget...Besides, being under the governmental umbrella guarantees the continuity of the project. It is a big project, and it is impossible for one sector to sponsor it alone. Furthermore, adopting the project by well-known, powerful individuals or entities helps get publicity and access to many facilities (18-7-2004).

This argument suggests that establishing social coalitions by the project could be looked as a means to facilitate community empowerment and participation through providing the project with access to resources. A number of journalists and activists called for more financial support and cooperation to encourage social participation. For example, Osama Al-Qatari, journalist, noted, 'The project needs more financial support to facilitate participation; although there are some partners and sponsors, the support is still insufficient' (19-7-2004). Therefore, establishing social coalition by the project could be connected to the notions of participation and empowerment that will be discussed later in the chapter. The following section will discuss the process of designing the messages of the project.

Designing messages

After studying the planning processes and the role of segmentation and establishing coalitions, this section aims to discuss the way the team designed the messages of the campaigns. The team explained that they usually follow scheduled steps when designing their messages:

First, we usually start choosing the value that will be promoted in our campaigns. We select values based on conducted research such as the role of parents in drugs prevention or choosing good friends. Then we choose the key target audiences and design the creative strategy. In designing the creative strategy, we consult usually specialists in the field such as educationists and psychologists. This is achieved through brainstorming to choose a concept or creative idea and transfer it to a slogan and artistic layout. Then PR activities will be organised to target not only the key target audiences but also voluntary associations related to the campaign's key value (18-7-2004).

The process of designing the messages in the project started with choosing the values that will be promoted to prevent drugs addiction in Kuwait. For instance, the key value in 'Dad, please be with us' and 'Mum, being with you gives me security and happiness' was the role of parents in drugs prevention in Kuwait. In 'I'm with you too' the main value was the community role in social change. It was observed that the selection of these values was based on a conducted research by the University of Kuwait that stated that the increase of drugs addiction has been the result of the loss of certain values in the Kuwaiti society.

It is interesting that the key messages used by the team were derived from a conservative perspective of Arabic ethics of family, friends, and social responsibility. The promoted social change was based on 'conservatism' as the team argued that adopting Islamic and Arabic values could prevent the youth from drugs in Kuwait. As discussed earlier, globalisation accompanied with rapid development has resulted in a conflict of the values of the Kuwaiti society. Therefore, Ali Al-Hjrey, the manager of the project explained,

Values play an essential role in the project. Selecting these values has been based on studies that proved that the loss of some values would lead to drugs addiction in Kuwait. Therefore, by promoting Islamic values such as the role of family and friends, we aim at preventing drugs addiction (18-7-2004).

The tendency of the programme to promote conservative Arabic values was a result of the challenge of globalisation. This approach could be related to the argument raised by the cultural imperialism theory that globalisation is a form of 'Westernisation' where the Western domination of the global information and entertainment industry has been imposed on the Third World cultures (Thussu, 2000; Tomlinson, 1991). Globalisation could not be separated from certain images and lifestyles that might affect the traditions and even the way of thinking and viewing the world in the Arab countries. The modernisation theory suggests the transmission to a modern way of life and towards more freedom from cultural traditions.

Some of the interviewees argued that promoting Arabic values is essential when targeting the Kuwaiti youth who have suffered from a conflict between conservative Islamic values and Western lifestyle brought by globalisation and rapid development in the Arab Gulf. One of the youth said, 'What draws my attention to the project is that it promotes significant values that have been neglected by many youth as a result of globalisation' (Focus group 1, 3-10-2004). One of the parents stressed, 'The project was established at a time that our society was suffering from many social problems... our youth have suffered from a complex conflict between Arabic values and globalisation as a result of rapid development' (Focus group 4, 11-12-2004). In addition, a number of participants argued that promoting Arabic values such as social responsibility and the role of families and friends has been more effective than discussing the dangers of drugs addiction directly: 'I like the way the project doesn't focus on reporting the dangers of drugs addiction, but promotes important values that have a big impact on the Kuwaiti family' (Focus group 1, 3-10-2004); 'I like the way Ghiras enhances Arabic values

rather than warning the target audience from negative consequences' (Focus group 3, 10-12-2004).

Furthermore, the team explained the importance of designing various message techniques for different channels, besides the use of local dialect to be understood by people from all backgrounds. Ali Al-Zaidey, the manager of Circle Communication Consultancy, noted,

The way of designing messages for TV is different from the way of designing messages for radio or outdoors. We believe in the idea of having one united message used by all the channels, but the techniques used in each channel are different. For instance, in TV and radio, music is essential, while in newspapers, using simple, attractive words will be more important. We used the simple, local dialect in our messages to be understood by people from different backgrounds (18-7-2004).

Several journalists and target audiences praised the use of local dialect in the project's messages. For instance, one of the youth said, 'What I like most in Ghiras campaigns that it used local dialect understood by all the youth' (Focus group 1, 3-10-2004). Wael Al-Hasawey commented, 'What attracted me to the project was its use of attractive messages that were related to the Kuwaiti society, discussing their problems and needs and using their local dialect' (28-11-2004). Mohammad Mamlook commented, 'The language of its messages has been unique because it used simple, local phrases to target the Kuwaiti society' (19-7-2004).

Moreover, several participants said that the use of traditional clothes in the project's adverts gave credibility to the adverts. Most of the women in the adverts were wearing Islamic scarf, while most men were wearing Kuwaiti traditional clothes. Ali Al-Zaidey highlighted,

In our messages, most of the men appeared wearing traditional clothes, while women appeared wearing the Islamic scarf. It is done on purpose to represent the Kuwaiti culture. As you know, the Kuwaiti society is somehow conservative. But still we show some females in our ads without the Islamic scarf. We want our audience to see themselves in our messages. It is a matter of culture not a matter of religion. In Kuwait, there are various groups with various beliefs and interests.

Activists from liberal and Islamic associations participated in our campaigns and we talked with many university's students with various interests through Ghiras Students Project (18-7-2004).

However, Ekbal Al-Ahmad, liberal writer and activist, wondered if using the Islamic scarf in Ghiras adverts was intended to convey any religious message:

Ghiras is sponsored by a big Islamic entity; therefore all the girls in its adverts are wearing the Islamic scarf. It seems that they are targeting specific audience; for instance, they are excluding women who do not wear scarves (18-7-2004).

This argument is related to the question of modality and how the reality should be constructed in the project's messages. It is interesting that while Al-Ahmad criticised the use of Islamic scarf in the adverts, Mohammed Al-Malifeh, journalist, criticised that, 'Several adverts used by Ghiras encouraged the youth to give up their cultural traditions by wearing Western clothes and having weird hair cuts' (12-12-2004). Dr Zawba, communication consultant in the project, explained,

We're representing the 'average man and woman' in the Kuwaiti society; we cannot do the same in an American advert. The messages should represent the values of the community or at least what is agreed in the community. The summative evaluation research conducted after our first campaign 'I am with you too' proved that the religious men appeared in our adverts have great credibility in the Kuwaiti society. The Kuwaiti society is still conservative; we're targeting the Kuwaiti society without excluding anyone (18-7-2004).

Several participants said that the use of traditional clothes and traditional dialect in the adverts made them see themselves in these characters. For instance, one of the youth said, 'As a Kuwaiti, when I walked in the street and saw a big advert where a Kuwaiti family is wearing the traditional Kuwaiti clothes and watched them on the TV talking the Kuwaiti local dialect, it affected me a lot... it made Ghiras messages be understood and repeated easily by the Kuwaiti society' (Focus group 1, 3-10-2004).

Besides, the team explained that they used popular Kuwaiti characters in religious, social, and political fields to convey their messages. Al-Ahmad emphasised, 'It was a new approach in Kuwait that a famous singer, writer or religious man will repeat the

messages of the campaigns' (18-7-2004). This approach could be related to social learning theory (Bandura, 1977). Several target audiences expressed, 'What draws my attention to the project first was the use of popular, famous characters such as Daood Hussein, the famous actor, and Mohammad Al-Awadey, the popular religious man, which makes the project popular, especially for people who like these characters' (Focus group 1, 3-10-2004); 'The first project's campaign 'I am with you' was very attractive because it used popular, Kuwaiti characters to convey the project's messages' (Focus group 4, 11-12-2004). As discussed in the literature review, the public are more likely to adopt new behaviour promoted by a credible source (Ferguson, 1999; Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987). This was emphasised by some of the interviewed young people who said that the messages attracted them because they liked to associate themselves with these popular characters.

To sum up, it is interesting that the messages used in the project were derived from conservative Islamic values. The messages were used to represent the Kuwaiti culture, dialect, and clothes. Moreover, popular Kuwaiti characters were used to convey the project's messages. The project focused on promoting conservative Arabic values such as social responsibility and the role of family and friends rather than health-based values. The team argued that the use of this approach to social change was a result of the social conflict of values resulted from globalisation. The next section will discuss the notion of marketing exchange and the extent to which participation was facilitated in the project.

Marketing exchange and the question of participation

Participation is a key concept in this thesis as it is related to the issues of ethics in this thesis. Therefore, before studying the communication techniques used in the project, it

is helpful to discuss the extent to which participation was facilitated in the project. As discussed earlier, the team argued that their social coalitions with the Kuwaiti society facilitated participation. Hence, the role of public relations as a relationship-building tool of the social marketing project contributes to participation. For instance, one of the team argued, 'the social coalitions enabled the target audiences to participate in the project and express their opinions and ideas' (18-7-2004). The concept of participation can be connected to the notion of marketing exchange that implies that 'the goal of the organization should be to meet the need and wants of the consumer and that the participants in the communication process should interact roughly as equals' (Windahl et al., 1992, 99).

The communication planners of the project referred to the concept of 'exchange' as 'participation with the target audiences' or 'treating them as partners not objects of social change'. Thus, the concept of exchange used by the social marketers in the programme could be related to the notion of consumer orientation that was referred to by several scholars to be one of the key elements of social marketing (Lefebvre & Flora, 1988; Lefebvre, 1992; Andreasen, 1995). Hastings argued that, 'Customer orientation should involve partners, not targets, and partners call for relationships, not just transactions' where 'Customers are increasingly empowered and active in the marketing process' (Hastings, 2003, 8-9). However, it is questionable the extent to which the target audiences in the programme are empowered to participate as partners not as objects of social change. There is a failure in the Arabic literature to study the role of social marketing in facilitating participation. In the Western literature, it is argued that social marketing campaigns usually take a paternalistic approach that looks at audience as dependent individuals who need to be protected from self-inflicted harm (Donovan & Henley, 2003, 170). Therefore, this thesis aims to study communication techniques used

in the project in relation to the notion of participation. This contributes to the aim of the thesis to study the role of public communication in facilitating community participation and empowerment in the Arab Gulf.

The team explained that participation is a key principle in the project:

Ghiras transfers the allies to target audiences and the target audiences to allies. So, instead of targeting them directly, it gives them the opportunity to participate and play a role in the project. The project aims to provide them with critical awareness of the problem to take their decisions wisely (18-7-2004).

This claim is connected to Freire's argument (1972) that in order to empower the audiences, they should acquire critical awareness of the world in which they live, which will enable them to identify problems as they see them, not as those in positions of power see them (cited in Sidell, 2002, 61). The team noted that that this 'critical awareness' could be achieved in the project through establishing coalitions with different sectors in Kuwait, which emphasises the significance of looking at communication as a relationship-building to facilitate participation. This goes along with the argument of Bracht et al. that critical consciousness or awareness might develop through participation in a group or other mediating social structure, which would have considerable implications on both psychological and community empowerment (Bracht et al., 1999, 88). This argument connects the concept of 'participation' to the notion of 'empowerment'.

Bracht et al. explained that participation 'facilitates psychological empowerment by developing personal efficacy, developing a sense of group action, developing a critical understanding of social power relationships, and developing a willingness to participate in collective action' (Bracht et al., 1999, 87). A number of journalists explained that the project facilitated the participation of the target audiences in its activities. For example, Effat Sallam, journalist, noted, 'The project has involved the target audience in its

activities... the team went to the youth in their popular places' (19-7-2004). Hanan Al-Dahood, journalist, stressed,

I like the way Ghiras' team are approaching the youth... they are going to them themselves... arranging workshops and summer programmes that include benefit and entertainment. It is a nice idea to involve young people in such programmes... They overcome the traditional messages of 'Do' and 'Do not', to exchange ideas with the youth and help them reach the conclusion themselves (19-7-2004).

However, several youth explained that their participation in the project was limited to attending the project's activities, while they did not participate in planning and implementing the project. One of the youth recommended, 'The youth themselves should be given the opportunity to work with the project's team, because they are more able to understand their own problems and attract their peers' (Focus group 3, 10-12-2004). This could be related to Shiner's (2000) research that emphasised the role of peer approaches in drugs prevention. Moreover, Atkinson et al. (1990) reported similarity attraction as one of the key factors that facilitated social learning.

One of the parents stressed, 'The project's team should arrange constant, informal meetings with the youth to understand their needs and problems before every campaign' (Focus group 4, 11-12-2004). However, Ekbal Al-Ahmad explained that the project is still short of facilitating the 'participation' of the youth in the communication campaigns:

I think the dominance of traditional way of linear communication is part of the problem. They always tell the youth 'You should do that' and 'You shouldn't do that' without understanding their needs. There is no public sphere for the youth to participate... they have no opportunities to express their own views of seeing things or utilising their skills (18-7-2004).

Therefore, this thesis seeks to go beyond studying the psychological approaches used by the project towards studying communication techniques in relation to the concepts of participation and empowerment at the community level in the next section.

Communication techniques:

This section aims at answering the key research questions about how communication techniques are used in relation to the notions of community empowerment and participation. This contributes to the broad aim of the thesis to study the role of communication approaches in facilitating participation and empowerment in the Arab Gulf societies. This section begins with introducing the supplementation strategy used by Ghiras and the role of interpersonal and media techniques in the project and how they were regarded from the multiple perspectives of journalists, activists, and the target audiences. Second, this section provides detailed analysis of the communication techniques used in the project in relation to the concepts of participation and empowerment.

Supplementation strategy

The team explained that Ghiras has used both media and interpersonal techniques to promote social change in Kuwait. This approach can be referred to as supplementation strategy that occurs when a media message is reinforced by similar messages that are delivered through other communication modalities (Perloff, 1993, 322). As discussed in the literature review, several scholars recommended using supplementation strategy in communication campaigns through combining mass and interpersonal communication techniques (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1949; Wallack, 1981; Kotler & Roberto, 1989; Perloff, 1993; Tones & Green, 2004). Moreover, in the field of health promotion, various studies found that integrated interventions that used mass media and interpersonal communication such as school programmes and community activities were effective in creating behaviour change (i.e. Perry et al., 1992; Backer et al., 1992; Pierce et al., 1990).

A number of interviewees argued that combining media and interpersonal communication techniques had a good impact on them: 'What really attracted me to the project is its use of various tactics' (Focus group 2, 5-10-2004); 'I think the most distinctive characteristic in Ghiras is its use of many communication tools' (Focus group 1, 3-10-2004). One of the youth explained,

What draws my attention to the project is that the values of the project are not only promoted through broadcast ads, but they are also communicated through school seminars, public activities and street ads. This variety of communication channels ensures the impact of the project on all the Kuwaiti society. If Ghiras was limited to use TV ads, many youth wouldn't know about its messages as many Kuwaiti youth don't watch national TV channels (Focus group 1, 3-10-2004).

This could go along with Moffitt's argument that 'a thorough communication mix can allow for the limitation of one selection to be offset by the strength of another in the mix' (Moffitt, 1999, 181).

A number of the interviewed target audiences explained that blending both media and interpersonal techniques in the project had a big impact on their attitude and behaviour. For example, some of the parents said, 'Seeing the project's adverts everywhere and attending some of its activities has affected me and made me understand my sons' needs and assign more time to discuss their problems' (Focus group 5, 16-12-2004); 'I started noticing small things that I didn't use to notice in my sons and started to talk with them and ask about their friends' (Focus group 5, 16-12-2004). Another mother explained the impact of one of the project's campaigns on her:

I really like 'Mum, being with you gives me happiness and security' campaign. I remember it sometimes when I have to choose between going out with my friends or staying with my family... I'm trying to encourage my children to practise sport or attend some summer programmes to utilise their time in good things that would prevent them from drugs as one of Ghiras campaigns said, 'Hobby is a protection' (Focus group 4, 11-12-2004).

One of the fathers stressed,

Frankly, the project has affected me a lot, especially 'Dad, please be with us' ads and activities. I started spending more time with my family and feeling guilty when I came home late from dywanyah, traditional place where Kuwaiti men used to meet at night. It has really a considerable impact on me and on many of my friends. People started talking about the campaigns that have been very attractive. Talking about the campaigns has led us to discuss our problems (Focus group 4, 11-12-2004).

However, it is difficult to ensure whether behaviour change has been achieved because of the project's techniques or as a result of other communication and media messages that enhance the role of family and friends in the Kuwaiti society. It is difficult to take the project's messages in isolation of other messages promoted at the same time of the project. Naidoo and Wills claimed, 'Because health promotion is a long-term process and because any situation is constantly changing, it can be difficult to be sure that any changes detected are due to the health promotion input, and not to any other factor' (Naidoo & Wills, 2004, 382).

Some of the youth stressed the limitation of focusing on media communication. For instance, one of the youth said, 'I couldn't say that the project has an impact on all the Kuwaiti society, because some of the youth don't watch TV, and prefer to spend their time going out with their friends' (Focus group 1, 3-10-2004). This discussion could be connected to the report on drugs prevention in the UK that revealed that the government's reliance on media campaigns have been largely ignored recently because of the little research evidence of the effectiveness of these campaigns (Home Office Anti-Drugs Co-ordinating Unit & Drugs Prevention Advisory Service, 2001, 7). Coggans and Watson (1995) suggested that media campaigns aiming at behaviour change are unlikely to succeed, but they can reinforce beliefs and agenda setting (cited in Home Office Anti-Drugs Co-ordinating Unit & Drugs Prevention Advisory Service, 2001, 23).

One of youth argued that interpersonal communication has been more effective than adverts in changing attitudes and behaviour:

Although Ghiras adverts attracted me to the project, they had limited impact on me. But, attending one of the project's camps affected me a lot. I used to smoke sometimes with my friends. It made me feel mature and independent from my parent's restrictions. But, after attending one of Ghiras' camps, I started to think in a new way about the way I see smoking, my life, and my family. I was impressed when one of the youth decided to quit smoking during the camp. Therefore, I decided to quit, and change many of my bad habits. I think camps and face-to-face workshops are more effective than adverts (Focus group 3, 10-12-2004).

This argument could be related to Bettinghaus and Cody's claim that communication planner should maximise efforts by 'using the mass media to gain attention and to educate, while using face-to-face communication to reach those influentials most important to the persuasive effort' (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 180). Rogers (1995) argued that mass media channels are the most successful way of creating awareness of new ideas, products or practices, whereas interpersonal channels are more effective in getting the target audiences to accept and adopt the new idea (cited in Donovan & Henley, 2003, 113).

Several participants said that Ghiras adverts drew their attention to the project, but their participation in interpersonal activities had a greater impact on them. For instance, some of the target audiences said, 'Attending one of the project's workshops makes me more careful in choosing my friends... I remember its slogan whenever I meet a new friend and try to be careful' (Focus group 1, 3-10-2004); 'My brother's friend used to smoke and he quitted after one of the project's workshops' (Focus group 2, 5-10-2004).

One of the parents explained,

My son has changed a lot after joining a two-week intensive programme with Ghiras. He started practising new sports and became more concerned about his study (Focus group 4, 11-12-2004).

Moreover, one teenager noted,

My participation in Ghiras camp encouraged me to have clear goals in my life, and avoid imitating negative behaviour of my colleagues. I benefited a lot and at the same time had fun ... the camp taught me how to break my fears and take my own decisions (Focus group 3, 10-12-2004).

This argument emphasises the role of interpersonal techniques in individual empowerment through stressing self-esteem and confidence to take their own decisions. The role of interpersonal communication in encouraging empowerment and participation will be explained in detail in the next section.

A number of interviewees indicated that they knew mostly about Ghiras campaigns from adverts, but they did not know a lot about its interpersonal activities: 'I just saw the project's ads in TV and streets, and I have no idea if it has any other activities' (Focus group 2, 5-10-2004); 'I have no idea if Ghiras has any face-to-face seminars or workshops' (Focus group 1, 3-10-2004). This could be related to Solomon's argument that social marketers pay less attention to interpersonal communication, while mass and interpersonal communication may serve different functions in a campaign (Solomon, 1989, 100). Several interviewees said that the project's interpersonal activities are still limited: 'I think advertising was used more than interpersonal communication that might be more effective' (Focus group 5, 16-12-2004).

Dr Wael Al-Hasaway stressed, 'I think the impact of the project is still limited, because its interpersonal activities are not so many' (28-11-2004). Therefore, several participants recommended increasing the interactive, face-to-face activities of Ghiras: 'I hope that the project wouldn't be limited to the ads and arrange more face-to-face activities, seminars, camps to increase the awareness of the youth' (Focus group 2, 5-10-2004). Al-Ahmad stressed,

The project is focusing mainly on advertising. The Kuwaiti youth nowadays are more open-minded, more open to the Internet and updated to the most unique techniques and messages. Therefore, new interpersonal tactics should be used to involve young people (18-7-2004).

The key implication of this discussion is the significance of the use of integrated communication when designing public communication campaigns.

Some of the interviewees criticised that the project's communication techniques need to be developed because the project started to have less impact than what it used to have. For example, one of the parents highlighted,

At the beginning, I was affected too much by the project's adverts especially 'Dad, please be with us' campaign. However, now I got used to these adverts and they had limited impact on me, despite the large amount of money paid for the project. Therefore, the tactics used in the project should be re-evaluated in order to improve the way of targeting the Kuwaiti society (Focus group 4, 11-12-2004).

Besides, Ekbal Al-Ahmad explained,

I think Ghiras was pioneer at its beginning. It used new, unique tactics to attract the Kuwaiti society to the issue of drugs that used to be a sensitive topic. I don't think Ghiras still has the same impact it used to have in the first two or three years of its launch. In the beginning, the society's reaction to the campaigns was incredible; media and people used to talk a lot about the project and its slogans were very popular. But, nowadays I think the project has lost its creativity... it is using the same tactics for more than four years. New tactics should be created to attract the Kuwaiti society again; especially that people got used to these tactics (18-7-2004).

This argument could be related to Rogers' diffusion of innovation in the field of health communication (Rogers E. M. 1983; Kotler and Roberto, 1989). Tones and Green referred to 'innovations' as 'practices that are new or are *perceived* to be new by members of the social system' (Tones & Green, 2004, 75). They explained that 'the adoption process starts slowly, gathers speed until the majority of people in a population are adopters and then tails off' (Ibid., 76). Ali Al-Zaidey, the manager of Circle Communication Consultancy, claimed,

Nowadays, we are planning for some developments in the project. In our campaigns, we used direct advertisements with short messages, but now we are moving from advertisements to media. Our next strategy is to move to wider media channels, to produce TV serials and programmes, to have bigger media coverage in the newspapers, and to issue specialised magazines. Moreover, we used to say to the father, for instance, 'Dad, please be with us', but in our next strategy we aim to train the father on the best ways of protecting his children. We will move from theory to practice by implementing some training programmes (18-7-2004).

Moreover, Dr Hamza, the project's communication consultant, emphasised,

It is essential to 'revise' and 'reassess' our plan constantly in order to move from 'awareness' towards 'effectiveness'. I think after four years, Kuwaiti society is aware nowadays of drugs and related values. The next step now is to help the society move from 'being aware' to 'change their behaviour'. This requires training programmes (18-7-2004).

These claims could be connected to the importance of using community empowerment in the project through providing the target audiences with access to training programmes. Therefore, it is helpful to provide rich understanding of the communication techniques used in Ghiras in relation to the notions of empowerment and participation. Thus, the next section offers detailed analysis of the key three techniques used in the project: interpersonal techniques, print media techniques, and TV adverts techniques in relation to the concepts of participation and empowerment.

Interpersonal communication techniques

This section aims to study how interpersonal communication techniques were used in Ghiras in relation to the notions of participation and empowerment. Based on participant observation, the team encouraged participation but it was limited to individual empowerment techniques through using social psychological tactics to 'empower' the target audiences at the individual level. As discussed in the literature review, individual empowerment was associated with 'certain beneficial psychological characteristics of which the most significant are: beliefs about personal control – including realistic casual attributions – together with a relatively high level of self esteem based on a realistic self concept; valuing other people and their rights to self determination; possession of a repertoire of health and life skills' (Tones, 1994, 169). Sidell explained that psychological empowerment requires 'enabling people to participate by raising their consciousness and confidence' (Sidell, 2002, 62).

Based on participant observation, the team used social psychological techniques through emotional and rational appeals to 'empower' the youth to participate in interpersonal activities. For instance, the team played games with the youth, asked them questions and organised some practical exercises in an informal atmosphere:

The team used open discussion and many examples besides using the OVHP to show some photos. Many students participated in the discussion and practical exercises (Workshop about 'Research and Knowledge', Arabic Planning Institute, 5 pm, Tuesday 20-7-2004).

It was observed that verbal and non-verbal communication such as body movement, eye contact, asking questions and local dialect was used to involve the target audiences in the communication process:

The supervisor of the workshop used gestures, body movements, joking, stories and realistic examples... he used some local vocabulary used usually by the youth to create an informal atmosphere ('Creating Awareness' Seminar, Arabic Planning Institute, 6 pm, Saturday 17-7-2004).

His hand movements were very expressive and sometimes he was acting when telling the teenagers some stories ('Making Goals' Workshop, Arabic Planning Institute, 5 pm, Sunday 18-7-2004).

This could be connected to the message-based literature that suggests that the use of verbal and nonverbal messages has key implications onto the reaction of the target audiences to the messages (Ferguson, 1999, 162; Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987; Moffitt, 1999).

Another empowering technique used by the team was providing the youth with real examples of the life of popular, credible characters in Kuwait. According to social learning theory, the youth would adopt the behaviour and attitudes of popular characters, because they want to associate themselves with a powerful, attractive source (Devine & Hirt, 1989, 239). Moreover, several prizes were assigned to the most distinguished teams in a number of activities. For example,

It was emphasised that many competitions and prizes would be assigned for the distinguished teams of the youth in addition to having the membership for Ghiras Future Club that will include monthly meetings and activities (Press conference for the launch of Ghiras new campaign, 11 am, Thursday 15-7-2004).

This tactic could be related to operant or instrumental learning theory that assumes that responses become stronger, the more they are associated with rewards (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 23).

Moreover, it was observed that the team used positive vocabularies to empower the target audiences to acquire self-esteem and confidence in taking their own decisions:

The way the team was talking was optimistic and encouraging the youth to be positive and to work hard to achieve their goals ('Making Goal' Workshop, Arabic Planning Institute, 5 pm, Sunday 18-7-2004).

The lecturer ended the discussion with some positive sentences that stressed that everyone should believe strongly in himself in order to achieve his goals such as 'I could take my decisions myself', 'I could achieve my goal', and 'I am approaching my goal day by day' ('Making Goals' Workshop, Arabic Planning Institute, 5 pm, Sunday 18-7-2004).

This could be related to the key empowering tactics at the individual level such as stressing beliefs about control and self-efficacy beliefs, besides values such as self-esteem (Tones, 1997, 40). It was observed that the use of these empowering tactics by the team helped the youth to acquire 'self-esteem' and to 'participate' in the activities:

The youth were very enthusiastic to participate in the discussion because the team used examples and stories from their own lives. The youth were enthusiastic and laughing at their funny stories and examples. The team asked some of the youth to volunteer to talk about their goals. The youth were enthusiastic to talk ('Making Goals' Workshop, Arabic Planning Institute, 5 pm, Sunday 18-7-2004).

Moreover, it was observed in a number of activities that the team provided two-sided arguments and stressed that the youth should draw their own conclusions. The team provided the youth with the two arguments about smoking and taking drugs to 'inoculate' them against competitive arguments. For example, they talked about the feeling of 'pleasure' and 'independence' some youth might feel when smoking or taking

drugs on one hand, and their negative long-term effects on the other hand. According to the inoculation theory, the campaigners might choose to use two-sided argument to 'inoculate' their audience against counter arguments (Hovland et al., 1953; McGuire, 1961). In addition, most of the research on explicit and implicit conclusions suggested that the messages should specify explicit conclusions for the audience (Cope and Richardson, 1972; Fine, 1957; Leventhal et al., 1967). However, some scholars argued that various factors such as education, intelligence and self-esteem could lead the audiences to draw their own conclusions (Cacioppo et al., 1983; Hovland & Mandell, 1952). In the project, after providing the youth with information about the issue, they were encouraged to draw their own conclusions. It was observed that 'self-esteem' and 'self-confidence' were emphasised,

The supervisor stressed, 'Decide now to be in control of the change not a victim of the change'. The supervisor distributed red wristbands to the youth to wear as a symbol of their strong decision to be in control of the change they aim to implement in their lives (The launching party at Arabic Planning institute, 7.30 pm, Thursday 15-7-2004).

When dividing the youth into teams, one of the youth asked the supervisor if it was possible to change his team. The supervisor replied, 'This is your decision; make your choice yourself, but the main thing that you make sure it is your own decision' (The launching party at Arabic Planning institute, 6.30 pm, Thursday 15-7-2004).

Moreover, the team encouraged the youth to acquire self-awareness to achieve change:

The supervisor kept emphasising, 'if you are aware, you CAN make your goal yourself; it is your decision' (A lecture about 'Creating Awareness', Arabic Planning Institute, 6 pm, Saturday 17-7-2004).

This could be related to Freire's (1972) argument that people should acquire a critical awareness of the world in which they live. Sidell explained that this would enable them to identify problems as they see them, not as those in positions of power see them (Sidell, 2002, 61). Bracht et al. claimed that critical consciousness or awareness might

develop through participation in a group or other mediating social structure, which would have considerable implications on both psychological and community empowerment (Bracht et al., 1999, 88).

However, it is questionable the extent to which the target audiences felt empowered to take their own decisions. Based on the researcher's observation, one of the key incidents occurred when one of the youth announced his decision to quit smoking after one of the project's intensive workshops:

After the workshop, the director announced that there was a brave 'hero' in the programme who decided to quit smoking tobacco after the workshop. The director of the workshop stressed, 'It was his decision, and every one of us could make his own goals. There is nothing we couldn't achieve if we decided strongly to achieve'. The youth applauded and were very enthusiastic ('Making Goals' Workshop, Arabic Planning Institute, 5 pm, Sunday 18-7-2004).

However, it is ironic that on one hand the target audiences were encouraged to acquire self-esteem, self-confidence and critical awareness to take their own decisions, and on the other hand they were told what they 'should' do. It was observed that some modals such as 'should' and 'must' were used to remind the target audiences that they should adopt the messages promoted by powerful agents of change. Therefore, the concept of 'individual empowerment' was limited in this context of communication planning. This could be related to Gruber and Trickett's argument (1987) that there is 'a fundamental paradox in the idea of people empowering others because the very institutional structure that puts one group in a position to empower also works to undermine the act of empowerment' (cited in Sidell, 2002, 60). Moreover, it is questionable to what extent 'individual empowerment' could lead to social change, if it is not accompanied with community empowerment through providing the target audiences with access to resources.

To sum up, the project's interpersonal communication activities were limited to psychological empowering techniques through providing the target audiences with self-

esteem and confidence to participate in social change. However, there was a failure to move towards community empowerment through providing the target audiences with access to resources such as training programmes. For instance, the youth might feel 'confident' in themselves and 'want' to stop taking drugs after one of the workshops, but their lack of access to training programmes or support sessions might lead to victim blaming. Therefore, it is important to study the extent to which the target audiences felt empowered at the community level and were provided with access to resources to achieve social change in Kuwait, which will be discussed later in the chapter. The following section will discuss how the notions of participation and empowerment were constructed through the Kuwaiti print media discourse of Ghiras.

Discourse analysis of the Kuwaiti print media coverage of Ghiras

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Ghiras used media advocacy approach to generate unpaid coverage of drugs through media. This section attempts to provide in-depth analysis of how the notions of 'participation' and 'empowerment' were constructed through the print media coverage of one of the project's campaigns. This will be achieved through using the theoretical framework developed by Wood and Kroger that looks to language as an action, or in other words, studies what discourse is doing (Wood & Kroger, 2000, 5). The researcher attempts to analyse 'what is being done', not 'what it is about' (Ibid.). Therefore, based on a constructivist-interpretivist paradigm, discourse analysis was used to bring in-depth understanding of how people use language to construct their accounts of social world. Van Dijk argued that discourse analysis could provide critical insights about power relationships and social problems in communication and interaction (Van Dijk, 1985, 7).

As discussed in the methodology chapter, two key theoretical concepts were used to study the notions of participation and empowerment in the media discourses: agent-patient relationship, and positioning. Wood and Kroger explained that, 'An agent is someone who is seen to make choices, follow plans, and orient to rules', while 'A patient is someone who is seen to suffer the consequences of external forces or internal compulsions' (Wood & Kroger, 2000, 101). The concept of 'agent-patient relationship' has been used in this section to bring understanding of the power relationships established through media discourses and relate them to community-level notions of participation and empowerment. Besides, Wood and Kroger's concept of positioning has key considerations of 'the way in which people are both producers of and produced by discourse' (Ibid.). Positioning can be related to the question of function such as why the discourse was produced by certain people and why the audiences were positioned in a certain way. This concept has key implications in understanding the way notions of participation and empowerment were constructed through print media discourses.

To begin with, the concept of 'agent-patient' relationship is important in this section to understand how the notions of 'participation' and 'empowerment' were constructed through the print media discourse of the project. Ghiras was 'positioned' in the media discourse to be the agent of change. Wood and Kroger explained that if a person is constructed or positioned as an agent, he or she will be assigned responsibility, blame, or credit for his or her actions (Ibid.). For example, in one of the articles, Ghiras was assigned blame for the continuity of drugs addiction in Kuwait:

'Nobody' knows the outcomes of the campaign implemented by the National Committee, Ghiras. It seems that 'nobody' even knows the reaction of the youth to the campaign. It is sad that we are paying millions on the project, without knowing the outcomes... Mr Awayed said that he was surprised to hear that millions have been paid on the project, while only 600,000 KD was paid. I suspected what he said and insisted that the paid budget is more than what he said. He insisted that he

is the one in charge of the project and knows everything about it... We should wonder if there has been any systematic approach used to deal with the issue by the National Committee for drugs Control through Ghiras, and how accurate its statistics are (Al-Khabas, Ahmad Al-Saraf, 3-11-2002).

Ghiras was constructed through the print media discourse to be the key agent of social change. The language was constructed through media discourse to blame the project for its lack of a systematic strategy. The repetition of the phrase 'Nobody knows' was used to emphasise and imply negative meaning: 'there is something negative has been hidden'. The present tense was used in the discourse whenever negative information was reported about the project to imply high modality: 'It is sad that we are paying'; 'the paid budget is'; 'millions have been paid'; 'how accurate its statistics are'; and 'he is the one in charge of the project and knows everything about it'. The past tense and reported speech were used in the discourse when talking about information reported by the manager of the project to imply low modality: 'Mr Awayed said (reported speech) that he was surprised to hear that millions have been paid on the project, while only 600,000 KD was paid'; 'I suspected what he said' and 'more than what he said'.

The writer used the collective pronoun 'we' to position himself as one of the audiences and to be on their side. The writer made his message clear in his last sentence 'We should wonder if there has been any systematic approach used to deal with the issue by the National Committee for drugs Control through Ghiras'. The writer did not only blame the project, but he urged the target audiences to have the same attitude. Modals (such as 'should' in the previous discourse) were used to construct necessity from an agent to a patient (Wood & Kroger, 2000, 101). Other articles constructed Ghiras as the agent of social change by assigning credit to it:

Evaluation studies conducted by Focus Marketing Consultancy have shown that Ghiras has succeeded to achieve attitude and behavioural change in the Kuwaiti

family towards drugs... Ghiras has been a distinctive communication model to deal with sensitive social issues not just in Kuwait, but in the Arab world as well (Al-Khabas, 12-11-2002; Al-Watan, 12-11-2002).

In this paragraph, Ghiras was assigned the credit directly to the positive impact it has achieved on the Kuwaiti society. Ghiras was constructed as an agent of positive social change. Syntactically, 'Ghiras' was the subject of the sentences: 'Ghiras has succeeded to achieve attitude and behavioural change'; 'Ghiras has been a distinctive communication model'. Moreover, the present tense was used to provide high modality: 'has succeeded'; 'has been'. Several phrases were used as a symbol of the good impact Ghiras was said to have on the Kuwaiti society: 'Ghiras has been a distinctive communication model'; 'not just in Kuwait, but in the Arab world as well'.

In other discourses, although Ghiras was still constructed as an agent, there was a call for participation of other agents:

[.....], parliamentary member, stressed that Ghiras campaigns have played a key role in raising awareness towards the issue... He added, 'Certainly, it is not an issue that concerns the government alone, but the government succeeded in cooperating with the parliamentary council, civil entity and Kuwaiti society'... He called for the cooperation of the efforts (Al-Khabas, 1-1-2003; Al-Watan, 1-1-2003).

[.....], the mayor of Hawaleh, praised the efforts paid by the National Committee for Drugs Control to increase social awareness towards drugs in Kuwait ... He stressed that the efforts should be brought together in Kuwait to face this serious threat (Al-Khabas, 9-1-2003; Al-Watan, 18-1-2003).

These discourses were positioned by powerful opinion leaders in the Kuwaiti society who constructed Ghiras as an agent of positive change. Present tense was used besides some symbols of positive change such as the use of the adjective 'key' and the adverb

'certainly' to stress the positive impact of Ghiras. Moreover, the passive voice 'the efforts paid by the National Committee for Drugs Control' was used to stress the positive impact of the project by putting emphasis on 'the paid efforts'. The discourse moved from constructing Ghiras as the only agent of social change to call for participation and cooperation of the efforts. However, the discourse was still limited to the agent-patient relation: 'He called for the cooperation of the efforts'; 'the efforts should be brought together in Kuwait to face this serious threat'. The phrase 'serious threat' was used as a symbol of the increase of drugs in Kuwait to bring emphasis to the problem. However, the discourse failed to go beyond calling for participation and cooperation to state how these notions could be achieved. The same problem could be seen in the following discourse:

The Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Information, Kuwait Awqaf Public Foundation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Parliamentary Council cannot decrease drugs addiction separately. Decreasing drugs addiction in Kuwait needs a 'national' plan, because the problem is attacking Kuwaiti youth and threatening their future... It is time to unify all the social, educational, religious, and media efforts (Al-Watan, 16-1-2003).

Again, this discourse did not blame a specific agent for social change, and it fell short of providing practical resources to achieve cooperation and participation.

In other discourses, some agents were assigned to take the responsibility for the problem. For instance,

[.....], parliamentary member, praised the role of Ghiras in fighting this serious disease and said that the parliamentary council takes part of the responsibility for this problem... We are late in discussing the issue (Al-Watan, 1-1-2003; Al-Khabas, 1-1-2003).

[.....], parliamentary member, said that the Ministry of Interior and Customs Department hold the responsibility for bringing the efforts together to fight the problem (Al-Watan, 1-1-2003; Al-Khabas, 1-1-2003).

The two discourses assigned the responsibility to other agents: 'the parliamentary council takes part of the responsibility of this problem'; 'the Ministry of Interior and Customs Department hold the responsibility for bringing the efforts together to fight the problem'. The term 'serious disease' was used as a symbol of drugs to convey how serious the problem is. The reported speech in both discourses was used as 'a way of assigning responsibility for utterances to another person' (Wood & Kroger, 2000, 103).

In addition, several media discourses imply the notion of the 'participation' of the target audiences in the project's activities. For instance,

Ghiras' team visited Abu-Haleefa School and the audience participated with the issues raised by Ghiras about drugs addiction (Al-Watan, 2-1-2003).

This discourse is ironic as on one hand it suggested participation of the target audiences, but on the other hand it stressed the agent-patient relation by treating them as mere objects of communication. Although 'the audience' was the subject of 'participation' ('the audience participated'), this participation was limited to be 'with the issues raised by Ghiras'. The passive voice was used as a means of 'obscuring issues of agency' (Wood & Kroger, 2000, 103). The discourse was used to convey an illusion of participation, but the imbalance of power was still vivid.

After providing some examples of the agent-patient relation in the media discourse of the project, it is helpful to study how the project was positioned in the media discourse, how it was positioned to convey a certain attitude, who positioned it and its relation to the key concepts of participation and empowerment in this thesis. The question of 'who

positioned the issue' has key implications on the way the issue was positioned to convey a certain function. For example,

The UN Office in the Middle East recommended repeating Ghiras model in other Arab Gulf countries (Al-Watan, 16-11-2002).

Sheika Anwar Al-Sobah launched Ghiras Spring Girls camp... She stressed that Ghiras Spring Girls camp has pioneer activities that would pave the way in front of healthy Kuwaiti society (Al-Watan, 26-1-2003).

The two discourses were reported by powerful, credible resources: 'The UN Office in the Middle East' and 'Sheika Anwar Al-Sobah'. The positive positioning of the project by credible sources was used to shape positive attitudes of the audience towards the project as assumed by social learning theory.

Moreover, it is interesting that several entities in Kuwait have been constructed through media discourse as participating in the project. For example,

Ghiras, the national project for drugs prevention, will arrange a big social festival for children with the cooperation of Kuwaiti Teachers Association on the 15th of Ramadan in Mohalab Mall... 500 teachers from the Kuwaiti Teachers Association will participate in this festival (Al-Khabas, 19-11-2002; Al-Watan, 19-11-2002).

Gulf University organised a charity festival with the cooperation of Ghiras... the aim of this festival is to fight drugs in Kuwait (Al-Watan, 24-11-2002).

The Association of Engineering and Petroleum organised an open-discussion seminar held by Ghiras as a part of its activities in its new campaign 'Friend follows his/her friend' (Al-Watan, 24-11-2002).

Al-Fantas Primary School invited Ghiras, the national project for drugs prevention, to an open seminar to discuss the consequences of taking drugs and the reasons that might lead teenagers to take drugs (Al-Watan, 10-1-2002; Al-Khabas, 15-1-2002).

Various entities were constructed through the previous print media discourses as 'participating' in the project's activities. However, the question of the function of the use of the notion of 'participation' in these discourses should be raised: Are these entities participating in the project because they believe in their social responsibility towards the issue, or to have the social image of being responsible? This question becomes more crucial when studying the discourses reported by parliamentary members in the Kuwaiti print media about the project. For instance,

[.....], parliamentary member, called for participating in fighting drugs in Kuwait, and praised the role played by Ghiras and the effective outcomes achieved by its campaign... He stressed that the parliamentary council is always participating in such national projects that aim to fight social problems, especially drugs (Al-Watan, 22-11-2002).

It is clear in this discourse that emphasis was placed on enhancing the role played by parliamentary members to support the issue: 'the parliamentary council is always participating in such national projects that aim to fight social problems'. It aims at stressing the message that parliamentary members are participating in the project. The present tense 'is always supporting' was used to provide high modality. Moreover, the discourse was used to construct the project as a good project and to call for social participation. However, the discourse fell short of explaining how 'participation' could be achieved, which raises the question of the function of the use of the notion of 'participation' in the media discourses.

The concepts of participation and social responsibility were used in a number of discourses. For example,

[.....], parliamentary member, announced that Ghiras is a distinctive communication model... the positive outcomes of the project provided by evaluation research should encourage more national efforts to be paid to prevent drugs addiction in Kuwait... He stressed that it is essential that various

governmental and voluntary entities would support these campaigns because drugs are threatening 'our' youth who are the foundation for social development (Al-Watan, 22-11-2002).

[.....], parliamentary member, stressed that every Kuwaiti should play a role in fighting this disease ... he concluded that parliamentary members are cooperating to fight drugs and the legislative body is ready to issue any law that would help fight this serious disease (Al-Watan, 28-12-2002).

[.....], parliamentary member, emphasised that national efforts should be supported in order to establish a comprehensive strategy... the private sector has played an important role in supporting the project in the last three years. He stressed that the continuity of this participation is a social responsibility that should be held by big private and governmental associations (Al-Watan, 7-1-2003).

These discourses called for participation: 'the positive outcomes of the project provided by evaluation research should encourage more national efforts to be paid'; 'it is essential that various governmental and voluntary entities would support these campaigns'; 'every Kuwaiti should play a role'; 'national efforts should be supported'; 'the continuity of this support is a national responsibility that should be held by big private and governmental associations'. However, these discourses were restricted to a persuasive approach by telling the audiences what they 'should do' without offering practical tips of how they could participate in social change.

In addition, it is interesting that the notion of participation was tied to the concept of social responsibility in the previous discourse. This can be connected to the notion of social change in the Arabic culture that is related to the notion of social responsibility and participation. The present tense was used to imply high modality and emphasise social responsibility: 'the continuity of this participation is a social responsibility'. The passive voice was used to put emphasis on the need for participation: 'more national

efforts to be paid'; 'national efforts should be supported'. However, the use of passive voice raises the question of agency again as the discourses did not imply who should support national efforts, who should participate, and how this participation could be achieved.

The discourses attempted to involve the target audiences by using some collective phrases such as 'our youth', and 'every Kuwaiti'. These discourses assigned the responsibility not only to Ghiras, but involved other agents such as the private sector: 'the private sector has played an important role in supporting the project in the last three years'. In addition, parliamentary members positioned themselves as agents of positive social change: 'Parliamentary members are cooperating to fight drugs'. This will raise again the question of the function of the use of the notions of 'participation' and 'social responsibility': Were they really used to involve the target audiences in the issue or to promote good social image about the parliamentary council? Moreover, there was an absence of the concept of 'empowerment' in these discourses. They failed to go beyond calling for 'participation' towards providing the target audiences with empowering techniques through affording access to resources or tips to achieve social change.

Besides, it is ironic that the project was represented heavily in the media not the issue itself. All the previous discourses talked about the project's campaigns and the good impact of the project, not the issue of drugs addiction. There was a considerable structural absence of positioning the issue itself, which stresses the question of function discussed earlier in this section. In addition, there was a failure in the print media discourses to address the concept of community empowerment as they fell short of providing the target audiences with resources to participate in social change. Instead, the use of the notion of participation in these discourses was functional to claim social responsibility. In the following section, social semiotics of Ghiras adverts will be

provided to study how the communication techniques were constructed through visual images in relation to the notions of empowerment and participation.

Social semiotics of Ghiras adverts

After analysing the communication techniques used in interpersonal and print media discourse in relation to the concepts of participation and empowerment, this section aims to study how these concepts were constructed through the visual images of the project's TV adverts. This thesis used the theoretical framework offered by Kress and Leeuwen (1996) to relate the communication techniques used in the TV adverts to the notions of empowerment and participation. Based on Kress and Leeuwen's framework (1996), communication planners or ads producers design the advertisements in a way to 'construct' imaginary relationship between represented participants (in the ads) and the viewer (Ibid., 122). Examples of the visuals used in the TV adverts of the project are appended in Appendix 6. In this section, four key theoretical categorisations were used to study how the project constructed TV adverts to position the viewer in term of power relationships and participation: identification and interaction, size of frame and social distance, involvement, and power.

Identification and interaction

The way TV adverts were designed has key implications on how the notions of empowerment and participation were constructed through these adverts. To begin with, it is useful to study how these adverts 'identified' the viewer and 'interacted' with him/her. Both 'demand' and 'offer' visuals were used to serve different functions in the project's adverts. For example, the ads used in the first campaign 'I am with you too' started with 'offer' visuals where the represented participants were 'offered' to the viewer

as items of information or objects of contemplation (Kress and Leeuwen, 1996, 124). The represented participants were 'offered' to the viewer in their natural setting where no contact at the beginning was established between the participants and the viewer. However, in the last visuals, this relationship was changed from 'offer' to 'demand', where the participants looked to the viewer in a visual 'you' and 'demanded' his/her interaction and participation. The viewer was moved from being the subject of the look to be the object of the look. This transformation from 'offer' to 'demand' visual was used to call for participation.

In the first part of the ads, the participants, who were popular characters in the Kuwaiti society, were 'offered' in their real-life setting. Then, the participants 'demanded' the participation of the viewer looking to him/her and saying the campaign's slogan: 'I'm with you too'. The use of the pronoun 'you' might have ambiguous meaning for the viewer, because while the participant looked to the viewer and addressed him/her with visual 'you', the participant addressed 'Ghiras' not the viewer by the textual 'you'. In other words, the participant wanted to say: 'I am with Ghiras against drugs', but the visual image implied that 'and you are with us too' or 'I have the same interest as you'. This technique could be associated with modelling where the public are more likely to adopt new behaviour promoted by a credible source (Ferguson, 1999; Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987). These adverts emphasised that the notion of participation should be derived from the strong Islamic value of social responsibility. However, these adverts fell short of telling the target audiences how they should participate.

The same technique was used in 'Hobby is a protection' adverts, where every advert started with 'offer' visuals of a realistic story of a successful teenager who got prizes because of his hobbies such as the goal scorer at the Kuwaiti Olympic football national team, the Arab Gulf and Kuwait champion in karate, and the teenager who won the

prize of the youngest Kuwaiti inventor. These adverts could be understood within the framework of social learning theory that suggests that teenagers want to associate themselves with good models. The adverts ended with 'demand' visuals where one of the teenagers' parents looked to the viewer saying 'hobby is a protection'. The use of 'is' in the slogan of the ads suggests that credible information is 'offered' to the viewer, but it implies at the same time 'demand' statement 'you should encourage your children to have a hobby to protect them from drugs addiction'.

The use of parents to convey the message at the end of the ads means that parents are the target audience of the ads not teenagers. Parents were assigned the responsibility to encourage their children to have a hobby. This is derived from Arabic ethics where the family should play a key role in protecting children. These adverts told the parents that they could 'participate' through encouraging their children to have a hobby. However, it is questionable how that could be achieved without providing parents with access to training programmes and teenagers with resources to develop their hobbies.

In 'Please Understand Me' ads, the participants looked at the viewer and addressed him/her demanding 'understanding'. This is emphasised by the slogan 'Please understand me' that addresses the viewer saying 'you, please understand me'. The ads defined the viewer to be a parent who had not understood his/her children and should understand them. There is an implicit feeling of blaming parents for teenagers' drugs addiction in Kuwait. The viewer was treated as a 'guilty' object to which blame was assigned. The use of demand visuals was to call for interaction and participation, where the viewer was told directly what he/she should do. However, although 'understanding' was demanded, no tips were provided to achieve this understanding, which might risk victim blaming.

Therefore, this campaign was followed by 'We understand each other' campaign where stories of happy families were 'offered' to the viewer to offer tips to create understanding between teenagers and their parents. These adverts ended with 'demand' visuals where the participants looked to the viewer saying, 'We understand each other'. The participants interacted with the viewer to convey the message that 'the previous 'offer' visuals are good tips to establish understanding with your children'. Although participants looked to the viewer saying, 'We understand each other', the pronoun 'we' was used to mean 'parents and teenagers' not the viewer and participants. Again, demand visuals were used to establish interaction with the viewer and call for his/her participation.

In all other Ghiras campaigns, 'offer' visuals were used. For instance, in 'Mum, being with you gives me happiness and security', visuals of intimate relationship between mother and her young children were 'offered' with the voice of child telling his/her mother: 'Mum, being with you gives me happiness and security'. However, no contact was established with the viewer. Moreover, in 'Dad, please be with us' ads, 'offer' visuals were used to provide a story of a happy Kuwaiti family. In these 'offer' visuals, the viewer might have the illusion that the represented participants do not know they are looked at. An imperative slogan was used by the narrator addressing the father 'give some of your time to your family' to ensure that the message is clear. These slogans were used to 'demand' the participation of the viewer.

All 'Dad, please be with us' adverts provided a story that started with the absence of the father, and ended with providing solutions. By the end of each story or advert, the father was shown with his family in happy, intimate scenes. These adverts could be analysed within the framework of conditional learning theory (Staats & Staats, 1958; Watson & Johnson, 1972) that suggests that pairing the stimulus that has a negative

response (sacrificing work or friends time to be with family) with one that has a positive response (happy, intimate times) will result in more effective communication. Instead of associating the absence of the father with drugs addiction directly, the ads associated the existence of father in the family with positive stimulus (happiness and intimate moments). The use of 'offer' visuals to tell the stories of happy families gave the impression that these families were really happy, not acting to be happy because they were looked at. The use of happy endings in these adverts could be looked at as 'empowering' techniques as fathers were provided with some tips to spend more time with their families.

'Friend follows his/her friend' adverts could be related to the same conditional learning theoretical approach. The screen was divided into two halves and viewers were offered with two stories of having a good and a bad friend on the same screen to provide young people with two choices for their lives. Based on conditional learning theory, the two short stories had very different endings at the same time. Having a bad friend who would encourage his friend to take drugs was paired with sad end (i.e. dying or being at prison), while having a good friend was paired with happy end (i.e. happy scene at the graduation party). In these ads, the viewer was provided with the two choices at the same screen, so there is a broader scope for participation.

However, the use of fear appeals associated with having a bad friend such as death and prison scenes raises the issue of ethics. Petty and Cacioppo argued that messages with fear appeals should be combined with assuring the audiences that they can escape the negative consequences if they follow the advice given in the message (Petty and Cacioppo, 1981). Although the adverts told the youth that they could escape these negative endings if they chose the good friend, they did not provide them with tips or access to training programmes that would support their choices. These adverts were

limited to the call for participation without 'empowering' the youth to participate, which might result in victim blaming. For instance teenagers who were addicted to drugs because of the influence of their friends might end up blaming themselves for not choosing a good friend.

The same technique was used in 'Go after him' adverts where visuals were offered to the viewer with the imperative slogan 'Go after your son'. Although adverts did not address the viewer directly, he/she was assigned the responsibility. The use of 'offer' visuals was functional to trigger strong emotional appeal. The participants in the ads did not look to the viewer, but they addressed him/her implying that 'you should take a lesson from our story'. That was clear from the slogan used in the final scenes of the ads 'Drugs killed my son, go after your son'. Although the viewer was told that it was other people's tragedy ('my son'), the ads implied that this tragedy might happen to him/her ('go after your son'). Indirectly, the viewer was assigned the responsibility and blame to call for his/her participation. However, these adverts failed again to 'empower' parents or to provide them with access to resources such as training programmes that would help them prevent their children from drugs addiction.

Another limitation of these adverts is that they 'offered' some shocking scenes of death in a sad, frightening atmosphere, which raises the question of ethics of influencing people through using a high level of fear. Backer et al. (1992) argued that strong fear appeal does not work; instead it would lead to defensive avoidance of the message (cited in Ferguson, 1999, 166). This argument is related to cognitive dissonance theory where the organism seeks to avoid any threatening conflict and tries to reach a state of balance, which might be easily achieved by rejecting the message. Moreover, the adverts fell short of providing the target audiences with empowering tips or skills in order to assure them that they can escape the negative consequences. These adverts

were limited to tell parents that they should go after their children, without giving them tips or access to resources that would help them prevent their children from drugs addiction. Besides, the adverts might risk triggering the pain of other parents who lost their children because of drugs addiction through blaming them. This risk goes along with Henley and Donovan's argument (1999, 176) that social messages might result in an adverse affect on people outside the target market.

To sum up, 'offer' and 'demand' visuals in the TV adverts established interaction with the target audiences to call for their participation. However, these adverts were limited to social psychological approaches and fell short of moving towards facilitating community empowerment through providing the target audiences with tips to participate or access to resources to achieve social change. The following section will discuss how the size of frame in the TV adverts established social distance with the viewer and its relation to the notions of participation and empowerment.

Size of frame and social distance

The second key analytical category used by Kress and Leeuwen (1996) is the size of frame and social distance. Kress and Leeuwen explained that the choice between close-up, medium shot and long shot defines the social distance between the participants in the ads and the viewer (Ibid., 130). In other words, the size of frame defines the viewers to be either 'friends' or 'strangers' to the participants in the ads (Ibid., 132). For instance, the adverts used in 'I'm with you too' campaign started with long shot visuals and ended either with medium or close-up shot visuals. It means that the viewer was introduced first to the participants as a stranger and then they ended being friends. Again, in 'Dad, please be with us' ads, the participants in the ads were introduced first to the viewer from long shot (as a stranger) and then ended with medium shot visuals (the viewer

became closer to the happy moments shared by the family). The same frame was used in several ads such as 'Go after him', 'We understand each other', 'Hobby is a protection', 'Mum, being with you gives me happiness and security' where the viewer was moved from being a 'stranger' to be a 'friend'. It is interesting that the change of frame and social distance was always used to convey the message of the ads. In other words, the participants in the ads came closer to the viewer to tell him/her the message and call for participation.

While the participants in all the previous adverts targeted parents moving from being 'strangers' to be 'friends', the adverts targeting teenagers used different technique. For instance, in 'Friend follows his/her friend' campaign, the viewer was introduced from the beginning to a be a 'friend' offering medium shot or long medium shot visuals, and ended to be closer to the participants in the ads using close-up shot visuals. The participants were introduced from the beginning to teenagers to be friends to enhance that there is no social distance between teenagers in the adverts (represented participants) and teenagers who watch the adverts (viewers).

In 'Please understand me' campaign, the viewer was introduced to be a very intimate friend as both close-up shot and very close-up shot visuals were used. In these adverts, the viewer would be very close to the face of teenagers and see the pain and tears in their eyes in a way that their souls would appear to the viewer (Ibid., 132). It was clear that teenagers in the ads (participants) came very close to the viewer to convey their messages. The participants in the ads established intimate relation with the viewer to talk about his/her problems. Although the slogan 'please understand me' conveyed a soft request, it implied the meaning that 'parents, you do not understand me and it might lead me to be a drug addicted'. Implicit blame and responsibility was assigned to parents to establish understanding with their kids. However, it was not clear through the adverts

how this 'understanding' could be achieved. Therefore, although these adverts established close social distance with the viewers, they fell short of empowering them or providing them with access to resources.

Involvement and power: horizontal and vertical angles

Involvement and power are other key analytical categories offered by Kress and Leeuwen (1996) through studying the angles from which the participants were viewed in the visuals. Frontal angle suggests involvement: 'what you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with' (Ibid., 143). The oblique angle, on the other hand, suggests detachment: 'what you see here is not part of our world; it is their world, something we are not involved with' (Ibid.). Several adverts showed the participants from oblique angle such as the ads used in 'Dad, please be with us' and 'Go after him' campaign. It is ironic that participants were presented from an oblique angle which showed the lack of involvement with the viewer, but the slogans used in these ads encouraged involvement such as 'Dad, please be with us', 'Go after your son' and 'Mum, being with you gives me happiness and security'. At the beginning the viewer might feel that the story did not concern him/her, but as soon as the slogan appeared on the screen, he/she would be addressed and assigned the responsibility indirectly. The participants did not look to the viewer from a frontal angle to tell him/her the message, but he/she was addressed and involved using spoken discourse: 'Dad', 'Mum', 'I', 'We', 'you', and 'us'.

In other TV adverts used in other campaigns such as 'I'm with you too', 'We understand each other', 'Hobby is a protection', the participants were shown from an oblique angle at the beginning, but they were offered from a frontal angle at the end of the adverts. The participants in the ads looked to the viewer and told him/her the

message. It is interesting to study the function of the move to use frontal angle at the end of the adverts used in these three campaigns. While the previous campaigns used direct slogans to address the viewer through the adverts, these three campaigns showed a story at the beginning of the adverts and aimed to ensure that the viewer would be involved with the participants by the end of the advert. For instance, in 'Hobby is a protection' adverts, the viewer was provided with the story of a successful teenager from an oblique angle, and then the participants in the ads looked to the viewer from a frontal angle to involve him/her in the message saying: 'Hobby is a protection'. The use of the frontal angle at the end of the ads was functional to ensure the involvement of the viewer and call for his/her participation. In other adverts such as 'Please understand me' and 'Friend follows his friend', the participants were shown from the beginning from a frontal angle. In 'Please understand me' adverts, the participants in the ads established strong eye contact with the viewer to show that they were highly involved with the viewer.

Moreover, Kress and Leeuwen (1996) argued that while horizontal angle is useful to understand the extent to which involvement was constructed through the adverts, vertical angle has key implications on the relation of power between represented participants in the ads and the viewer. In all the adverts used in the project's campaigns, visuals were at eye level which suggested equality and lack of power differences (Ibid., 146). However, it is ironic that the imperative slogans were used in these adverts either explicitly such as 'you should', 'stay with us', 'go after him', 'understand me', or implicitly through stating the facts for the viewer such as 'I am with you' (and you should be with us), 'We understand each other' (and you should follow these tips to achieve understanding), 'Hobby is a protection' (and you should encourage your son to have a hobby). Although the use of vertical angle in the TV ads suggested equal power

relationship with the viewer, the spoken discourse was limited to agent-patient relation where the viewer was treated as a patient that should carry on the suggestions provided by the powerful agent; otherwise he/she would be assigned blame or responsibility for the increase of drugs addiction.

The narrator of the slogans in these ads acted as an authority that constructed what is good and what is bad for the viewer and tell him/her what he/she should do and should not do. This could be related to the perspective of Donovan and Henley who used the term 'nanny state' to refer to the nature of public campaigns that tell the audiences what they should do and should not do (Donovan & Henley, 2003, 170). The failure of the TV adverts to move from persuasive social psychological approaches towards community empowerment techniques through providing the target audiences with access to resources raises the question of ethics: do these ads claim participation to 'persuade' the target audiences or to 'empower' them? Therefore, the role of communication approaches in facilitating participation could not be studied in isolation of the notion of community empowerment.

To sum up, the TV adverts used in the project's campaigns 'demanded' the participation of the target audiences through using modelling and psychological techniques. Besides, they used medium and close-up shots to address the viewer as a friend and call for his/her interaction. They used frontal angles to involve the viewer in the project's messages, in addition to the use of equal vertical angles to establish equality of power relationship. However, these techniques were limited to 'persuade' the target audiences to participate, while they failed to empower them through offering tips or access to resources.

Key theme	Techniques	Examples of Campaigns
Identification and Interaction	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ads that moved from offer visuals to demand visuals (to invite interaction). 2. Demand visuals (call for participation). 3. Offer visuals (using conditional learning theory). 	<p>'I'm with you too' 'Hobby is a protection' 'We understand each other'</p> <p>'Please understand me'</p> <p>'Mum being with you gives me happiness and security' 'Dad, please be with us' 'Friend follows his friend' 'Go after your son'</p>
Size of frame and social distance	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ads that moved from long shot visuals to medium or close-up shot visuals (the participants came closer to the viewer to call for his/her participation). 2. Ads that moved from medium/long medium shot visuals to close-up shot visuals (the viewer is constructed as a friend). 3. Close-up and very close-up shot visuals (the viewer is constructed as an intimate friend). 	<p>'I'm with you too' 'Dad, please be with us' 'Go after your son' 'We understand each other' 'Hobby is a protection' 'Mum being with you gives me happiness and security'</p> <p>'Friend follows his friend'</p> <p>'Please understand me'</p>
Involvement and horizontal angles	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participants were shown from oblique angle, which means detachment and lack of involvement. But spoken slogans were used to involve the viewer. 2. Participants were shown at the beginning from oblique angle, and then they moved to be shown from frontal angle (they involve the viewer to tell him/her the message). 3. Participants were shown from the beginning from frontal angle (high involvement). 	<p>'Dad, please be with us' 'Go after your son' 'Mum being with you gives me happiness and security'</p> <p>'I'm with you too' 'We understand each other' 'Hobby is a protection'</p> <p>'Please understand me' 'Friend follows his friend'</p>
Power and vertical angles	<p>The participants in all the adverts were at eye level, which suggests equality and no power difference. However, the use of imperative slogans suggests power imbalance. Besides, the adverts failed to provide the target audiences with access to resources.</p>	<p>All the adverts.</p>

Table 5.1: Semiotic analysis of Ghiras TV adverts

Along with the print media discourse analysis, the use of the notion of 'participation' in the TV adverts was functional to claim ethical communication. It was restricted to social psychological techniques, while there was a failure to address the broader notion of community empowerment. The key findings of the semiotic analysis are summarised in Table 5.1. The following section aims to study the role of communication techniques used in the project in community empowerment from the multiple perspectives of activists, journalists, and the target audiences.

The question of community empowerment:

After analysing how communication techniques were used by the communication planners in the project in relation to the notions of participation and empowerment, this section aims to discuss how these techniques were regarded from the perspectives of journalists, activists and target audiences and the extent to which they felt empowered. As discussed earlier, the interpersonal and media discourses failed to move from using persuasive techniques towards offering access to resources. Health promotion literature suggests moving from psychological approaches to social change to achieve community empowerment that was associated with community development approaches (Sidell, 2002; Tones, 1997; Tones, 1994). Several activists and journalists explained that the communication techniques used by Ghiras fell short of providing the target audiences with access to resources. Ahmed Shehab, journalist, highlighted,

It is essential to provide the target audience with alternatives that would prevent them from drugs. Ghiras messages are positive and have encouraged the target audience to be close to their families and choose good friends. But they should be provided with more clear tips and resources to utilise their skills positively (14-12-2004).

This can be related to the argument that, 'Social marketers face problems in ensuring consumers are capable of communication and delivery and also have the ability to

accept or reject the offer' (Hastings & Saren, 2003, 310). This discussion emphasises the need for providing the youth with individual and community empowerment through encouraging them to have self-esteem and life skills, in addition to offering resources that would enable them to participate. Sidell explained that psychological empowerment requires 'enabling people to participate by raising their consciousness and confidence', while political and economic empowerment is more associated with community development approaches and 'bound up with the unequal distribution of resources' (Sidell, 2002, 62). Mohammad Mamlook, journalist, emphasised that financial support is the key foundation to provide the youth with access to alternatives:

I think that Ghiras should be sponsored by a big investment institution to provide the youth with access to utilise their skills. This will transfer Ghiras from its awareness goals towards effectiveness (19-7-2004).

Kameel Jadaon, the manager of Focus Marketing Consultancy, stressed,

Although Ghiras has succeeded to achieve good impact in Kuwait, I think its campaigns are insufficient... they should be combined with providing access to other alternatives. For instance, the government should open new opportunities for the youth to work and utilise their skills. Communication campaigns are not enough... we should not look at campaigns in isolation of the surrounding environment (17-7-2004).

This argument suggests that psychological approaches are insufficient as they should be accompanied with community empowerment through providing the target audiences with adequate resources. One of the youth explained,

Ghiras is a good project, but I don't think communication alone would help prevent the youth from the problem. I think such a communication project should be accompanied with providing access for us to utilise our spare time in positive alternatives (Focus group 3, 10-12-2004).

Several participants said that communication programmes could not be effective without being supported by legislations and providing access for treating drugs addicts: 'The project should be supported with laws and social factors, as communication projects couldn't work in isolation of legislations' (Focus group 5, 16-12-2004); 'The

project couldn't be taken in isolation of the role of other specialised entities in decreasing the supply of drugs in Kuwait, improving laws, and treating the addicts' (Focus group 1, 3-10-2004). However, communication specialists in the project fell short of advocating for legislative change regarding drugs laws in Kuwait.

Besides, a number of parents explained that the impact of the project on them was limited because of the lack of access to training programmes: 'I think the project has limited effect as many people know the significance of the values that the project is promoting, but they don't know how to apply them in their real lives' (Focus group 4, 11-12-2004); 'The project promotes values that I already believe in, while it lacks training programmes' (Focus group 3, 10-12-2004). Several participants explained that the project would be more effective if its messages were accompanied with training programmes: 'I think the project would be more effective if it were accompanied with training' (Focus group 4, 11-12-2004); 'The adverts should be accompanied with training intensive workshops that would provide practical tips' (Focus group 5, 16-12-2004). One of the youth explained,

I think the project has limited impact because its messages have not been accompanied with training programmes that would help the youth to overcome their problems. Discussing the problem is not sufficient to solve the problem without appropriate resources to training (Focus group 5, 16-12-2004).

Moreover, the dependence on using persuasive approaches in communication programmes without providing the target audiences with access to change resources might result in victim blaming. For instance, by promoting the message that teenager is the one who could prevent him/herself from drugs addiction by choosing a good friend without offering practical training might result in blaming him/herself for drugs addiction. It is the same with messages that urged parents to be close to their sons and understand their needs without providing them with appropriate training. These messages assigned them the responsibility for the problem and would risk trigger the

feelings of pain and guilt if one of their sons became a drug addicted. This could be related to Carey's discussion that without ensuring the provision of the resources to the community as a whole, 'community development approaches to health promotion would fail to address power imbalances and possibly exacerbate the situation, by encouraging victim blaming where the victim is the whole community' (Carey, 2000, 42).

To sum up, several journalists, activists, and target audiences explained that the project fell short of moving from the use of persuasive approaches towards empowering them through acquiring self-esteem or having access to resources such as training programmes. Some of them explained that they did not feel empowered to participate. For instance, one of the parents said, 'I don't think I have the skills to deal with the problem' (Focus group 4, 11-12-2004). One of the youth wondered, 'All my friends are smoking... even if I want to change, I don't have the skills to do so' (Focus group 1, 3-10-2004). Therefore, communication techniques could not be looked at in isolation of the question of access to participation and empowerment. The failure of the communication project to connect its call of participation to community empowerment could impede its impact in social change. Although the use of public relations as a relationship-building technique helped establishing social coalitions that facilitated participation in the project, the lack of community empowerment was considered as a barrier to achieve social change from the perspectives of various research participants. It might be because of the failure of public relations to play a role in the management of the project and its limited function as an advocator for legislative and structural change. The key implication of this discussion is that there should be a theoretical shift from the focus on the narrow psychological approaches of public communication towards developing a framework of the role of communication approaches in facilitating participation and empowerment in the Arab Gulf societies.

Conclusion:

This chapter provides in-depth data through a case study of Ghiras, the national project for drugs prevention in Kuwait, to address the key research questions about the process of designing public communication campaigns in the Arab Gulf and how these campaigns were regarded from the perspectives of communication planners, journalists, activists, and target audiences. The unique contribution of this chapter is that it offers the first empirical data about the role of media, social marketing, and public relations in social change in the Arab Gulf. This chapter introduces the case through discussing the role of media, political, economic, social and cultural factors in the launch and implementation of the project, the planning and evaluation processes in the project, and the extent to which participation and empowerment were facilitated through the project. Then, it provides in-depth analysis of the communication techniques used in the project and how these techniques were regarded from the perspectives of journalists, activists and the target audience in relation to the concepts of 'participation' and 'empowerment'. The key conclusions and implications of this chapter are summarised in this section.

The role of rapid development and modernisation in the launch of the project

Globalisation accompanied with rapid social and economic development was considered by several research participants to be a shifting point in the history of communication in the Arab Gulf. Several research participants explained that globalisation and modernisation played a key role in the launch of the project. Various interviewees argued that there is an increasing need for communication to deal with the challenges of modernisation in Kuwait. Some of the youth explained the feeling of 'fragmentation' and 'conflict' they suffered from between Arabic conservative values and modern life style. The team argued that their first challenge was to 're-frame' the issue

of drugs that used to be a taboo in the Kuwaiti society to make it a public issue. Various interviewees explained the culture of silence and denial regarding the issue of drugs in Kuwait, which emphasises the importance of community-wide approach to social change. To achieve that, the project used a 'conservatism' approach through promoting Arabic ethics derived from conservative Islamic values of the role of family and community to broaden the notion of participation to involve the society as a whole. Therefore, public communication played a key role in the case to deal with cultural considerations in the Kuwaiti society.

Social marketing management processes and the role of PR

There was a lack of social marketing strategic plan in the programme. Although behaviour change is the bottom line in social marketing programmes, no measurable objectives or strict benchmarking were specified for every campaign in the project. Instead, the planners stated broad goals such as increasing the awareness of parents or the youth without specifying percentage of change with specific benchmarking within a careful strategic plan. Although the summative evaluation of the project's campaigns was conducted by a specialised marketing consultancy, it was mainly quantitative and focused on the media adverts. Besides, the evaluation research focused on awareness goals rather than behaviour change. The failure to look at social marketing as a strategic planning process that goes beyond social advertising and the technical use of public relations results in its limited impact. Moreover, public relations was reduced in the social marketing programme to a supportive technique, while it played a limited role in the management of the project or in the process of decision making. Although the project managed to establish a number of coalitions with voluntary, private and governmental entities in Kuwait, the role of public relations was limited in lobbying for

legislative or structural change regarding drugs in Kuwait. This is because the function of public relations was restricted to implementing technical tasks in support of the social marketing programme. The social marketing programme's tendency towards establishing relationships was limited to the technical use of communication approaches, while it lacks strategic planning. As a result, the programme was regarded by some of the target audiences as a social advertising project mainly, which limits its impact in behaviour change. This enhances the need for strategic planning in the social marketing programme to achieve success.

Diffusion of innovation and the role of supplementation

Based on Roger's diffusion of innovation theory, the use of supplementation strategy through using media and interpersonal communication in the project was regarded useful by several interviewees. Various participants explained the importance of using integrated communication to achieve social change. It goes along with the existing literature that there is more possibility for social change when media message is reinforced by similar messages that are delivered through other communication modalities (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1949; Wallack, 1981; Kotler & Roberto, 1989; Perloff, 1993). The participants emphasised that media messages drew their attention to the project, while interpersonal activities were more effective in changing their attitudes and behaviour. However, there is no Arabic literature that studied the role of interpersonal communication in social change, and instead there is a focus on studying the role of media in development. This thesis is unique because it provides empirical research on the role of interpersonal communication in social change. Therefore, further research should develop the findings of this project.

The functional use of the notions of social responsibility and participation

Several interviewees talked about the social responsibility of the national media to promote drugs prevention. They blamed the media not the project for the limited coverage about the issue. This is derived from the Arabic ethics and the history of the national media in the Arab Gulf where media 'should' have a social responsibility towards the community's problems. Besides, the notion of social responsibility was connected to the notion of participation in the print media discourse and TV adverts, where the target audiences were urged to have social responsibility towards the issue through participating in the project. The use of the notion of social responsibility was functional in the media discourse to claim participation. That is why the project and powerful change actors such as parliamentary members were positioned heavily in the media rather than the issue.

The print media failed to go beyond the call for social responsibility and participation towards providing the target audiences with access to resources. Although a number of journalists explained that the communication project facilitated the participation of the target audiences in its activities, they noted that it was limited to linear models of communication. Several youth explained that their participation in the project was limited to attending communication activities, while they did not participate in the process of planning and implementing the project. Thus, the role of Ghiras in 'empowering' the target audiences to participate in social change was limited. The implication of this discussion is that it is important to study the role of the communication project in relation to the concept of community empowerment that assumes that providing the target audiences with access to resources will facilitate participation in social change.

The role of persuasion in individual empowerment

One of the key findings of the case study is the importance of the notions of participation and empowerment when studying social marketing exchanges in the project. However, although the project encouraged individual empowerment through stressing self-esteem and confidence in interpersonal communication, it was limited to a persuasion approach to social change. Edgett argued that the persuasion function itself is neither good nor bad, but 'it is the way in which the function is carried out that makes the difference' (Edgett, 2002, 23). The use of the persuasion approach to empower the target audiences raises the question of communication ethics: is the claim to empower the society an attempt to promote the image of the programme being socially responsible? Therefore, the question of the role of communication in empowering the society should be tied to the question of the extent to which participation was facilitated through offering access to resources.

The team used mainly verbal and non-verbal communication, in addition to emotional and cognitive appeals, and fell short of providing equal access to resources. Therefore, the reliance on persuasion approach to empower the target audiences at the individual level might risk victim blaming. The communication discourses that encouraged the target audiences to participate without providing them with resources might end up blaming them for the continuity of the problem. For instance, in 'Dad, please be with us' campaign, parents might be blamed for the problem if they were not provided with access to training programmes. Therefore, community empowerment is essential to overcome ethical problems resulted from the reliance of the project on persuasion approaches.

Theoretical insights on the role of communication in the Kuwaiti society

One of the key findings of this chapter is the role of public communication as relationship-building in the Kuwaiti project. As discussed in the previous chapter, relational thinking has deep roots in the Arabic communication ethics that encourages building relationships and emphasises collectivism and social responsibility. This supports Vujnovic and Kruckeberg's (2005, 340) 'organic theory' of public relations ethics in the Arab World where the organisation is an organ and society is a body as a whole. However, the role of the communication project as relationship-building was restricted. Although the project managed to build coalitions with several private, governmental, and voluntary entities in Kuwait, its role in managing relationships with the key target audiences (youth and parents) was limited.

Public relations was used as a technique in the social marketing project to build relationships with the target audiences through advocating for coalitions and establishing interpersonal communication with the target public. However, the limited resources of the social marketing project restricted its role in managing long-term relationships. This supports Hastings and Saren's (2003, 310) argument that 'Social marketers face problems in ensuring consumers are capable of communication and delivery and also have the ability to accept or reject the offer'. This could be related to the ethical issues of community empowerment. Moreover, public relations was still used as a publicity function in the project through using psychological techniques to 'persuade' the public to participate and cooperate with the project. Besides, it failed to advocate for legislative and structural change in Kuwait.

To sum up, it could be concluded from this discussion that the communication project moved from the focus on traditional media-based techniques to build coalitions and interpersonal relationships with the target audiences. However, it fell short of providing

the target audiences with resources to empower them to participate in social change. The key implication is an introduction of new theoretical perspective of the role of public communication in promoting social change in Kuwait that differs from Western public communication models. This perspective suggests that although communication is still limited to persuasion/publicity techniques, relational paradigm is possible in the case because of its deep roots in the Arabic culture that emphasises collectivism, participation, and social responsibility. However, the role of public communication in community empowerment is still restricted.

CHAPTER SIX:

THE CASE STUDY OF BE FREE, THE VOLUNTARY ANTI-CHILD ABUSE PROGRAMME IN BAHRAIN

INTRODUCTION:

As discussed in Chapter 4 'History and Sociology of Media and Public Communication Campaigns in the Arab Gulf', two key non-profit change agents played a key role in promoting social change in the Arab Gulf societies: national entities, and voluntary associations. Thus, after discussing the findings of the first case study of a national social change programme in Kuwait, it is helpful in this chapter to study a case study of a voluntary communication programme in the Arab Gulf. This chapter presents in-depth analysis of the case of Be Free, the voluntary anti-child abuse programme in Bahrain. It begins with introducing the background of the project through discussing the role of political, economic, and cultural factors in the launch of the voluntary programme in Bahrain. Then, it studies the role of media in the project. After that, it offers detailed analysis of the processes of planning, implementing, and evaluating the project's campaigns. After that, this chapter attempts to provide in-depth understanding of the way communication techniques are used in the project from the perspectives of communication planners, journalists, activists, and target audience in relation to the notions of participation and empowerment at the community level.

The role of political, economic, and cultural factors in the launch of Be Free:

This section aims to introduce the case study through explaining the role of political, economic and cultural factors in the launch of Be Free in Bahrain. It discusses the launch of Be Free, the sociology of change in Bahrain, child abuse in Bahrain, in addition to denial and environmental approach to social change.

The launch of Be Free in Bahrain

Be Free is an anti-child abuse programme that was launched in March 2002 by Bahrain Women Society, which is a voluntary association. As discussed in the review of literature, voluntary associations played a significant role in implementing programmes to promote social change and development in the Arab Gulf (Al Akras, 1982; Namer, 1985; Mattar, 1985; Al Kater, 1993; Abdul Wahab, 2000; Musalam, 2002). The launch and development of voluntary associations in Bahrain accompanied social and political development. Bahrain has seen dramatic human rights improvements in the past five years, in addition to wide-ranging political, administrative and judicial reforms. In February 2001, Bahraini women and men voted overwhelmingly for a National Action Charter, which results in establishing a two-chamber parliament and Bahrain becomes a constitutional monarchy. Municipal and parliamentary elections took place in October 2002. These political changes have been connected to many social changes to take place.

Dr Soroor Gharooni, the manager of Be Free Project, explained that Bahrain Women Society was launched in July 2001 after the establishment of the National Action Charter in Bahrain (5-6-2004). Some of the participants argued that as a result of democracy brought by the National Action Charter in Bahrain, people are more able to discuss their problems openly. For instance, one of the parents said, 'Nowadays we

could move from denial towards being open to our sensitive problems as a result of democracy accompanied with the national charter' (Focus group 4, 28-1-2005). The team explained that the establishment of the National Action Charter in Bahrain gives the opportunity for more political and social freedom and results in the launch of various, new voluntary associations in Bahrain:

I think we started at 2002 specifically, because of the National Action Charter that gave the opportunity to launch new civil associations in Bahrain. In the past, there used to be very few civil associations in Bahrain and many restrictions to launch new associations, but now it is much easier (5-7-2004).

Samah Allam, journalist in the family section, emphasised,

Be Free was the fruit of establishing Bahrain Women Society. After the National Charter, the number of voluntary associations has increased considerably in Bahrain (3-8-2004).

After the launch of Bahrain Women Society, a group of ten members of the association who are specialised in children education and believe in their rights, volunteered to establish a voluntary anti-child abuse programme. They explained that their work in the field of child education makes them realise the need for such a project because of their feelings of social responsibility towards their community: 'We believe in what we are doing; we believe that it is our message in life to serve the others and achieve positive social change'; 'Be Free helped me to be more responsible for others' (5-7-2004). One member of the team emphasised,

Be Free gave us the feeling of social responsibility towards others. Before being a member in Be Free, I didn't dare to offer help to the others because I was afraid to be rejected. For instance, when I saw a mother beating her child in the street, I used to be hesitant to interfere, telling myself: do I have the right to interfere? But now I feel more responsible for the safety of every child, and have more courage to defend his/her rights (5-7-2004).

Nazeeha Saeed, journalist, highlighted, 'The team have devoted their time and efforts and cooperated because of their feelings of responsibility toward the society' (29-8-2004). Al Kater stressed that voluntarism in the Arab Gulf has its roots in Islamic

culture that fosters social responsibility; as from an Islamic perspective, every individual in the society has a responsibility towards the others (Al Kater, 1993, 23-24). That was emphasised by the team who explained their commitment to the voluntary work because of their Islamic perspective of social responsibility towards the community. For example, one member of the team said,

It is something we do for God's sake. We devoted ourselves completely to Be Free... even when I'm at home or at work, I always think about the project... I feel that Be Free lives inside me. I think this is the most distinguished thing in voluntary work; the work wouldn't finish... you have committed yourself to it completely, and it's inside you all the time. I really love it; it becomes part of me and of my life. I feel responsible for conveying the messages of the project and representing it everywhere. For me, voluntary work means love, commitment and strong belief in what I'm doing (5-7-2004).

The project was launched by the individual efforts of its team and suffered from limited budget. Hamza argued that the problem in voluntary projects in the Arab Gulf was that they lacked sufficient budget (Hamza, 1983, 135-136), which raises the question of access to resources to social change. Therefore, it is questionable if the voluntary programme could play a role in social change at the community level without acquiring sufficient resources. This raises the ethical questions of empowerment and participation, which will be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

The sociology of change in Bahrain

Be Free, the anti-child abuse programme, took place in Bahrain that is located in the Eastern shore of Saudi Arabia in the Arab Gulf. Bahrain is an archipelago of 40 islands of 720.14 sq km and 689.4 of population (2003 est.) (<http://www.bahrain.gov.bh>). Before discovering petroleum in Bahrain in 1932, sea and agriculture were the most important sources of living in Bahrain. Possessing minimal oil reserves, Bahrain has turned to petroleum processing and refining, and has transformed into an international banking centre. While their neighbours staked everything on oil, Bahrainis diversified

their economy and created some of the most advanced education and health systems in the Arab region (Ibid.).

In 2004, the United Nations ranked Bahrain to be the most developed country in the Arab world in human development (the first among Arab States and number 40 among other 175 countries) (<http://www.bahrainembassy.org/humanrights-04.htm>). The fact that it is the twelfth time that Bahrain achieved the first rank in human development among the Arab countries proves that human development is one of the country's priorities. Although Bahrain has been influenced by globalisation and people have been affected by the modern lifestyle, they are still close to their traditions and cultural identity derived from Islamic culture as Bahrain's population is 85% Muslim.

The conflict between modernisation and cultural identity was emphasised by Ken Booth who indicated, 'identity patterns are becoming more complex, as people assert local loyalties but want to share in global values and lifestyles' (cited in Lipschutz, 1992, 396). This paradox results in several social problems that Arab Gulf countries have to face for the first time such as child abuse that is new to these conservative societies. Some of the participants in the focus groups stressed, 'Child abuse is a very sensitive topic in our Bahraini society that has increased because of the conflict between cultural values and globalisation' (Focus group 3, 27-1-2005). Wafa Al-Hellaw, lawyer and activist, claimed that cultural identity could not be judged by outside appearance, but by people's values and norms. She explained,

I think child abuse is a result of rapid technology and development brought by globalisation. Although we are a very conservative society, the problem is that many people are focusing on outside appearance while giving up their values and principles (4-9-2004).

Several activists and journalists argued that the increase of child abuse in Bahrain is a result of globalisation, technology and rapid development. Dr Bannah Bu-Zaboon,

psychiatrist and activist in domestic violence, noted, 'Child abuse has increased considerably in Bahrain nowadays because of the Internet, globalisation and the busy lifestyle of the families' (9-10-2004). Nazeeha Saeed, journalist, said, 'After globalisation and the widespread of satellite channels and Internet, we face the challenge of dealing with many of our hidden problems such as child abuse because our society has become more open to rapid development and globalisation' (29-8-2004). However, it is questionable whether the problem has just evolved in Bahrain because of the cultural conflict resulted from rapid development and globalisation or because people just start talking about it, which will be discussed in detail in the section about the culture of silence.

Child abuse in Bahrain

The team referred to the four types of abuse in Bahrain indicated earlier in the literature: physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, and neglect. In the Department of Health guidelines, physical abuse was defined as involving 'hitting, shaking, throwing, poisoning, burning or scalding, drowning, suffocating, or otherwise causing physical harm to a child' (DoH, 2000, 5). Neglect was referred to as 'The persistent failure to meet a child's physical and/or psychological needs, likely to result in the serious impairment of the child's health or development' (Ibid., 6). Neglect may involve 'a parent or carer failing to provide adequate food, shelter and clothing, failing to protect a child from physical harm or danger, or the failure to ensure access to appropriate medical care or treatment' (Ibid.). Department of Health defined sexual abuse as involving 'forcing or enticing a child or young person to take part in sexual activities, whether or not the child is aware of what is happening' (Ibid.). Finally, emotional abuse was referred to as 'the persistent emotional ill-treatment of a child such

as to cause severe and persistent adverse effects on the child's emotional development' (Ibid., 5-6).

However, the team explained that there is little accurate research about child abuse in Bahrain. Dr Fadheelah Al-Mahroos and Dr Fouad Abdullah conducted a research based on the abuse cases registered by the Child Protection Committee in Salmaneyah Hospital (Bahraini Society for Child Development, 2002, 38). The research studied 150 cases of abused children in the age between seven months and 17 years old in the period from June 1991 until 2001 (Ibid.). The research found that there were 87 registered cases of sexual abuse, 50 cases of physical abuse, 10 cases of both physical and sexual abuse, and three cases of neglect (Ibid., 39). One of the key findings of this study is that 91% of the cases of physical abuse and 82% of cases of sexual abuse happened in places that are supposed to be secure for children such as the house, the school, or the houses of relatives (Ibid.). However, this research included only the registered cases of abused children in the Child Protection Committee in Salmaneyah Hospital and did not refer to any case of emotional abuse.

Some interviewed journalists and activists enhanced that the lack of statistics of child abuse in Bahrain has been a key problem. For instance, Abdullah Khalifa, journalist, said,

We cannot specify or measure any phenomenon without having accurate statistics. Unfortunately, there are no accurate statistics in the field of child abuse because families don't like to talk about the topic (28-11-2004).

The team and a number of the interviewed activists explained that one of the main cultural reasons for child abuse in Bahrain was the culture that constructs the child as a possession of the family, and does not give any other entity the authority to interfere in the way of dealing with him/her. This goes long with social cultural theories that suggest that child abuse is related to cultural support to the use of physical punishment

on children (Gelles and Cornell, 1985, cited in Corby, 1989, 35). Creighton argued that child abuse is 'a culturally defined phenomenon' (Creighton, 2002, 8). Therefore, several participants explained that child abuse exists sometimes because of some 'culturally-constructed norms'. For example, Wafa Al-Hellaw, lawyer and activist, explained that 'in our culture, the child is owned by his/her parents, and no one else has the authority to interfere in the case' (4-9-2004).

Dr Gharooni, the manager of Be Free, argued that many Bahraini families consider the way of dealing with their children very private, and do not accept anyone to interfere:

The child in our society is considered as one of the family's possessions. Discussing such a sensitive topic in public is not accepted because people consider it a very private issue. Some families consider physical abuse such as beating the child a kind of educational methods; and if we talked with them about the way of their communication with their children, they would consider it as interfering in their private lives. Besides, families wouldn't consider emotional abuse, such as insulting or neglecting children, as a kind of abuse and would refuse to talk about it in public. It's even much more difficult when talking about sexual abuse that is considered as a taboo in our conservative society (5-6-2004).

In addition, a number of interviewed journalists and activists criticised the social culture that would construct the abused child as a 'victimizer' and would blame him/her for being abused because he/she did not defend him/herself enough. For example, Wafa Al-Hellaw, lawyer and activist, discussed,

Many abused children would keep silent. Even if they talked, some parents wouldn't believe them or would be afraid to inform the police. It's culturally shameful for the family to have an abused child, which would be considered as a scandal, especially if the girl lost her virginity or got pregnant. In this case, the victim would be blamed by the society, and the family would prefer to keep silent (4-9-2004).

Moreover, Samah Alam, journalist in the family section, explained,

Only few abused children would be taken to the police or to the hospital in Bahrain, while many of the families would try to hide the problem... Many victims of child abuse are blamed and isolated by the society (3-8-2004).

One of the research participants stressed, 'The abused child becomes a victim twice in our society, once by the abuser and another by the society who would blame him/her' (Focus group 4, 28-1-2005). Therefore, child abuse in Bahrain could not be isolated from the cultural factors that constructed the problem as a taboo that has not been dealt with openly. Therefore, denial has been a key challenge when designing the anti-child abuse programme in Bahrain, which will be explained in the next section.

Denial and environmental approach to social change

The project takes a primary, collective approach to prevent child abuse in Bahrain. As reported in the literature review, the primary anti-child abuse intervention takes a collective approach to prevent child-abuse at the community through promoting children's well-being in general and good parenting, provided in the context of supportive communities and enabling social and economic policies (Macdonald, 2001, 118). A number of journalists and activists emphasised the significance of the primary intervention through improving social and economic status and increasing awareness towards the problem. Salwa Al-Moayad, writer, activist and the head of Cultural Committee at Bahraini Association for Childhood Development, indicated that the lack of awareness has increased the problem,

Child abuse exists because of parents' ignorance. In addition, the increase of birth rate in villages results in the increase of child abuse inside the family itself. But families lack the awareness to speak up (1-9-2004).

Abdullah Khalifa, journalist, emphasised,

Child abuse is a result of parents' ignorance and lack of awareness of the appropriate way of dealing with their children. It could be a result of poverty and big families where children have to work or they are beaten by their parents. Increasing the awareness of simple Bahraini family is a key foundation to deal with the problem (28-11-2004).

As discussed in the existing literature, child abuse is defined and 'constructed' by the cultural norms of the society. Therefore, it is essential for any society to admit first that there are cases of child abuse in order to deal with them. Therefore, denial was a key challenge that the project's team had to deal with. The team explained,

People think that when we talk frankly about child abuse, it means that we confess that we have a problem. But, there is a problem, we cannot deny it. We should break the silence and confess that there is a problem and stop saying that there is abuse only in Western societies not in our conservative societies. Denying the problem is not the solution (5-7-2004).

The team indicated that the problem sometimes has been that children were abused by their parents or their close relatives, which made it more difficult for the families to speak up.

Several participants emphasised the culture of silence in the Bahraini society: 'Most of the people would deny the problem; people don't want to talk about it' (Focus group 1, 11-12-2004); 'I think our cultural traditions prevent us from talking openly about the issue' (Focus group 5, 30-1-2005); 'Our society still wouldn't accept talking about the problem frankly, because it is always associated with sex and with the honour of the family of either the abused or the abuser' (Focus group 4, 28-1-2005). The team explained,

The biggest challenge is that we're discussing a topic people don't want to talk about... a topic that people consider very sensitive and private. We are the first to talk about child abuse in the local radio through our weekly radio programme. At the beginning, it was very difficult to talk about sexual abuse... people working in the radio used to tell us 'Change the topic', 'Why don't you talk about another topic?' In our traditions, it isn't accepted to talk in such a sensitive topic openly. People think that when talking about this topic we are educating sex, which is considered as a 'taboo' (5-7-2004).

Moreover, the interviewed journalists and activists emphasised the same challenge. For instance, Hanan Salem, journalist, discussed,

Many families try to hide the problem because it is still embarrassing to talk about it openly. However, the silence would increase the problem. We still talk about the problem with fear and hesitance. Many people think it is not good to discuss the

problem with the child. Unfortunately, many people prefer to keep silent because they don't have sufficient awareness towards the issue (6-10-2004).

Therefore, several participants emphasised that it is important first to break the culture of silence, and re-construct the issue in a way that would be accepted in the target society. Abdullah Khalifa, journalist, said, 'Moving from denial to discuss the issue openly and increase social awareness towards the problem is essential' (28-11-2004). Wafa Al-Hellaw, lawyer and activist stressed, 'Admitting that we have a problem is the first step to solve it' (4-9-2004). Most of the participants in the focus groups highlighted the instant need for moving from denial towards discussing the problem openly: 'As children, we need to discuss this problem, in order not to suffer from its negative consequences' (Focus group 1, 11-12-2004); 'Certainly, I think discussing the problem is essential, while denying it and keeping silent would make things get worse' (Focus group 4, 28-1-2005). Kempe (1978) outlined six stages in addressing the problem of child abuse starting from stage one of denial, recognition progresses to stage six that of guaranteeing that each child is really wanted and provided for (cited in Creighton, 2002, 7-8). Therefore, it is significant to understand the role media played in increasing awareness towards child abuse in Bahrain.

The role of media in the project:

After providing a political, social and cultural background to the launch of the project and the issue of child abuse in Bahrain, it is important to study the role of media in the project. Understanding the role of media in Be Free has key implications in understanding the sociology of change in Bahrain. Several target audiences argued that the relationship between voluntary associations and the national media has been limited. Moreover, some of them said that they had not heard about the project before and that

the project should pay more efforts to position itself in the media. One of the children explained,

The project should pay more attention in positioning itself in the media. As a Bahraini child, I heard about the project because I'm interested in child rights, but I have never heard about the project through the media. And I know that many children in Bahrain don't know about the project (Focus group 3, 27-1-2005).

The limited relationship between voluntary associations and media was one of the barriers highlighted by several studies in the Arabic literature (Al Kater, 1993; Hamza, 1983; Mathnaney, 1994). These studies explained that voluntary associations usually pay little attention to establish good media relations (Ibid.). Mathnaney argued that the problem sometimes is in the associations themselves which do not recognise the need for media to promote their programmes, besides the lack of the roles-structure inside these institutions, which would result in the lack of communication channels to connect the associations with their public (Mathnaney, 1994, 9). The lack of public relations specialists that would position the activities of these associations in the media resulted in the use of traditional communication approaches and little media relations.

Although the team talked about the importance of establishing good relationship with the media, there was no specialised communication or media relations department. This might be because of the project's limited resources that made it difficult for the project to hire public relations or communication specialists. Abdul-Nabey Al-Akrey, activist and researcher in child rights laws, explained the need for specialist media,

The role of media is very weak in discussing child abuse... newspapers' coverage of the issue is limited to few news articles and reportages. Media should play more active role. Until now I haven't seen any documentary film about this issue in Bahrain (11-10-2004).

A number of journalists explained that child abuse used to be a taboo in the Bahraini media. For example, Zahrah Hamdan, journalist, said that, 'In the past, you will never read about any case of child abuse in the print media... it's a taboo' (12-9-2004).

The print media in the Arab Gulf societies has been affected by the strong cultural traditions of the community. This supports Ali Siar's argument that, 'Press freedom is important, but at the same time there should be a respect to people's conservative traditions' (1-2-2006). The influence of the cultural traditions that consider child abuse as a taboo explains the limited coverage of the issue in the Bahraini print media. Hanan Salem, journalist, said,

Media is writing about the issue, but its role is still limited because media is the fruit and reflection of the society. If I believed, as a journalist and as a member of the society, in the importance of the issue, I would write about it. I think our local media hasn't played its sufficient role yet (6-10-2004).

Zahrah Hamdan, journalist, explained,

The way newspapers are dealing with the issue is through news coverage and reportage. Until now we don't have a specialised newspaper or a media consultancy in Bahrain that would adopt some programmes and big, social events. Many social associations in Bahrain don't care about media coverage; they just arrange activities, without paying attention to the media... They have very limited communication with the media (12-9-2004).

Relating this discussion to the sociological theories of the press, the print media has started to move from authoritarian model to a wider scope of liberation in Bahrain. A number of journalists argued that after the launch of the National Action Charter in Bahrain in 2001 and the democratic parliamentary elections in 2002, the press has become more independent from the government and enjoyed more freedom. After the launch of the National Charter in Bahrain, the government approved the press law that gave journalists the right to express their free views openly, in addition to establishing a new law that gave the opportunity to various political and social associations to be launched in Bahrain. As a result, new independent, political newspapers were launched recently in Bahrain such as *Al-Wasat* in 2002, *Al-Meethag* in 2004, *Al-Watan* in 2005, and *Al-Waqt* in 2006. The team explained that the print media started to enjoy more freedom than what it used to have after the launch of the National Action Charter:

Newspapers nowadays start discussing hot, sensitive issues that never have been discussed before. This is not because we didn't use to have these problems, but because it was difficult to raise such issues (5-7-2004).

A number of activists and journalists argued that the press started discussing the issue of child abuse in Bahrain. For instance, Dr Bannah Bu-Zaboon, psychiatrist and activist in domestic violence, said, 'Nowadays, the Bahraini print media is more open to discuss sensitive issues frankly' (9-10-2004). Hanan Salem, journalist, said, 'In the past, I couldn't write about child abuse openly, but nowadays there is more freedom in the press' (6-10-2004). Zahrah Hamdan, journalist, explained,

There is a considerable difference in the way media is dealing with the issue. It used to be almost impossible to write about such an issue; there used to be a very strict censorship. But, media is writing about the issue nowadays. It's not because the problem has increased, but because media is enjoying more freedom nowadays, although it is still a limited freedom (12-9-2004).

From media sociological perspective, it is difficult for the print media to move from authorisation and dominant media theory towards liberation model in isolation of the collective political/social system in the Arab Gulf states. Samah Allam, journalist in the family section, questioned the impact of media coverage if it is taken in isolation of the society and legislations. She underlined that,

The media coverage of the issue has changed considerably, because media reflects social and cultural traditions. Nowadays there is a substantial social tendency to discuss the issue. But, it is debatable whether an article or reportage at newspapers could change public opinion towards an issue. But, we believe in long-run goals, because social awareness needs long years and cooperative efforts to be changed. Besides, it needs to be accompanied with improving laws and legislations regarding child rights (3-8-2004).

This claim raises the question of access and resources when promoting change at the collective level, which will be discussed in detail when talking about the communication techniques used in the project.

While most of the journalists and activists explained the increasing role of the local press in discussing the issue of child abuse after the launch of the National Charter, they

explained that TV fell short of playing a sufficient role in dealing with the problem.

Wafa Al-Hellaw, lawyer and activist, argued,

Newspapers are discussing child abuse more openly than TV. Local press nowadays is discussing realistic cases of child abuse, which used to be very difficult in the past. TV would rarely show some programmes about child abuse. TV is still not discussing the issue openly, while newspapers enjoy more freedom in covering the problem (4-9-2004).

Nazeeha Saeed, journalist, explained that the broadcast's limited coverage of the issue might be because the local broadcast is sponsored by the government:

I think newspapers have developed in the way they are dealing with such sensitive issues; they are discussing child abuse more frankly. But, radio and TV are trying to represent only the positive image of Bahrain. It might be due to the fact that newspapers are private, while TV and radio are governmental entities (29-8-2004).

However, Barween Zainal, one of the first women working in the national broadcast in Bahrain, claimed that the national broadcast in Bahrain has 'big freedom to discuss many social issues openly such as drugs addiction, and marriage and family sensitive problems' (28-1-2006). Hasan Kamal, one of broadcast pioneers, countered this claim: 'I think nowadays the broadcast freedom is restricted because of the conservative Islamic influence on the broadcast' (28-1-2006). This goes along with McQuail's argument that public broadcasting model 'gives primacy to the needs of society or the collective needs of citizens rather than to individual rights, consumer freedom or market forces' (McQuail, 2000, 156). In the case of the Arab Gulf states, public broadcasting has reflected the conservative perspectives held by the collective Arab Gulf cultural traditions. Child abuse is still a sensitive, cultural issue in the Bahraini community. Public broadcasting has not discussed the issue openly in order to respect the collective cultural traditions of the community, or in other words not to shock the conservative Bahraini audience who would consider these topics as taboos.

To sum up, the key implication of this discussion is that it is difficult to establish comprehensive media relations within the structure of the voluntary project, because it lacks financial resources to hire communication specialists. All the volunteers in the project are working in full-time jobs and do not have the time and sufficient knowledge to lobby for social change. Therefore, there is an instant need for public relations specialists in the project to position the project's activities in the media and to advocate for legislative change. The culture of denial enhances the need for using public relations as a relationship management function that involves the management of relationships between an organisation and its key publics (Ledingham and Bruning, 2000, 56). Moreover, understanding the sociology of media in Bahrain has key implications for the possibility of social change regarding child abuse in Bahrain. The structure of media system in the Arab Gulf states has been a reflection of the collective, political system in the Arab Gulf. After providing an introductory background to the political, economic, cultural, and media factors that influenced the launch of the project in Bahrain, the next section aims to discuss key processes of planning, implementing, and evaluating the project.

The processes of planning, implementing, and evaluating the project:

This section aims to introduce the communication techniques used in Be Free through answering the initial research questions about the processes of planning, implementing, and evaluating the project. It discusses the processes of planning and evaluation, the implementation of the project, and the extent to which participation and empowerment were facilitated in the communication project.

Planning and evaluation processes

Although the project fell short of establishing specialised communication department, the team argued that planning is a fundamental step before implementing any new campaign or activity. In the process of planning for a new campaign, it was observed that the planning meetings were held in an interactive, friendly atmosphere. For example, the team exchanged ideas openly, and used brainstorming and voting for every new tactic:

Soroor was asking the team all the time to vote for any suggested idea... The team suggested some of the messages to be used in their new campaign. Soroor wondered, 'Why don't we start assigning our publics first?' One of the members said, 'I think our main public at this stage are children and parents'. Another member wondered, 'Should we design messages for both publics at this stage?' One of the team recommended starting with one public in the summer, and then moving to the other public in the next stage. The team agreed, 'It's important to make our messages memorable at this stage'.... Soroor asked the team to vote for the most important messages (Meeting of Be Free team, Bahrain Women Association, 5 pm, Sunday 20-6-2004).

However, there were no measurable objectives or well-scheduled benchmarking. This goes along with the existing Arabic research that criticised the lack of comprehensive planning in public campaigns implemented by voluntary associations in the Arab Gulf (Namer, 1985, 227; Rashid, 1990, 66; Mathnane, 1994, 11). That might be because of the absence of public relations or social marketing specialists in these associations that lacked financial resources. As discussed in the review of literature, Al Terkestaney explained that the lack of systematic planning might be because all the volunteers in these associations were in charge of planning and implementing activities; therefore they did not recognise the need to establish independent departments for social marketing (Al Terkestaney, 1996, 165). It was observed that all the members of the team were involved in the planning process:

The meeting started with dividing tasks and activities for the next month. There was an atmosphere of interaction, cooperation and commitment. Every member volunteered to arrange and implement any activity at any time, and they were

enthusiastic to attend the activities even if they weren't in charge of implementing them (Meeting of Be Free's team, Bahrain Women Association, 5 pm, Tuesday 3-8-2004).

As for the evaluation of the project, the team explained that before the launch of the project, they conducted some formative research to study the size of the problem in the Bahraini society:

In the first phase of the project, we conducted some research to study the society's attitudes towards abused children in Bahrain. In addition, we interviewed 170 families to study how parents communicated their educational messages to their children and how these messages were understood by the children. Besides, we conducted a questionnaire to study people's attitudes towards the escape of Fatima, the famous case of Bahraini abused child (5-7-2004).

Although the team used evaluation after every activity, there was an absence of systematic evaluation. In other words, what the team did was distributing qualitative questionnaires to the attending target public after every workshop to take their opinions in these activities. The lack of specialised communication or public relations department in the project made all the members of the team take part in the evaluation process.

They explained,

We meet constantly and evaluate every implemented activity. We usually use questionnaires, open discussions, focus groups, and children's drawings to evaluate every activity we implement. And we are always flexible to re-evaluate our activities or change them sometimes. We are conducting ongoing evaluation after each activity and each campaign, in addition to evaluating our overall strategy constantly (5-7-2004).

Despite the ongoing evaluation conducted by the team, the failure to assign measurable objectives at the first place made the notion of 'success' in the case tricky and difficult to measure. As discussed in the review of literature, several studies criticised the lack of comprehensive planning of measurable objectives and evaluation in public campaigns implemented by voluntary associations (Namer, 1985, 227; Rashid, 1990, 66; Mathnaney, 1994, 11). This supports Macdonald's argument that although most community-based educational programmes in the field of child abuse prevention

have focused their attention on raising awareness of child abuse and neglect in the community, there is little evidence of their effectiveness (Macdonald, 2001, 138). Nazeeha Saeed, journalist, argued that although Be Free has increased the awareness of the Bahraini society of the issue, it is difficult to measure the exact percentage of change. She explained,

Be Free has achieved a good impact... I have personally learnt from their workshops and seminars. However, it's difficult to measure the percentage of change, because the project targets the whole community and it needs years to achieve its goals (29-8-2004).

To sum up, the planning and evaluation processes in the project failed to assign strict objectives and benchmarking for social change. That might be attributed to the absence of public relations department or communication specialists in the project.

Implementation of the project

The team explained that the project takes a public education approach to social change. This goes along with the anti-child abuse programmes in the literature that have been based mainly on a behavioural education model. Al Kater pointed out that historically voluntary associations used public campaigns to 'educate' people of many social, health, and cultural issues in the Arab Gulf states (Al Kater, 1993, 45). This could be related to the history of early public relations campaigns in the Western literature that took an educational approach. However, as discussed earlier, the existing Arabic research failed to provide any theoretical insights about communication approaches used in public relations campaigns.

The team explained that prevention is the project's key goal through increasing the awareness of the society towards child abuse. This could be related to Sanders and Cann's argument (2002, 147) that prevention interventions are preferred because some scholars have concluded that treatment might indeed be too late, because of the

disappointing outcomes of remedial and treatment approaches in the child abuse literature (Cohn & Daro, 1987). The team explained that the project has been implemented in a number of phases that run simultaneously in parallel:

The first phase started on the launching of Be-Free programme on 19th of March 2002. In phase one, the main goal has been educating children on child abuse through providing them with basic information and skills. This phase was implemented through establishing Be-Free web site (www.be-free.info), workshops to train children on basic life skills such as effective communication skills, problem solving skills, critical thinking, building self-esteem and conflict resolution skills, training children on abuse prevention skills, preparing school curriculum for children about basic life skills and skills to prevent themselves from abuse (5-7-2004).

This phase could be related to the individual empowerment approach discussed in the literature that aims at increasing 'consciousness' and 'confidence' through stressing self-esteem and life skills (Tones, 1994; Tones, 1997; Tones & Tilford, 2001). This approach looks at education as a means of empowerment. As discussed in the literature review, anti-child abuse programmes in the Western literature and voluntary social projects in the Arabic literature have used mainly a behavioural, educational approach to increase social awareness. Macdonald explained that educational programmes that aimed at enhancing children's self-protection skills in respect of sexual abuse and cognitive-behavioural programmes through emphasising skill acquisition and rehearsal were effective in increasing the knowledge of children about the issue (Macdonald, 2001, 138). Although he argued that these programmes should be repeated at regular intervals to sustain changes, he highlighted that there is still 'no evidence that such programmes in fact help children to protect themselves in situations of real threat' (Ibid.).

In the second phase of the project, the team explained that they have moved to target parents and community at large using interpersonal communication and media advocacy:

In the second phase, we target parents and community. We launched the web site for parents and caregivers (www.be-free.info/parents) that explained different

issues related to child abuse and neglect. In addition, the team conducted lectures, workshops and discussion forums for parents to raise their awareness on issues such as child abuse and neglect, ways to empower children's personality and parenting skills. The team used media to provide information to the largest possible population, besides having a weekly live radio programme that talks about parenting and child abuse issues (5-7-2004).

The shift of the project towards a community-based approach to social change might be because of the Arabic cultural ethics of the role of community in social change. This could be related to the Western literature that looked at the programmes that aim at educating parents and community to be at the heart of child abuse preventive efforts (i.e. Crow, 1985; Del Castillo, 1985; Gray et al., 1983; Finkelhor, 1984).

As discussed earlier, community denial was argued to be the key cultural barrier when discussing the taboo of child abuse in the conservative Bahraini society. It is argued that educating parents and community is essential to overcome the denial of many adults of the problem (Mayes et al., 1992, 60). When designing the messages of the project, the team stressed that the use of simple language and realistic examples was significant to target parents who came from various backgrounds. Moreover, the team emphasised that it is essential to target their public's needs and understand their backgrounds and beliefs in order to overcome cultural denial:

The main characteristic in the Bahraini society is that it has strong cultural traditions. Besides, Bahrain is a very small society where gossips widespread very easily. Therefore, it's essential when designing messages to be careful not to attack people's beliefs and traditions. For instance, if people think that sexual abuse shouldn't be discussed in public, we need to be very careful to make the society accept our messages. We should understand their backgrounds and needs, and speak to them using their language and beliefs, so our messages wouldn't be rejected immediately (5-7-2004).

This approach could be understood within the framework of the cognitive dissonance theory that assumed that when attitudes and behaviour are contradictory, the person experiences uncomfortable psychological tension or instability called 'cognitive dissonance' (Festinger, 1957). Some of the interviewed target audiences explained that

the team respected their conservative background and did not challenge their beliefs. They highlighted that the way the team related their messages to Islamic values made the messages acceptable. For example, one of the parents said,

I like the way the team related the messages to our Islamic values, because they break the barrier of dealing with the issue as a taboo. Their understanding of people's beliefs makes people listen and accept the messages (Focus group 5, 30-1-2005).

This could be related to Sanders and Cann's argument that parenting interventions should be culturally appropriate and sensitive to the cultural background of families (Sanders & Cann, 2002, 148).

Moreover, the team stressed that addressing the public's needs when designing the messages helped the target audiences accept these messages. Some of the interviewed parents explained that they accepted talking about the sensitive problem of child abuse in order to learn how to protect their children from being abused: 'I think it is useful to discuss the issue openly to protect our children, provide them with practical tips, and give them self-confidence (Focus group 5, 30-1-2005)'; 'Personally, I accept discussing the issue openly to protect my children from abuse' (Focus group 4, 28-1-2005). This can be connected to the personality theory and the theoretical concept of selective exposure, where 'audiences attend to messages that appear close at hand, personally relevant and important to their lives in physical and psychological appeals' (Ferguson, 1999, 149).

However, Macdonald claimed that although most community-based educational programmes have focused their attention on raising awareness of child abuse and neglect in the community, there is little evidence of their effectiveness (Macdonald, 2001, 138). Besides, there is no research of the effectiveness of these programmes in the Arabic context. Andreasen explained that the education approach assumes that 'individuals will do the right thing if only they understand why they need to do what is

being advocated and know how to carry it out' (Andreasen, 1995, 9). The approach does not focus on behaviour, but it takes for granted that if one can change beliefs, behaviour will follow (Ibid., 10). The key limitation of this approach is that it ignored the role of environmental factors to facilitate or impede social change, which will be discussed in the section about participation and empowerment in the project.

The team explained that the third phase of the programme is targeting opinion leaders such as activists and parliamentary members to improve child laws and establish a healing centre and hot line to help at-risk or abused children. The team indicated that in the second and third phase of the project they started to establish more media relations to position their activities. The project's new communication approach could be related to media advocacy approach that 'does not directly attempt to change individual risk behavior but focuses attention on changing the way the problem is understood as a public health issue' (Wallack, 1990, 153). Although the team did not refer directly to this approach, they expressed their new tendency to move from narrow communication approaches towards a community-based approach through media. This goes along with the tendency of media advocacy approach to move from the individual, educational approach to a political, complex approach to social change (Wallack, 1990, 159). However, it is questionable the extent to which the media advocacy approach used by the project has facilitated participation and community empowerment, which will be highlighted in the print media discourse analysis of one of the project's campaigns.

The programme could be understood within the framework of the primary prevention intervention model that takes a collective approach to prevent child-abuse at the community level through promoting child well-being in general and good parenting, provided in the context of supportive communities and enabling social and economic policies (Macdonald, 2001, 118). This model can be related to the empowerment model

that is based on two key foundations: creating healthy public policy by lobbying and advocacy, and new health education approach through moving from persuasion approaches towards strengthening individual capabilities and facilitating choice of action (Tones, 2001, 13-14). Although the use of lobbying and advocacy suggests the existence of public relations as a relationship-building function, the project lacked resources to establish public relations department or to consult communication specialists.

It could be concluded from this discussion that communication approaches are interrelated when implementing the project. The team referred to education and media advocacy approaches as means of 'empowering' the Bahraini community. However, it is questionable if a voluntary project that lacked sufficient resources could achieve a collective change. It is argued that in order to achieve community empowerment, health promotion specialists should provide training and resources to the target audiences (Tones, 2001, 13-14). Therefore, the following section will discuss in more detail the extent to which participation and empowerment were facilitated in the voluntary project.

The question of participation and empowerment

This section aims to discuss the role of communication approaches in the project in facilitating participation and empowerment. As discussed earlier in this thesis, Laverack argued that participation is basic to community empowerment as it describes the involvement of individual community members in small groups and in large organisations (Laverack, 2004, 86). In this case, the team argued that increasing the society's awareness would help the target audiences to participate in social change. This could be related to the argument of some scholars that the participation of the target

audiences in decisions and plans 'can enable people fundamentally to alter the perception of problems often held by professional staff' (Beresford & Croft, 1993; Striefal et al., 1998; cited in Macdonald, 2001, 21).

This participation approach can be connected to public health approaches at the community level that suggest involving the target public in planning and implementing the programme. Some of the children in the focus groups argued that it would be more effective to involve children in planning the activities, not just implementing them. For instance, one of the children expressed,

Involving children in planning the activities is important for the success of the project. We, as children, find it easier to receive the messages from other children who understand our needs and use the same expressions and techniques. The project should include children among its team, and have more activities and workshops designed by children (Focus group 2, 18-1-2005).

However, it is questionable if it is possible to involve the target audiences in planning the voluntary project that was conducted with limited financial resources. That is because involving children in planning the project requires human and financial resources to establish relationships with children and arrange appropriate facilities. The question of participation could not be separated from the question of access to resources. Therefore, the notion of participation cannot be isolated from the organisational structure of the change entity and its ability to provide the target audiences with resources.

Furthermore, participation in the literature of child abuse was connected to 'empowering' the target audiences to speak up and play an active role in social change. Wallerstein (1992) associated empowerment with participation by defining empowerment as '... a social-action process that promotes participation of people, organizations and communities towards the goals of increased individual and community control, political efficacy, improved quality of life and social justice' (cited

in Laverack, 2004, 47). Several studies recommended empowering the target audiences to prevent child abuse (i.e. Macdonald & Macdonald, 1999; Macdonald, 2001). The team explained that one of the project's key goals is to 'empower the target audiences to protect themselves by providing them with information and training skills'. It is argued that effective parenting interventions should empower parents through enhancing the confidence of parents, promoting self-sufficiency and reducing dependency on external sources of support (Sanders & Cann, 2002, 147). Macdonald suggested that the target public could be empowered by providing them with services, information that would maximise their choice, and a means to ensure their involvement in their lives (Macdonald, 2001, 22).

The team argued that they used public education approach to increase social awareness and 'empower' the public to participate: 'Our aim is to educate children, parents, and society to empower them to participate in social change' (5-7-2004). The team associated education with the empowerment approach to achieve social change. As discussed earlier in the literature review, recent research in communication planning suggested a shift from 'persuading' the audience towards 'empowering' them. Freire (1972) explained that education was the means by which subordinate groups could challenge the systems and improve their own positions in life (cited in Carey, 2000, 28). Bracht et al. noted that critical consciousness or awareness might develop through participation in a group or other mediating social structure (Bracht et al., 1999, 88). This debate goes along with the individual psychological empowerment approach that was defined by Bracht et al. as a subjective feeling of greater control over one's own life that an individual experiences following active membership in groups or organisations (Ibid., 86).

However, these studies were based on the taken-for-granted assumption that education would result in community participation without taking account of the fact that cognitive responses to education could not be studied in isolation of other environmental factors through providing access to resources. The team indicated, 'We aim at educating children to believe in their abilities and skills, to speak up, and to be independent and confident' (5-7-2004). Although the team talked about using education to empower the target audiences at the individual level, they did not explain how community empowerment was facilitated by the project. Therefore, it is important to discuss in the next section the role of the project in establishing coalitions and cooperation at the collective level.

The role of cooperation in facilitating community participation

The project's team stressed that cooperation is a key foundation for facilitating community participation in social change, especially that the programme is conducted by a voluntary association that lacks financial and political support. The team explained,

We are seeking the coalitions of various governmental and civil entities in Bahrain. We are targeting the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Education, besides seeking the support of other voluntary associations working in the same field such as the Bahraini Society for Childhood Development (5-7-2004).

This can be related to the existing Arabic research that emphasised the need for a collective approach to social change in voluntary associations through collaborating with the government and other Arab voluntary associations to achieve economic support (Al Kater, 1993; Namer, 1985; Rashid, 1990). This raises the question of the role of communication as relationship-building in the project that aims at promoting social change at the community level. As discussed in the literature, relational thinking has deep roots in the Arabic culture that fosters collectivism and social responsibility.

Although the team emphasised the increasing need for establishing relationships with different entities in Bahrain, the project fell short of establishing social coalitions because of its limited media advocacy and lobbying skills. This might be because of the lack of specialised communication departments in the voluntary project.

One of the key insights expressed by various journalists and activists was the importance of adopting the voluntary project by a well-known national entity in order to establish social coalitions. For instance, Samah Allam said, 'The adoption of the project by a big, national entity would attract the cooperation of other entities who would like to look 'responsible' by associating themselves with the big, social project' (3-8-2004). This claim suggests that establishing social coalitions requires that the project should be adopted by a powerful national organisation that would attract other entities to have the same image of social responsibility. Thus, the notion of social responsibility would be functional to promote good image of participated entities. This might explain the reason why no entity had participated in the project that failed to position itself strongly in the media.

Moreover, this enhances the need for public communication as a relationship-building function to achieve cooperation. The need for cooperation was stressed by a number of activists who recommended establishing a High National Council for Children that would unify all the scattering efforts under one umbrella to achieve change at the collective level. For instance, Abdul-Nabey Al-Akrey, activist and researcher in child rights laws, recommended,

Most the paid efforts are voluntary; we need a national strategy adopted by High National Council for Children that would have authority and would be based on legal legislations. I think we need a coalition between governmental and voluntary associations in Bahrain. This cooperation should aim at improving the legislations, the standard of living, and providing the main necessities for every child in Bahrain (11-10-2004).

Some participants argued that there is a lack of participation in the project. For example, Dr Bannah Bu-Zaboon, psychiatrist and activist in domestic violence, explained, 'The paid efforts are still insufficient, because every entity works separately, which weakens the impact of these efforts' (9-10-2004). Wafa Al-Hellaw, lawyer and activist, stressed that,

All our efforts are scattering and disorganised. We don't have a national umbrella where all the governmental and voluntary efforts would cooperate to increase the awareness of families, children and even doctors and nurses (4-9-2004).

Several participants emphasised the need for cooperation under one unifying umbrella to achieve social change at the community level: 'Governmental and voluntary entities should cooperate through a well-scheduled, national strategy' (Focus group 1, 11-12-2004); 'The efforts should cooperate through a high national committee that would adopt the issue' (Focus group 5, 30-1-2005).

In addition, the team explained that involving opinion leaders in their activities is important to encourage participation:

It is essential to involve opinion leaders and people in charge in our project. For instance, in the campaign to find Fatima, the abused child, we sought the support of the prime minister to launch a national campaign to find the child. It encourages the participation of the media and community in the issue (5-7-2004).

This approach goes along with Namer's call for cooperation with the society to encourage social responsibility and involve community leaders in social change (Namer, 1985, 216). Some journalists and activists emphasised the importance of targeting opinion leaders to convey the project's messages. For instance, Lamees Dhayf, journalist, argued that opinion leaders such as parliamentary members should be targeted, because they could play a significant role in improving laws regarding child abuse (26-8-2004). Samah Allam said, 'Involving opinion leaders, parliamentary

members and activists in the project would encourage social participation like what happened in the campaign to find Fatima, the Bahraini abused child' (3-8-2004).

However, the participation of opinion leaders in the project was limited, because of its dependence on the individual efforts of its volunteered members and the lack of public relations specialists who acquire good lobbying skills. The absent role of public relations as a relationship-management in the project results in the lack of cooperation. Several interviewees argued that the absence of cooperation with credible opinion leaders limited participation. This barrier emphasises the need for public relations as a relationship management function in the voluntary project to establish comprehensive media relations and advocate for the participation of the key public in the project. Moreover, the lack of coalitions in the project raises the question of empowerment and participation in the process of social change at the community level. In other words, the absence of public relations in the project to establish relationships and cooperate with other entities that would provide it with access to resources impedes its role in facilitating participation and empowerment.

To sum up, this section introduces the processes of planning, evaluation, and implementing Be Free in Bahrain. Besides, it discusses the extent to which communication approaches used in the project facilitated participation and empowerment. The following section aims to discuss how communication techniques were used in interpersonal activities and media discourses and how they were regarded from the multiple perspectives of journalists, activists, and target audiences in relation to the notions of participation and empowerment.

Communication techniques:

This section aims at answering the key research questions about how communication techniques were used in relation to the notions of community empowerment and participation. This section begins with detailed analysis of the interpersonal communication techniques used in the project and how they were regarded from the perspectives of the target audiences in relation to the concepts of participation and empowerment. Then it provides discourse analysis of the print media of one of the project's campaigns.

Interpersonal communication techniques

This section aims to study the role of interpersonal communication techniques used in Be Free in facilitating participation and empowerment. As discussed earlier in this thesis, Arabic literature failed to study the tactics used in communication campaigns launched by voluntary associations. Atteyah criticised the fact that most of the existing Arabic research focused on the role of mass media in public communication campaigns, while less attention has been paid to face-to-face communication channels (Atteyah, 1985, 96). Therefore, detailed discussion will be provided about interpersonal tactics used in the anti-child abuse communication programme in Bahrain in this section.

The team explained that interpersonal activities were their key communication technique as the information-based on-line communication was insufficient:

In the web site, there is a one-way communication. We don't know the children's direct feedback about our messages. But our workshops are interactive; we always listen to the children's opinions and ideas. When we listen to them, we know their problems, their needs and their feelings (5-7-2004).

This claim could be connected to the question of the role of interpersonal communication in encouraging participation in the project. A number of children explained that the project have given them the opportunity to express their ideas openly:

'Be Free helps us to be brave to express our ideas openly' (Focus group 2, 18-1-2005); 'At school, we don't have enough space to express our ideas, but Be Free has helped us to speak up (Focus group 3, 27-1-2005).

It was observed in several activities implemented by Be Free that the team used mainly persuasive approaches to involve the target audiences in the project's activities such as narrating realistic stories and examples, using simple language, visuals, gestures, eye contact and voice tone:

Rana narrated some realistic stories and examples about domestic violence and its effect on children. She used her hand movement and strong eye contact... She showed some of the children's drawings to present their reactions when they saw their fathers beating their mothers (Seminar about domestic violence and its effect on children, 1.30 pm, Sunday 27-6-2004).

The lecturer was smiling and joking all the time. Her body language was expressive, in addition to her use of many realistic examples and stories. She used direct, simple language, visual and facial expressions, acting, and storytelling in an interactive way (Workshop for the teenagers, Awal Women Society, 10 am, Tuesday 6-7-2004).

These tactics could be connected to the suggestion that verbal and nonverbal communication had key implications in persuasive communication (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 115-116). Based on participant participation, the team used both emotional and cognitive appeals through combining emotional, realistic stories and examples with some statistics and realistic examples of the size and consequences of the problem.

A number of the target public explained that the use of these social psychological tactics was useful: 'I think the workshops were useful because the lecturer used simple Bahraini dialect and supported her messages with realistic examples, putting herself in the parents' shoes' (Focus group 5, 30-1-2005); 'Using accurate statistics, realistic stories and visuals besides interesting presentation made the topic realistic... it affected me personally' (Focus group 4, 28-1-2005). In addition, a number of parents praised the use of appropriate, understood language in the project's interpersonal activities: 'The

team used understood language in a rational, interesting way that makes me aware of many key issues in dealing with my children' (Focus group 5, 30-1-2005); 'The team used very simple, direct language that affected me' (Focus group 4, 28-1-2005).

Furthermore, it was observed that the team used an open discussion when talking with the audiences, besides using the collective pronouns 'we' and 'our' to involve them in the problem. For instance, it was observed,

Rana used open discussion to approach the students. She used the pronouns 'we' and 'our' all the time to involve the students and address their problems. She asked them: 'Why don't 'we' have sufficient self-confidence?' The discussion was interactive and combined with examples and telling stories. Then, Rana asked two of the students to volunteer to act the roles of confident and unconfident people. The students interacted and laughed at the role-playing. It was followed by an open discussion of the physical and psychological differences between confident and unconfident people. Then Rana asked the students to tell stories (Workshop for the teenagers, Awal Women Society, 10 am, Tuesday 6-7-2004).

It was an interactive workshop. The children were enthusiastic to participate in the workshop and to express their ideas. At the end of the workshop, children said that they have learnt new, useful skills (Children Workshop, Bahrain Women Association, 11 am, Tuesday 27-1-2004).

These communication techniques could be connected to the notion of participation, where the target audiences expressed their ideas openly. In addition, practical games and brainstorming were used to involve children in open discussions:

It was a brainstorming workshop to understand children's needs and interests. 15 children from the age of 8 to 16 years old were involved. The workshop started with an interactive game to select a nice nickname for every child. The children were laughing and interacting positively with the team. The team asked the children to choose issues they wanted to discuss and urged them to vote for every issue starting with the ones they found more important. The children were the ones who talked most of the time in the workshop and expressed their opinions freely (Children brainstorming workshop, Bahrain Women Association, 5 pm, Tuesday 14-9-2004).

It was children who talk, discuss, tell stories and give examples (Children second brainstorming workshop, Bahrain Women Association, 10 am, Tuesday 27-1-2004).

This concept of 'participation' was emphasised by the team who explained their aim to establish relationships with parents as allies not as inferiors or opponents:

We always emphasise in any seminar or workshop with parents that 'we don't know more than you' and 'we are not here to teach you what you should do; we all have different experiences to communicate with our children and we are here to share these experiences'. We aim to communicate to the families that 'we are working with you to help your children'... our aim is to make families look to us as their allies who would help them improve their communication skills with their children. It's important to help parents get rid of their defensive attitudes and accept talking and listening. We are trying to establish good relationship with them and work together to improve their behaviour (5-7-2004).

This suggests that the interpersonal communication in the project was used to establish 'relationships' with the target audiences. This is derived from Arabic communication ethics where establishing direct relationships with the community is welcomed. Several parents stressed, 'We felt through the workshop that we were working together for the sake of our children'; 'We felt that they were our partners to improve our traits towards our children' (Focus group 4, 28-1-2005). One of the parents explained,

It was different from other workshops I attended... I was listening and speaking at the same time... We were sharing our experiences together (Focus group 5, 30-1-2005).

Based on participant participation, the team employed psychological approaches to empower the target audiences through using positive messages and vocabularies when talking with children to encourage their participation. For instance,

Dr Soroor used soft words, simple vocabularies when addressing children. She showed them photos of animals and asked them to choose their favourite animals. The children chose the rabbit as their favourite animal. Then, Soroor told them a story about a family of rabbits to convey her message in a positive, simple way. For example, she told them that although the rabbit liked ice cream, he refused to take it from a stranger or to go with him in his car. She addressed the children using their vocabularies and the things they like. She used funny examples about the family of rabbits, and the children were laughing happily and anticipating different ends for the story (Workshop for nursery children, 10.15 am, May-2004).

Moreover, the team used some psychological tactics to 'empower' the target audiences to acquire self-esteem and confidence to draw their own conclusions:

Rana asked the children to draw the conclusions themselves. She stressed that 'all of us' could change 'ourselves'. She asked the students who lacked confidence to try to break their fears and talk in public, to try to walk in a confident way, and to change the way they were looking to themselves... She ended her workshop with a group exercise writing several negative sentences that many teenagers might say to themselves such as 'I did my best and I cannot do more' and 'I do not feel well today'. Then, she asked the teenagers to find positive alternatives such as 'I can do more' and 'I will feel better when I play some sport or when I have a walk with my friends' (Workshop for the teenagers, Awal Women Society, 10 am, Tuesday 6-7-2004).

This could be connected to the key empowering tactics at the individual level such as stressing beliefs about control and self-efficacy beliefs, besides values such as self-esteem (Tones, 1997, 40).

Based on the researcher's observation, the team ended most of their workshops providing practical tips to the target audiences. For example,

Dr Gharooni provided parents with some practical tips that would help them recognise that their children have been abused and would help them protect their children. Moreover, she provided parents with some tips to establish a good relationship with their children. After Dr Gharooni's lecture, open discussion was invited... (A lecture for parents, Hope Institute for Handicapped Children, 11.15 am, Wednesday 1-12-2004).

Most of the research on explicit and implicit conclusions suggested that the messages should specify explicit conclusions for the audience such as offering clear suggestions and practical tips (Cope and Richardson, 1972; Fine, 1957; Leventhal et al., 1967). It is interesting that communication approaches were related in interpersonal activities as persuasion, education and empowerment tactics were used at the same activities. Persuasive approaches were used to structure the message and attract the attention of the target audiences, while education and empowerment techniques were used to provide the target audiences with the skills of self-confidence and critical thinking.

The team argued that they aimed through their interpersonal workshops to empower the children to participate in their activities:

The face-to-face activities give the opportunity for children for the first time to express their own ideas freely... We never told them what they should do or shouldn't do; we used brainstorming...we listened to them rather than imposing our ideas on them. The children had the freedom to express their ideas...we want them to feel that their opinions are important. It's essential to listen to them and to give them the chance to participate. In our society, children are not given sufficient opportunity to express their feelings and needs (5-7-2004).

A number of children emphasised the positive impact of the project's interpersonal workshops on them: 'We've learnt that we are important; and our feelings and ideas are valuable' (Focus group 3, 27-1-2005). Other children said,

Attending Be Free workshops has affected my way of thinking. I started analysing things critically to know good and bad things. I feel more independent and confident... I have the courage to speak up and develop myself (Focus group 2, 18-1-2005).

I'm a member of Be Free Friends Club... It helped me to feel independent. I feel free... I have my own opinion and private ideas and feelings. I've learnt to speak up and express my own opinion. I feel more confident and strong now (Focus group 2, 18-1-2005).

Moreover, several parents praised the good impact of the interpersonal activities on them: 'I benefited from the workshop, especially that I'm always shouting at my little daughter; I will try to change my behaviour with her' (Focus group 5, 30-1-2005); 'It's a very good workshop that taught me how to train myself in order not to say harsh words to my children' (Focus group 5, 30-1-2005). One of the parents explained,

Honestly, the lecture affected me a lot because I'm usually very nervous with my children, and it's the first time I think that by insulting them, I am abusing them emotionally. I have to be more careful now when dealing with my children and try to change my bad habits (Focus group 4, 28-1-2005).

This discussion emphasises the role of interpersonal communication to empower the target audiences to participate in social change. However, the project was limited to individual empowerment approach through educating the target audiences and stressing

self-esteem and confidence. Although the team explained that sometimes parents might be the abusers of their children, the project fell short of accessing abused children and child abusers because the issue was considered as a taboo in Bahrain. Therefore, the project focused on the prevention goal rather than treating real cases of abused children.

Despite the good impact of the education approach discussed by several participants, this approach ignored the effect of environmental and cultural factors that might impede the individual from adopting certain behaviour. It was argued in the literature that there is 'no evidence that such programmes in fact help children to protect themselves in situations of real threat' (Macdonald, 2001, 138). For example, a child might 'know' after an educational workshop that he/she should speak up if someone abused him/her, but some cultural factors might impede him/her from doing so in real situations. Moreover, it is dangerous to 'educate' the child to speak up, while there are no laws that would protect him/her. For instance, if the child had been physically abused by one of his/her parents, he/she would have to stay with the same family even if he/she spoke up because of the lack of an authority that has the right to take him/her from his/her family. Therefore, providing children and parents with psychological empowering skills to prevent child abuse is insufficient to enable children to behave in real abuse situations.

Along with the child abuse preventive literature, the communication approaches used in the observed interpersonal activities could be related to the behavioural theories of social change such as cognitive-behavioural approaches to parent training for parents with young children (i.e. educating parents boundaries of acceptable family behaviour and training in contingency management skills) (Macdonald, 2001, 154). Based on Belsky and Vondra's (1989) argument, Daro claimed that theories of parental practice have evolved from a reliance on 'linear or main effect' frameworks into models which recognise the interaction of multiple casual agents (Daro, 2002, 128). Although the team

developed open discussions and practical exercises with the target audiences, they fell short of moving from behaviourist approaches towards providing the target audiences with access to resources. For instance, one of the parents said, 'the team stressed that we could improve our parenting skills and they provided us with some tips, but there are no training programmes to help us change our behaviour' (Focus group 5, 30-1-2005).

The dependence on individual empowerment approach to social change raises the question of access to social change. Daro argued that if knowledge is the only barrier between good interactions and good parenting, simple, educational programmes such as written material or group presentations will fill this gap (Daro, 2002, 128). However, for many parents the inability to communicate well with their children is not simply a matter of insufficient knowledge (Ibid.). Be Free failed to integrate psychological empowerment techniques with community empowerment because of its limited financial and communication resources. Therefore, there is a need for a more collective approach by offering resources to social change through training the target audiences and advocating for legislative change.

The project's approach to media advocacy was limited because of the lack of public relations department or public communication specialists in the project. This raises the question of the role of media techniques used by the team in empowering the target audiences to participate in the issue in Bahrain. Therefore, the next section will provide an analysis of the print media discourse of one of the project's media campaigns in relation to the notions of participation and empowerment at the community level.

Discourse analysis of the Bahraini print media coverage of the project

Several studies recommended using media advocacy approach to move from individual, psychological approaches to achieve community empowerment (Wallack,

1990; Wallack et al., 1993; Tones & Green, 2004; Tones & Tilford, 2003). The use of media advocacy approach in the project was limited to placing some press releases about the project's activities, which raises the question of the ability of the project to facilitate community empowerment. However, no research in the literature has provided qualitative analysis of the role of media advocacy approach in public communication campaigns in facilitating community participation and empowerment. Therefore, this section aims to study the way the notions of participation and empowerment were constructed through the discourse analysis of the Bahraini print media coverage of one of the project's campaigns.

The print media discourse of the project's biggest media campaign to find Fatima, an 11-year old child who ran away from her family's house because of physical abuse, was studied. Along with the first case, this section uses the same theoretical framework developed by Wood and Kroger that looks to language as an action or in other words, it studies what discourse is doing (Wood & Kroger, 2000, 5). This framework focused on studying how the notions of empowerment and participation were constructed through media discourse. Two key concepts will be used to study the notions of participation and empowerment in the media discourses: agent-patient relationship, and positioning.

To begin with, the concept of 'agent-patient' relationship is important in this section to understand how the notions of 'participation' and 'empowerment' were constructed through the print media discourse of the project. At the beginning of the media coverage of the project's campaign, Be Free or Bahrain Women Society (BWS) was 'constructed' in the media discourse to be the key agent of change. Wood and Kroger explained that if a person is constructed or positioned as an agent, he or she will be assigned responsibility, blame, or credit for his or her actions (Wood & Kroger, 2000, 101). For example, in several articles, Bahrain Women Society, or more specifically Be Free, was

assigned responsibility for Fatima's case, but at the same time the project blamed other agents for not playing sufficient role in social change. It is ironic that these other entities were assigned blame as agents of social change, and at the same time they were treated as objects of social change that 'should' do certain duties to play a role in social change. For instance,

Be Free, BWS, distributed a questionnaire last June to study the awareness and participation of child abuse. The questionnaire raised questions about the escape of Fatima, the abused child, who was used as a realistic symbol of child abuse and neglect.... The results showed that the whole society can play a role in finding the child. The biggest responsibility is carried by parents, but other entities carry part of the responsibility, especially those that have the resources such as the government, society and civil associations (Al-Ayam, 13-8-2002; Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 13-8-2002).

It could be noticed from the previous discourse that on one hand, Bahrain Women Society was represented as an agent who had the legitimacy to evaluate the social awareness towards child abuse in Bahrain (Be Free, BWS, distributed a questionnaire last June to study the awareness and participation of the society of the issue of child abuse). On the other hand, other agents were blamed for not playing sufficient role in social change (parents, the government, society and civil associations). Present tense was used to show high modality of the results of the evaluation conducted by Be Free: 'the whole society can play a role'; 'The biggest responsibility is carried by parents, but other entities carry part of the responsibility'. The term 'the whole society' was used to emphasise the collective social responsibility towards the issue. The passive voice 'the biggest responsibility is carried by parents' was used to put an emphasis on the importance of social responsibility.

However, the notion of 'responsibility' was ambiguous in the media discourse as it was not clear whether the discourse talked about only the responsibility to find the lost

child, or the social responsibility to deal with the problem of child abuse in Bahrain. Moreover, although the project blamed other agents because of their absent role in the issue, it did not offer any recommendations or tips to achieve social responsibility and participation. Therefore, the media discourse failed to move from calling for participation towards facilitating community empowerment through providing the target audiences with access to resources to social change.

One journalist questioned the legitimacy Bahrain Women Society has as an agent of social change that would have the right to blame other entities in the society:

Accusing social entities without any credible evidence doesn't serve the society or the case. The questionnaire conducted by BWS doesn't provide any recommendations that might help finding the child... What is the aim of this questionnaire apart from raising subjective accusations?... Blaming society, legislative bodies, media and the police is subjective (Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 10-9-2002).

The present tense in the discourse was used to emphasise the illegitimacy of the evaluation conducted by Bahrain Women Society: 'accusing social entities... doesn't serve the society'; 'BWS doesn't provide'; 'Blaming... is subjective'. However, Bahrain Women Society was still positioned through the discourse to be an agent to which blame was assigned: 'The questionnaire conducted by BWS doesn't provide any recommendations that might help finding the child'. Several phrases were used to imply the blame assigned to BWS: 'without any credible evidence'; 'What is the aim of this questionnaire apart from raising subjective accusations?' The repetition of the adjective 'subjective' was used to emphasise the blame.

Moreover, the notion of agency was connected to the notion of participation in the print media discourse. For example,

Bahrain Women Society called for increasing the efforts to find Fatima Tawfeek, the escaped abused child. It called for the participation of local media broadcast,

society's members, and civil and governmental associations to find the child and provide any information that might help find her. Dr Soroor Gharooni, the vice-president of BWS and the manager of Be Free, announced the absent role of media in the issue as local broadcast was not concerned about the issue and hasn't paid any effort to cooperate with the society... Dr Soroor said that it is sad that until now there is no new information about the child... the issue should be raised to know whose responsibility looking for the child is: Is it her family, the society, or the police? (Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 3-8-2002).

Bahrain Women Society distributed 1800 leaflets that have the photo of Fatima and the prize assigned to anyone who would help finding the child. Dr Soroor announced that distributing these leaflets aims to involve people in the campaign to find Fatima. She stressed the importance of active participation of the society in such a human issue (Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 7-8-2002; Al-Ayam, 9-8-2002).

Bahrain Women Society, Be Free, received a number of phone calls from people claiming that they had seen Fatima, but there is no evidence how accurate this information is... Bahrain Women Society called all the people to participate in this human mission (Al-Ayam, 20-8-2002; Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 20-8-2002).

Bahrain Women society was positioned in the previous discourses to be the agent of social change in Fatima's campaign: 'Bahrain Women Society called for increasing the efforts'; 'Bahrain Women Society distributed 1800 leaflets'; 'Bahrain Women Society, Be Free, received a number of phone calls'. Although these discourses called for 'participation', it is questionable how participation could be achieved in discourses that were limited to blame several entities while failed to provide them with tips or access to participate in social change. For instance, some phrases were used to blame other entities for their lack of participation: 'Dr Soroor Gharooni... announced the absent role of media in the issue'; 'it is sad that until now there is no new information about the child'; 'no evidence how accurate this information is'. The notion of 'participation' was used within the agent-patient structure where BWS told the target audience that they

should participate: 'the issue should be raised to know whose responsibility looking for the child is'; 'She stressed the importance of active participation of the society'; 'Bahrain Women Society called all the people to participate'; 'It called for the participation of local media broadcast, society's members, and civil and governmental associations'.

In addition, the use of the phrases 'human issue' and 'human mission' was a symbol of the Arabic ethical notion of social responsibility where every individual should have a social responsibility to participate in social change. The present tense was used to stress high modality to the lack of social responsibility and need for cooperation: 'local broadcast... hasn't paid any effort to cooperate with the society'; 'whose responsibility looking for the child is'; 'there is no evidence how accurate this information is'. However, there is still a failure in the print media discourse to move from the call for participation towards community empowerment through providing the target audiences with tips or access to resources that would help them participate in social change. Besides, Bahrain Women society used the notion of social responsibility through media discourse to call for social participation. For example,

Bahrain Women Society announced that a Bahraini lady assigned 1000 BD to the person who would find Fatima or provide information that might help finding the child (Al-Ayam, 6-8-2002; Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 6-8-2002).

Rana Al-Sairafey, the vice-president of Be Free, announced that Mr. [...] from [...] Hotel assigned 1500 BD in addition to the 1000 BD initially assigned as a prize for whom would find Fatima... BWS praised all the efforts paid for supporting this human case, and called all members and entities of the society to participate in finding Fatima, the lost child (Al-Ayam, 15-8-2002; Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 15-8-2002).

In the previous discourses, Bahrain Women Society (BWS) was still positioned as a key agent in the case. It is interesting that the project announced that some people and

entities assigned prizes for who would find the child in order to encourage social responsibility and participation in the issue. For example, in the second discourse, it was stated that, 'Bahrain Women Society praised all the efforts paid for supporting this human case, and called all members and entities of the society to participate in finding Fatima, the lost child'. These discourses could be looked at within the framework of the behavioural social learning theory through associating participation with the ethical notion of social responsibility in the Arabic communication ethics. In other words, these discourses implied that the target audiences should 'participate' to associate themselves with the 'responsible' entities that 'participated' in the project. For example, 'BWS praised all the efforts paid for supporting this human case'.

Moreover, assigning prizes for the people who would help find the child could be related to instrumental behavioural theories where conducting the promoted behaviour will be rewarded by the social agent. However, it is debatable whether it is ethical to tie Islamic ethics of social responsibility and participation to materialistic rewards. Moreover, it raises the question: would people 'participate' in the campaign because of their social responsibility towards the issue or just to get the prize? Again, the phrase 'human case' was used in the discourses as a symbol associated with social responsibility and Arabic ethics.

In addition, several entities were constructed through media discourse as having social responsibility towards the issue by supporting the campaign. However, the question of the function of the notions of participation and social support constructed through the discourses should be raised. For instance,

The Youth Work Society will organize a walking marathon to support the issue raising the slogan 'Fatima, the lost child; who is responsible?' on Friday 23rd of August 2002 (Al-Ayam, 20-8-2002; Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 20-8-2002).

30 young people volunteered to cooperate with the police and look for Fatima, the lost child... they are welcoming any other volunteers who would cooperate to find the child. They are good models of aware youth who are socially responsible for their society's issues (Al-Ayam, 23-8-2002; Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 23-8-2002).

These media discourses imply the notion of social responsibility that was used to invite participation: 'they are welcoming any other volunteers who would cooperate to find the child'; 'socially responsible for their society's issues'; 'who is responsible?'. The use of present tense gives high modality to the discourses.

After that, the project moved from its call for social responsibility and participation towards seeking the support of the prime minister in order to associate the issue with powerful agent of social change:

Bahrain Women Society called for the support of H. H. Sheikh Khalifa Bin Salman Al-Khalifa, the prime minister, in urging the efforts to find Fatima, the lost child. Dr Soroor Ghrooni, the vice-manager of Bahrain Women Society and the manager of Be Free... stressed that the support of the prime minister of the issue will encourage more intensive efforts to be paid (Al-Ayam, 25-8-2002; Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 25-8-2002).

It is interesting that the project moved from being the key agent of social change to call for the power of the prime minister to encourage participation in the project. This call was followed by a quick response of the prime minister:

The prime minister gave orders to the Ministry of Interior to intensify the efforts to find Fatima and provide further information about the case (Al-Ayam, 27-8-2002; Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 27-8-2002).

Power hierarchy is clear from the verb used in the previous discourse 'gave orders'. As a result, further information was published about the issue in the media. The Ministry of Interior announced through the print media, 'The Ministry of Interior

revealed the whole story: How Fatima was lost?'; 'The Ministry of Interior is still paying constant efforts to find the child...'; 'The police stressed that the efforts are continuous to find the child...' (Al-Ayam, 29-8-2002). Present tense was used to stress the continuity of the efforts paid by the Ministry of Interior. However, the Ministry of Interior started to take the responsibility for the escape of the child only after the announcement of the prime minister. Besides, a number of journalists wrote about the issue and called for social responsibility and participation in their columns after the prime minister's announcement of his support of the issue, which raises the question of the function of participation. For instance, Hafed Emmam stated, 'We are all looking for Fatima' (Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 2-9-2002). The collective phrase 'we are all' was used to involve the target audiences in social responsibility and participation, and the present simple was used to imply high modality.

A number of columnists blamed other agents for their absent role in social change and called for cooperation and participation. For example, Othman Al-Majed wrote

There is an absence of the role of the media in covering the issue... There should be cooperation between civil and governmental associations in this social issue. Besides media should play more active role to highlight social problems... (Al-Ayam, 3-9-2002).

The discourse started with a present simple tense to construct a high modality statement: 'There is an absence of the role of the media in covering the issue'. Media was blamed as a passive agent of change. The writer in this discourse constructed himself as an agent who would tell these entities what they 'should' do: 'There should be cooperation between civil and governmental associations'; 'media should play more active role to highlight social problems'. However, the call for participation was not accompanied with empowering techniques such as providing tips or access for social change to take place.

In addition, the issue got considerable attention from the print media after the king's support of the issue:

His Highness Sheikh Hammed bin Isa Al-Khalifa, the king of Bahrain, received Fatima's family in Al-Safereya Palace yesterday and gave orders to the Ministry of Interior to intensify the efforts to find the child... (Al-Ayam, 11-9-2002; Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 11-9-2002).

After the king's announcement, there was a considerable change of the media coverage of the issue, because it started to be associated with a powerful agent. Therefore, several entities were constructed through media discourse as having social responsibility towards the issue after the king's call for participation and supporting the issue. For instance,

[...], the general secretary for the Bahrain Centre for Research announced that the centre is conducting a field study on child protection from abuse and neglect in Bahrain, especially after the call of the king for the cooperation of the efforts to find Fatima and fight child abuse... (Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 12-9-2002).

As a response to the king's call for intensifying the efforts to find Fatima, the General Association for Youth and Sport announced its campaign to find Fatima with the cooperation of local clubs in Muharraq... (Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 17-9-2002).

[Private furniture shop] announced contributing house furniture for Fatima's, the lost child's, family as part of their participation in this social issue, especially after the king's call to support the issue (Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 22-10-2002).

It is interesting that the notions of 'participation' and 'social responsibility' constructed through media discourses were associated with the king's invitation to support the issue: 'especially after the call of the king for the cooperation of the efforts to find Fatima and fight child abuse'; 'As a response to the king's call for intensifying the efforts to find

Fatima'; 'especially after the king's call to support the issue'. Therefore, the question of the function of participation and social support to the issue should be raised: Are these entities supporting the campaign because they believe in their responsibility towards the issue, or to have the social image of being responsible and to assign themselves with the powerful political agent? As discussed in the chapter about the history and sociology of communication and media in the Arab Gulf, participation in the Arabic culture was derived from the notion of 'social responsibility' as an important Islamic theme of Arabic communication ethics rather than as a means to achieve specific goals. However, the use of the notion of 'social responsibility' in the Bahraini media discourses was functional to promote the image of being responsible. For example, Basima Al-Khassab, columnist, wrote:

All the individual efforts paid by Bahrain Women Society to increase social awareness towards the issue had limited effect on attracting media to cover the issue sufficiently... however, as soon as the prime minister gave his orders to intensify the efforts to find the child, media started covering the issue... If the prime minister hadn't announced his support of the case, the media wouldn't have covered the issue... We should interact honestly with our human issues, instead of showing off (Al-Ayam, 12-9-2002).

The previous discourse raised the ethical issues of participation through calling for honest notions of participation and social responsibility: 'We should interact honestly with our human issues'. The collective pronouns 'we' and 'our' were used to involve the society in the issue. The adverb 'honestly' and the phrase 'human issues' were used to imply the need for raising the ethical function of social responsibility. Moreover, several media discourses started to construct Fatima's case as a public opinion case and to urge social participation. For instance:

Dr Soroor Gharooni, the manager of Be Free, called intellectuals, writers, civil associations, and voluntary associations to participate in their religious, ethical

mission by cooperating to find Fatima. This call aims to increase awareness and social responsibility through a big national campaign that everyone in the society could participate in (Al-Ayam, 9-9-2002; Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 9-9-2002).

[...], the Minister of Interior, stressed that the police's efforts are continuous to find Fatima who has become a public opinion case and the case of every Bahraini. He said that everyone should participate in this human issue... (Al-Ayam, 13-9-2002; Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 13-9-2002).

In the previous discourses, the issue was constructed as a 'human issue' and participation was encouraged and described as a 'religious, ethical mission'. This can be connected to the Islamic perspective of social change that enhances social responsibility. The notion of collective participation was emphasised again: 'everyone in the society could participate'; 'Fatima who has become a public opinion case and the case of every Bahraini'; 'everyone should participate in this human issue'. However, although the writers of the previous discourses called for social responsibility and participation, they did not explain how participation could be achieved or provide resources for the society to participate. This approach might result in blaming the society rather than encouraging participation in social change.

Jomannah Awadah, journalist, raised the question of participation and access to resources to social change in her column:

Why do we start writing about Fatima's case after seven months of her escape? The society did not interact with the issue in the first months of her loss. Now, everyone is interacting with the case and feels sorry for the child. But everyone is wondering what he/she could do... Most of the people think that the best thing they could do is informing the police if they saw the child. But is the society playing its sufficient role towards the issue? We might not know what we could do for Fatima or her family, but there is a lot everyone should do regarding the issue. There is a need for a national action... (Al-Ayam, 5-10-2002).

The discourse started with a question to involve the reader with the issue. Present tense was used in the discourse to emphasise the lack of resources to social change: 'everyone is interacting with the case and feels sorry for the child. But everyone is wondering what he/she could do'; 'We might not know what we could do for Fatima or her family, but there is a lot everyone should do regarding the issue'; 'There is a need for a national action'. The discourse stresses again social responsibility using some phrases such as: 'everyone'; 'there is a lot everyone should do'.

Furthermore, after the support of the issue by powerful agents, several media discourses moved to construct Fatima's case as a symbol of hidden child abuse cases in Bahrain:

The escape of Fatima leads us to raise the case of children in Bahrain... An increasing number of children are victims of physical and sexual abuse with the absence of sufficient legislations to protect children. The result is that other children will suffer like Fatima... Instead of discussing the reasons that caused Fatima to escape, we should study the status of children in Bahrain and work to improve legislative punishments for child abusers... (Al-Ayam, 11-10-2002).

The writer suggested moving from discussing the individual case of Fatima to raise the problem of child abuse and neglect in Bahrain. Present tense was used to imply high modality: 'The escape of Fatima leads us to raise the case of children in Bahrain'; 'An increasing number of children are victims of physical and sexual abuse'; 'The result is that other children will suffer like Fatima'. The writer used the collective pronouns 'we' and 'us' to imply involvement in social responsibility and participation.

In addition, a number of columnists moved from discussing the case of Fatima to raise child abuse and neglect in Bahrain. For example,

The case of Fatima, the lost child, has got more attention after the adoption of the king and discussing it on TV. It is an opportunity to raise child abuse and neglect problems... (Teflah Al-Khalifa, Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 12-9-2002).

Fatima's case should encourage a national strategy to protect children from abuse and neglect. We need to study child abuse and neglect in Bahrain, and what have been done to protect children from abuse and neglect by governmental and voluntary associations. Is the current system protecting our children from abuse and neglect? Are laws regarding child protection applied in Bahrain? (Dr Maryam Hirmiss, Akhbar Al-Khaleeg, 18-9-2002).

Fatima is an abused child, but there are many other big cases of child abuse... Fatima is lost, but have we heard before about any lost child? We should admit that there are other stories and other abused children (Saeed Mohammad, Al-Ayam, 1-10-2002).

Again, the previous discourses encouraged raising the issue of child abuse and neglect in Bahrain using present tense to state the problem: 'The case of Fatima, the lost child, has got more attention'; 'It is an opportunity to raise child abuse and neglect problems'; 'We need to study child abuse and neglect in Bahrain'; 'Fatima is an abused child, but there are many other big cases of child abuse'; 'there are other stories and other abused children'. The discourses used several questions to involve the reader in the problem: 'Is the current system protecting our children from abuse and neglect?'; 'Are laws regarding child protection applied in Bahrain?'; 'have we heard before about any lost child?' Besides, modals were used to emphasise the necessity for a national support and action: 'Fatima's case should encourage a national strategy to protect children from abuse and neglect'; 'We should admit that there are other stories and other abused children'. Collective pronouns such as 'we' and 'us' were used as well to involve the reader in the notions of social responsibility and participation.

To sum up, the print media discourse of Be Free's campaign showed the correlation between agency and participation. Bahrain Women Society as a voluntary social agent failed to encourage participation alone. Therefore, it called for the support of other powerful agents of social change. As soon as the issue was associated with other

powerful agents of social change such as the king and the prime minister, it started to be positioned heavily in the media, which raises the question of the function of the media coverage of the issue. The notion of social responsibility in the print media discourses was functional to encourage participation. However, the discourses failed to go beyond calling for participation and social responsibility towards empowering the community through offering access to resources of social change. In the next section, further discussion will be presented about the role of the communication techniques used by the project in facilitating community empowerment and the extent to which the target audiences felt empowered.

The question of community empowerment:

After analysing how communication techniques were used by the communication planners in the project in relation to the notions of participation and empowerment, this section aims to discuss how these techniques were regarded from the multiple perspectives of journalists, activists and the target audiences and the extent to which they felt empowered. As discussed in the previous section, interpersonal and media discourses failed to move from using persuasive techniques towards providing the target audiences with access to resources. The team emphasised that the key challenge they have faced as a voluntary project has been the lack of financial resources: 'As a voluntary project, we lack sufficient financial resources' (5-7-2004). Several participants in the focus groups explained that the project has suffered from the lack of financial support: 'The project is long-term but it lacks financial support'; 'The project doesn't have individual location or full-time specialists as all the members of the project's team are volunteers and have their own full-time jobs' (Focus group 3, 27-1-2005).

As discussed in Chapter 4 'The History and Sociology of Media & Public Communication Campaigns in the Arab Gulf', the lack of resources that would enable the society to participate in social change was one of the major barriers facing voluntary associations in the Arab Gulf (Hamza, 1983; Rashid, 1990). It was argued that there had been a lack in the resources in the field of communication planning in the Arab Gulf such as the few numbers of buildings for these associations and the few numbers of specialists, besides the lack of training programmes (Hamza, 1983, 135-136). Several research participants attributed the limited role of the communication project in facilitating social participation to its lack of financial resources. For example, one of the parents said: 'I think the impact of the project in encouraging the participation of the Bahraini society is still limited, and needs time and resources to achieve change' (Focus group 5, 30-1-2005). Samah Allam, journalist in the family section, indicated,

Be Free hasn't achieved the aimed impact yet, because a national umbrella is needed to adopt the issue. Cooperation is needed to achieve community participation. The problem is that Be Free is a voluntary project that is limited by few human and financial resources (3-8-2004).

Moreover, various journalists and activists explained that it is difficult to look at the project in isolation of all the social, political and economic surrounding factors. They argued that such a social change project needs time to move from breaking the silence towards effectiveness. For example, Dr Bannah Bu-Zaboon, psychiatrist and activist in domestic violence, expressed,

All communication projects need time to achieve impact. We couldn't evaluate Be Free in isolation of all the efforts paid at the same field. All of these efforts play together an important role in the long run (9-10-2004).

In addition, some activists called for a cooperative national entity to support the project financially and provide the target audiences with resources to social change. For instance, Wafa Al-Hellaw, lawyer and activist, highlighted that,

Implementing social change needs long time to be achieved. I'm optimistic that there would be some social change, because people nowadays are more aware of the problem. But, there is still no considerable impact, because human development usually needs long time to be achieved. I think in few years the impact of such a project will be more vivid. Bahraini society starts discussing the issue, which is the beginning for social change. Be Free project is discussing the problem...the Children Protection Committee at the Ministry of Health and other governmental associations are arranging workshops and conferences. However, all the efforts are scattering; we need a national strategy to achieve a considerable impact (4-9-2004).

This discussion emphasises the role of cooperation in encouraging social participation in the issue through providing the project with access to resources.

The team explained that they have faced several challenges to get access to schools, especially at the beginning of the project. Dr Gharooni explained,

When we started our programme, we targeted the Ministry of Education to approve a scheduled plan to give our workshops for school students. However, we faced many difficulties and our plan wasn't approved. But nowadays, schools' managers themselves are calling us to visit them and give workshops for children. We can't go to any school without an invitation of the school itself because we don't want to go through bureaucratic complexities with the Ministry of Education (5-6-2004).

The team emphasised that the voluntary project lacked sufficient resources such as providing access to training workshops:

We targeted the Ministry of Education to construct scheduled curricula to teach children basic skills, but there is no assigned budget or staff to train children. It really needs support from powerful people in charge (5-7-2004).

This argument was enhanced by a number of journalists and activists who emphasised the need to provide children with access to training courses through a comprehensive curriculum to train children basic skills to prevent them from abuse. Besides, several children enhanced the importance of improving school curricula to include children rights and basic life skills (Focus group 1, 11-12-2004; Focus group 3, 27-1-2005).

In addition, while the project used primary prevention intervention to increase social awareness at the community level, the team explained that the legal system is still short of protecting abused children. Dr Gharooney said,

There're many difficulties in applying legislative laws regarding child abuse. We have many laws, but they're not implemented in practice. There's no authority in Bahrain that could help the child if the family preferred to keep silent (5-6-2004).

Salwa Al-Moayad, writer and the head of Cultural Committee at Bahraini Association for Childhood Development, stressed, 'The problem is that until now we don't have a law or authority to take the child from his/her family if they abuse him/her' (1-9-2004). Other activists and journalists argued that the project was limited to educational workshops and could not achieve change at the community level. For example, Lamees Dhayf, journalist, explained,

I don't think Be Free has succeeded to achieve social change in the Bahraini society, because we couldn't promote social change in isolation of legislation. I think until now the laws cannot protect children. Even if the project encouraged children to talk, their witness wouldn't be considered as evidence. Even if sexual child abuse has been proved, the abuser will be imprisoned for only few years, which is insufficient. Any communication project wouldn't achieve social change if it's not supported by legislation (26-8-2004).

Various interviewed target audiences argued that such a communication project could not be looked at in isolation of legislation: 'Be Free is a good project, but I think it's insufficient as it should be connected to legislation, and should have authority to help abused children' (Focus group 4, 28-1-2005); 'The problem is that our legislations are insufficient and need to be improved, besides the lack of an entity that has the right to adopt abused children and help them overcome the problem' (Focus group 3, 27-1-2005). One of the activists emphasised the role of the social climate change in Bahrain accompanied with the economic change in supporting legislative change, 'I think the new social and political development in Bahrain would encourage legislative change' (3-8-2004).

The team explained that they are still working to provide abused children with access to treatment through establishing a healing centre in the future. Tones emphasised the importance of creating healthy public policy in order to change adverse environments through lobbying and advocacy (Tones, 2001, 8). Although the team stressed the importance of establishing relationships with various partners in Bahrain, the absence of public relations departments in the project made it difficult to advocate for environmental and legislative change. This emphasises the role of public relations as a relationship building function in community participation. It is difficult to 'empower' the target audiences to participate in social change without creating supportive environment and providing them with access to resources.

It is questionable if all the target audiences have access to the project or to the information provided through its on-line site or interpersonal activities. Sanders and Cann argued that in the field of child abuse prevention, a 'public health perspective should be adopted to ensure that all families have access to parenting information and support from the services they use on a regular basis' (Sanders & Cann, 2002, 148). Abdul-Nabey Al-Akrey, activist and researcher in children rights laws, criticised,

I think the project conveys its messages to only the elites by focusing on on-line communication. Many children don't have access to the Internet; therefore, they are excluded from the project's messages. I think the project should increase its activities at schools, mosques and public places (11-10-2004).

One of the children emphasised the importance of getting access to the project's activities: 'It is essential to target as many children as possible... many of my friends don't know about the project' (Focus group 3, 27-1-2005). However, the team explained, 'Our limited access to schools made us target only 2900 children through our interpersonal workshops'. Moreover, the project did not address the problems of very young children such as toddlers and infants because of its limited resources. The focus

of the project on interpersonal activities made its impact limited to the children and parents who would attend these activities. One of the children stressed,

Be Free is a good project, and its website has very useful tips for parents and children. But, many people don't know about the project. It's because not everyone has access to Internet, and there's no advertising for its activities because of its limited resources (Focus group 3, 27-1-2005).

This could be connected to the phenomenon of 'community elite' identified by Bracht and Tsouros (1990) to refer to those who might be promoting themselves into the position of power (cited in Haggart, 2000, 17). Haggart explained that it is a challenging task to gain the involvement of all people and not just a vocal minority (Ibid.). One of the parents said, 'I think Be Free is a good project, but many people don't know about it... most of the people attending its activities are those who are interested in children rights' (Focus group 5, 30-1-2005). This goes along with Al Gammal's argument that voluntary associations suffered from their limited role in society as they lacked public participation and instead were limited to the individual involvement of specific elites (cited in Sheker, 1998, 47). This emphasises the need for facilitating community empowerment through providing the target audiences with access to resources to facilitate social participation.

Some of the children in the focus groups who did not attend the project's activities said that they have not heard about the project before. They explained that many people do not have access to the project. One of the children said,

I heard about Be Free, but I never attended any of its activities. So, it hasn't affected me. I think we need this kind of projects, but Be Free doesn't have resources to convey its messages to all the Bahraini society (Focus group 3, 27-1-2005).

This discussion could be related to Namer's argument that the limited local participation in voluntary programmes in Arab countries was because they used mainly interpersonal activities and fell short of using media channels (Namer, 1985, 227). He explained that

the limited media relations established by voluntary associations resulted in the fact that the target public of these associations were only the people who would attend these events, while not all the public in the society had access to these activities (Ibid.). Again, this problem might be a result of the lack of specialised public relations departments in voluntary associations, which emphasises the role of public relations as an advocacy function in community empowerment.

One of the journalists argued that the project would risk having unexpected consequences such as increasing fear by promoting social change without providing children with supportive environment through developing legislation and access to services. She explained,

I'm wondering who should be free! I think the project would risk that the abused child might end up feeling lost between the messages that encourage him/her to be free, and his/her family or society that abuse him/her. As long as the child is treated as one of the possessions of the family, it is dangerous to ask the child to be free without the environmental support of his/her rights (18-7-2004).

The failure of the communication programme to provide the target audiences with sufficient resources might result in victim blaming. It was emphasised that without ensuring the provision of the resources to the community as a whole, 'community development approaches to health promotion would fail to address power imbalances and possibly exacerbate the situation, by encouraging victim blaming where the victim is the whole community' (Carey, 2000, 42). For instance, in the project, parents might end up blaming themselves for their children's problems if they were not provided with adequate training programmes that would help them improve their behaviour. Moreover, urging children to acquire self-confidence to protect them from being abused by their families with the absence of a legislative body that would support them would result in victim blaming.

Therefore, individual empowerment is insufficient to achieve social change as it should be supported with community empowerment through developing legislations and affording access to resources. The key implication of this discussion is that public relations as a relationship-management function could play a significant role in achieving community empowerment in the project through developing media advocacy and lobbying for legislative change. This supports Vujnovic and Kruckeberg's 'organic theory' of public relations ethics in the Arab World where the organisation is an organ and society is a body as a whole (2005, 340). This theory stresses the relational paradigm of the role of public relations in the Arab World. Although the team realised the significance of building relationships with the Bahraini society to facilitate participation and empowerment, the key barrier was the lack of financial resources that resulted in the absence of public relations specialists in the project.

Conclusion:

This chapter offers in-depth empirical data about the process and role of communication in the case study of Be Free, the voluntary anti-child abuse project in Bahrain. It presents detailed discussion of the role of media, political, economic, social and cultural factors in the launch and implementation of the project, the planning and evaluation processes in the project, and the extent to which participation and empowerment were facilitated. Then, it provides qualitative analysis of the communication techniques used in the project and how these techniques were regarded from the perspectives of journalists, activists and the target audiences in relation to the concepts of 'participation' and 'empowerment'. This chapter contributes to the broad aim of the thesis to study the role of public communication approaches in facilitating participation and empowerment in the Arab Gulf societies. The main conclusions and

implications of this case are summarised in this section and compared with the findings of the previous chapter.

Taboo communication and the tendency to 'reframe' the issue

Along with the first case, the rapid economic and social development in the Arab Gulf has increased the need for communication to deal with several social problems. Several participants claimed that child abuse has been a result of the loss of conservative values accompanied with modernisation. Other interviewees argued that the problem of child abuse existed a long time ago, but globalisation and development have opened up the sphere to raise sensitive issues. The team explained that they sought to 'reframe' the taboo issue through relating it to cultural and Islamic values in order to be accepted by the Bahraini society. In the two cases, the projects used a 'conservative' approach to social change through reframing the issue to overcome denial and silence. The key implication of this finding is the correlation between public communication and cultural considerations in the two cases. In other words, communication could not play a role in social change in isolation of the environmental and cultural norms. Therefore, a conservative perspective of social change was developed in the two cases.

The role of political change in the launch of the voluntary project

The launch of the voluntary project in Bahrain was a result of the political change accompanied with the issue of the National Action Charter in Bahrain. Various interviewees explained that the launch of the National Charter resulted in the increase of the voluntary social and political associations in Bahrain. As a result, political change played a role in opening up the public sphere for various voices to appear through voluntary organisations. The voluntary project could contribute to the public sphere

through its attempt to encourage participation in social change. While Ghiras was launched by the powerful Kuwaiti government, the voluntary project was launched by a disadvantaged group with limited resources. Unpaid communication played a significant role in the voluntary organisation that lacked resources to hire communication specialists or to use advertising. Apart from the impact such a project could achieve in facilitating social change, the public communication of the voluntary project helps to widen the public sphere.

Management processes and the role of public relations

While Ghiras reduced public relations to a technique in support of marketing, the voluntary project failed to hire public relations or public communication specialists because of its limited resources. The failure of the project to establish a specialised public relations department resulted in a lack of systematic planning as every member of the team was involved in planning, implementing, and evaluating the activities. Moreover, there were no measurable objectives or well-scheduled benchmarking. This could be connected to the existing Arabic research that criticised the lack of comprehensive planning in public campaigns implemented by voluntary associations in the Arab Gulf (Namer, 1985, 227; Rashid, 1990, 66; Mathnaney, 1994, 11). Besides, although the team used evaluation after every activity, there was an absence of systematic evaluation. Despite the ongoing evaluation conducted by the team, the failure to assign measurable objectives at the first place made the notion of 'success' in the case tricky and difficult to be measured.

The absence of public relations in the project resulted in limited relationship with the Bahraini media. Several target audiences argued that the relationship between voluntary associations and the media has been restricted. Moreover, some of them said that they

had not heard about the project before and that the project should pay more efforts to position its activities in the media. The limited relationship between voluntary associations and media was one of the barriers highlighted by several studies in the Arabic literature (Al Kater, 1993; Hamza, 1983; Mathnaney, 1994). Moreover, the lack of comprehensive advocacy and lobbying for legislative and structural change could be attributed as well to the absence of public relations in the project. The lack of public relations specialists that would position the project's activities in the media and advocate for collective change resulted in the use of traditional interpersonal communication approaches with little media relations. The key implication of this discussion is the essential role of public relations as a relationship-building through establishing relationships with key publics of the project. Several research participants in the case emphasised the need for public communication 'to build relationships', and 'to cooperate with other entities'. This is derived from the Arabic roots of communication as relationship-building. However, finance was the key barrier to hiring public communication specialists.

The functional use of the notions of social responsibility and participation

The notion of 'social responsibility' was referred to by the team as the key motive for the launch of the voluntary project. It goes along with the history of voluntarism in the Arab Gulf that emphasises the role of community in social change and enhances the Islamic ethics of social responsibility and collectivism. However, along with the first case, the notion of 'social responsibility' was used in the media discourses of the project either to blame the target audiences or to promote positive image of several organisations that were constructed through these discourses to be 'responsible'. The use

of the notion of social responsibility in the Bahraini media discourses was functional to promote the image of being responsible.

Moreover, although the writers of the media discourses called for social responsibility and participation, they did not explain how they could be achieved or provide resources for the society to participate. This approach might result in blaming the society rather than encouraging participation. For instance, in *Be Free*, parents might end up blaming themselves for their children's problems if they were not provided with adequate training programmes that would help them improve their behaviour. Along with the first case, the key implication of this discussion is that it is important to study the notions of social responsibility and participation in relation to the concept of community empowerment that assumes that providing the target audiences with access to resources will facilitate participative social change.

Agency in the print media, agenda setting, and public sphere

The hierarchy of power has a key role in the media coverage of the issue in Bahraini newspapers. It is interesting in the print media critical reading of one of the project's campaigns that the change of the communication agents resulted in the change of the media coverage of the issue. The adoption of the campaign by powerful political figures in Bahrain such as the King and the Prime Minister resulted in a considerable increase in the quantity of media coverage of the issue. Moreover, various groups and entities in Bahrain started to write about the issue. The change of agency from the disadvantaged voluntary project to powerful political figures in Bahrain set the problem of child abuse to be a significant issue in the media agenda. This could be connected to the argument that participation could be encouraged through agenda setting by raising issues in order to facilitate decision making about policy matters and lay foundations for legislative

change (Tones & Tilford, 2003, 98-99). The adoption of the issue by powerful figures in Bahrain urged many entities and individuals to claim their participation in dealing with the problem. Although the use of the notion of 'participation' was functional in the print media discourses, setting the issue in the media agenda helped broaden the notion of public sphere where various groups and entities had their voices positioned through the media.

The role of persuasion and education in empowerment

Interpersonal communication was the key technique used by the project's team because of their limited resources. Various communication approaches were interrelated in interpersonal communication such as persuasion, education, and empowerment approaches. The communication approaches of persuasion and education were used in the case as means of individual empowerment. The team argued that they used public education approach to 'empower' the community. Besides, it was observed in several activities implemented by Be Free that the team used mainly psychological/persuasive approaches to involve the public in the project's activities such as narrating realistic stories and examples, using simple language, visuals, gestures, eye contact and voice tone. However, along with the first case, the individual empowerment approaches could not be looked at as completely pure ethical approaches in the project without ensuring that the target audiences were provided with access to resources. The key implication of this discussion is that persuasion and education approaches will have a limited role in empowering the key target audiences if they are not accompanied with community empowerment.

The role of communication in community empowerment

The team explained that the key barrier the project faced was its limited budget that made it difficult for it to move from psychological communication approaches towards providing the target audiences with access to resources. This goes along with Al Gammal's argument that voluntary associations suffered from their restricted role in the Arabic society because they were limited to the individual involvement of specific elites and lacked public participation (cited in Sheker, 1998, 47). The question of participation could not be separated from the question of access to resources. Public communication played a limited role in encouraging community participation in the project because it failed to advocate for legislative change or to lobby for getting access to resources. Moreover, the project fell short of establishing social coalitions because of its limited media relations and lobbying skills. This discussion goes along with the findings of the first case study that there should be a move from focusing on the persuasion role of public communication to include its advocacy/relationship-management function to achieve community empowerment.

To sum up, this case suggests a shift from focusing on the individual level of public communication to look at its role in creating supportive environment for participative social change. Various research participants in the case emphasised the need for communication 'to build relationships'. This is derived from the Arabic roots of public communication as a relationship-building function. However, the lack of financial resources in the case impeded the practice of public relations as 'relationship-building'. Key conclusions and implications of the empirical data discussed in the thesis three findings chapters will be discussed in the next chapter. The final chapter aims at highlighting the most important theoretical findings of the thesis and to develop original theoretical implications and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS & IMPLICATIONS

INTRODUCTION:

The key contribution of this thesis has been that it develops a greater understanding of alternative cultural context through providing rich empirical research of two case studies in the Arab Gulf. This might contribute to the adaptations of existing theory and therefore a first step towards developing new models. The thesis has addressed the considerable gap in the existing Arabic research and the Western centric literature through its large empirical scope and its relevance for media, public relations, and social marketing theory and practice.

This chapter consists of three sections. The first section generates a summary of the key findings of the thesis in relation to the thesis objectives. It proceeds to present new insights on the notion of 'social change' in the Arab Gulf cases and provides understanding of 'relational' and 'persuasion' approaches in Arabic communication ethics. The second section aims to link the thesis empirical findings with appropriate theoretical models through the applications of some communication models discussed earlier (Chapter 2 'Public Communication Campaigns: Key Concepts & Cases' pp. 8-70) to the Arab Gulf cases. The third section provides the theoretical implications of the thesis and offers some recommendations for further research.

Summary of key findings:

This thesis offers in-depth empirical data on the role of public communication approaches in social change in two Arab Gulf cases. As noted in the 'Introduction of the Thesis' chapter pp. 4-5, the thesis aims to provide new insights into the notion of 'social change' and to generate new understanding of persuasive and relational approaches used in two Arab Gulf cases in relation to Arabic communication ethics.

The thesis finds that Arabic culture has played a significant role in the practice of public communication in the Arab Gulf cases. To begin with, the qualitative findings of this research relate the notion of 'social change' in two Arab Gulf case studies to Arabic ethics and culture. The Arab Gulf societies are unique because they retain their Islamic conservative norms on one hand, and yet they have developed economic and technological structure and got access to global media and brands on the other hand. The notion of social change is challenging in the Arab Gulf societies as although the Arab Gulf societies moved from tribalism towards modern lifestyle, cultural values are still strong. For example, people started to wear international brands and eat international food, women started to work in several areas, and people could get access to international media through TV cable channels and Internet. However, the Arabic cultural traditions are still strong such as the value and authority of the family.

Public communication in this context has been part of this culture. For example, there are still many cultural taboos such as talking about real cases of sexual child abuse and drugs addiction in the case studies. Thus, the communication projects had to work in the zone of these tensions and consequently attempted to re-frame the issues to fit with the cultural values by enhancing the importance of these values. The two cases illustrate how Arabic societies have adapted to deal with their social problems utilising Arabic ethics and Islamic values of social responsibility and working for the community.

In addition, the thesis provides new insights on relational thinking in the Arab Gulf cases that stresses again the role of Arabic culture. It has been argued that relational approach in the Arab Gulf is derived from the Islamic culture that emphasises that the society should participate in social change. Although there is a realisation of the importance of building relationships with the society, public relations was still practised as a technical tool of social change in the two Arab Gulf cases. Besides, the projects fell short of using lobbying and advocacy skills to generate legislative or structural change. The lack of financial resources was found to be the key barrier that impeded the practice of public relations as a relationship-management. Moreover, the social marketing programme was limited to the technical use of communication, while it lacked strategic planning. This can be related to the history of public programmes in the Arab Gulf that failed to establish strategic planning. Hence, further research should study the characteristics of relational paradigm in the Arab Gulf and the obstacles that obstructed the strategic management function of public relations and social marketing in other cases in the Arab Gulf.

Furthermore, the thesis generates a new perspective of the concept of 'persuasion' in the two Arab Gulf cases based on Arabic cultural ethics. This perspective assumed that persuasion approaches are acceptable if they are intended for the good of the society. In other words, from an Arabic point of view, 'persuasion' can be ethical if it is used for improving the society. While in the Western literature persuasion was associated with the history of propaganda and manipulation in the USA, it is connected in the Arabic culture to the Islamic call to 'invite the individuals for the good of the society'. From Western social marketing and public relations perspectives, the autonomy of the individuals is crucial to achieve ethical communication. On the other hand, the good of

the community is more important than the autonomy of the individuals from an Arabic communication ethics viewpoint.

The thesis argues that since the Arabic culture favours the interest of the community to the autonomy of individuals, community empowerment is especially relevant. It suggests that Arabic communication discourse ethics should connect the notion of 'community participation' and 'social responsibility' in the Arabic communication discourses to the notion of 'community empowerment'. Whereas the paradox between the persuasive nature of health promotion and community empowerment was raised in the Western literature, persuasion was used as a means of empowerment in the two Arab Gulf cases. Persuasion approaches were used to call for participation in the two projects. While this call seems paradoxical from a Western perspective, persuasion is acceptable in the Arabic culture if it is used for the good of the society. In the two cases, 'persuasion/publicity' approaches were used to build relationships with the society. This original Arabic-oriented definition of 'persuasion' provided by the thesis suggests that persuasion could play a role in the relational paradigm in the Arab Gulf cases. Arabic culture and ethics had a major impact on the role and practice of public communication approaches in the cases under review.

Adaptations of communication models to the cases:

After providing a summary of the main findings of the thesis, this section attempts to relate these findings to appropriate theoretical models. It aims to adapt relevant communication models to the empirical Arab Gulf cases. As discussed in the 'Introduction of the Thesis' pp. 5-6, there is a considerable gap in the literature in studying communication models in non-Western cultures. Thus, this section contributes to the thesis objective to link empirical research to appropriate theoretical concepts and

models in order to offer understanding on the role of media, PR, persuasion & relational approaches in facilitating participation and empowerment. It attempts to make sense of a different cultural context and to identify some of the crucial factors of the practice and role of public communication in the Arab Gulf. It presents adaptations of the centrifugal/centripetal model of media effects, the uses and gratifications model of media, the model of organisational subsystems and of the location of the public relations subsystem, and the empowerment model to the Arab Gulf cases. Finally, the metaphor of a palm tree is used to explain the role of persuasive communication and public relations in facilitating participative social change in the Arab Gulf.

Adaptation of media centrifugal/centripetal model

Figure 7.1 attempts to adapt the centrifugal/centripetal model of societal media effect discussed earlier in Chapter 2 'Public Communication Campaigns: Key Concepts & Debates' pp. 13-14. This model is selected to bring better understanding of the role of media in the Arab Gulf societies. Figure 7.1 relates the images of societal effect from mass media (indicated in the original model) to the findings of the two case studies. The value of this model is that it presents the optimistic and pessimistic visions of the role of media in participative social change in the two Arab Gulf cases.

This model shows that there is an opportunity for freedom, change and diversity through the competition of satellite channels and new media. On the other hand, the barrier of dominance, uniformity and conformity exist through the dominance of authorisation theory and the power of economic and political elites. The thesis demonstrates the influence of social, economic, and environmental factors on the role of media in social change in the two cases in the Arab Gulf. As it is shown in Figure 7.1, there is a tendency to move from authorisation media model where political and

economic elite have power on the media to a wider public sphere of diversity, especially with the competition of satellite channels and new media in the Arab Gulf societies. However, several interviewees explained that the Arab Gulf governments still have power on the media and this change is limited and needs time to take place. Therefore, the role of media in facilitating participation in social change is still restricted.

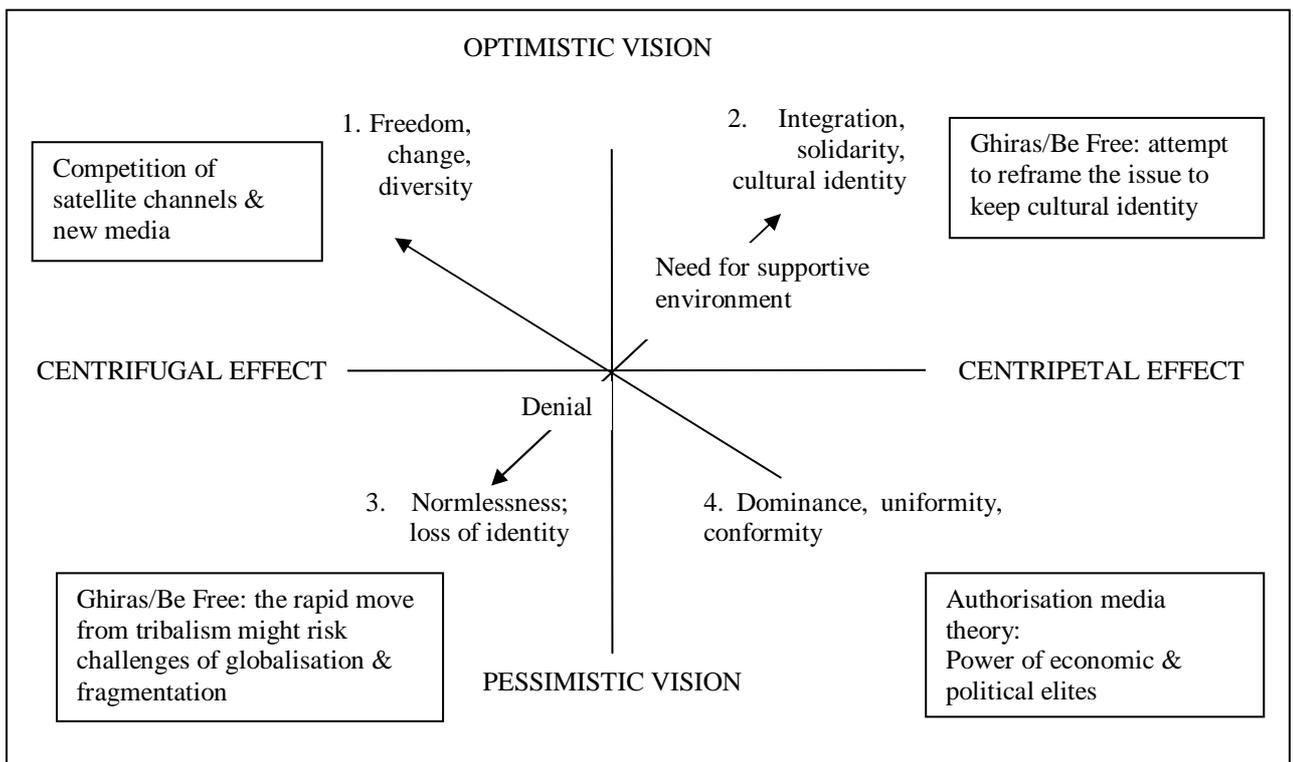


Figure 7.1: Adaptation of centrifugal/centripetal model (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, 129): four images of societal effect from mass media in two case studies in the Arab Gulf

As for cultural identity, the shift from tribalism to globalisation and modernisation could risk the loss of cultural identity (Figure 7.1). Modernisation and globalisation are the key cultural factors in the history of social change in the Arab Gulf societies that moved from tribalism towards modern lifestyle. Several research participants in the two cases argued that rapid social and economic development in the Arab Gulf could be looked at as either a negative cause of the problem or as a supportive factor to break the

culture of silence and to raise the sensitive issues. Globalisation was regarded by several research participants to be a reason of many social problems resulting from cultural conflict and fragmentation. On the other hand, the social development brought by globalisation helped to raise some sensitive issues. The fact that the two projects started from cultural denial enhanced the role of mass communication to create a supportive environment in the Arab Gulf societies (Figure 7.1).

Some research participants argued that rapid development, diversity, and globalisation might risk fragmentation and loss of identity. Therefore, the projects attempted to achieve integration and cultural identity through reframing the issues in the media to retain cultural identity. In the two cases, various interviewees emphasised the role media should play in keeping cultural identity and integration. In other words, both projects used a 'conservative approach' to social change through emphasising the Islamic values of integration, social responsibility, and the role of family and community in social change. The use of the Islamic principles of participation and social responsibility was functional in the two cases to 'reframe' the taboo topics to be public issues and to broaden the definition of the public who could participate in social change.

Figure 7.1 shows the risk of the loss of identity brought by rapid development and globalisation in the Arab Gulf on one hand, and the use of 'conservative approach' in the two cases to keep cultural identity in the Arab Gulf societies on the other hand. This model was adapted to enhance the unique characteristics of the role of media in the Arab Gulf cases. It demonstrates the role of media in societies that moved rapidly from tribalism towards modernism and the risk of fragmentation and conflict between globalisation and Islamic cultural identity. Besides, globalisation and competition of new media and open satellite channels have made it crucial for the media system in the

Arab Gulf to move from the dominant theory model where the power is flowing from above towards a more open sphere of community participation. The need for a supportive environment is added to this adapted model.

Adaptation of media uses and gratifications model

Figures 7.2 and 7.3 are the adaptations of the basic formula of the uses and gratifications model discussed in Chapter 2 'Public Communication Campaigns: Key Concepts & Debates', pp. 14-15 (cited in McQuail & Windahl, 1993, 134). These adapted figures draw on the same structure used in the original model and add the implication of this model on each case study. The importance of these adapted models is that they contribute to the thesis objective to study the role of media in participative social change from the perspectives of activists and target audiences. They show the positive and negative impact of the uses of media in the two Arab Gulf case studies.

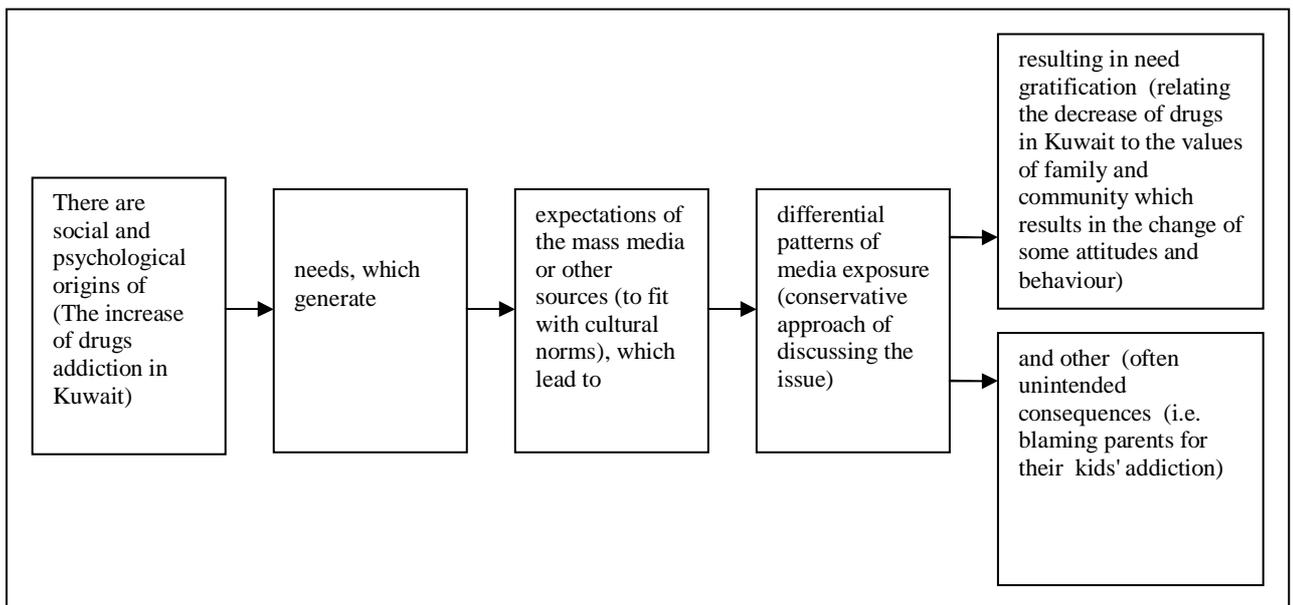


Figure 7.2: The adaptation of the uses and gratifications approach: basic formula on the case study of Ghiras (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, 134; based on Blumler and Katz's articles, 1974).

Figure 7.2 shows the social need for discussing hidden problems after the move of the Kuwaiti society from tribalism towards modernisation. There has been an expectation that mass media could play a role to deal with social problems, but at the same time to respect the conservative values of the Islamic community. Ghiras attempted to fulfil the needs of the Kuwaiti society through using a conservative approach to social change. The project relates the decrease of drugs in Kuwait to the Islamic values of family and community. Although some participants explained that the project has changed some of their attitudes and behaviour towards drugs, the failure to provide the target audiences with access to training programmes might result in adverse effects such as blaming parents for their kids' addiction.

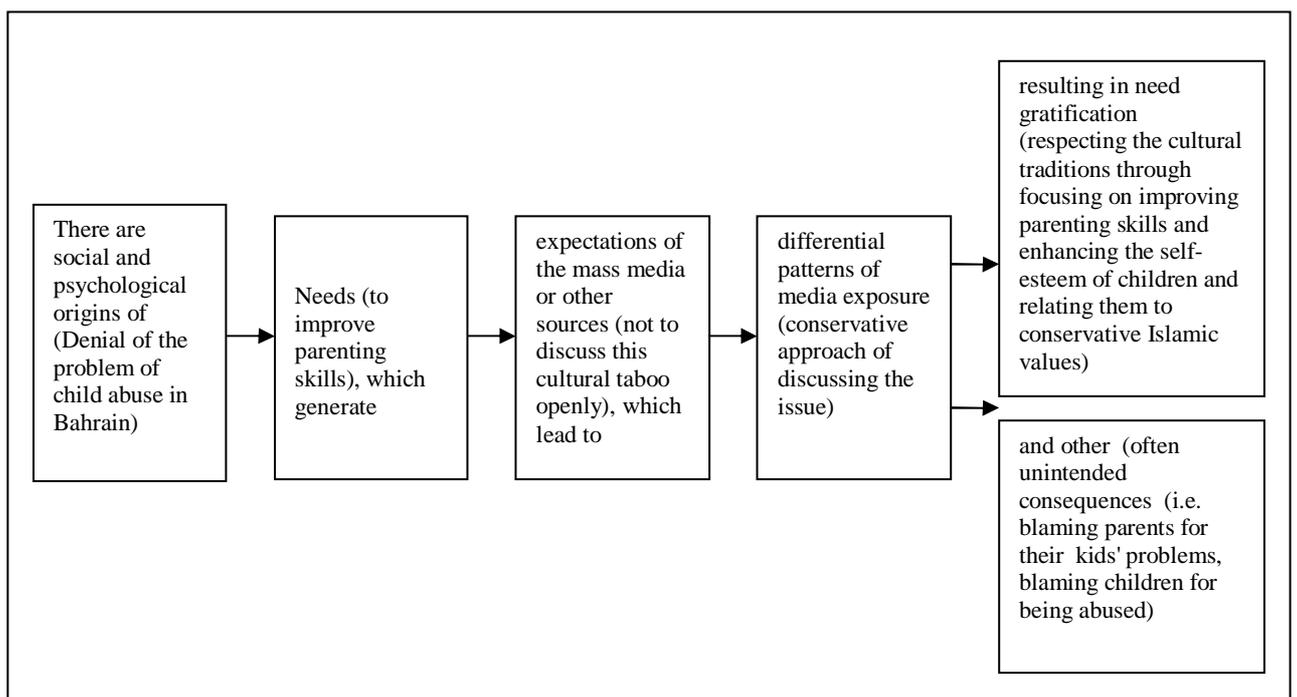


Figure 7.3: The adaptation of the uses and gratifications approach: basic formula on the case study of Be Free (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, 134; based on Blumler and Katz's articles, 1974).

Figure 7.3 illustrates that although several target audiences in the second case explained that there is a need to improve parenting skills, there is a denial towards the

problem of child abuse that is considered as a taboo in Bahrain. Therefore, there is an expectation that media will not discuss this cultural taboo openly to respect the values of the society. The team used a conservative approach to social change through focusing on improving parenting skills and enhancing the self-esteem of children instead of referring to child abuse directly. However, some interviewees indicated that this approach might end up with unintended effects such as blaming the parents for their kids' problems or blaming the children for being abused. To sum up, the uses of media to promote participation in social change in the two case studies were limited to a conservative approach that takes into account the needs of the Arab Gulf societies to keep cultural traditions.

Adaptation of the organisational subsystems model

The adaptation of centrifugal/centripetal model of media effects and media uses and gratifications model to the Arab Gulf cases helps to link empirical research to media theory in an alternative cultural context. After discussing the role of media in facilitating participative social change in the two cases, this section highlights the role of public relations in the projects. Figures 7.4 and 7.5 are the adaptations of the model of organisational subsystems and of the location of the public relations subsystem (Adapted from Grunig & Hunt, 1984) to the Arab Gulf cases. The selection of this model is to illustrate the role of public relations in the management of the projects. The location of public relations in this model has been customised to the two Arab Gulf cases.

While the original model suggests that public relations should be located in the management subsystem, the adapted models show the reduction of PR in the two projects to technical roles. Figure 7.4 demonstrates the limitation of the function of

public relations in Ghiras case to a technique of social marketing. Figure 7.5 illustrates that there was an absence of PR department in Be Free case and public relations was used as a publicity technique by the voluntary team. These figures show that public relations failed to play a role in the management function and was rather used as a publicity technique in the two case studies. It appeared in the two cases that public relations was limited to the use of technical tasks. There was an absence of public relations strategy in the two cases to manage relationships with key publics and thus it failed to advocate for structural legislative change.

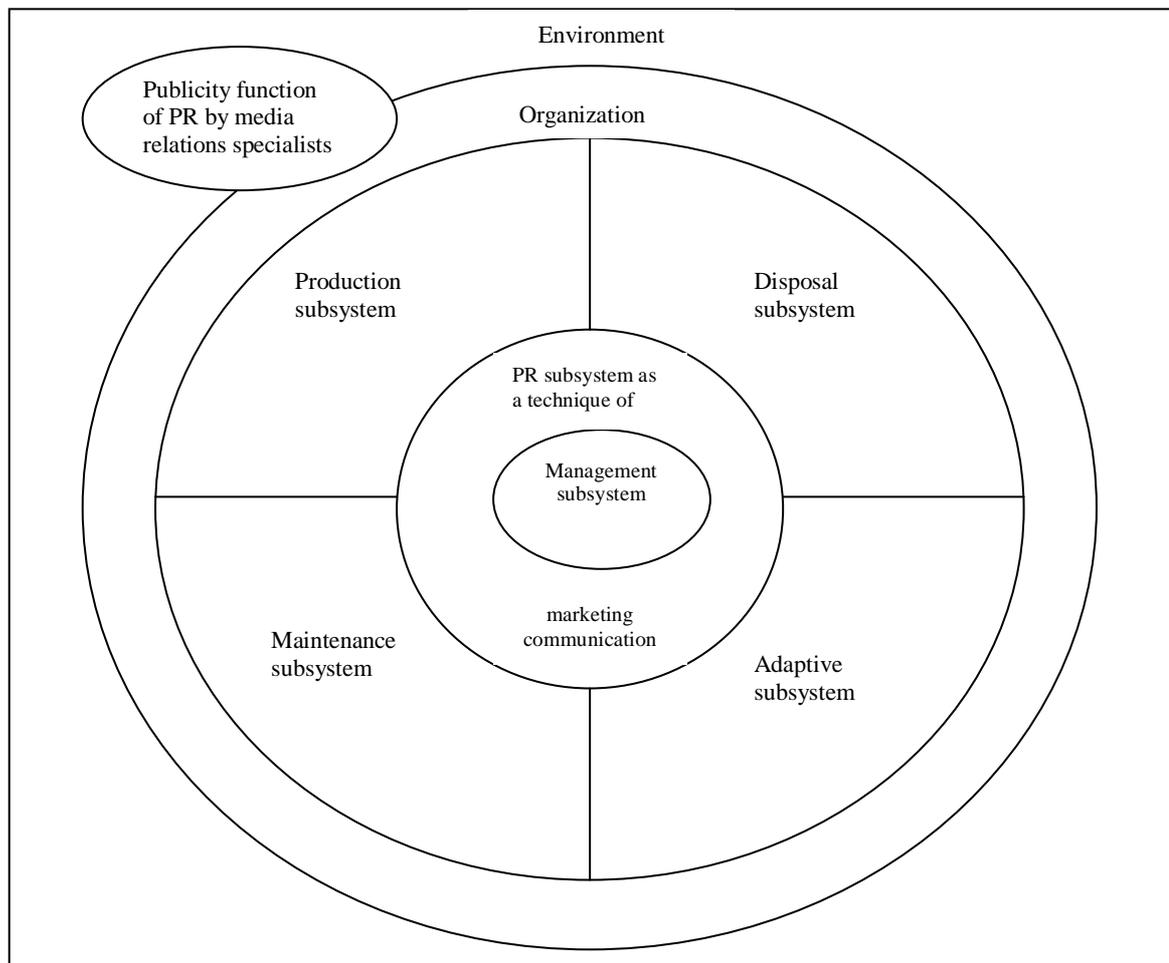


Figure 7.4: Adaptation of the model of organisational subsystems and of the location of the public relations subsystem on the case study of Ghiras (Grunig & Hunt, 1984).

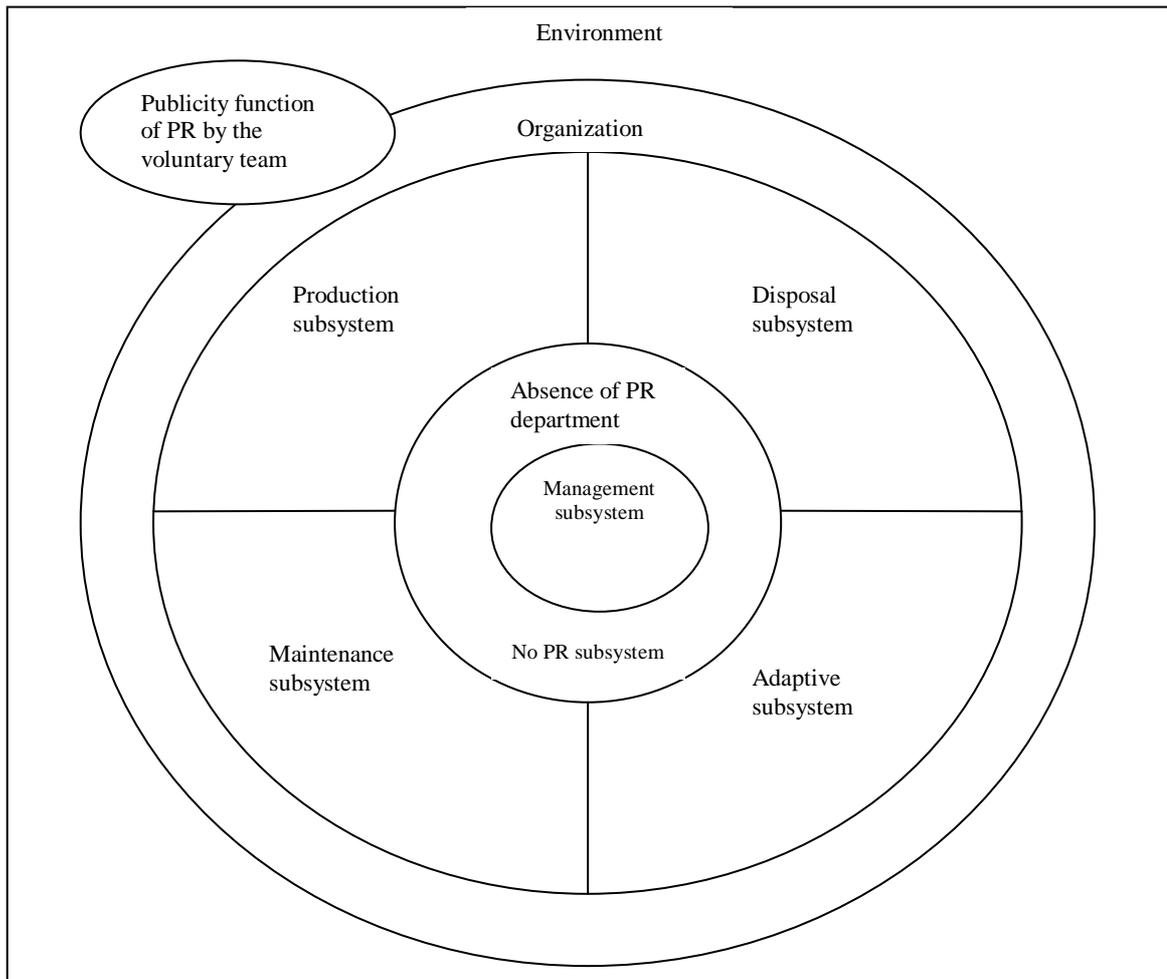


Figure 7.5: Adaptation of the model of organisational subsystems and of the location of the public relations subsystem on the case study of Be Free (Grunig & Hunt, 1984).

To conclude, there are a number of barriers that impeded the practice of public relations as relationship management in the two projects in the Arab Gulf. First of all, the roots of public relations in the Arab Gulf societies as a technical task that could be practised by any employee in the organisation make it difficult for PR to be positioned in the management subsystem. Besides, implementing public relations within a social marketing framework in the first case put emphasis on social advertising and reduced public relations to a supportive technique. The social marketing programme itself lacked a careful strategic plan and was restricted to the technical use of communication. Although the drugs prevention project established social coalitions with various sectors

and entities in Kuwait, there was an absence of a strategy to manage different relationships with the key publics. In the second case, the lack of financial resources to hire specialised public relations and communication practitioners in the voluntary project resulted in the absence of a public relations perspective and the reliance on traditional interpersonal communication approaches.

Adaptation of the empowerment model

Since the broad aim of the thesis is to explore the role of public relations and public communication approaches in facilitating community participation and empowerment in two cases in the Arab Gulf, this section adapts Tones and Tilford's empowerment model (discussed earlier in Chapter 2 'Public Communication Campaigns: Key Concepts & Debates', pp. 53-57). Figures 7.6 and 7.7 customise the same framework used in the original model to the findings of the two Arab Gulf cases. The value of these adapted models is that they relate public relations to community empowerment. The role of public relations in the communication projects is added to the top of the adapted models. They suggest that the reduction of public relations to a technical role results in a limitation of the advocacy function of public relations in the two cases.

While the ultimate goal of the original empowerment model is 'health', the adapted models in Figures 7.6 and 7.7 aim at a 'conservative notion of social change'. This is achieved through coalitions, lobbying, advocacy and mediation in the original model. In the original model, the goal of 'health' is achieved as a result of social, economic and environmental influences and reframing and reorienting health services. As for the adapted models, the ultimate goal of 'social change' is achieved through reframing and reorienting the issues of drugs in Kuwait and child abuse in Bahrain to break the silence. Whereas 'health education' was used to achieve 'individual empowerment' in the

original model, the adapted models illustrate that there was a limitation to persuasive communication in the two cases. Although the teams argued that they implemented public education approach to 'empower' the community, it was observed in several activities that psychological/persuasive approaches were mainly used.

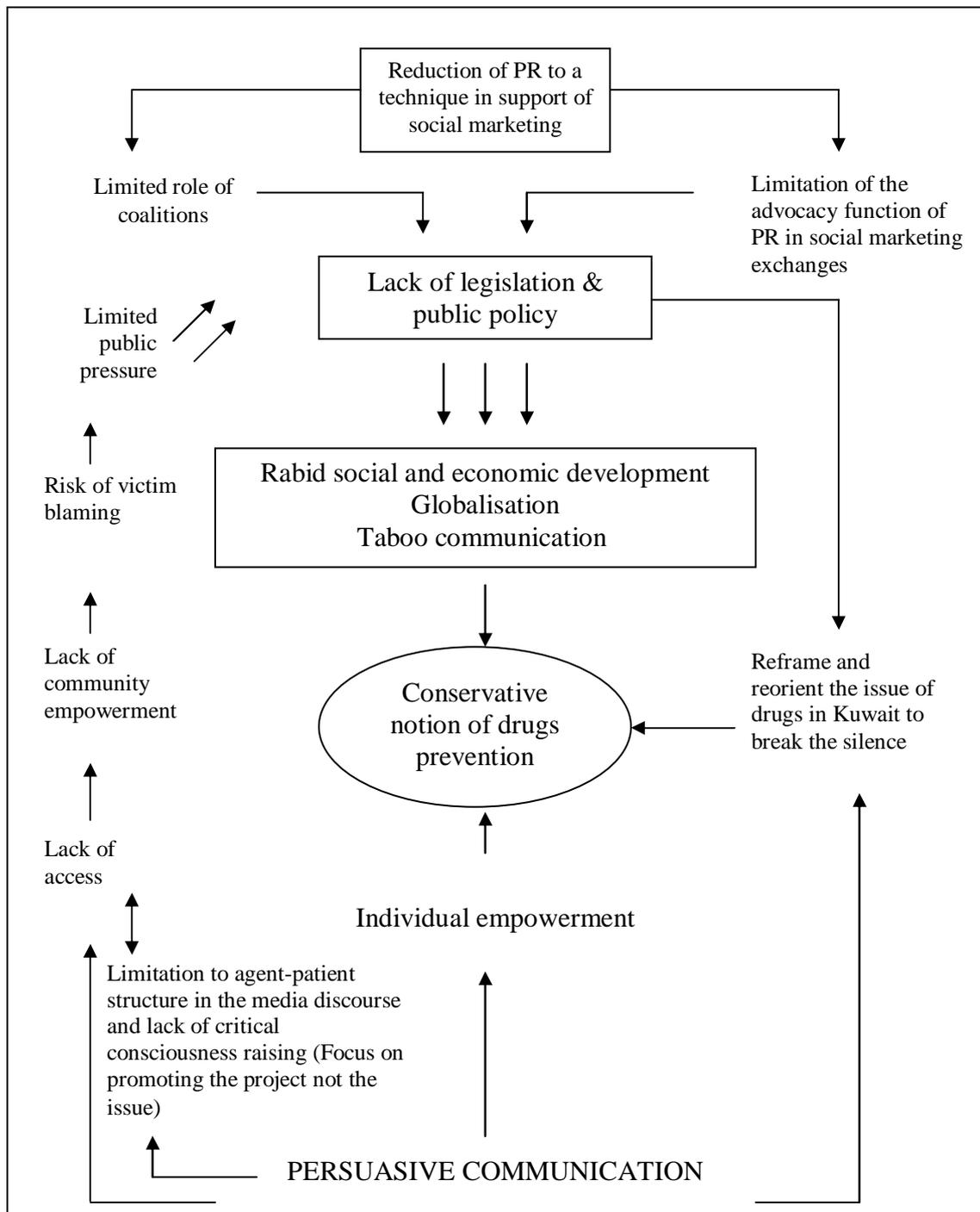


Figure 7.6: The role of communication approaches used by Ghiras in community empowerment towards social change in Kuwait

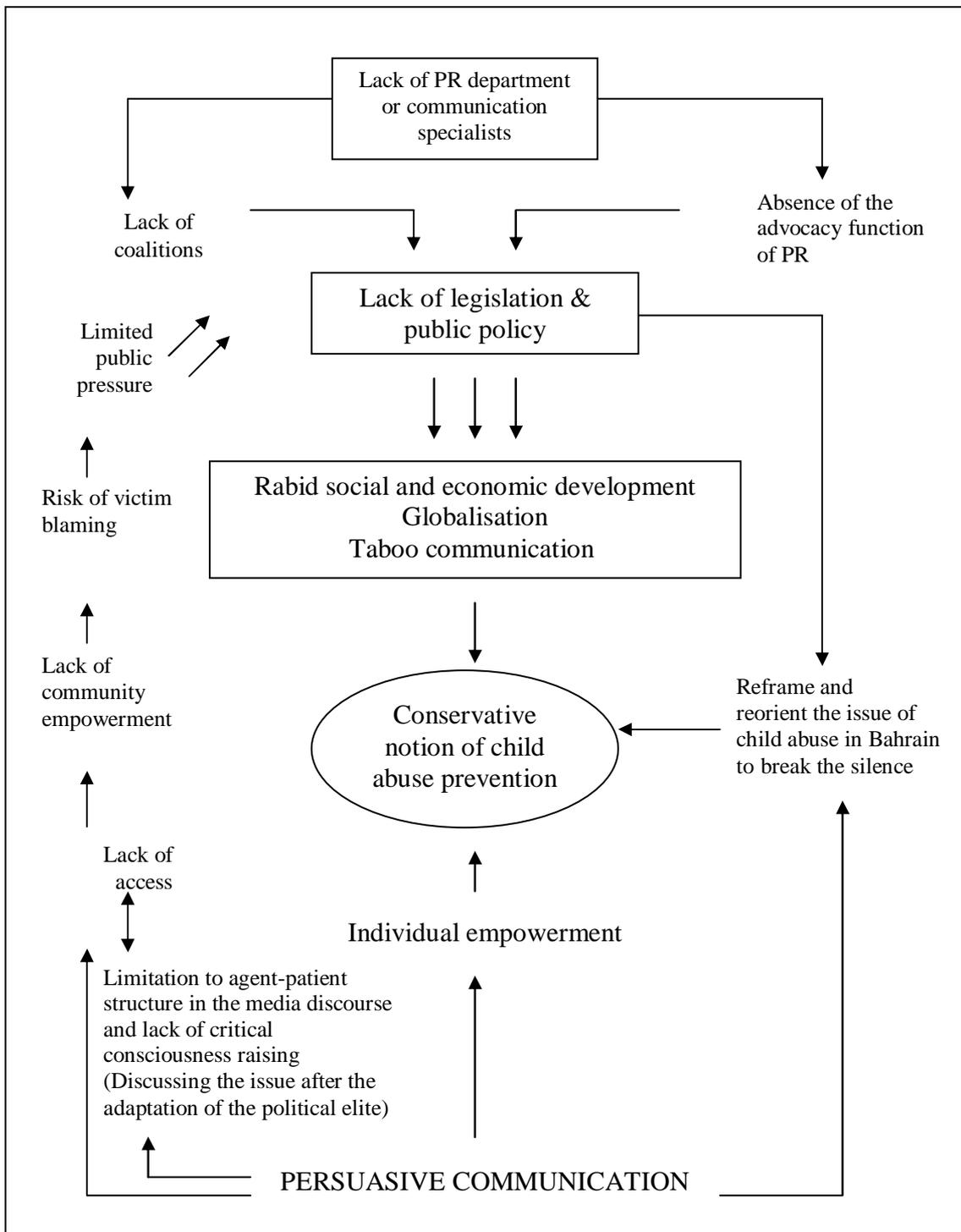


Figure 7.7: The role of communication approaches used by Be Free in community empowerment towards social change in Bahrain

The adapted models show the failure of the two projects to achieve 'agenda setting' and 'critical consciousness raising' indicated in the original empowerment model. These models demonstrate the restriction of the two projects to agent-patient structure in the media and the lack of 'critical consciousness raising'. As a result, the two projects failed to achieve community empowerment. The dependence on a persuasion approach to empower the target audiences at the individual level might risk victim blaming. The interpersonal and media communication that encouraged the target audiences to participate without providing them with resources might end up blaming them for the continuity of the problem.

The original empowerment model suggests that community empowerment will result in public pressure on the government which is important to achieve healthy public policy. The adapted models illustrate that the lack of community empowerment in the two cases results in limited public pressure in the two cases to develop legislations and public policy regarding drugs addiction in Kuwait and child abuse in Bahrain. The contribution of these adapted models is that they relate the role of public relations and public communication to the empowerment model. They suggest that the restriction to the technical use of public relations in the two cases would impede empowerment. The role of public relations in empowering the community in the two cases has been limited. Moreover, persuasive approaches failed to empower the society because they were not accompanied with community empowerment. Therefore, these adapted models suggest that the question of the role of public relations and persuasive communication in empowering the society should be tied to the question of the extent to which participation was facilitated through offering access to resources.

Palm tree metaphor of public communication in the Arab Gulf cases

After the adaptations of Western communication models to the Arab Gulf cases, this section aims to conclude the discussion on the role of media, PR, persuasion and relational approaches and to relate them to the theoretical concepts of 'participation' and 'empowerment'. The thesis develops an original metaphor of the role of public communication in the Arab Gulf based on the findings of the historical chapter and the two case studies in Bahrain and Kuwait. This metaphor aims to bring better understanding of the key findings of the thesis and to answer the research basic question about the role of public relations and public communication approaches in society in the age of globalisation. The thesis uses the metaphor of 'palm tree' to represent the Arab Gulf societies (Figure 7.8). This metaphor takes into account the unique characteristics of the Arab Gulf societies and the practice of public communication in relation to Arabic communication ethics in the two Arab Gulf cases.

Palm tree is traditional in the Arab Gulf societies and, thus, it was used to reflect the conservative nature of these societies. This metaphor is used because palm tree is a symbol in the Arab Gulf of "patience" and "struggle to survive" not only under high temperature and harsh atmosphere, but also in front of the advancement of civilisation. The Arab Gulf societies that still keep conservative values and ethics can be viewed as a palm tree in an urban setting that faces the challenge of adapting to a lot of changes in its new environment under the sun of globalisation and rapid development. It reflects the conflict of these societies between keeping their cultural identity and dealing with globalisation challenges.

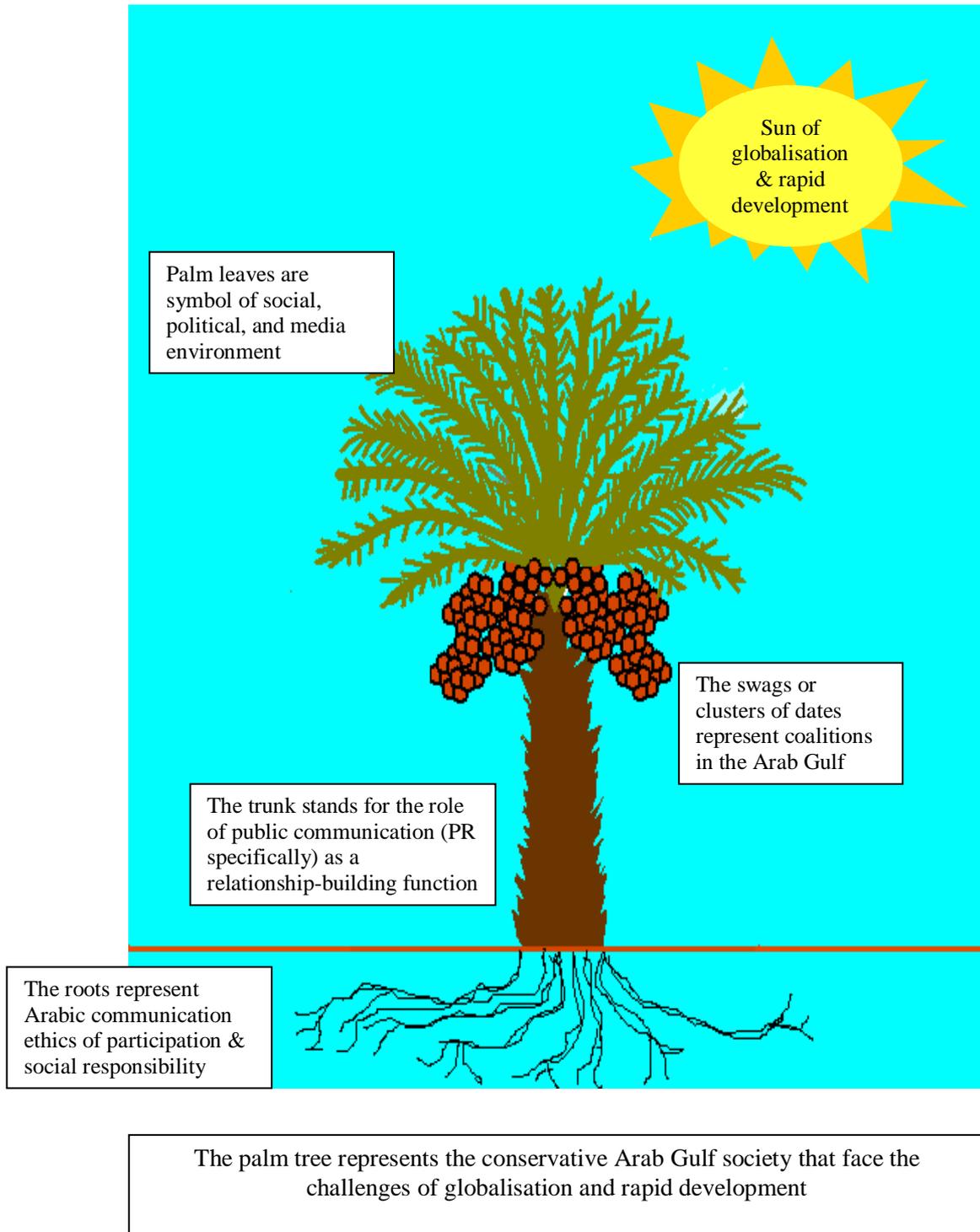


Figure 7.8: The palm tree metaphor of the role of public communication in the Arab Gulf cases in the age of globalisation

The deep, long roots of this palm tree (the Arab Gulf societies) represent Arabic cultural ethics of participation, communalism, and social responsibility derived from the Islamic culture. The swags or the clusters of dates (The fruits of the tree) stand for the coalitions in the society (either formal such as organisations or informal such as voluntary alliances). The ideal representation of public communication approaches (public relations specifically) in this metaphor is the trunk of the palm tree that plays the role of relationship-building. This role is derived from the roots of this tree of Arabic communication ethics. The palm leaves of the tree represent the social, political, and media environment that functions as an umbrella for any coalitions to survive.

The survival of the clusters of dates (alliances as a symbol of participation) in this tree depends on the role of the trunk of the tree (public communication approaches) in relationship-building based on the roots of the tree (Arabic and Islamic communication ethics of participation and social responsibility). In addition, the survival of the clusters of dates (coalitions) relies on the role of the trunk to bring water to the leaves of the tree (social, political, and media environment) that act as an umbrella for the coalitions to protect them from the hot sun of globalisation and rapid development. The failure of public relations (the trunk) to go beyond being used as a technique to facilitate establishing coalitions (clusters of dates) towards advocating for providing supportive environment through structural and legislative change would be like a palm tree without leaves that would 'empower' the alliances to survive and participate. In other word, in order for the palm tree (Arab Gulf conservative societies) to keep its clusters of dates (community alliances derived from the Arabic roots of community participation), the trunk of the tree (public communication) should bring life to the palm leaves (through advocating for legislative and structural change).

This metaphor is only suggested for the role of public communication and public relations in non-profit organisations that aim at community-wide development. It offers an original perspective of the role of public communication and public relations in the Arab Gulf societies. It suggests that relational thinking in the Arabic culture is not identical to Western models as public relations is still used as a technique that fails to play a role in the management function. Since the good of the society is more important than the individual freedom from an Arabic perspective, the ethical notion of 'community empowerment' is more appropriate in the Arab Gulf context. The thesis suggests that the role of public relations in the Arab Gulf (the trunk of the palm tree) should go beyond the growth of clusters of dates (building relationship with coalitions in the community) to bring life to the palm leaves (advocating for structural and legislative change to achieve community empowerment).

This metaphor might be criticised because it is still limited in studying the dynamics of communication in this context and in exploring the complex relationships between globalisation and different elements of this metaphor such as the dynamic nature of public relations and social change, and the relationship between public relations and globalisation. This is because this metaphor is only based on two case studies in the Arab Gulf. However, the contribution of this metaphor is that it provides an initial framework for the practice of public relations and public communication in the Arab Gulf cases. As an initial frame of the practice of communication in the Arab Gulf, the aim of this metaphor is to offer original understanding of the role of public communication in a different culture. Based on the constructivist paradigm adopted by the researcher, this metaphor was used to 'reconstruct' better understanding of the realities initially constructed by key social actors in the cases. It aims to stretch our understanding of the role of public communication in an alternative cultural context.

Therefore, this original metaphor is only a foundation for other scholars to develop an Arabic framework for the role of public communication in relation to the Arab Gulf context in the age of globalisation. Hence, further research should develop the dynamics of this initial metaphor through studying other communication programmes in the Arab Gulf. Besides, other scholars should study the application of this metaphor to other cases in the Arab Gulf societies and the obstacles that impede the management function of public relations in relation to the Arab Gulf culture and ethics.

Theoretical implications & further research:

After the discussion of the thesis key findings and the adaptation of appropriate communication models to the Arab Gulf cases, it is useful to draw the key theoretical implications of these findings. The contribution of this thesis is that it provides qualitative empirical data on the role of public communication and public relations in facilitating participative social change in the Arab Gulf. These findings contribute to the theoretical understanding of public relations, social marketing and media theories, which will be discussed in the following section.

Implications

One of the key theoretical contributions of the thesis is its relevance for public communication, media, public relations, and social marketing theory. The qualitative findings of this thesis highlight the impact of globalisation in increasing the role of public relations and public communication in the cases. As discussed in the 'Adaptation of media centrifugal/centripetal model' section pp. 279-282, several interviewees noted that globalisation and rapid development were key factors that helped launching public communication programmes. However, there is a lack of a PR theoretical model that

would connect the role of public relations to globalisation and social development. Although globalisation is one of the key critical issues in contemporary PR research, there is an absence of theoretical frameworks of the role of public relations in facilitating social development in the age of globalisation.

The centrifugal/centripetal model of the societal effect of mass media has been adapted (see Figure 7.1, p. 280) because of the absence of a PR model of the societal impact of public relations in social development. PR theory is still short of developing a comprehensive model to deal with issues of globalisation and social development. This theoretical gap might result in suspecting and underestimating the role of public relations in development. The association of public relations impact in society with the mass media propaganda would reduce the role of PR to a mere media technique. Moreover, this vacuum in PR theory would support the old perspective that has associated public relations with propaganda and underestimated its role in development in the globalisation age. The challenge of globalisation stresses the need for a theoretical model that would connect public relations theory to globalisation and development. This would contribute to the research on the value and legitimacy of the discipline at the first place.

In addition, the thesis attempts to broaden the theoretical boundaries of public relations and social marketing research through relating them to interdisciplinary theoretical approaches and models from health promotion literature. In the 'Adaptation of the empowerment model' section pp. 287-290, the concepts of 'community empowerment' and 'participation' in health promotion were related to the use of public relations and social marketing in the two Arab Gulf cases. The unique aspect of this thesis is that it relates the concepts of social marketing 'exchange' and public relations

'symmetry' and 'dialogue' to the health promotion concept of 'community empowerment'.

The concept of 'symmetry' suggests that 'management understanding the viewpoints of employees and neighbors as well as employees and neighbors understanding the viewpoints of management' (Grunig & Hunt, 1984, 42). Similarly, the concept of 'exchange' assumes 'the transfer of tangible or intangible items between two or more social actors' (Bagozzi's, 1979, cited in Hastings and Saren, 2003, 309). The thesis recommends that PR and social marketing theory should go beyond the limited boundaries of these concepts towards relating them to the health promotion concept of 'community empowerment' that includes the role of the environment in facilitating symmetry and exchange. The key implication of this discussion is that the theoretical concept of 'community empowerment' can contribute to PR and social marketing theories through providing new theoretical understanding of the role of public relations and social marketing in society.

Besides, this thesis helps to look at PR theory within non-Western cultural contexts. The findings of this thesis demonstrate the failure of the existing PR theory to provide a cultural model of relational paradigm in public relations. It has been taken for granted that the theoretical concepts of 'symmetry' and 'dialogue' in PR literature are applicable in different cultural contexts. The distinctive feature of this thesis is that it provides qualitative empirical data on relational thinking in non-Western PR cases. As discussed in 'Summary of key findings' pp. 276-278, the relational thinking in the Arab Gulf cases differs from the Western paradigm. The thesis finds that whereas relational public relations in Western theory has been associated with an ideal management model, the perspective of public relations as a relationship-building in the Arab Gulf cases has been limited to its use as a traditional technique derived from Arabic cultural ethics.

While in the Western literature there has been a sharp distinction between public relations functions of 'publicity' and 'relationship-building', this thesis argues that these two functions can be integrated and practised at the same time in the two Arab Gulf cases. This is because relational thinking in the Arab Gulf was not associated with the management role of public relations in the organisations. Instead, it was practised as a technique derived from Arabic communication ethics of building relationship with the community in the two cases. Therefore, 'persuasion/publicity' and 'relationship-building' functions of public relations were related in the cases. Hence, the findings of this thesis emphasises the need for a cultural PR theory to address persuasive communication in non-Western contexts.

Although the thesis stresses the impact of Arabic culture on the practice of public communication and public relations, there is an absence of Arabic theories of PR and public communication that would deal with the unique characteristics of the Arab culture. Hence, the theoretical implication of this discussion is that 'culture' is a key element to develop an Arab theoretical model of public communication and public relations. Other scholars who seek to develop an Arab model of public communication and public relations should recognise the importance and impact of Arabic culture at the first place.

Moreover, the concept of 'culture' in the thesis has implications for media theory. One of the key media theoretical concepts developed from this thesis is the concept of 'cultural authorisation' on media freedom regarding social issues. As discussed in 'Adaptation of media uses and gratifications model' pp. 282-284, the use of media to promote participation in social change in the two case studies was limited to a conservative approach that takes into account the needs of the Arab Gulf societies to keep cultural traditions. Western theories of media freedom focused on the authority of

political and economic elites on the freedom of media, while little attention has been paid to develop theories on the impact of social and cultural traditions on media freedom. In the two Arab Gulf cases, the freedom of the national media in covering sensitive social issues was restricted to cultural norms. The key implication of this discussion is an introduction of an original theoretical perspective of the authority of the conservative culture on the coverage of media of sensitive social issues. Media theories failed to develop a comprehensive model on the role of cultural norms on media freedom. Further research should study how the theoretical concept of 'cultural authorisation' would work in other cases in various Arab Gulf contexts.

To sum up, one of the key theoretical implications of this thesis is the importance of developing 'relativist' theories of media, public relations, and social marketing. Forsyth defined relativism as 'the extent to which the individual rejects universal moral rules', whereas idealistic individuals 'assume that desirable consequences can, with the 'right' action, always be obtained' (1980, 175-176). The thesis finds that the two Arab Gulf programmes have adopted Arabic communication ethics of collectivism, social responsibility and participation. The findings of the thesis support the recommendation for ethical relativism in public relations:

...different cultures and different social/political/economic systems would require different public relations theories and practice with a corresponding need for different ethics—suggesting an argument for ethical “relativism” that is based on culture (Kruckeberg, 1996, 183).

While this argument called for ethical cultural 'relativism' in public relations, the thesis broadens this call to include ethical cultural relativism in media, public communication, and social marketing research.

The thesis pushes public communication ethics theory to look to new communication cases in non-Western contexts. The findings of the case studies demonstrate the limitation of 'universal' ethical theories in public communication and call for new

'relativist' theories. This research enhances the need for developing Arabic communication ethics theory to analyse the role and the practice of public communication in the Arab Gulf societies. These implications are significant for public communication, public relations, social marketing, and media scholars.

Further research

After discussing the main theoretical implications of the thesis, it is helpful to offer some recommendations for further research. The findings of this thesis emphasise the need for PR and social marketing impact theories. Although 'participation' is a significant theoretical concept in public relations and social marketing research, there is little participative research into PR and social marketing. There is a lack of comprehensive impact theories on the way the target audiences receive the messages created by the PR and social marketing programmes. The thesis uses social psychological and health promotion theories to analyse the impact of the social marketing and PR programmes. The thesis shows that the theoretical concepts of 'symmetry' and 'dialogue' in PR, and 'exchange' in social marketing have been limited in studying the impact of PR and social marketing in facilitating participation and empowerment.

Various PR and social marketing scholars stressed the need for studying the role of these disciplines in the society. For instance, Hastings & Saren indicated, 'we feel that social marketing will flourish by exploiting its twin understanding of the good and the bad that marketing can bring to society' (Hastings & Saren, 2003, 315). To achieve this goal, there is a need for impact research in PR and social marketing. As discussed in the 'Introduction of the Thesis' p. 6, one of the gaps in the field is the focus on studying the way public communication campaigns are used by communication planners, while little

attention has been paid to study the perspectives of other key players such as journalists, activists, and the target audiences. The thesis uses interdisciplinary theoretical concepts from health promotion and social psychology to study the perspectives of the key players in the case studies. This research reveals a considerable absence of comprehensive PR and social marketing impact theories. Therefore, the thesis stresses the significance of developing impact research of PR and social marketing to set up well-established evidence of the role of public relations and social marketing in the society.

Besides, the findings of this thesis demonstrate the importance of studying social marketing programme in the Arab Gulf as a strategic planning process. The limited impact of the first project was a result of its focus on social advertising and the limitation of strategic thinking. Although the evaluation research of the programme was conducted by a specialised marketing consultancy, it focused on evaluating social adverts. Moreover, the focus was on attitude rather than behaviour change, which is the bottom line for social marketing, in addition to the lack of measurable, realistic objectives. Social marketing is still a new area for research in the Arabic context. Therefore, further research should study other social marketing programmes in the Arabic context. 'Strategic planning' is a key starting point to study social programmes in the Arab Gulf that are still limited to technical communication tools. Studying social marketing programme as a strategic planning process will enable other researchers to develop a management theory of social marketing in the Arab Gulf context.

Furthermore, although several research participants in the case studies emphasised the significance and impact of interpersonal communication in facilitating participative social change, there is a lack of PR theory of interpersonal communication. There is reliance in the PR literature on social psychological theories to study face-to-face

communication, while there is an absence of comprehensive interpersonal communication theory of PR. This supports the argument that,

Public relations practice has historically relied on the literature of mass communication theory, a reliance based somewhat on the assumption of the power of mass communication to form and change public opinion and to create behavioral change... Old communication models heavily rely on mass communication theories, and most public diplomacy literature still uses models of propaganda and persuasion. An interpersonal model of public relations that is consistent with Arab culture promises to provide better answers (Vujnovic & Kruckeberg, 2005, 341).

The findings of this study emphasise the importance of conducting further research on PR interpersonal communication to study the role of public relations in any society. Therefore, developing interpersonal communication theory of public relations will contribute to the re-definition of its role and impact in facilitating participative social change.

In addition, this thesis urges further qualitative empirical research in the fields of public relations and social marketing. Since public relations and social marketing theories are Western-centric, new empirical research should be conducted in non-Western contexts to generate original theoretical understanding. The findings of this thesis emphasise that new research should advance a step further through developing new theoretical models. This can be achieved in the future through conducting grounded theory research in public relations and marketing where 'theory is generated from the data rather from pre-existing theoretical frameworks' (Daymon & Holloway, 2002, 117). Future grounded theory research will help developing new PR and social marketing theories in various non-Western contexts.

The findings of the thesis highlight the need for new Arabic-oriented theories that take into account the unique characteristics of the Arab culture. Qualitative research is essential in PR and social marketing research because it helps generate detailed insights that are difficult to be developed from quantitative approaches that rely on the existing

Western-centred theories. Using qualitative research to study different contexts will challenge the existing PR and social marketing theoretical paradigms and help generate new models in the future.

Epilogue:

The original contribution of this thesis lies in its large empirical scope and its relevance for media, public relations, and social marketing theory and practice. It develops rich understanding of the role of public communication in an alternative cultural context that might contribute to the adaptations of existing theory. It contributes to the theoretical discussion on the value and role of media, public relations, social marketing, and public communication in society in the age of globalisation.

The thesis finds that PR theory is still short of developing a comprehensive model to deal with issues of globalisation and social development. Moreover, it reveals a considerable absence of comprehensive PR and social marketing impact theories. This theoretical vacuum might result in underestimating the role of public relations and public communication approaches in development. PR and social marketing theories could be enlightened by relating them to the health promotion concepts of 'community participation' and 'community empowerment' that emphasise the role of environment in facilitating symmetry and exchange. Besides, future research should study the process of 'strategic planning' in community-wide programmes to develop a theoretical understanding of the practice of social marketing in the Arab Gulf context.

The thesis argues that studying the role of public relations and public communication approaches in non-Western contexts will contribute to PR and public communication theory. This thesis is a shift in the Western and Arabic existing literature that has studied public communication and public relations in the Arab context in relation to the

US models. It suggests that public communication in the Arab Gulf cases is not identical to Western communication models. The findings of this research demonstrate the failure of the existing PR theory to provide a cultural model of public relations in non-Western contexts. The thesis demonstrates the limitation of 'universal' ethical theories in public relations and public communication and calls for developing 'relativist' theories of media, public relations, and social marketing.

The qualitative constructive paradigm of this thesis aims at offering in-depth understanding of the role of public relations and public communication approaches in society. The thesis urges a methodological shift in public relations and social marketing research through using qualitative empirical approach of the practice of public relations and public communication in different contexts. The thesis suggests that this approach will help to broaden the boundaries of public relations and social marketing theories and contribute to the research on the role and value of public relations, social marketing, and public communication approaches in public sphere at the globalisation era.

The researcher's final reflection on the research experience:

'Social change' and improving the Arab Gulf society have been always my personal concern. The Arab Gulf societies are distinctive from other Arab states because they have very strong Islamic conservative traditions on one hand, and they have to confront rapid financial, education, health and technological development as a result of the discovery of oil on the other hand. Recent decades were challenging in the history of Arab Gulf societies that have faced the conflict between keeping their cultural identity and adapting to new globalisation challenges. I chose this topic because I believe that the role of public communication becomes crucial in the Arab Gulf societies at the age of globalisation. However, the role of public relations and public communication in

social development in the Arab Gulf has not been explored. The lack of Arab research about the role of public communication in relation to this cultural context was the key motivation for me to do this research. There is a lack of in-depth understanding of the role of public communication and public relations approaches in facilitating participation in social change. Also, it is my personal ambition to play a role in developing public programmes to improve the society. Therefore, I hope that my research recommendations will be taken into consideration by the Arab Gulf governments when designing other public communication programmes in the future.

I selected case studies that take place in Bahrain and Kuwait because these two countries are the pioneers in public communication and media in the Arab Gulf societies. The reason that I chose these two case studies is that they are outstanding projects that aim at social change in the long-run. These projects are on-going programmes that lasted for years and are still going on, which offers a unique opportunity for observation. The fact that I am originally from Bahrain facilitated my access to the cases and my interaction with the research participants. Besides, it helped me to be accepted to be involved in their real-life context.

As a female researcher, my gender affects my research in a positive way. In my culture and religion, men have to take care of women and respect them. Educated women are highly regarded in my culture. In the drugs prevention case, most of the research participants were older men with long experience in the field. They highly respected me as a female researcher and tried their best to facilitate my empirical field research. Since I traveled from Bahrain to Kuwait to do part of the research, the Kuwaiti team considered me as their guest and treated me with great hospitality, which is part of the Arabic culture. They assigned me a car to take me to all their activities. As for the

anti-child abuse case, being female helped me to integrate with the female team and to interact better with children.

Being one of the first researchers studying the role of public communication in development in the Arab Gulf, I was treated in respect by the research participants. They believe strongly in the role of communication in improving the society and they appreciate the value of the research. So, they facilitated access for me and allowed me to observe their activities. They devoted a lot of their time to me and were enthusiastic interviewees allowing me to attend their private planning meetings. Their cooperation and willingness to participate in the research helped me to conduct my in-depth empirical research with multiple data gathering techniques in only nine months. The qualitative research is the fruit of interaction between the researcher and the research participants. And since the research was successful in achieving this interaction, it enriches the learning process established through this thesis.

I was aware that coming from the same Arabic, Islamic cultural background might impose a personal bias on the research. Therefore, I did my best to control my own bias through triangulating my cases and providing thick description, contrary findings, alternative examples to make the multiple voices of the research participants appear in the thesis. For example, I interviewed conservative as well as liberal journalists and activists to reflect different perspectives. Besides, I discussed my findings with some of my Western friends and colleagues. This approach was useful in the process of learning as it helps me to enrich my understanding with 'outsider' perspectives of my data and to control my personal 'bias' through seeing things in new, different ways.

On the other hand, coming from the same culture of my participants was an advantage. It helped me to set careful criteria for the selection of my case studies and research participants based on my understanding of the cultural, historical and

sociological background of public communication and media in the Arab Gulf. Besides, it facilitated my access to the public programmes and research participants. Speaking the same language and coming from the same background of the research participants helped me to gain their trust and to communicate better with them. In addition, acquiring cultural understanding of the participants' speech and body language was helpful in the process of learning.

Spending nine months doing the field research enabled me to be highly involved with the key social actors in the cases and helped me to gain their trust. Besides, it played a key role in the process of learning as my involvement in the research allowed me to enrich my understanding as a constructivist researcher of the realities initially 'constructed' by the research participants. My role was to 'reconstruct' these insights in my research in a way that enabled outsiders to understand the role of public communication approaches in an alternative cultural context. Coming from the same cultural background as my participants allowed me to achieve a better understanding of my findings and it was helpful in the process of coding and interpreting the data. The influence of Islamic cultural values and norms was the common finding in all the methodological approaches used in the research. This considerable influence was expressed by several participants in the interviews, focus groups, media discourse and adverts, and my observation of interpersonal communication.

The key difficulty I faced in my research was translating the data from Arabic to English. It was challenging sometimes to transfer the exact, original words of the participants and to keep the cultural meanings they implied. Coming from the same culture enabled the researcher to read what was behind the participants' words, to interpret the silence, and to know what was not said. But, translation was limited to the 'literary' meanings of words. To overcome this challenge, I always kept asking the

research participants for more clarifications. Besides, observation was helpful in reading body language and to 'translate' the actions of the participants that cannot be translated in words. This helps in-depth learning of an alternative cultural context to emerge.

Another difficulty I faced was conducting several data gathering techniques at the same time. I had to be flexible in arranging the timings of interviews and focus groups, because my field research depended at the first place on my research participants. Sometimes, I had to re-arrange for another focus group because half of the participants did not come; or I had to contact other research participants because one of the interviewees apologised in the last moment that he/she could not make it. It was challenging and time-consuming and I had always to fix my time to fit with the research participants. Therefore, as a qualitative researcher, I learnt from this experience to be flexible, attentive, and ready for all the possibilities. I had always to have alternative plans and techniques to get access to the research participants and to adjust my approaches to improve my research. For example, I kept adjusting my questions, the way of approaching research participants, and sometimes I found it more useful to conduct on-line interview or focus group to get different perspectives or to make the research participants feel more comfortable to talk openly.

The process of learning in the qualitative research was continuous through all the stages of my research either through the 'constructions' of data achieved through my involvement with the research participants, or the stage of 'reconstructing' these data based on historical background and appropriate theoretical concepts. I kept learning from every interview, focus group, press article, and TV advert I analysed, and from every interpersonal activity I observed. And I continued to learn from my experience in conducting qualitative field research. For example, if one of my focus groups was biased by one of the participants or the participants were hesitant to talk, I tried to learn

from my experiences and improve the following focus groups through finding new ways to involve all the participants. My knowledge was enriched by the multiple experiences of all the research participants. Moreover, my skills and understanding as a qualitative researcher were improved after spending months conducting the empirical research.

The process of qualitative research enhances my understanding and deepens my knowledge of the role of public communication in facilitating social change in the Arab Gulf. It was an interactive process of learning between the researcher and all the research participants. It was a rich experience that enabled me to acquire in-depth understanding of my own cultural context in a new way. And the more I spent in the field research, the more attentive I started to be to all small details that I did not use to notice. Moreover, it helped in the process of transferring this understanding to Western readers and allowing scholars from other cultures to understand the role of public communication in two Arab Gulf cases. The thesis provides rich original large empirical data on the role of public communication approaches in an alternative non-Western culture.

To sum up, there is no research without limitations, and my thesis encourages further research to overcome these limitations through expanding the findings of my study and develop Arabic public communication theoretical framework. Being one of the first pieces of research that relates the role of public relations, social marketing, and health promotion to social development in the Arab Gulf, my thesis aims to urge further research on the role of public communication in the Arab Gulf societies. Besides, hopefully, the governments & the ministries of social development in the Arab Gulf will use my recommendations to develop new well-established communication programmes to improve the society.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Review of social psychological theories

Appendix 2

List of interviews and focus groups

Appendix 3

Sample interviews and focus groups transcripts

Appendix 4

Sample transcripts of observation diary of the two cases

Appendix 5

Example of the coding process in the thesis

Appendix 6

Semiotic analysis of Ghiras TV adverts

Appendix 1: Review of social psychological theories:

Behaviourist theories:

The behaviourist theories have their roots in the classical school (Watson, 1919; Pavlov, 1927; Skinner, 1938), followed by a number of contemporary studies (Rachlin, 1970; Bandura, 1969; 1977). Behavioural approach emerged in the field of social psychology to study observable phenomena as opposed to 'mental' processes (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1982, 23). Behaviourism is a 'stimulus-response (S-R) psychology' as it 'studies the stimuli that elicit particular forms of response—in the sense of clearly observable action' (Ibid.). One of the most significant behaviourist theories that has been discussed widely in the field of persuasive communication is learning theory (Staats & Staats, 1958; Watson & Johnson, 1972). This theory suggests that when a particular response follows a given stimulus, the repeated pairing of this (conditioned) stimulus with a neutral (unconditioned) stimulus will eventually result in the elicitation of the response from the sole presence of the neutral stimulus (Reardon, 1991, 41). The implication of this theory in public communication campaigns is that pairing the stimulus that has a negative response with one that has a positive response will result in behavioural change.

Operant or instrumental learning is another learning theory that assumes that responses become stronger, the more they are associated with rewards. Bettinghaus and Cody pointed out that 'instrumental learning works because people want to maximize rewards and minimize punishments' (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 23). Reardon explained that operant learning stemmed from an emphasis on 'response reinforcement' (Reardon, 1991, 42). For example, in anti-smoking campaigns, communication planners could associate quitting smoking with intrinsic rewards such as achieving fitness or well being.

Social learning theory is one of the most significant learning theories that suggests that much of learning will take place through imitation (Bandura 1977; 1986; Peter & Olson, 1987). Devine and Hirt explained the implications of social learning theory in public campaigns, 'To the extent that the viewer of the model sees that the model had a positive experience with the product... the viewer will be likely to imitate that behavior on a future occasion' (Devine & Hirt, 1989, 239). In addition, the public are more likely to adopt new behaviour promoted by a credible source (Ferguson, 1999; Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987). According to social learning theory, audiences do not necessarily adopt new behaviour because of the validity of the message, but because they want to associate themselves with a powerful, attractive source. However, behaviourist theories failed to study how the target audiences process and receive the communication messages. Therefore, cognitive theories will now be discussed.

Cognitive theories:

Cognitive theories go beyond the limitations of behaviourist thinking through studying how the target audiences process and interpret the received information. As opposed to behaviourism, the cognitive school has focused mainly on the mental activities of human beings (i.e. intra-communication). DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach noted that cognitive thinking 'has been developed mainly in the present century by social psychologists whose training is in psychology rather than sociology' and many of its concepts have emerged from 'impressive experimental research' (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1982, 23). They explained that, 'The cognitive orientation is an outgrowth of the gestalt psychology of the 1920s, field theories advanced during the 1930s, and a large contemporary literature in experimental social psychology' (Ibid., 27). This approach emphasises various concepts and processes that are part of the personality structure (Ibid., 23).

The theory of reasoned action is one of the cognitive theories that assumes that people rationally calculate the costs and benefits of engaging in a particular action and think carefully about how important others will view the behaviour under consideration (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; 1980). This theory emphasised 'intended action' or 'conscious deliberation' (Ibid.). Attribution theory is another cognitive theory (Heider, 1946; 1958; Jones & Davis, 1965; Jones & Nisbett, 1971) that suggested that people do not perceive information passively; instead they seek reasons and justifications for the actions of others as well as their own actions to understand certain consequences. Reardon explained that one of the contributions of attribution theory is that it suggested that receivers are concerned with establishing the validity of the information they receive (Reardon, 1991, 58). Therefore, this theory moved from 'influencing' the audience towards treating them as active receivers of information.

Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) is one of the most significant theories of attitudes change that has wide implications in persuasive communication. Festinger (1957) argued that when attitudes and behaviour are contradictory, the person experiences uncomfortable psychological tension or instability called 'cognitive dissonance'. Devine and Hirt recommended that campaigners should take advantage of dissonance-related attitude change: 'they would need to induce compliance with a request under conditions in which there is insufficient external justification for behavior' (Devine & Hirt, 1989, 242). However, they pointed out, 'opportunities for campaigners to employ dissonance techniques are few and far between' (Ibid.). This is stressed by protection motivation theory (Rogers R. W., 1975; 1983) that suggests that people are motivated to protect themselves from not only physical threats, but also from social and psychological threats. For instance, in the case of anti-female circumcision in some African societies, people are more likely to protect themselves by simply rejecting the messages that challenge their

cultural and religious beliefs in order not to be socially excluded or rejected by their society.

Sherif and Hovland's social judgement theory (1961) is one of the most important theories for attitude change. As opposed to many theories that focused on the impact of external variables in attitude change, social judgement theory argued that any attempt to study the communication effect should begin with the receiver. The receiver's reaction to the communication depends on 'where he places its position and the communicator relative to himself' (Sherif & Sherif, 1967). According to the social judgement theory, the communicator should make sure that his/her message would lie within the latitude of acceptance, and avoid messages that would fall into the latitude of rejection of the targeted audience (Sherif & Hovland, 1961). The main contribution of cognitive theories is that they look at the target audience as active interpreters of information rather than passive receivers. These theories have great importance in this thesis that goes beyond studying how communication planners design the campaign techniques towards analysing how the target audience receive their messages. This is achieved through studying these techniques from the multiple perspectives of communication planners, journalists, activists, target audience, besides analysing the communication discourses.

Message-based theories:

Several theories have been reported in the communication planning literature as a framework to design communication messages. For example, McGuire's inoculation theory suggested that persuadee could be inoculated against the possibility of encountering counter arguments in the future by combining supportive and refutational messages (McGuire, 1961; Hovland et al., 1953; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Tannenbaum & Norris, 1966). This theory has been the foundation of the debate on whether it is better to

expose the audience to one-sided or two-sided argument. Scholars concluded that two-sided messages are better with the audience who acquire a good amount of education and with the audience who initially disagree with the communicator's position (Ferguson, 1999, 162; Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 149). On the other hand, Bettinghaus and Cody argued that one-sided messages are more effective when the audience are already in agreement with the source, and when prior attitudes and commitment may interact with sidedness (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 149). According to the inoculation theory, the campaigners might choose to use two-sided argument to 'inoculate' their audience against counter arguments (Hovland et al., 1953; McGuire, 1961).

Another inoculation strategy has been discussed in the debate on whether it is better to include explicit conclusions and recommendations or let the audience draw their own conclusions. Most of the research on explicit and implicit conclusions suggested that the messages should specify explicit conclusions for the audience (Cope and Richardson, 1972; Fine, 1957; Leventhal et al., 1967). However, some scholars argued that various factors such as education, intelligence and self-esteem can lead the audiences to draw their own conclusions (Cacioppo et al., 1983; Hovland & Mandell, 1952). Moreover, various studies discussed many aspects of structuring the messages such as message order, time order and space patterns (Moffitt, 1999, chapter four; Ferguson, 1999, 162; Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 149).

In addition to the research on the cognitive, logical processing of the messages, many studies explained how emotional appeals are influential in the way receiver will react to the messages. Most of the literature on emotional appeals focused on the effectiveness of fear appeals. Backer et al. (1992) argued that strong fear appeal does not work; instead it would lead to defensive avoidance of the message (cited in Ferguson, 1999, 166). Hastings & MacFadyen (2002) highlighted the limitations of the use of fear messages in

social marketing. This is related to cognitive dissonance theory where the organism seeks to avoid any threatened conflict and tries to achieve a state of balance, which might be easily achieved by rejecting the message. Petty and Cacioppo argued that messages with fear appeals should be combined with assuring the audience that they can escape the negative consequences if they follow the advice given in the message (Petty and Cacioppo, 1981). However, it is debatable to what extent it is ethical to try to induce high levels of fears.

Some studies discussed the use of verbal and nonverbal communication when designing the messages. For instance, Bettinghaus and Cody provided some guidelines for the most effective use of language in persuasion such as the speech style, preparation and speech dialects, beginning and ending, asking questions, and managing the image of witnesses and defendants (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 115-116). Besides, they explained the effective use of nonverbal code systems such as voice, body movement, eye contact, distance and touching, speech fluencies and delivery style, speech rate and voice qualities (Ibid., 119-135). Furthermore, in her *Campaign Strategies and Message Design*, Moffitt suggested a framework to analyse the actual materials used in communication campaigns such as scenarios and visual images (Moffitt, 1999, chapter 4). She provided some recommendations for the analysis of written messages and visualising factors such as message components for print media, broadcast media, and interpersonal communication (Ibid.). After reporting the key message-based theories, it is useful to discuss some contemporary theories in the next section.

Contemporary theories:

A number of contemporary social psychological theories have been developed to bring better understanding of communication planning such as Petty & Cacioppo's Elaboration

Likelihood Model (1981; 1986). This model is one of the most comprehensive contributions in persuasive communication that offers a process model about how communication recipients respond to persuasive messages. This model suggests that there are two primary routes to persuasion: central and peripheral. Bettinghaus and Cody explained that, 'We acquire our most central or 'primitive' beliefs very early in life' and 'we continue to strengthen these beliefs as we go through life' (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 20). They noted that peripheral beliefs can be either derived from central beliefs or arise from personal experience (Ibid.).

The Elaboration Likelihood Model argues that attitude change that occurs through peripheral route will be short-term change, whereas the change that occurs through central route will be long-term change (Cialdini et al., 1975). This could be because the more central the belief, the more resistant individuals will be to changes in the belief (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 20). The strength of this model is that it offers considerable insights to the field by studying persuasion as a process, and explaining the way communication affects attitudes. However, this model suggests that 'changes in behavior result from changes in attitudes', while failed to 'test the assumed link between changes in attitudes and changes in behavior' (Devine & Hirt, 1989, 238). Therefore, they recommended that 'greater emphasis needs to be placed on strengthening the attitude-behavior link' (Ibid.).

Bettinghaus and Cody suggested that successful persuasion theory should build up a personality theory that would help campaigners improve their communication strategies by looking at different aspects of personality such as self-esteem, intelligence, anxiety, dogmatism, and authoritarianism (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, 41). This theory is important in the thesis because it can be related to the theoretical notion of individual empowerment where acquiring certain personal criteria such as self esteem is important to

achieve behavioural change, which will be discussed in detail in the section about 'Individual and Community Empowerment' in this chapter pp. 72-74. Besides, it could be connected to the concept of selective exposure, where 'audiences attend to messages that appear close at hand, personally relevant and important to their lives in physical and psychological appeals' (Ferguson, 1999, 149).

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Appendix 2: List of interviews and focus groups:

List of interviewees:

Historical Figures:

1. Shams: One of the first volunteer PR practitioners in the non-profit sector in the seventies
Date of interview: 29-6-2005

2. Wajeeha Al-Buharnah: One of the active volunteers since the seventies
Date of interview: 13-11-2005

3. Mohammad Mosaed Al-Saleh
One of the pioneers of the print media in Kuwait who started in 1953-1954
Date of interview: 20-11-2005

4. Mohammad Al-Jassem: x-editor of Al-Watan newspaper in Kuwait and one of the key journalists
Date of interview: 27-11-2005

5. Hasan Kamal: One of the pioneers of the broadcast media in Bahrain who started in 1955
Date of interview: 28-1-2006

6. Barween Zainal: One of the pioneers of the broadcast media in Bahrain who started in 1963
Date of interview: 28-1-2006

7. Ali Siar:
One of the pioneers of the print media in Bahrain who started in 1952-1953
Date of interview: 1-2-2006

8. Wedad Al-Maskatey: One of the active volunteers since the seventies
Date of interview: 15-2-2006

Ghiras:

Interviews and focus group with the team 18-7-2004:

Ali Al-Hajrey, the manager of the project

Ali Al-Zaidey

Dr Hamza Zawba

Mohammad Al-Ghanim

Interviews with journalists and activists/ Ghiras:

1. Kameel Jadaon, the manager of the communication consultancy that Ghiras hired to conduct summative evaluation research of Ghiras campaigns: 17-7-2004
2. Ekbal Al-Ahmad, journalist and liberal activist: 18-7-2004
3. Osama Al-Qatari, journalist: 19-7-2004
4. Effat Sallam, journalist: 19-7-2004
5. Awayd Al-Meshaan, the secretary-general of the National Committee for Drugs Control and the head of Ghiras supervisory committee: 19-7-2004
6. Mohammad Mamlook, journalist: 19-7-2004
7. Hanan Al-Dahood, journalist: 19-7-2004
8. Adnan Al-Rashid, the vice-editor of Al-Anbaa newspaper and treasurer of Journalist Association: 20-7-2004
9. Dr Wael Al-Hasawey, writer and academic: 28-11-2004
10. Buzaid, journalist: 8-12-2004
11. Mohammed Al-Malifey, journalist: 12-12-2004
12. Ahmed Shehab, journalist: 14-12-2004.

BE FREE:

The team:

Interview with Dr Soroor Gharooni, the manager of Be Free Project Dr Soroor Gharooni,
the manager of Be Free Project: 5-6-2004

Focus group with the team: 5-7-2004

Interviews with journalists and activists/ Be Free:

1. Samah Allam, journalist in the family section: 3-8-2004
2. Lamees Dhayf, journalist: 26-8-2004
3. Nazeeha Saeed, journalist: 29-8-2004
4. Salwa Al-Moayad, writer, activist and the head of Cultural Committee at Bahraini Association for Childhood Development: 1-9-2004
5. Wafa Al-Hellaw, lawyer and activist: 4-9-2004
6. Zahrah Hamdan, journalist: 12-9-2004
7. Hanan Salem, journalist: 6-10-2004
8. Dr Bannah Bu-Zaboon, psychiatrist and activist in domestic violence: 9-10-2004
9. Abdul-Nabey Al-Akrey, activist and researcher in children rights laws: 11-10-2004
10. Abdullah Khalifa, journalist: 28-11-2004

Focus groups with the target audiences:

Ghiras:

Three focus groups were held with the Kuwaiti youth: Focus group 1, 3-10-2004; Focus group 2, 5-10-2004; and Focus group 3, 10-12-2004.

Two focus groups were arranged with parents: Focus group 4, 11-12-2004; and Focus group 5, 16-12-2004.

Be Free:

Three focus groups were held with Bahraini children and teenagers: Focus group 1, 11-12-2004; Focus group 2, 18-1-2005; and Focus group 3, 27-1-2005.

Two focus groups were arranged with parents: Focus group 4, 28-1-2005; and Focus group 5, 30-1-2005.

Appendix 3: Sample transcripts of focus groups and interviews

Be Free- Focus group 3 with 12-16 year old teenagers

Date: 27-1-2005

Time: 39 minutes

Number of participants: 7

Researcher: Welcome to our focus group to discuss child abuse prevention in Bahrain. First, what do you know about child abuse in Bahrain?

Participant 1: The problem is widespread nowadays, especially physical abuse. Many parents think that beating their children would make them improve themselves. In addition, many parents I know personally insult their children using bad words, which hurts children a lot. As for sexual abuse, I heard a lot of horrible stories in the Internet and from my friends. It is really horrible!

Participant 2: Unfortunately, we can't deny the problem. Thinking about it makes me really feel sad and afraid... I read a lot about child abuse in the net. One of my friends was sexually harassed by a stranger while she was on her way to the school bus. He followed her and wanted to touch her, but she ran away. Two of my friends told me that the same man followed them and touched them, and then he ran away. I told my family, but I still feel panicked... it's difficult to talk about it in public...

Participant 1: many people don't know that there is child abuse in Bahrain.

Participant 2: They would say that they never heard about child abuse

Participant 3: But at the same time I think many people know that there's child abuse but they don't talk about it

Participant 2: They don't want to talk about it...

Participant 4: They always deny it...

Participant 1: Child abuse is a very sensitive topic in our Bahraini society that has increased because of the conflict between cultural values and globalisation... Globalisation makes children open to Internet and technology, but our conservative traditions still see this topic as very sensitive...

Participant 2: People think that talking about child abuse isn't accepted in our conservative society.

Participant 3: This causes many problems for children... we heard many stories about abused children in school but no one dare to talk in public.

Participant 5: Some of the older students used to beat me in my first class at school... it still hurts me.

Participant 1: Some parents beat their children too... it makes the children become violent and beat other kids.

Participant 6: punishing the child should be without hurting him... beating the child isn't the solution for his problems.

Participant 4: We as children never forget how our parents treat us... beating hurt so much...

Participant 6: We need attention, care... we need our parents to listen to us instead of beating us.

Participant 5: We are all born as empty boxes... It is parents and family who could fill this box with good or bad things... it is difficult to be a good child in a family that mistreat you...

Participant 4: It's even worse in the case of sexual abuse... there is no basic sex education for children... children heard about sex from bad friends... they got wrong information... It really causes many problems...

Participant 5: Parents would never talk with their children about sexual abuse... it is a taboo... so, if the child had any kind of sexual abuse, he would feel guilty and would never talk...

Participant 1: We cannot deny the problem anymore. Children are not as naïve as many parents think. We heard many stories about children abuse, which frightened us and we don't know from where we can get appropriate information or how to protect ourselves. We need basic education about how we could protect ourselves... we need to be trained on basic skills...

Participant 2: The child rights agreement arranged by the UN specialised found that violence is bad for the child; therefore the child should be protected from domestic violence.

Participant 3: The problem is that many parents won't accept criticising their way of dealing with their children... they would get nervous and angry if you told them that they are doing something wrong... many parents won't accept that. So, it's better to go step-by-step...I think so...

Participant 5: Yes, I think the project should be careful with parents...

Participant 4: The problem that media doesn't target children...I don't think media does anything for us.

Participant 2: Yes... I think media is important to deal with the problem...

Participant 1: In 1998, the UN produced a TV programme in Bangladesh that doesn't target parents but children... its aim is to educate the child about his basic rights... it educates the child that he shouldn't be beaten even by his parents because it's a kind of abuse.

Participant 3: I think it's important to target us... to talk with us... to educate us our basic rights...

Participant 2: We're not as naïve as many people might think... Children are smart and need to be trained in schools to protect themselves against abuse.

Participant 1: It is important to improve school curricula to include children rights and basic life skills.

Participant 5: We really need this kind of education in school.

Participant 2: Unfortunately, our school curricula are boring and don't help us improve the way of thinking... I think we need interactive learning where the children's opinions are important...

Participant 4: The school curriculum doesn't improve our skills or talents...

Participant 7: It's sad that many children don't know their basic rights... I think improving school curricula would be useful.

Researcher: What do you think of the education programmes that target children in Bahrain?

Participant 1: Most these programmes are arranged by governmental entities... they are short-term and done without strategic planning... We need continuous programmes that cooperate with schools...

Participant 6: Many children don't have access to workshops... therefore; it would be more useful if these programmes arranged regular visits to schools...

Participant 3: the problem is that there is no strategy... no long-term plan...

Researcher: What do you think of Be Free, the anti-child abuse project in Bahrain?

Participant 7: I haven't heard about it.

Participant 5: Me too!

Participant 2: I attended some of Be Free's activities... I really like it... At school we don't have enough space to express our ideas, but Be Free has helped us speak up... We have learnt that we are important; and our feelings and ideas are valuable...

Participant 1: It gives us space to talk for the first time...

Participant 4: I think it is very good project.

Participant 2: Be Free is a distinguished project, and its website has very useful tips for parents and children. But, many people don't know about the project. It is because not everyone has access to Internet, and there's no advertising for its activities because of its limited resources...

Participant 3: That's right... I don't know that there is an anti-child abuse site!

Participant 1: I think Be Free should pay more attention in positioning itself on the media. As a Bahraini child, I heard about the project because I'm interested in children rights, but I've never heard about the project through the media. And I know that many Bahraini children don't know about the project.

Participant 2: That's right... It is essential to target as many children as possible... many of my friends don't know about the project.

Participant 4: I attended one of Be Free's lectures last year and it was very good and useful. It made me think reasonably about the issue as I used to have unclear picture about child abuse. But, I think that more workshops and lectures should be arranged at schools for both parents and children. And I think posters and attractive visuals would be attractive and useful.

Participant 6: I heard about Be Free, but I never attended any of its activities. So, it hasn't affected me. I think we need this kind of projects, but Be Free doesn't have resources to convey its messages to all the Bahraini society...

Participant 1: The problem that the project doesn't have enough resources... The project doesn't have individual location or full-time specialists as all the members of the project's team are volunteers and have their own full-time jobs.

Participant 2: That is why many children don't benefit from this project... It's good but there is still a lot to be made...

Participant 3: I haven't heard about Be Free before, and there is no well-known project in the field. I think arranging workshops and interactive lectures in schools and universities would be very helpful to increase social awareness over time. I think arranging activities in public places, not in schools, wouldn't attract children who prefer to have some entertainment in their free time rather than attending lectures or workshops. Therefore, I think it would be more effective to cooperate with the Ministry of Education to have a scheduled curriculum for children's workshops.

Participant 4: I think it's important too to target our society... The society and parents should be educated of the importance of discussing their children's problems openly and improving their skills and talents.

Participant 5: In some cases the parents are the ones who abuse the child... In this case it's really difficult to do anything...

Participant 1: Despite the paid efforts to fight the problem, I think the problem is widespread. Abuse has very negative impact on the child who most of the time would feel afraid to talk. It is even worse if the abuser is one of the children's relatives. The child would need self-healing to go over the shock, pain and guilt. I read many horrible stories about abused children in the Arab countries. I think the problem that the environment doesn't support the project... I mean... The problem is that our legislations are insufficient and need to be improved, besides the lack of an entity that has the right to adopt abused children and help them overcome the problem.

Participant 3: This makes it difficult for any project to succeed...

Participant 1: The project should cooperate with other governmental and private entities in Bahrain especially the Ministry of Education to access the children and get money.

Participant 2: Be Free needs money and access to children in schools...

Researcher: Do you have any other comments?

[Silence]

Thank you for your cooperation.

Ghiras- Focus group 4 with parents

Date: 11-12-2004

Time: 43 minutes

Number of participants: 7

Researcher: Welcome to our focus group to discuss drugs prevention in Kuwait. First, what do you know about the problem of drugs in Kuwait?

Participant 1: The problem of drugs is widespread in Kuwait... it could not be denied anymore....

Participant 2: Unfortunately, many youth are the victims of drugs addiction in Kuwait... we kept to hear many stories, but Ghiras was the first to discuss the problem openly...

Researcher: What do you think of Ghiras?

Participant 2: It is a good project... The project was established at a time that our society was suffering from many social problems... our youth have suffered from a complex conflict between Arabic values and globalisation as a result of rapid development. I like the unique strategy used by the project to attract the youth and talk with them.

Participant 3: I agree... it is good project that helps prevent our youth from drugs addiction through enhancing good values inside the Kuwaiti family.

Participant 1: The project has widespread widely through its large advertisements everywhere in Kuwait: TV, radio, streets, and public places. However, I think the advertising approach was used more than interactive approach that might result in larger impact.

Participant 4: Ghiras is an excellent project that helps increase the awareness towards drugs in the Kuwaiti society and decrease drugs addiction in Kuwait through enhancing

positive values starting from dealing with the key motivations to drugs addiction in Kuwait.

Participant 1: Ghiras is a very distinguished project that transfer drugs to a public opinion issue that all the Kuwaiti society share the responsibility in. The projects has succeeded to attract the Kuwaiti society from its very beginning through “I am with you” campaign that used popular character in Kuwait to convey its messages using simple Kuwaiti dialect.

Participant 3: I like Ghiras campaigns because they have succeeded to target the Kuwaiti society using simple, attractive language. However, I think the project needs development because it is still using the same methodology and approach that might bore the youth.

Participant 2: The project aims to prevent drugs addiction using indirect messages that might sometimes result in confusion such as “Please understand me” campaign that misunderstood by many parent and youth.... I mean... some people see these adverts encouraging the youth to do whatever they believe it is good regardless of their parents’ opinions.

Participant 3: The project promotes positive values but sometimes, its messages are not clear and might result in negative effect. For example, “Please Understand Me” Campaign might result in increasing the conflict between the youth and their parents.

Researcher: Do you think the project has an impact on you?

Participant 2: The adverts were everywhere... It was a unique project in Kuwait. Everyone was talking about its slogans, messages and visuals used in its adverts. It succeeds to transfer drugs from a sensitive issue that people don’t feel concerned of to a public opinion issue... The thing I like most in the project that it called for social responsibility and made drugs the problem of every Kuwaiti citizen.

Participant 5: Personally, I have a positive experience with Ghiras. My son has changed a lot after joining a two-week intensive programme with Ghiras. He started practising new sports and became more concerned about his study.

Participant 2: Me too! My son started talking with me and listening to my advice after attending some of Ghiras workshops... The project has affected me and makes me understand my sons' needs and give them more time to discuss their problems... And I started noticing small things that I didn't use to notice and ask about their friends.

Participant 6: The project doesn't affect me directly, but it enhanced many good values when dealing with my children.

Participant 3: The project has affected the way I used to look at the issue. I used to see drugs as a problem that doesn't concern me and would never happen to me, or my family. However, I started seeing things differently after watching Ghiras adverts on TV and in streets... I really like "Mum, being with us gives us happiness" campaign. I remember it sometimes when I have to choose between going out with my friends or with my family... I'm trying to encourage my children to practise sport or attend some summer programmes to utilize their time in good things that would prevent them from drugs as one of Ghiras' campaigns said, "Hobby is a protection".

Participant 7: Frankly, the project has affected me a lot, especially "Dad, please be with us" ads and activities. I started spending more time with my family and feeling guilty when I came home late from dywanyah, traditional place where Kuwaiti men used to meet at night. It has really a considerable impact on me and on many of my friends. People started talking about the campaigns that have been very attractive. Talking about the campaigns has led us to discuss our problems.

Participant 1: At the beginning, I was affected too much by the project's adverts especially "Dad Please Stay with Us" Campaign. However, now I got used to these adverts and they had limited impact on me, despite the large amount of money paid for the project. Therefore, the tactics used in the project should be re-evaluated in order to improve the way of targeting Kuwaiti society.

Participant 4: I think the project has limited effect as many people know the significance of the values that the project is promoting, but they don't know how to apply them in their real lives. Therefore, the project would be more effective if it is accompanied with training.

Participant 1: I agree... I think the project has limited impact because its messages were not accompanied with training programmes that would help the youth to overcome their problems and help parents to deal with their kids' problems... Discussing the problem is not sufficient to solve the problem without appropriate training.

Researcher: So, do you have any final comments or recommendations about the project?

Participant 2: I recommend arranging more workshops, camps and intensive training programmes by the project that would help the youth utilize their time in useful hobbies.

Participant 6: I agree... The adverts should be accompanied with training intensive programme that would provide practical tips. Besides, the issue should be discussed openly in the media through discussion programmes.

Participant 7: This is important... I don't think I have the skills to deal with the problem...

Participant 3: It'll be useful to provide the parents and youth with access to free training programmes that would improve their skills and prevent them of spare time that might lead to drugs addiction.

Participant 2: Governmental and private entities in Kuwait should support the project in order to help it overcome any barriers or challenges that might impede its development.

Participant 1: Laws should be tied to social factors, as communication projects cannot work in isolation of legislation. Besides, The project's team should arrange constant, informal meetings with the youth to understand their needs and problems before every

campaign... They should organize activities that would open the channels of communication between the youth and their parents such as open days, open discussions and meetings.

Interview with Ekbal Al Ahmad, journalist and liberal activist in Kuwait:

Time: 10 am, Sunday-18-7-2004

Place: Her office in Kuwait

Duration of interview: 41 minutes

General comment: The interview was open and Al Ahmad talked very frankly about her opinion of Ghiras' campaigns and the impact it has on the Kuwaiti society.

- Why do you think Ghiras started in 2000 in Kuwait?

Ghiras started as a result of the high rate of drugs addiction in Kuwait, where the youth are the groups-at-risk. It doesn't mean that the problem started at that time, but it is the time when the problem started to appear up on the service. There were some activists who started to talk about the problem at that time, and media started talking about the problem. In the nineties, no one ever used to talk about the problem. For Kuwaiti society, it was a mysterious world. I think if Ghiras had started in the nineties, people wouldn't have accepted its messages. But, I think when Ghiras started people were ready to accept the problem and to talk about drugs. Furthermore, in 2000 the problem of drugs increased considerably, which makes the society respond positively to the project.

- What is your opinion in Ghiras?

I think Ghiras was a pioneer in its start. It used new, unique strategies to attract the Kuwaiti society to the issue of drugs that used to be a sensitive topic. Specialists, government and the police used to be the only ones to talk about the problem from their point of view. I think in the beginning, Ghiras was successful because it established an alliance with voluntary, governmental and private sectors in Kuwait. This alliance has been very useful because it gave Ghiras the support it needs. The governmental support provided Ghiras with access to studies and statistics, and opportunity to meet people in

charge and to enter governmental schools. In addition, the alliance provides Ghiras with the budget... being under the governmental umbrella guarantees the continuity of the project. It is a big project, and it is impossible for one sector to sponsor it alone.

Moreover, communication strategies used by Ghiras were very effective. They used the simple, Kuwaiti dialect to address the target audience. As a Kuwaiti, when I walked in the street and see a big ad where a Kuwaiti family is wearing the traditional Kuwaiti clothes and talking in the local dialect, it affected me a lot. This strategy made their messages understood and repeated easily in the Kuwaiti society... Actually, their messages were very popular in Kuwait. I really liked their messages; we are not used in Kuwait to this kind of language. In addition, it was effective that opinion leaders and popular characters participated in the campaigns. It was a new approach that a famous singer, writer or religious man will repeat the messages of these campaigns. However, I think the shortcoming was that the project keeps on using the same strategies and the same way of addressing the Kuwaiti society, which makes it lose its big effects on the society. It is boring to use the same strategies for four years... it kills creativity... the project succeeds in the beginning because it was unique and creative, but if it is carried on the same way all these years, the creativity will disappear and the impact will be weak. Besides, Ghiras is sponsored by a big Islamic entity, therefore you will see all the girls in their ads wearing Islamic scarf. It looks that they are targeting specific audience, and excluding females who do not wear scarves for instance.

- What is the role of media in the project?

Media is a fundamental tool in such a project. Nowadays media is targeted to all kinds of audiences and it is more effective because people from all backgrounds are exposed to media. The prize assigned by Ghiras for journalists has encouraged journalists to write

about the issue, because they know that there is a reward by the end of the day. It is an annual prize and there is a specialist committee to select the best article or investigation. Many journalists have started writing about drugs just to participate in the competition. Some of the participated articles are below the required standard, but journalists are encouraged to write and to improve their writings in the future to achieve better standard. Media is a key communication channel between the project and the target audience. The competition includes all kinds of media writing: article, investigation, field study, caricature, photos and on-line articles. Moreover, this year the competition is opened for all the journalists in the Arab Gulf not just in Kuwait. There are many strict standards decided by the committee to ensure the credibility, privacy and objectivity when evaluating the writings. The previous year was the first year for the competition, and the standard of the writings was below the required standard and the committee were very strict in the evaluation process to encourage journalists to improve their standard this year.

Kuwaiti media is open to all kind of views. Some journalists criticised heavily the effectiveness of Ghiras... But, you can rarely find media that aim to promote social change, because media nowadays is directed to specific individual interests. For instance, most Kuwaiti newspapers believe in the women's political rights in Kuwait, but by the end the day this issue is discussed in each newspaper is subject to a net of interests such as who is the sponsors of the newspaper are and what is the public opinion about the issue. Moreover, it depends on the media agenda, and the newspapers' economic interests. Therefore, promoting social change through the media needs honesty and people who really believe in the issue, which is rare to find nowadays.

- What is the impact of the project on the Kuwaiti society from your perspective?

In the beginning, there was a very big impact and the Kuwaiti society really liked the campaigns... but I think this impact has disappeared lately. I used to like their strategies and messages, but nowadays I am suspicious about their impact. They are changing the language of their messages, but using the same tools and channels; they are still focusing on advertising. The Kuwaiti youth nowadays are more open-minded, more open to the Internet and updated to the most unique strategies and languages. Therefore, new strategies should be created to create a dialogue with young people. I think Ghiras have succeeded to talk with parents who still have traditional way of looking at things and of understanding media messages. However, the youth should be approached using updated, untraditional ways. Advertising is not enough for young people who spend most of their times chatting in the Internet. In addition, they could target the youth indirectly. For instance, studies have proved that spare time is one of the main reasons of drugs addiction. Therefore, alternatives should be provided for the youth. Honestly, religion is not the only solution to the problem. I think the dominance of conservative way of thinking is part of the problem. We always tell them “You should do that” and “You should not do that” without understanding their needs. There is no channel to create a dialogue with the youth, to give them the opportunity to express their own views of seeing things or utilizing their skills. The problem that there is a loss of understanding between the young generation and the Kuwaiti conservative society, therefore everyone is going to a different direction. We should try to understand them, to think and talk using their language.

The statistics have shown that there is still a high rate of drugs addiction in Kuwait, I think Ghiras’ team should stop for a while and think where they are going... there is something wrong. But it is not just Ghiras’ responsibility... there should be cooperation

with all associations in charge of drugs in Kuwait. Furthermore, laws play significant role in our war against drugs. The new law to execute drugs dealers has a big impact in Kuwait. However, the high rate of drugs addiction tells us that there is still a problem. Is Ghiras going on the right direction? They should re-evaluate their strategies, especially in such a long-term project.

I don't think the impact is the same impact Ghiras used to have in the first two or three years. In the beginning, the society's reaction to the campaigns was incredible, media and people used to talk a lot about them... everyone were asking: do you watch the ad? Do you read the message? How wonderful! Even Ghiras' slogans were very popular. Besides, Ghiras succeeds to transfer words to expressive visuals. But, nowadays I think they have lost their creativity, they are repeating themselves, using the same strategies for more than four years. I think they need to create new strategies, to attract the Kuwaiti society again that got used to the same strategies.

- Finally, do you have any comment or recommendation?

I just want to stress that in order to design a successful project... there should be a clear goal in addition to simple, accessible tools to achieve this goal. Financial sponsorship is a fundamental condition to achieve the goal. Moreover, there should be honesty and strong belief in the issue; people work in such a project should devote themselves to it. Besides, the project should be adopted by well-known, powerful individuals or entities to get publicity and access to many facilities. Additionally, people in charge of the project should have credibility in the target society.

Interview with Zahrah Hamdan:

Time: 11 am, 12-9-2004

Place: newspaper

Duration of interview: 25 minutes

- Why do you think Be Free started in 2001 in Bahrain?

The reason of the launch of Be Free at that time of Bahrain was hidden and unclear to many people, because the problem of child abuse hasn't been discussed openly. The loss of the child Fatima was the start of Be Free's success in discussing the issue in public... Why would a child at this age in the Bahraini conservative society run away from her family? It was a strange issue in the Bahraini society... Be Free has the most considerable role in discussing the issue at that time. Other social entities played minor role, although it's social responsibility. The problem has been widespread, but no one used to talk about it because we are still a conservative society.

- What is your opinion in Be Free and its impact on the Bahraini society?

Be Free succeeds to target the most difficult audience who are children and conservative parents who don't want even to talk about the problem. Children usually find it difficult to tell their families about abuse, and families do not know how to react in such a situation because it is difficult for them to discuss the problem. Therefore, I think Be Free succeeds to establish a communication channel between children and their parents. Children become braver to talk with their parents if they have any problem. Talking about the issue nowadays is not embarrassing as it used to be. The activities of Be Free target school students and parents through practical workshops. I think they are doing pretty well.

- What is the role of media in the project?

There is a considerable difference in the way media is dealing with the issue. It used to be almost impossible to write about such an issue; there used to be a very strict censorship. It used to be dangerous...the abusers feel secure because they know that no one dare to discuss the issue openly. But, media is writing about the issue nowadays; it doesn't mean that the problem has increased, but because media enjoy more freedom nowadays... But it is still limited freedom... TV hasn't discussed the issue openly yet; it still on its first steps. There's still no open discussion of the issue on TV. The way newspapers are dealing with the issue is through news coverage and some reportage. Until now we do not have a newspaper or media consultancy in Bahrain that would adopt some programmes and big events. Many social associations in Bahrain don't care about media coverage; they just arrange activities but there is very weak communication with the media. Media plays significant role in constructing public opinion towards and social issue, but it should be utilized well.

- Finally, do you have any comment or recommendation?

To design a successful project, all the tools and strategies should be used. The project's team should target media and all the interested associations constantly. Cooperation is essential in such a social issue where the community is targeted. Although there are many social associations in Bahrain, they find some difficulties in conveying their messages. Most of the associations are active but they haven't established good relationship with the media. Any project should be derived from people's needs and accompanied with strong will to achieve social change. They should break the silence and discuss such sensitive issue without waiting for a new victim or for a big disaster to happen.

Interview with Nazeeha Saeed, journalist:

Time: 11.30 am, 29-8-2004

Place: newspaper

Duration of interview: 26 minutes

- Why do you think Be Free started in 2001 in Bahrain?

There are three main reasons for the launch of Be Free at that time. Media started enjoying more freedom than what it used to be. Before the National Action Charter, there used to be many restrictions. After globalisation and the widespread of satellite channels and internet, we face the challenge of dealing with many of our hidden problems such as children abuse. The problem exists long time ago, and it might increase nowadays because our society becomes more open to rapid development and globalisation. Second, at that time many voluntary associations were launched where many specialists volunteered to serve the society. Dr Sorrow, the head of Be Free, was one of the most active people I know, who really believe in what she's doing and she's one of the reasons of the success of the project. Third, the problem exists and it needs to be discussed openly in order to be solved. When I attended one of the workshops for parents, all the mothers said that they started see things differently. They were happy to learn many skills that they haven't heard about before.

- What is your opinion in Be Free and its impact on the Bahraini society?

Be Free has achieved a considerable impact, because it was honest and done with good intentions. All the team devote their time and efforts and cooperate to arrange many face-to-face workshops and seminars. However, it is difficult to measure the parentage of change, because the project targets the whole community and it needs years to achieve its

goals. They went to schools, public places and mosques. I have personally learnt a lot from their workshops and seminars. It's a voluntary project, and even when they seek the support of Shika Hala Al Khaleefa, they don't want to show off but they want the project to get support. I think targeting women in the mosque was very influential especially on simple Bahraini women. And because all the team of Be Free are Bahraini women, wearing Islamic scarf, with very similar appearance to their target, it gives them credibility especially with simple, conservative Bahraini women. They see them as part of them especially that they are using the same simple language. In addition, I think they really do well in their campaign to find Fatima, the lost child. It was the biggest campaign to find a lost child in the Arab Gulf. Dr Sorrow used to take her car and go to look after her herself as soon as she receives any phone call about the possibility of seeing her in a specific town. People participated in the campaign, and the issue was positioned strongly on the media. I think Be Free is an influential project in Bahrain that should be repeated in many fields.

- What is the role of media in the project?

I think newspapers have developed in the way they deal with such sensitive issues; they are discussing it more frankly. But, radio and TV are still trying to represent only the positive image. It might be due to the fact that newspapers are private, while TV and radio are governmental associations. I think they are imprisoning themselves behind an illusive red zone. But, even in newspapers we don't have journalists that would start themselves creating public opinion about hidden issues.

- Do you have any comment or recommendation?

The main characteristic of designing successful social project is that it is implemented by honest team that devote themselves to its goal. It should be based on good intentions, and doesn't aim at individual interests or to show of. Moreover, the team should be specialised in the same field to give credibility to the project. Besides, the project should have financial support and cooperation from governmental and voluntary entities. Moreover, media and public relations should be given substantial attention, using all the tools such TV, radio, newspapers, Internet, streets ads. There should be constant contact with all the media channels in addition to interpersonal communication. Targeting people in the mosques has been very influential especially for simple Bahraini women.

Interview with Hanan Salem, journalist:

Time: 11.30 am, 29-8-2004

Place: newspaper

Duration of interview: 25 minutes

- Why do you think Be Free started in 2001 in Bahrain?

I think societies go through periods of change. Nowadays, social problems have changed and new problems have been arisen such as child abuse. It's a result of some economic factors such as foreign employees and the increase of population. I think Child abuse started to be discussed after the launch of voluntary associations in Bahrain that are updated to all the social problems in the Bahraini community.

- What is your opinion in Be Free and its impact on the Bahraini society?

Be Free is one of the significant projects in Bahrain because it has both prevention and treatment goals. Many children don't have the courage to talk openly with their parents. I think the Internet is a very effective tool, because most of the Bahraini children have Internet and find it easier to communicate on line. In addition, the hot line for children will be a good communication channel through which children could express their problems. Besides, in Fatima campaign, Be Free succeeded to position the issue of children abuse on the media. They succeed to make her a symbol of Bahraini children who are victims of children abuse. Many children suffer and no one knows about them; it is Be Free who positioned the issue on the media. It is very effective project, and I hope that other similar projects should be implemented to deal with all our social problems openly. However, the problem still exists; until now, the society doesn't recognise the importance of the issue or be able to deal with it openly and frankly. Many families try to hide the problem because it is still embarrassing to talk about it openly. However, the

silence would increase the problem. We still talk about the problem with fear and hesitation. Many people think that it is not good to discuss the problem with the child, while keeping silent would have negative consequences on the child. But unfortunately, many people prefer to keep silent and don't have sufficient awareness in the issue.

- What is the role of media in the project?

Media is writing about the issue, but it is still limited because media is the fruit and reflection of the society. If I am as a journalist and as a part of the society believe in the importance of the issue, I will write about it. I think our media hasn't played the sufficient role yet. Maybe years ago, I couldn't write about children abuse openly, but nowadays there is more freedom in the print. I think the problem needs more attention especially that some studies proved that the child is mostly abused in places that are supposed to be secure for the child, and by one of his relatives.

- Finally, do you have any comment or recommendation?

Most of the efforts paid in the field are by voluntary associations than governmental entities. Although Bahrain signed international agreements for children's rights, applying them is still problematic. I think there should be a High Childhood Council to adopt children problems in Bahrain; especially that Bahrain has young population. Establishing such council will support financially the voluntary associations and organize conferences and big events to ensure the child rights. It would be the governmental umbrella to support any project, with well-qualified specialists.

Interview with Samah Allam, journalist in the family section:

Time: 12 am, 3-8-2004

Place: newspaper

Duration of interview: 27 minutes

- Why do you think Be Free started in 2001 in Bahrain?

Be Free was a fruit of establishing Bahrain Women Society. After the National Charter, the number of voluntary associations has increased considerably in Bahrain. Be Free adopted a sensitive issue that hasn't been discussed before, especially with the problem of applying laws regarding children laws in Bahrain. Media started to discuss the issue and many seminars and workshops started talking about the problem I think be free is based on a well-established foundation, through its influential campaigns and ho line, besides their good relationship with newspapers and local radio.

- What is your opinion in Be Free and its impact on the Bahraini society?

Be Free hasn't achieved the aimed impact yet, because the issue needs a national umbrella to adopt the issue. But, I think Be Free is a distinguished contribution to the efforts paid to protect children in Bahrain. But, cooperation is needed to achieve considerable change. The problem is that Be Free is a voluntary project that is limited by few human and financial resources. Be Free has succeeded to increase the society's awareness, but we still do not have an accurate statistics to show the size of the problem. There is denial regarding sexual abuse. The laws are not applied in the practice, and even the child's witness is not taken as evidence. We need to apply these laws, and to conduct scientific researches to measure the problem. Only some abused children would be taken to the police or hospital, while many of the families try to hide the problem. We need to increase public awareness of the society, because many victims of children abuse are

blamed and isolated by the society without any entity to provide resources to help them from their own families. The abused still suffer the consequences even when they grow up, and find problems when they have to get married.

- What is the role of media in the project?

The media coverage of the issue has changed considerably, because media reflects social tendency. Nowadays there is a substantial social tendency to discuss the issue. However, the significant question is: Can an article or investigation at newspapers change the public opinion towards an issue? We have long-run goals, because social awareness needs long years and cooperative efforts to be changed. Besides, it needs to be accompanied with improving laws and legislations regarding children's rights.

- Finally, do you have any comment or recommendation?

In order to implement successful public communication project to promote social change, there should be a cooperative strategy or plan by many social associations, activists, and specialists in the field. It is a social common responsibility of all the Bahraini society. Furthermore, the adopted entity of the issue should believe in the significance of the problem and devote all its resources to it. Additionally, there should be specialist people working in the project who have both interest and good intention. The goal shouldn't be to show off; in contrast, we should participate to convey our message to the whole society.

Interview with Adnan Al-Rashid, the vice-editor of Al-Anbaa newspaper and treasurer of Journalist Association in Kuwait:

Time: 9.00 pm Tuesday, 20-7-2004

Place: The Association of Journalists in Kuwait

Duration of interview: 43 minutes

- Why do you think Ghiras started in 2000 in Kuwait?

Ghiras was established as a result of an initiative from the National Committee for Drugs Control and the private and volunteer sector in Kuwait. At that time the rate of drugs addiction was very high. The Ministry of Health, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Social Affairs showed their statistics and studies that proved how dangerous the problem has become in Kuwait. All the efforts were unified at that time and cooperate with all sectors and the Kuwaiti media. The Association of Journalists cooperate as well in the project, and we volunteer to work with them in Ghiras Journalist Prize last year. However, our efforts are still incomplete... the problem is increasing and threatening young people. Therefore, there should be more efforts and more cooperation to gain the fruits of the project.

- What is the role of media in the project?

I don't think Kuwaiti media is doing its complete role to increase awareness. The efforts paid by Ghiras or Kuwaiti media are not sufficient. Unfortunately, sometimes even TV serials encouraged the youth to try the drugs, because it is usually associated with having fun with friends in a joyful atmosphere. We should change the way it is represented on TV. We really need a specialist media. In addition, they never interview any of the drugs dealers on the TV. Why? People have to listen to them, to understand more what is going on, to know how the operation is directed. We should treat the issue openly, and Ghiras

should organize a TV programme where drugs dealers and drugs addicted are interviewed weekly and all the statistics, information and challenges are discussed openly. People should know everything in order to participate in the change process. People should feel how dangerous the problem is... they should feel threatened in order to move.

Besides, If the print media was doing its complete role to increase the awareness towards drugs, why there would be a need to establish a prize for journalists by Ghiras? If the media is covering the issue and writing about the problem sufficiently, there wouldn't be a need to arrange such a competition. Journalists should write about the problem because they believe how dangerous it is, not just to be rewarded. We don't want the role of media to be prestigious just to prove that we are doing something to control the problem. We should ask ourselves: What have changed? To what extent did we help to increase the social awareness towards drugs in Kuwait? I think more efforts should be paid, because the problem is increasing... The journalist writings in Ghiras competition were not as good as we expected last year. I think the problem that we do not have specialist journalism or specialist media. The issue of drugs needs specialist journalists to write about the problem... journalists who have the knowledge and experience to write about the problem. If we had specialist journalists, we wouldn't need to make a competition to make journalists write about the problem. It might be good at the beginning to encourage journalists to write about the problem, but we should move toward specialist journalism in the long run. We don't want our media to be a "reaction media"... we shouldn't wait for either a disaster to happen or a prize to be assigned in order to make our journalists write about the problem.

- Finally, do you have any comment or recommendation?

There are many efforts paid but they are not sufficient. Besides, there should be issued legislations for the addicted. There should be associations to take care of them after they leave their prisons. The cultural perspective towards the addicted should be changed. Even if he recovered, it is difficult for him to get married because most of the Kuwaiti families would reject him. The problem that in our society we still see the problem from a very narrow perspective; we should start from schools, to create awareness from the early ages. The problem is that in our culture, we feel “embarrassed” and “sensitive” to talk about the problem openly. Even when the recovered addicted is interviewed on TV, they wouldn’t show his face or would show him from the back. We should get out of the culture of silence, the recovered addicted should face the camera bravely and talk how he succeeded to fight his addiction. But, people still lack sufficient awareness. This is our culture... they still see things from one, narrow perspective. The problem is highly spread in all the Arab Gulf countries. There should be a unifying educational, social, legal and media efforts. There should be a well-planned, long-run strategy to fight the problem.

Interview with Mohammad Mamlook, journalist:

Time: 9.00 pm Monday, 19-7-2004

Place: newspaper

Duration of interview: 25 minutes

- Why do you think Ghiras started in 2000 in Kuwait?

The strict cultural traditions in Kuwait make the youth imprisoned in little opportunities to express themselves. They have money and spare time, which are dangerous for the youth if they do not have sufficient awareness. Moreover, there is segregation in the Kuwaiti society between men and women. Because of the culture, Kuwaiti woman feel that there is always a kind of challenge or hidden war to prove herself. As a result, the children find themselves lost. I think Ghiras started just on time to target the Kuwaiti family because it is the foundation for healthy youth.

- What is your opinion in Ghiras and its impact on the Kuwaiti society?

In a very short period, Ghiras succeeds to achieve a big impact on Kuwaiti families. Especially, in 2003, their campaigns made a good reaction. At the beginning, the media coverage of Ghiras' activities was limited, but after some time it achieved considerable success. Even the simple Kuwaiti would know about Ghiras. Ghiras succeeds because it hired specialist consultancy to design its campaigns and specialist people with good experience in the field. The language of its messages is unique because it used simple, direct, local phrases to target the Kuwaiti society, which is very nice, smart strategy. However, I think Ghiras should improve its media tools, to produce a specialist TV programme to discuss the issue daily or weekly. Besides, I think the weakness of the project is that it needs constant financial support. Therefore, it would be threatened to

stop if the financial support stopped. I think that Ghiras should be sponsored by a big investment institution to provide opportunities for the youth to utilize the skills of the youth. This will transfer Ghiras from its awareness goals towards effectiveness. In this case, it will help the youth to work and to use their talents positively.

- What is the role of media in the project?

As journalists, we have to cover the project's activities because it aims at the benefit of the Kuwaiti society... Although the Kuwaiti media covered many social and health issues to increase social awareness, Kuwaiti newspapers are political at the first place. Politics is the main concern on the Kuwaiti media agenda such as parliamentary news and elections. Ghiras prize for journalists was an attempt to make the journalists write about the problem of drugs in Kuwait... But, I think it is unfair competition and doesn't evaluate the journalistic writings in Kuwaiti media. Many journalists write many investigations and articles and pay big efforts to cover the issue, and haven't been rewarded, which is disappointing. Therefore, I think it is unfair prize, because there are many people who should be rewarded not one or two.

- Finally, do you have any comment or recommendation?

I want to stress the need for more financial support for any social change project... communication is not enough... the youth should be provided with facilities to change their behaviour. And I want to emphasise the need for specialized media to write about drugs in Kuwait... that's all...

Appendix 4: Sample transcripts of observation diary of the two cases:

OBSERVATION

Ghiras: Kuwait

Press conference for the announcement of the launch of ghiras' new campaign "this is my decision" and the youth intensive programme "Make your goal yourself":

11:00 morning, 15-7-2004:

The press conference was held at a small hall in the Scientific Centre. A number of the team and sponsors of ghiras attended in addition to a number of journalists in various newspapers and magazines in Kuwait. About 20 of the participated youth attended the conference. The atmosphere was little bit formal. Ali Al-Hajri, the head manager of ghiras introduced the new campaign and the new programme that will include 120 Kuwaiti youth and organised by a number of well-known academics and education specialists and trainers. The conference started with an OVHP presentation organised by Circle Communication Consultancy. He emphasised that the social coalition besides enhancing values using scientific media plan is the core foundation in Ghiras. He discussed the main issue, problem, value and information and studies that the new campaign is based on. He assigned the target audience and the time and activities of the campaign. I was amazed by the big media coverage assigned to this campaign and the creativity of the tools used in the campaign such as buses ads, airport cards, and the way of distributing the messages in various areas in Kuwait. Ali Al-hajri explained the first activity of the campaign which is the youth summer programme. He used interesting OVHP presentation accompanied with nice music, with a reminder of the programme's logo "Make your goal yourself". The goals and syllabus of the programme's activities were discussed in addition to the valued aimed to be achieved from each activity such as awareness, knowledge, change of attitudes, self-confidence and strong will. The atmosphere was full of enthusiasm, optimism and joy, especially with the participation of a number of the youth. It was emphasised that many competitions and prizes will be assigned for the distinguished teams of the youth in addition to the membership Ghiras Future Club that will held monthly meeting and activities. The presentation was followed by an announcement of Dr Awaid Al Mashaan, the head of supervisory committee and

the general manager of the national anti-drugs committee in Kuwait. He gave a brief historical background of the activities of ghiras and the importance of the new value raised by its new campaign that emphasises the correlation between smoking and taking drugs. Other sponsors of the campaign such as Megbel Al-Motawaa, the representative of the management of the Scientific Centre where the conference was held, Anwar Abu Rahma, the head of anti-smoking committee in the Kuwaiti Association for Fighting Smoking and Cancer (voluntary association), and Saaid Tawfeekey, the assistant manager of media and public relations in Kuwaiti Finance house (Big private bank). It was nice that this national campaign was a fruit of cooperation of various governmental, private and voluntary associations in Kuwait.

The most interesting part was when the head manager introduced me to talk about my research. Everyone was keen to help me in my research. After the conference, I was surrounded by the journalists who asked to make some interviews with me about my interest in ghiras. I discovered in this moment how big was well-known in Kuwait, and how the media was interested to cover all its news. I kept receiving a number of phone calls from some journalists from various newspapers in Kuwait all the time of my visit to Kuwait to make interviews with me. Actually, it gave me a good impression about the Kuwaiti media and about Ghiras itself.

The formal press conference was ended with an informal lunch where I had informal chatting with some journalists and members of Ghiras' team. I was more than welcomed there and everyone was very willing to help me to get as much information as I need for my research. Actually, the head manager assigned a car for me to take me to all the activities and to do my interviews in different places. It was more than what I expected! I was accompanied all the time with Yosuf Al Sammary, the PR participant in the national anti-drugs committee in Kuwait, which was very helpful to get access to many information and materials. All the team were very helpful and cooperative and welcoming to help although they were busy with the new campaign.

6.30 p.m., 15-7-2004:

The launching party at Arabic Planning institute

The party was held at the conferences big hall of the Scientific Planning institute. There were a number of the sponsors of the programme in addition to 120 young people who

will participate in the 14-day intensive programme “Make your goal yourself”, in addition to some of their parents. The party was introduced with speeches of Dr Awaid Al Mashaan, the head of supervisory committee and the general manager of the national anti-drugs committee in Kuwait and Ali Alhajri, the head manager of Ghiras. Then Dr Emmad Nahabeh, the educational supervisor of the programme, divided the teams and explained the timetable of the programme’s activities. One of the most interesting sentences emphasised by the supervisor was “Decide now to be in control of the change not a victim of the change”. The atmosphere was full of strength, positivism and optimism. And then he distributed red wristbands to the youth as a symbol of their strong decision to be in control of the change they aim to implement in their lives. Then the youth were divided to 10 teams regarding to the value they represent such as the team of values, the team of knowledge, the team of change, success, confidence, etc. And one of the most nice things that happened when dividing the teams was when of the youth asked the supervisor if it is possible to change his team, he replied in a smart way “This is your decision, make your choice, but the main thing make sure it is your decision. The party ended with an intensive dinner, it was a good opportunity to talk openly with the team. I talked openly with Dr Hamza Zawba, the communication consultant in Circle Communication Consultancy in the strategies used by Ghiras and the social marketing model it was based on. Then I talked with some journalists there.

10 am, Saturday-17-7-2004: Arabic Planning Institute

The first activity of the youth programme was watching and discussing a film. It was part of the awareness plan as Abdu Al Hameed Al Daidey discussed with the youth that every movie holds a hidden message and we should be aware to understand the messages rather than swallowing them without being aware of how dangerous they might be. It was an interesting discussion combined with stories and examples. For instance, he discussed how even Disney’s cartoon can brainwash the young audience such as the way Molan emphasised the message of the participation of woman in unaccepted fields in the Chinese society, and the way Pocahontas brainwash the American youth about the early relationship between early discoverers of America and the native Indian in America. He stressed that every movie holds a message and “we” should be aware rather than being

“brainwashed” or “manipulated”. Then the youth watched the movie *Minority Report* and the lecturer questioned many issues in the film such the way Tom Cruise takes drugs and how it was showed in the movie. The youth liked the movie and because there were a lot of action and suspense and an interesting mixture of past, present and future, and reality and fantasia. After the movie, there was an open discussion about the hidden messages and what they have learnt from the movie. The supervisor asked them o write down their opinions about he messages of the movie and the best papers will be given prizes in addition to additional credit to the wining team. The overall atmosphere was enthusiastic; all the youth were discussing their ideas and joking together. The way the supervisor was talking with the students was encouraging because he was addressing them all the time saying “you, the ambitious boy” or “the successful team”. After the open discussion, it was praying time so all the youth prayed together and then take their lunch together.

5 pm, Saturday-17-7-2004: Focus for Marketing Research

I visited Focus Company for Marketing Research, the company in charge of doing public opinion evaluation of Ghiras’ campaigns. I met Kameel Jadaon, the manager of the company who talked with me openly about the methodology used in evaluating the campaigns and showed me some of the results of some studies to evaluate Ghiras.

6 pm, Saturday-17-7-2004: Arabic Planning Institute

A lecture about “The Manufacture of Awareness” by Dr Hamza Zawba, the communication consultant in Circle Consultancy

It was one of the most interesting lectures I attended because the lecturer succeeded to attract the students using his gestures and body movements, joking, stories and realistic examples. Although some students were talking loudly while he was talking, he took things easily and managed to deal with different types of characters. The topic of the lecture itself was very interesting and was repeated all the time by Dr Hamza “Are you aware or not?” he talked about the factors and environment that make “our” awareness such as school, home, society, friends and media. He used many funny examples and stories. The students themselves were very enthusiastic to comment and discuss some of their experiences. One of things he keeps emphasising was “if you are aware, you CAN make your goal yourself, this is your decision”. He keeps asking the students intimate

questions and the students were very enthusiastic to participate. He was leading them to understand his points. Moreover, he used some local vocabulary used usually by the youth to be closer to them, and it was very effective. He talked as well the tools used in the society and media to brainwash “our” minds using some statistics and facts about the time Arabic audience associate for watching TV and advertisements. Then, he discussed the phases that make “our” awareness” using OVHP and asked a number of students to discuss the main ideas of the lecture. He gave the youth two practical exercises one to give them some words and ask them to read them in different ways, and other to give them pictures and ask them to interpret see them in different ways. Prizes were assigned to the winning teams. The lecture was ended by stressing that we should not believe whatever we see or hear, we should question things to be make our awareness and our goals. He used an OVHP presentation at the end to show some of Ghiras ads accompanied with music that emphasises the role of awareness and promote good values. The lecture was ended with open discussions and the students were invited to ask or share their opinions. One of the things that affected me at the end of the discussion that two of the students who talked impolitely during the lecture apologised for Hamza and everyone appreciated that. As usual, after the lecture the students prayed together, then took their dinner together.

10 am, Sunday-18-7-2004:

Interview with Ekbal Al Ahmad, journalist and liberal activist in Kuwait. The interview was open and Al Ahmad talked very frankly about her opinion of Ghiras’ campaigns and the change it has made in the Kuwaiti society.

12 am, Sunday-18-7-2004:

Focus group with the manager and some of the main members of Ghiras’ team. The interview was held in Circle Consultancy and it takes one hour and a half. It was an open, interesting focus group and many issues were raised frankly.

2 pm, Sunday-18-7-2004: In the Image and Word Production Company, the company in charge of producing TV ads.

It was so nice of the team to let me attend the first layout of the new advertisements for the new campaign. They discussed the small details very openly and asked for small changes. For examples, in one of the anti-smoking ads, one of the actors put the cigarette in his mouth, which they agree to change because some of the educational specialists they consult advised them to make the teenager in the ad just hold the cigarette in his mouth without smoking it to prevent imitation. In addition, they made some small changes and ask me for my opinion. I liked the way they are working as a team and they are open to improve their work although they were very exhausted and have little time.

5 pm, Sunday-18-7-2004: Arabic Planning Institute

“Making Goals” by Ala Al Dam

The workshop was one of the most successful activities of the programme because it was an open discussion and the youth were given a space to express themselves. They were very enthusiastic to participate because the lecturer addressed their own feelings and problems and used their own examples and stories. He discussed with them the main factors that will help them to achieve their goals using their own feelings and stories. His examples were very realistic and funny and the youth were enthusiastic and laughing with his stories. They asked some of the youth to volunteer to talk about their goals and used the white board to draw the “goals circles” for one of the youth. This exercise was one of the most interesting exercises because it was very realistic and everyone tried to apply it on himself to make his goals balanced in 5 main fields: health, personal, financial, social and faith. Then he asked the youth about the barriers that impede their ability to act to achieve their goals. The way he was talking was optimistic and encouraging the youth to be positive and to work hard to achieve their goals. His hand movement was very expressive and sometimes he was acting when telling the youth some stories. I can tell that everyone was impressed of his way of talking and sometimes some students were applauding. When the prayer time came, the students take short break to pray together and they had informal chatting with the lectures asking him how to improve their personal goals. After the break, the lecturer gave them 5 papers with different 5 colours and asked them to make their life plan for their goals by writing their goals to improve their lives in

the five main goals: health, personal, financial, social and faith. He displayed in the OVHP several questions that the students should ask to themselves to help them design their goals. Several prizes were announced for the best three life plans. Then he made a practical exercise for the youth by asking them to break a pencil by their little finger. They emphasised that they could do it if they believe they could do it and it does not need any physical strength. All the youth succeeded to break the pencils by their little fingers in a very funny and enthusiastic atmosphere. He ended the discussion with some positive sentences he stressed that each one should believe in strongly to achieve his goal such as “I take my decisions myself”, “I can achieve my goal”, “I am approaching my goal day by day”, and “I believe in God, and in my abilities and skills”.

After the seminar, Al Nahabah, the supervisor of the workshop announced that there is a brave “hero” in the programme who “decided” today to quit smoking after this workshop. The youth applauded happily, and Al Nahaba stressed “it is his decision, and everyone of us can make his own goals, there is nothing we cannot achieve if we decide strongly to achieve”. The youth applauded and were very enthusiastic. I find it the best practical example to make the students after a 4-hour workshop to believe in their abilities to achieve their hard goals.

As usual, the workshop was ended in a positive way by reading the youth promise “I have the awareness and knowledge, I can change, I have the confidence, I am insisting on making my goals myself, this is my decision”.

Monday morning 19-7-2004:

Phone interviews with some journalists.

5 pm, Monday 19-7-2004: In the Image and Word Production Company, the company in charge of producing Ghiras TV ads.

I was invited by the manger of the company to see some of the video-tapes of some o Ghiras activities. Yosuf Al Shummary, the PR participant, accompanied me and explained to me many details about their activities. It was a very useful visit, because it gave me a wider perspective about their activities.

7 pm, Monday 19-7-2004: In the national anti-drugs committee in Kuwait.

When I visited the national anti-drugs committee in Kuwait that followed the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Kuwait, I was amazed that the place was full of photos and colourful anti-drugs ads. To somehow, I imagined the place to be dull without any photos or colours. I met Dr Awaid Al Masaan, the head of the national anti-drugs committee in Kuwait, with another journalist and it was a good opportunity to talk about the history of anti-drugs promotion and the role of the national anti-drugs committee in Kuwait before and after Ghiras campaigns. After the interview with Dr Al Mashaan, Yosuf Al Shammery, the PR participant in Ghiras, showed me many promotional materials used in the campaign in addition to some studies and press releases done by the committee.

Tuesday morning, 20-7-2004:

Phone-interviews with some journalists in Kuwait.

5 pm Tuesday, 20-7-2004: Arabic Planning Institute

Workshop about “Research and Knowledge” by Gamal Al Molah

This workshop has the same enthusiastic atmosphere and was full of games and practical exercises that the youth participated very actively in. It emphasised one of the programme’s main theme that knowledge is one of the main factors to “empower” the youth to take their decisions and achieve their goals successfully. The way the lecturer displayed the basic information about the way the brain receive the information was very smart, because he used open discussion and a lot of examples and used the OVHP to show some photos. Many students participated in the discussion and practical exercise. He emphasised the importance of using visual materials such as photos and pictures to make it easier for the brain to receive the information. He said many words and asked the students about the idea they had about them. For example, when he said “your house’s door” everyone imagined the picture of the door. Then he played an interesting game with the youth; he wrote down the twelve Arabic months and discussed with the youth the best way to memorise them in less than one minute. He sang them in a rhetoric way with the youth and everyone memorise it easily when it was combined with music. He combined the statistics with games, stories and practical exercises, which provides funny and

interesting atmosphere. He ended the workshop with an open discussion and with a competition to choose the best “knowledge map” created by the youth.

6.30 pm Tuesday, 20-7-2004: Arabic Planning Institute

Open discussion with Dr Hamza Zawba, the communication consultant at Circle Consultancy, about the social marketing model that Ghiras is based on.

7.30 pm Tuesday, 20-7-2004: Arabic Planning Institute

Meetings and interviews with some journalists and activists were arranged.

9.00 pm Tuesday, 20-7-2004: Kuwait Journalists Association

Interview with Adnan Al Rashid the head of the Kuwaiti journalists Association, and the assistant editor of Al Anbaa, one of the main newspapers in Kuwait. It was an open interview where Al Rashid talked very frankly about the role of anti-drugs campaigns and the role of media in Kuwait.

Observation

Be Free:

31/5/2004

The first interview with Dr Sorrow Gharooney

It was the first meeting with Dr Sorrow Gharooney, the head of Be Free anti-children abuse and neglect programme. We met in Bahrain Women Society; It was a small place in the first floor. The place was small but very intimate and the walls were bright and full of photos. From the first meeting, I had the impression that I admire this woman. She was very simple, honest, and believes strongly in what she is saying. She was smiling all the time and trying her best to help me in my research. After one hour of the interview, she apologised that she has another appointment. I should confess, it was my mistake I should tell her that the interview would take longer time. But, she was welcoming other meetings. We agreed to meet in few days to finish the interview.

Saturday, 5/6/2004

The second meeting with Dr Gharooney was more intimate; we chatted for few minutes before starting the interview. Like the first meeting, she was welcoming any question and trying to help me as much as she could. Then after we finished discussing about the programme, she showed me some questionnaires they used to evaluate each activity and campaign and some of the children drawings in their workshops.

The first day observation: 20/6/2004 1:30m

From the first moment, I was surrounded by their enthusiasm. You can feel it in their faces, gestures and smiles. The atmosphere was full of happiness and love, they love each other, their work and believe strongly in what they are doing. I was asking myself all the time what has united these women? Why they are so enthusiastic? I was answered by their laughter; they were exchanging ideas, jokes, while having their coffee together. The

first meeting ends with an invitation in one of the team's members houses to discuss more ideas.

Soror was the manager, but you will never recognise that. She was asking them to vote for any idea. It seems that everyone liked her and respected her ideas. Rana the assistant manager of the team was so enthusiastic to start their new campaign and she suggested to write their ideas in a big white board while discussing, so their ideas will be more organised. They welcomed the idea. The members started suggesting some of the messages that should be used in their media-based campaign. Soror wondered: why don't we start assigning our publics first. One of the members said: I think our main public at this stage are children and parents. Other members commented: should we design messages for both publics at this stage. Another member recommended I think we should start with one public in the summer, then we moved to another in our stage. Mona agreed "Yes, I think it is important to make our messages memorable at this stage". They agreed. Soror suggested starting with parents, but another member was wondering if it is better to start with children since it is summer holiday and it is easier to target the children. But most of the members think that parents are more important in the first stage of the campaign. Rana invited them to write the main themes for the messages targeting parents. The team recommended four main themes but disagree with what theme they should start with. Soror asked them to vote for the most important theme. Most of them voted to start with messages that call for expressing parents' love for their children. The time for the meeting was almost up and one of the members asked for permission to leave because she promised her child to take him out. They ended the meeting with a proposed date to discuss the proposed messages for their first theme in their first stage of the campaign.

Sunday 27/6/2004: 1:30 m

***Be Free's* participation in a Seminar about domestic violence and its effect on children.**

It was a seminar organised by Red Moon. Rana, the assistant manager of Be Free, talked about domestic violence with two of the Ministry of Interior. The hall was very large and

the attendants sat in a very big circle, I was thinking all the time that it will be more intimate if the hall or the circle was smaller. There were 30 participants from various voluntary associations in Bahrain. The seminar started with defining domestic violence and the laws and procedures taken by the Ministry of Interior to protect and deal with the problem. The reasons of domestic violence in the Bahraini society specifically were discussed. Some of the male participants discussed why some men use violence in side the house and its effect in the society as a whole. The most interesting part of the seminar was when Rana started telling some realistic stories and examples about domestic violence and its effect on children. She used OHP, her hand movement, and very strong eye contact. She was effective because she was very honest, enthusiastic and believes strongly in what she was saying. She showed some of the children drawing to express their reaction when they see their fathers beat their mothers. One of the most impressive drawings was the drawing of a child hidden under the bed when seeing his mother beaten by his father. She ended her lecture with the best elements to make our children happy. She used the “we”, “us” and “our” all the time, which make the audience be involved in the problem. By the end of her talking many members of various voluntary associations suggested some solutions and asked for recommendations.

I think the seminar used successful strategies in saying the information because I could feel that everyone was involved in the problem. However, the largest barrier was that all the participants had been invited members of voluntary associations, while other public were not invited. It seemed that everyone is telling the other what he or she already knows, while no realistic recommendations of the role of voluntary associations in solving the problem had been discussed. In other words, everyone was repeating the question “What should be done in the society?” but no one asked, “What should WE do?” or “What is OUR role?”

Monday 28/6/2004

***Be Free's* participation in a Seminar about Children abuse:**

Dr Al Mahroos & Dr Gharooney

The seminar was at the same place, with mostly the same participants, almost 30. Dr Al Mahroos the head of children protection committee in the Ministry of health started her

speech with breaking the silence “Why do we discuss such a sensitive topic?” it was a good start. The way she was standing, her hand movement and the sensitive and attractive topic makes everyone in the seminar very involved. She focused on the role of social culture in enlarging the problem. The most impressive part of her speech was when she showed some photos of abused and tortured children. everyone in the hall was angry and sad, and to be honest I was moved strongly by the photos and I was about to cry. After talking emotionally to everyone using photos, Dr Al Mahroos raised an important question: hat can we do for these children? Using both emotional and cognitive strategies was significant in making everyone involved in the lecture. In addition, social responsibility was a good end to make everyone thinks where his/her role would start. Then sorrow talked about the experience of Be Free in educating the society of playing a role in this sensitive topic. She focused on the responsibility of the society as whole. Then her speech was mostly informative of the stages of establishing Be Free and challenges faced. She focused that the strength of Be free is in its strong belief and enthusiasm in what they are doing and good relationship with various associations working in the same field all over the world. Her speech was interesting because she talked in a very honest and enthusiastic way, gave many impressing realistic examples and has the talent to make everyone involved in the issue. I think it is honesty that has that big effect.

Focus group with BE FREE team:

10.30 am Monday 5-7-2004: 7 members attended in Bahrain feminist Association

It was very interesting focus group. When I arrived they were taking their breakfast together and chatting as old best friends. Everyone was very enthusiastic to talk and to listen to each opinion. They were laughing and joking all the time. I had the feeling all the time that I was sitting with friends rather than people working together. They agreed that the close team is the secret of their success. I was surrounded all the meeting with their love, enthusiasm and optimism to implement positive change in the society.

Workshop for the teenagers:

10.00 am Tuesday 6-7-2004

Awal Women Society, 27 teenagers.

Rana Al Sairafey was responsible to manage the workshop. Dekrayat was there, she told me that she wanted to support Rana and learn how to do similar workshops. Rana was smiling and joking all the time and I felt that the students liked her. She used the open dialogue to approach the students. Her body language was very effective, in addition to using many realistic examples and storytelling. She used one of the students' names to tell them a story of another girl who has the same name, but have problems in self-confidence. She stressed how our behaviour is a result of how we see ourselves. She used the pronoun "we" all the time to be involved with the students. She asked them: "Why we don't have enough self-confidence?" the students gave various answers such as friends and parents. There was very interesting open discussion of the problem and she continued giving examples and telling stories. Then, the most interesting part was when she asked two of the students to volunteer to act the role of confident and unconfident person. The students reacted and laughed a lot and it was followed by an open discussion of the physical and psychological differences between confident and unconfident people. Then she asked the students to tell stories and she used the white board to write the students' recommendation. Then she used drawing to explain some examples. She used indirect way to make them get her points such as stories and examples. The thing I like most was that she was leading the students to find solutions to their solutions rather than imposing her opinion. she made them draw the conclusions themselves. She was empowering them to find their own strengths. She stressed that "all of us" can change "ourselves". She said that sometimes we can change our attitudes by changing our behaviour. She asked the students who lack continence to try to talk in public, to try to walk in a confidence way, to change the ay they are looking to themselves. She emphasised that studies showed that abusers usually choose the teenagers who look unconfident to be their victims. She ended her workshop with an exercise writing several negative sentences many teenagers said to themselves such as "I did my best I cannot do more" and "I do not feel well today" and asked the teenagers to find positive alternatives such as "I can do more" and "I will feel better if I played some sport or if I had a walk with my friend".

I find it an interesting and useful workshop and I can feel the reactions of the target audience. Although sometimes they were shouting and talking together while Rana was talking but they were involved in the workshop. Rana used direct, simple language, used good visual and facial expressions. Her use of acting, examples and storytelling was successful.

5 pm, Tuesday, 3-8-2004

At Bahrain Women Association

I was happy when I was invited to attend the second meeting of Be Free team to discuss the new plans for their new campaign. As usual, the atmosphere was very intimate; it is the same feeling when I came to one of my friends' houses. Some of them were taking their shoes off, it is a cultural habit that people take their shoes inside their houses, which means that they really feel at home. They were making teas and coffees for each other, laughing and joking as old friends. The meeting started with dividing their activities for the coming month: who would like to give the seminar at that date. There was an atmosphere of democracy and cooperation, everyone volunteered to do it any time, and everyone was enthusiastic to attend the activities even if she does not have to organize the seminar, they were really willing to do as much as they could do. They discussed as well new ideas for the radio weekly programme, and Sorror, the manager of Be Free, asked them to write down their ideas and suggestions to be applied in a scheduled plan.

After that, Sorror displayed the suggested messages she received from the team to choose one of them for their new campaign. About 20 messages were suggested out of the team's brainstorming. Then they voted for each message until they agreed to choose the written message and discussed different ideas for the visual image. They agreed on the main message and image for their new ads and suggested to discuss the idea with a volunteer painter in the association to draw the ad. They agreed that this message would be used in the first phase of their new campaign.

After that, one of the team volunteered to train the team how to organize lectures and seminars about neglect and made a short presentation about the main facts and statistics regarding neglect. The atmosphere was enthusiastic and cooperative; although some of the members have just come from their work, they were very willing to work.

5:00 pm, Tuesday, September 2004

At Bahrain Women Association, training workshop with children.

It was one of the most exciting workshops I attended. 15 children from the age 8 to 17 years old were there. It was very interesting workshop, first there was a game to select a nice nickname for each child. The children were laughing and interacting positively with Be Free team. It was a kind of brainstorming workshop. They were asked to choose issues they want to be discussed and then vote to them regarding to the one they find more important. It was nice that I have the feeling all the time that it was children who manage the workshop and express their opinions freedom. They were asked to choose a name for their clubs and to suggest some activities in which they want to participate. Some children suggest assigning a section in the children pages at the newspapers and children magazines. Other children suggested establishing Be Free clubs in the schools. Some children suggested making plays and competitions for Be Free children. It was a fruitful and interesting workshop. I can tell that the children enjoy it and benefit a lot. It was funny that when the children got a little bit naughty, Rana made an "official" agreement with them not to shout or laugh when any child is talking. After the workshops, the team distributed ice creams for children.

5:00 pm, Tuesday, September 2004

At the house of Dhekrayat, one of the team

A very friendly meeting was held. The two new strategies resulted from this meeting were: First, training intermediate students (age 13-15) and then make them train primary, younger children; Second, making a drawing competition for designing the cover page of Be Free booklet for children from the age 6-18 years old.

11.15 a.m., Wednesday, 1-December-2004

At Hope Institute for Handicapped Children

A lecture for parents

It was one of the most interactive workshops I attended. Although the lecturer talked about protecting children from sexual abuse, which is a very sensitive topic, parents seem very keen to know about this hidden problem. Dr Qarooni used very simple language to

target parents. Her hand movements, gestures, and enthusiastic voice tone gave her credibility. In addition, she used realistic stories and examples about sexual abuse, which makes the lecture very interesting. She used the OVHP to present the basic tips using attractive drawings and colours as a background. She used statistics and supported her tips with religious phrases from Holy Qura'n, which I suppose was very influential on the Bahraini conservative parents. She gave parents some practical tips to recognise that their children have been abused and to protect them. She emphasised that the abused child is a victim and shouldn't be blamed. Moreover, she provided some tips to establish a good relationship with children, which is based on mutual dialogue, respect, trust and love. After her lecture, open discussion was invited. A number of parents discussed their problems and asked for more tips to protect their children. At the end they thanked her and told her that they benefited a lot from her lecture and asked for more lectures about the same topics. Sorrow gave them the web site of the project to get more information about the topic. Before she left, a number of parents went to talk with her in private to consult her in some of their private problems with their children. I think the lecture was successful because it targeted parents' needs to talk about this sensitive problem in an open, practical way. Therefore, the parents asked for more lectures and workshops.

10.15 a.m., May-2004

Workshop for nursery children

Dr Sorrow used soft words, simple vocabularies when addressing children. She showed them photos of animals and asked them to choose their favourite animals. The children choose rabbit, so Sorrow told them an interesting story about a family of rabbits to convey her message in a positive way. For example, she told them that although the rabbit likes ice-cream, he refused to take it from strangers or go with him in his cars. She addressed the children using their own feelings, the things they like and vocabularies. She used funny examples of the rabbit and the children were laughing happily and suggesting different ends for the story. In order to ensure that the messages of the workshop were understood well, Sorrow asked children to draw the story. The children were very enthusiastic to draw and to show their drawings to Sorrow. In most of their drawings there was a big smile; for instance, the rabbits, the sun and children were smiling. It means that the workshop succeeds in conveying the message positively without creating fear.

Appendix 5: Example of the coding process in the thesis:

Interview with Wafa Al-Hellaw, lawyer and activist:

Time: 11 am, 4-9-2004

Place: Her office

Duration of interview: 45 minutes

- Why do you think Be Free started in 2001 in Bahrain?

There are many reasons that make the project started at that time... Child abuse is widespread nowadays in Bahrain as it is many developed countries. I think it is a result of rapid technology and development brought by globalisation. Although we are a very conservative society, the problem that our religious faith is not real; many people focused on outside appearance while they give up their values and principles. The problem exists long time ago, but there used to be denial. But after the National Action Charter, we are more open to face our problems frankly. It is essential to discuss the problem openly; we don't want to show just our positive child while we deny our problems. If we hide and deny our problems, they will never be solved. But if we cooperate to face our problems, we will solve them. There are laws regarding children rights but there are problems in their practice. Therefore, we are trying to increase the social awareness of children rights. If any child is abused, he has first to tell his parents. Many children would keep silent and even if they talked, some parents wouldn't believe them or would be afraid to inform the police. There is a social problem because it is shameful for the family and they consider it as scandal, especially if the girl got pregnant or lost her virginity. In this case the victim will be blamed by the society, and the family would prefer to keep silent. The problem is that there is no national strategy to protect the children's rights. Even some doctors don't have sufficient experience in dealing with the case of abused children. There is a kind of legal ignorance; therefore, many doctors wouldn't inform the police about the cases. A

The launch of Be Free in Bahrain

Rapid development & globalisation

Cultural denial

Cultural denial

Lack of social & legal awareness

study conducted by the Bahraini Society for Children Development have shown that only 9% of abused cases are informed to the police, because of social restrictions and legal ignorance even among doctors and nurses at the hospital. Moreover, in our culture, the child is owned by his/her parents, and no one else has the authority to interfere in the case. It is the society's culture. In addition, child abuse is difficult to be proved because it doesn't occur in front of others, and the witness of the abused child isn't taken as strong evidence. Therefore, abuse is difficult to be proved, especially if the child has been taken to the hospital late. The society doesn't have sufficient legal awareness. Children are not aware that if someone touch them in a strange way or in certain parts of their bodies, it is kind of abuse. We have a wrong idea that the child is very simple and innocent and we shouldn't talk with him/her in such topics that might shock him/her. But there is very simple information that might protect our children such as not going with strangers or not to be touched in a certain way. The problem that we don't trust the way our children think. In addition, the laws and legislations should be developed because they are not taken seriously. For instance, if the abused child is under 15 years old, his witness isn't consider as evidence. Legal awareness is essential; if a child is abused what he would do, and what his parents should do. I think people nowadays are more aware of the problem because of the Internet and being open to satellite channels.

Cultural perspective of the child-parent relation

Lack of social & legal awareness

- What is your opinion in Be Free and its impact on the Bahraini society?

It is difficult to evaluate the project at this stage. I think implementing social change needs long time to be achieved. Human development usually needs time to have its fruit. If you are constructing a building, it might be finished in few months. But to establish change in society, it needs long time to see its fruit. Human usually change slowly, but I'm sure there would be social change regarding child abuse. Bahraini society starts

Change is a long-time process

discussing the issue, which is the beginning for social change. Be Free project is discussing the problem, the Children Protection Committee at the Ministry of Health, governmental associations are organising workshops and conferences, but all the efforts are scattering. We need a national strategy to achieve a considerable impact. I'm optimistic that there would be social change, because people nowadays are more aware. But, there is still no considerable impact, because human development usually needs long time to be achieved. I think in few years the impact of such a project will be more vivid.

Change is a long-time process

- What is the role of media in the project?

Newspapers are discussing child abuse more openly than TV. TV rarely shows some programmes about children if there is a seminar or a conference. TV is still not discussing the issue openly, while newspapers enjoy more freedom in covering the problem. Newspapers nowadays are discussing realistic cases of children abuse, which used to be very difficult in the past. But, I think TV should play more active role in dealing with the problem. I think media especially TV would help to increase the society's awareness in a shorter time. Moreover, it would be useful if Bahraini TV shows the main clause in children rights agreement, using colourful cartons to attract children to know more about their rights. Repeating such ads would help increasing the social awareness much more quickly. Children and families should know the child rights and how they should act in the case of children abuse.

The limited role of the broadcast media

Be Free succeeded to position the issue in newspapers in its campaign to find Fatima. Even TV made interviews with Fatima's family and discuss the issue openly for the first time. All the Arab Gulf countries have the same problem, but we are more open to discuss the issue in Bahrain. Media participation in promotion social change will encourage social responsibility towards the issue. In the case of Fatima campaign, media encouraged

The role of media in Fatima campaign

the society to participate in finding Fatima... every one participated to find Fatima, even if anyone suspected any one to be Fatima, he would call the police or the media. We succeeded in Fatima Campaign to face the problem and play an active role to solve our problems. But, as long we deny our problems, they would never be solved.

- Finally, do you have any comment or recommendation?

In order to design a successful project to promote social change, the project should first help the society face the problem. Admitting that we have a problem is the first step to solve it. Otherwise, if we keep telling ourselves that we are a conservative society and we do not have such problems, our problems would increase.

The need for breaking the silence

The problem is that we lack in Bahrain a national strategy to increase social awareness about child abuse. All our efforts are scattering and disorganized and we don't have a national umbrella where all the efforts would cooperate to increase the awareness of families, children and even doctors and nurses. We hope that all the efforts would cooperate under one umbrella that would gather governmental and voluntary efforts in the field. All the associations are working in isolation. Thus, the project should consist of a group of specialists in law, medicine, psychology and communication under one, unifying umbrella; this umbrella could be either national or regional from all the Arab Gulf countries.

The need for cooperation under one national umbrella

TABLE 1:**CODING SHEET: (Example)**

Main statements	Main coding themes	Interview No.	Page No.
There are many reasons that make the project started at that time....	The launch of Be Free in Bahrain	3	1
I think it is a result of rapid technology and development brought by globalisation....	Rapid development and globalisation	3	1
The problem existed long time ago, but there used to be denial.	Cultural denial	3	1
Many abused children will keep silent... would prefer to keep silent.	Cultural denial	3	1
Even some doctors don't have sufficient experience... even among doctors and nurses at the hospital.	Lack of social and legal awareness	3	1-2
... in our culture the child is owned by his/her parents...	Cultural perspective of the child-parents relationship	3	2
The society doesn't have sufficient legal awareness... what his parents should do.	Lack of social and legal awareness	3	2

Main statements	Main coding themes	Interview No.	Page No.
I think implementing social change needs long time to be achieved... regarding child abuse in Bahrain.	Change is a long-time process	3	2-3
I'm optimistic that there would be social change... will be more vivid.	Change is a long-time process	3	3
Newspapers are discussing child abuse more openly than TV... in a shorter time.	The limited role of the broadcast	3	3
Be Free succeeded to position the issue in newspapers... would never be solved.	The role of media in Fatima campaign	3	3-4
Admitting that we have a problem is the first step... our problems would increase.	The need for breaking the silence	3	4
The problem that we lack in Bahrain... all the Arab Gulf countries.	The need for cooperation under one national umbrella	3	4

<p>Access and equity</p>	<p>Access to schools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - When we started our programme, we targeted the Ministry of Education... - We tried hard to convince the Ministry of Education... <p>Legislations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There are many difficulties in applying legislative laws regarding child abuse. - The problem is that until now we don't have a law or authority to take the child from his/her family... - We couldn't promote social change in isolation of legislations... <p>Elite communication:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I think the project has little impact because it conveys its messages to only the elites... - It's essential to attract as many children as possible rather than focusing on specific groups of children... - ... not everyone has access to Internet, and there's no advertising for its activities because of its limited resources... <p>Lack of resources:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ... It lacks resources to convey its messages to all the Bahraini society. - I'm wondering who should be free... 	<p>Focus group 2 with the team (p.5).</p> <p>Focus group 2 with the team (p.2).</p> <p>Focus group 2 with the team (p.3).</p> <p>Interview with Salwa Al-Moayed (p.2).</p> <p>Interview with Lamees Dhayf (p.3).</p> <p>Interview with Abdul-Nabey Al-Akrey (p.6).</p> <p>Focus group 2 with children (p.6).</p> <p>Focus group 3 with children (p.).</p> <p>Focus group 4 with parents (p.5).</p> <p>Interview with a journalist (p.2).</p>
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Appendix 6: Semiotics analysis of Ghiras TV adverts:

Dad, please be with us:

Identification and Interaction: Offer visuals (using conditional learning theory).

Size of frame and social distance: Ads that moved from long shot visuals to medium or close shut visuals (the participants came closer to the viewer to call for his/her participation).

Involvement and horizontal angles: Participants were shown from oblique angle, which means detachment and lack of involvement. But spoken slogans were used to involve the viewer.

Power and vertical angles: The participants in all the adverts were at eye level, which suggests equality and no power difference.





I am with you too (or let's join the efforts adverts):

Identification and Interaction: Ads that moved from offer visuals to demand visuals (to invite interaction).

Size of frame and social distance: Ads that moved from long shot visuals to medium or close shut visuals (the participants came closer to the viewer to call for his/her participation).

Involvement and horizontal angles: Participants were shown at the beginning from oblique angle, and then they moved to be shown from frontal angle (they involve the viewer to tell him/her the message).

Power and vertical angles: The participants in all the adverts were at eye level, which suggests equality and no power difference.



Move to frontal, demand and closer shot visuals of popular figures in Kuwait





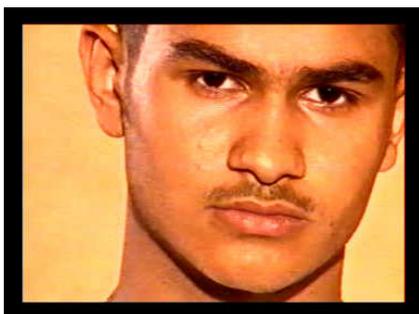
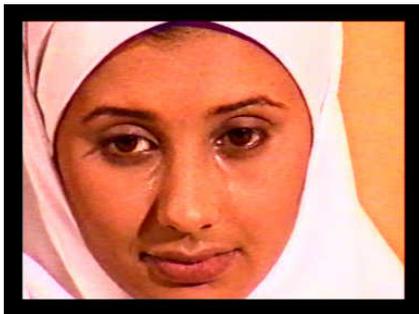
'Please understand me'

Identification and Interaction: Demand visuals (call for participation).

Size of frame and social distance: Close and very close shot visuals (the viewer is constructed as an intimate friend).

Involvement and horizontal angles: Participants were shown from the beginning from frontal angle (high involvement).

Power and vertical angles: The participants in all the adverts were at eye level, which suggests equality and no power difference.



'We understand each other'

Identification and Interaction: Ads that moved from offer visuals to demand visuals (to invite interaction).

Size of frame and social distance: Ads that moved from long shot visuals to medium or close shot visuals (the participants came closer to the viewer to call for his/her participation).

Involvement and horizontal angles: Participants were shown at the beginning from oblique angle, and then they moved to be shown from frontal angle (they involve the viewer to tell him/her the message).

Power and vertical angles: The participants in all the adverts were at eye level, which suggests equality and no power difference.



Move to demand, frontal, close and medium shot visual

'Go after your son':

Identification and Interaction: Offer visuals (using conditional learning theory).

Size of frame and social distance: Ads that moved from long shot visuals to medium or close shot visuals (the participants came closer to the viewer to call for his/her participation).

Involvement and horizontal angles: Participants were shown from oblique angle, which means detachment and lack of involvement. But spoken slogans were used to involve the viewer.

Power and vertical angles: The participants in all the adverts were at eye level, which suggests equality and no power difference. However, the use of imperative slogans suggests power imbalance.



'Friend follows his friend'

Identification and Interaction: Offer visuals (using conditional learning theory).

Size of frame and social distance: Ads that moved from medium/long medium shot visuals to close shot visuals (the viewer is constructed as a friend).

Involvement and horizontal angles: Participants were shown from the beginning from frontal angle (high involvement).

Power and vertical angles: The participants in all the adverts were at eye level, which suggests equality and no power difference. However, the use of imperative slogans suggests power imbalance.



'Hobby is a protection'

Identification and Interaction: Ads that moved from offer visuals to demand visuals (to invite interaction).

Size of frame and social distance: Ads that moved from long shot visuals to medium or close shut visuals (the participants came closer to the viewer to call for his/her participation).

Involvement and horizontal angles: Participants were shown at the beginning from oblique angle, and then they moved to be shown from frontal angle (they involve the viewer to tell him/her the message).

Power and vertical angles: The participants in all the adverts were at eye level, which suggests equality and no power difference. However, the use of imperative slogans suggests power imbalance.



'Mum being with you gives me happiness and security'

Identification and Interaction: Offer visuals (using conditional learning theory).

Size of frame and social distance: Ads that moved from long shot visuals to medium or close shut visuals (the participants came closer to the viewer to call for his/her participation).

Involvement and horizontal angles: Participants were shown from oblique angle, which means detachment and lack of involvement. But spoken slogans were used to involve the viewer.

Power and vertical angles: The participants in all the adverts were at eye level, which suggests equality and no power difference. However, the use of imperative slogans suggests power imbalance.



Modality of the TV adverts:

The term 'modality' comes from linguistics and "refers to the truth value or credibility of (linguistically realised) statements about the world" (Kress & Leeuwen, 1996, 160). It looks at how reality was constructed by the visuals in the adverts. In other words, visuals can represent people, places and things "as though they are real, as though they actually exist in this way, or as though they do not - as though they are imaginings, fantasies,

caricatures, etc” (Ibid., 161). The use of colour in visuals contributes to modality as “the more colour is reduced, the lower is modality” (Ibid., 164). Therefore, black-and white visuals have less modality than colourful visuals.

Most of the visuals in the adverts were constructed to have high modality as they took place in the realistic locations of the people involved in the adverts such as houses, hospital, theatre, football playground, public associations...etc. The participants involved were wearing the Kuwaiti traditional clothes and using the Kuwaiti, local dialect, which gave credibility to the adverts. For instance, in “I’m with you too” adverts, well-known people in the Kuwaiti society were used to convey the message of social responsibility, which gave the adverts high modality. In “Dad, please be with us” and “We understand each other” adverts, realistic Kuwaiti families were represented inside their houses. The families involved were wearing the Kuwaiti traditional clothes, women with Islamic scarves, and men with traditional clothes, and using the Kuwaiti local dialect. In “Please understand me” campaigns, realistic problems were discussed by real teenagers. In “Hobby is a protection” adverts, realistic models of successful teenagers who got prizes because of their hobbies were shown. In “Mum, being with you gives me happiness and security” the use of folk, traditional songs made the adverts of high modality.

In all these adverts, full colours were used to enhance that these adverts provided real people, real setting, and real situations. However, in “Go after him” adverts, mixture of full colour and black-and-white visuals were used to distinguish between present (what is real- death and sadness) and past (what is not real any more- happy times). Moreover, in “Friend follows his friend” adverts, the colours were reduced and two stories were provided with two different ends – happy and sad ends. It gave more opportunity for the viewer to choose and decide what is real for him/her. In addition, the use of slogans has key implications on the modality of the adverts. For instance, some adverts have slogans

of high modality that would state a fact or construct a reality through the use of syntax such as “I am with you too”, “We understand each other”, “Friend follows his friend”, “Hobby is a protection”, and “Mum, being with you gives me happiness and security”. Other slogans had less modality because they conveyed a request not a statement such as “Dad, please stay with us”, “Go after him”, “Please understand me”.

However, if we analyse how these slogans function in the adverts more deeply, it is interesting that they have multiple functions that could not be understood depending only on linguistic syntax. All these slogans are stating or offering a fact and conveying a request or demand from the viewer at the same time. For example, facts statements were used to imply a request as well: “I’m with you too” (and you should be with us too), “We understand each other” (and you should follow our tips to achieve understanding with your son as well), “Friend follows his friend” (and you should choose the right friend), Hobby is a protection (therefore, you (parents) should encourage your son to have a hobby), “Mum, being with you gives me happiness and security” (therefore, you (mothers) should be close to your children). While request statements were used to state a fact as well: “Dad, please be with us” (Dad, being with us protects us from drugs addiction), “Go after him” (Going after your child prevents him of being drug addicted), “Please understand me” (understanding me prevents me from drugs addiction). This combination of request and fact statements gives high modality to the adverts.