An Examination of the Design, Implementation and Impact of ICTs developed in the Asian Region for Queer Youth and HIV Advocates

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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

This thesis is the result of a research candidature conducted jointly with another University as part of a collaborative Doctoral degree. I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as part of the collaborative doctoral degree and/or fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signature of Student:

Date: **30th June 2016**

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The thesis, like most pieces of work, is never completed in isolation. Rather it is (re)made through much debate and discussion, which has taken place across the on/offline spaces that have made up my "work space" over the last 4 years. It has been (re)created in those moments of stress, of wonder and excitement as I have sought to bring together and understand the changing and dynamic space of development.

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Hanckel, B, and A Morris. 2014. Finding Community and Contesting Heteronormativity: Queer Young People's Engagement in an Australian Online Community. *Journal of Youth Studies*, Vol 17, No 7, pp. 872–86. doi:10.1080/13676261.2013.878792.

Hanckel, B, L Garcia, G-M Santos, and E Manalastas. 2014 Assessing Needs and Capabilities: Towards an ICT Resource to Support HIV-Positive Gay Men and Other MSM in Southeast Asia. *Digital Culture & Education,* Vol 6, No. 3, pp. 183–96.

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Abstract

Increasingly information and communication technologies (ICTs) are being used in community development settings in the global south to enhance human wellbeing outcomes. In this thesis I examine the construction, implementation and impact of three transnational ICTs targeting queer youth, and those working in/around and/or affected by HIV, developed by a community development organisation in Asia. This multi-site mixed methods study follows these three resources from development through to implementation and impact, as they move through on/offline spaces. In examining the design and construction, as well as implementation and impact of these ICT resources I use Sen's (1999) Capability Approach. I also draw on Bourdieu's concepts of capital and habitus, as well as recent work on affect and new technologies (Ash, 2014). My findings indicate the importance of symbolic affective markers (Ahmed, 2004) that are incorporated into the design of objects to orientate bodies towards them. These symbolic representations and markers seek to cumulatively engineer particular affects into digitally intimate objects, which work to orientate users towards the objects for the capabilities they can (potentially) enhance. In this way design considerations take into account the contextual capability deficits and structural inequalities (potential) users are likely to experience, and in so doing, use affect as a tool to respond to these concerns. As the affective intensities of these markers come into contact with (potential) users they leave imprints, or 'affective afterlives' (Ash, 2014). In doing so, both the producers and consumers come into contact extending the objects' reach across multiple networks in both private and public spaces. My findings indicate that this creates new forms of support and engagement for some, and results in on/offline encounters of personal sharing as well as debate and discussion about queer lives and discourses around HIV. This extends their existing capital and capabilities, and contributes to a broader life politics that is contextualised within local geographic space. For others, they orientate away from the artefacts when they do not have the capabilities to include them in their practices, or where the resources do not meet their capability needs. I conclude by considering the implications for a capability-focused design approach to technological artefacts and argue for the importance of considering both affect and the (potential) users' existing capabilities in thinking through the possibilities of ICTs in development projects.

1. Introduction: Information and Communication Technologies in Development Settings

Information and communication technologies (ICTs) - the personal computer, the internet and smart-phone, amongst other devices – have come to permeate our everyday lives. Embedded in our lifeworlds and social relations (Lupton, 2015), these 'objects' impact on how we connect with others for work, sociality, education and play (Rainie and Wellman, 2012; Tufekci, 2010). In doing so they impact on our everyday practices, or what Hobart (2010) refers to as our *media-related practices*, that (re)shape our experiences of the world as we turn towards and away from the technological objects that come into our lives. As Lasén argues

> …new mediated practices resume past performances, speeches, values, interactions and situations: We do what we used to do (flirt, gossip, coordinate, stay, harass, etc.) but with new participants (phones, computers, apps, smartphones...) and in this reconfigured environment, different ways, different times, places, meanings and subjects emerge, involved in similar activities, relationships and interactions. (Lasén 2014:10 cited in Serrano-Puche, 2015, p. 4)

In late modernity 'new mediated practices' emerge, as Lasén suggests, as individuals participate in new technological spaces in 'reconfigured environment[s]'. It is how these spaces are both designed *and* their subsequent use which is the topic of this thesis. In particular my interest here is on the construction, implementation and impact of ICTs in international development settings. Both the design of spaces and their use is important – as Ahmed (2006, p. 11) argues, as we turn towards objects we extend our "…bodies into spaces that create new folds, or new contours of what we would call liveable or inhabitable space." To this end I am interested in how new technologies are used in development practice, how they seek to extend individuals 'capabilities,'[1] and in so doing attempt to extend their capacity for action and enhance their lifeworlds.

[1] I discuss capabilities, and more specifically the Capability Approach developed by Amartya Sen (1999) in further detail below, and in Chapter Three of this thesis.

My work here sits at the intersection of development studies and new technologies (also known as 'ICT4D' or 'development informatics'). My particular focus is on development programs that seek to enhance the outcomes of people who are often geographically dispersed using technologies. In particular I examine online spaces, which as recent work has shown (See for instance: Hanckel and Morris, 2014; Hillier et al., 2001) provide certain affordances for individuals who come into contact with them. Affordances here refers to the

> …functional and relational aspects which frame, while not determining, the possibilities for agentic action in relation to an object. In this way technologies can be understood as artefacts which may be both shaped by and shaping of the practices humans use in interaction with, around and through them (Hutchby, 2001, p. 444).

In this sense we can think of affordances as both enabling and constraining factors – with particular uses (functional aspects) for particular people and groups in particular contexts at particular times (relational). As I discuss in Chapter Two and Three technologies extend networked lives, and in so doing afford opportunities for individuals to engage "in communities of shared interests" (Wellman, 2001, p. 247). These 'cyber places' (Wellman, 2001, p. 229) or 'networked publics'[2] provide distinct affordances for people to gather and connect with certain others (boyd, 2011). The language of affordances here is useful as we can ask how assemblages of technological objects, that might include *Facebook, YouTube* and/or dedicated online forums for instance, are brought together and subsequently used in development settings to enhance community development goals – that are often linked to enhancing individual's participation in community and their agency (Bhattacharyya, 2004).

In this context it is important to reflect both on how technological spaces are designed and adapted to enhance capabilities*, as well as* examine and reflect on their subsequent use. Taking place in what Bradshaw (2008) calls the *post-place community*[3] development practice *is* changing, as new technologies play an important, and perhaps crucial role, in development organisations practices. This has both

[2] This concept is used by Danah boyd (2011) and is explained in more detail in Chapter Two
[3] I discuss this concept in detail in Chapter Two

important ontological implications of how we imagine 'community development,' which I discuss in detail in Chapters Two and Three, and also requires further examination about how organisations ('designers') and target groups ('users') come together in these emerging spaces. To this end it is important to ask how online spaces are designed to lead to particular outcomes *and* what they afford the 'user' when they come into contact with them. Thus this thesis is as much about design as it is about the users' experience in relation to these programs. My interest in this thesis is how these technological development assemblages are put together, as well as the (un)intended effects they have on individuals and communities as these assemblages enter into their lives.

The following introduction provides an important context for this thesis. In the following section I discuss the space in which the community development organisation – the case study of this thesis - is working within. I then consider how technologies are increasingly being adopted, but also how they must be considered within the contexts and structures in which individuals live their everyday lives. These fundamentally shape their use.[4] I then provide an overview of the research methods and research questions that guide this thesis, and conclude by providing a chapter-by-chapter overview of this thesis.

Increasing Access to Digital Space/s (for some): Contextualising the Development Space

The uptake and adoption of ICTs, and particularly the use of the internet continues at a rapid pace globally ("ITU Figures – The world in 2015," n.d.). In this study my focus is on the development and impact of ICTs within Asia. The three projects I examine have diverse user targets – two of the projects target queer[5] young people in Asia (Chapters 5 – 7), whilst the other project targets global HIV Advocates (Chapter 8). My goal here is not to say the two target groups and projects are directly

[4] This is a point that other authors make (Hine, 2015; Rey and Boesel, 2014). I elaborate on this in more detail in Chapter Two

[5] The use of the terms queer and LGBT/LGBTI are used interchangeably in this thesis. They are used as inclusive terms to include individuals who identify with a same- sex identity and/or desire and also include those who identify with or may be questioning a gender identity other than their assigned sex and/or assigned gender. These terms also include those who may have same-sex attractions and/or are gender-questioning but do not identify with a specific same-sex identity and/or gender identity.

comparable – rather I want to examine how technologies get designed, how these assemblages are put together by a community development organisation within the context of Asia and how they are subsequently used (or not) in practice.

Asia, broadly defined, has experienced rapid technological changes since the mid-to-late 1990's. This rapid uptake and implementation is articulated in Figure 1.1 below, which shows 10 countries' experiences across Asia.[6] The increasing rates of internet adoption can be attributed in part to a broader commitment by Asian nations to enhancing economic output. Many nations in the early 1990s saw the economic potential of ICTs for development purposes, and in so doing ensured ICTs were "a critical component" in their development plans and part of "the informationalisation of their societies" (Ho et al., 2003, p. 2). To this end the internet became a crucial feature of development. It required limited resources to put in place and had – at least the potential – to enhance the economic outcomes of these 'developing' countries. Though, as clearly evident in the figure below, this implementation and adoption was not uniform and was varied between countries. These variations were related to market forces, including company decisions and pricing decisions that affect ICT adoption. This was also related to the level of investment in infrastructure – as governments decided where to spend limited resources - as well as the differing regulatory environments and policies in each country, which impacted on the implementation of ICTs, as well as individual access to them (Baskaran and Muchie, 2006; Kluver and Banerjee, 2005).

[6] These countries were chosen because this is a primary area of focus for the programs targeting LGBTI young people by the community development organization in this study – this includes: Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, China, Nepal and Mongolia

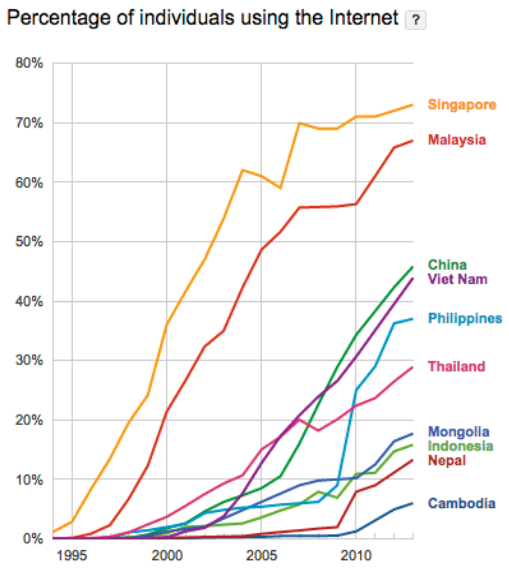

Figure 1.1 - Uptake and Adoption of the Internet in 10 Countries in Asia (International Telecommunication Union, 2014)

Importantly, having access to technology – whilst an important starting point - does not guarantee everyone can use technologies, or that they can use them in the same ways. Access here can be framed as in part about access to economic resources, as well as the role that context plays, and the importance of structural-level issues, as well as government policies and particular regulatory contexts that structure use. For structural concerns we might refer to the variations of social, cultural, and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and network capital (Wellman, 2001)[7] that individuals have access to. For instance structural level issues, such as socio-economic background (See for instance: Benotsch et al., 2004) have also been shown to impact on how individuals access, use and assess the quality of information they find in online spaces. These often shape the possibilities for both the adoption of new technologies and their affordances in individuals' lives. Furthermore societal norms and expectations play important roles as well. For instance in one study examining adoption of new technologies in Kenya, Hatakka (2013) shows how problems with infrastructure (i.e. connection to computers) was interrelated with norms and expectations around gender, which impacted on Kenyan women's use and adoption of new technologies. Furthermore, as discussed above, these are often linked to barriers within regulatory contexts – particularly governance and media regulation - which

[7] Network capital is the ability to traverse and use online spaces (Wellman, 2001). I will discuss this in more detail, as well as Bourdieu's (1986) use of the concept of *capital* in more detail in Chapter 3.

regulate adoption and choices people make about their use of and engagement with online spaces (Abbott, 2012; Kluver and Banerjee, 2005). In doing so these factors affect the affordances that individuals might gain from online technologies in interrelated and often complex ways.

Furthermore the adoption and use of technologies is also shaped by the devices individuals' use to access the internet, and the particular affordances of these devices. In Asia over the past decade we have witnessed the increasing importance of mobile technology (Evident in Figure 1.2 below), which has more recently become an important tool for accessing the internet through the 'smart phone.' Introduced onto the world market in 2007, the smart phone provides users with access to applications (apps), that let them record, upload and download media, and access the internet from their mobile phones (Lupton, 2015). In Figure 1.2 below, I have documented the uptake of mobile technology and smart phone penetration across Asia (across the same countries discussed in Figure 1.1). Evident here is an increasing trend towards smart phone use, which fits within broader trends taking place across the developing world. That is, mobile phone technology and smart phones are being adopted quickly, and are one of the fastest growing technologies in the global south (Doshi and Narwold, 2014), even in areas where other technologies and health infrastructure remain scarce (*mHealth for Development: The Opportunity of Mobile Technology for Healthcare in the Developing World*, 2009). This has to do, at least in part, with the decreased cost of these handsets – an important barrier to entry – which is likely to decrease with cheaper smart phone handsets entering the market within the next few years ("Ericsson Mobility Report June 2015," 2015).

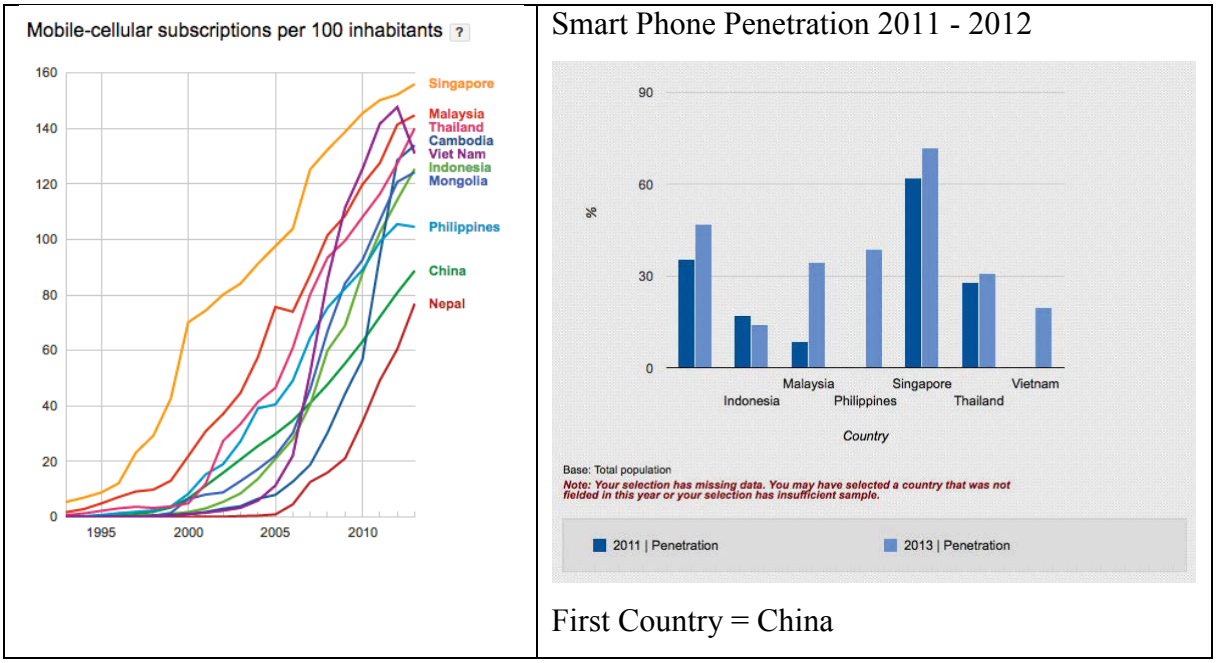

Figure 1.2 - Mobile Adoption (Graph One) and Smart Phone Penetration (Graph Two) in Asia.

For those with access to this technology it comes with new affordances. For instance, there are the immediately apparent benefits of the mobility of the internet and access to information anywhere (if you can afford it and if the infrastructure exists), as well as the potential privacy it affords individuals. Of course, these benefits are dependent on how accessible these technologies are, and whether or not there are accessible and affordable internet services available. And privacy, perhaps particularly important for marginalised populations (See for example: Hillier et al., 2010), is subject to differing mobile phone practices within different spaces (See for instance: Bell, 2006), where families and friends may access these devices, and thus impact on the potential privacy afforded by the access and use of these devices. Importantly though the mobile has been positioned as particularly important in development circles. Multi-lateral agencies have begun examining the possibilities for undertaking community development, and health provision using mobile technologies (*mHealth for Development: The Opportunity of Mobile Technology for Healthcare in the Developing World*, 2009). Though my research does not focus solely on the smart phone – its increasing uptake in parallel with increasing adoption and access to new technologies in Asia is the context in which the community development organisation is operating within this study. As I discuss in later chapters, the development organisation concerned identified a potential need and gap to provide an ICT4D program for the groups they were seeking to target. I examine how the organisation

designed ICT4D projects within these contexts that respond to an increasing number of internet users both within, and beyond the region.

Digital Technologies and International Development: Enhancing Human Wellbeing?

'ICT4D' and/or 'development informatics' scholars have placed much emphasis on how technologies are used in 'development settings'. Brown and Grant (2010) argue that increased attention needs to be paid to understanding the causal links between ICTs for development vis-à-vis the actual impact they have on participants who use them. To date much of the research has focused on the provision, adoption and diffusion of technology for development. Andersson and Hatakka (2013, p. 294) argue that these studies have "reached a level of saturation" and, similar to Brown and Grant (2010) argue that future studies need to focus on exactly *how* ICT's are used for human development purposes. Whilst recent work (Bass et al., 2013; Díaz Andrade and Urquhart, 2012; Hatakka, 2013) has sought to fill this gap, there still remains a dearth of research that theorises and provides an analytical understanding of these causal links between both the development of technological resources and human development and, as Walsham (2013) highlights, there needs to be more work done on the 'D' in 'ICT4D' research. This thesis seeks to contribute to this work and respond to these concerns.

In doing so, as I explain below, I draw on data collected from the development and implementation of three transnational ICT4D projects in Asia, with an emphasis on the development outcomes for a range of stakeholders involved in their production *and* consumption. I follow and analyse these projects from the point they were '*under construction*' through to the dissemination of these projects to examine how they are developed and received and their contribution to human development outcomes. My focus, as I elaborate in the following sections, is on development programs designed for particular groups: queer young people and those working in HIV Advocacy. In Chapter Two I explain the affordances of new technologies for these groups, and in later chapters analyse how these seek to enhance the capabilities of the potential user. I examine the politics and assumptions involved in the construction of these technological resources and assemblages, and their expected impact vis-à-vis the

impact on those stakeholders who come into contact with them, with a particular emphasis on the human development outcomes of these projects.

In discussing human development, or human wellbeing in this thesis I draw on the Capability Approach (CA), developed by Amartya Sen (1999). The CA focuses on expanding individuals' substantive freedoms, or what Sen terms *capabilities,* and removing the "...various types of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency" (Sen, 1999, p. xii). The CA is a normative and evaluative approach that questions the existing capabilities people have, and what capabilities they need to live lives they have reason to value (Sen, 1999). The CA is used as a framework in this study to conceptualise development and was drawn on by the practitioners of the organisation used in the case studies in this thesis. Recent scholars have argued for using the CA as a conceptual framework to examine and evaluate the design of technological objects (Oosterlaken, 2014), and for understanding their contribution to enabling human freedoms (Qureshi, 2011; Zheng, 2009). I discuss this at length in Chapter 3, which includes the limited research that currently exists in this area, and my contribution to this scholarly debate. To this end, I am interested in what capabilities are expected to be enhanced vis-à-vis the actual capabilities that do get enhanced.

Whilst the CA is useful for conceptualising and evaluating well-being (Robeyns, 2005) it is limited in its ability to explain the complexity of ICTs in social processes (Zheng, 2007). In Chapter Two and Three I draw on Wellman's (Rainie and Wellman, 2012; 2001, 1979) work on Networks; Bourdieu's (1986, 1977) concepts of habitus, fields and capital; as well as recent work on affect and technology (Ahmed, 2004; Ash, 2014, 2012; Thrift, 2004), to enhance the CA and examine "…how technology and human capabilities are related" (Oosterlaken, 2012, p. 16) and why design features matter. I use these concepts and theoretical approaches in combination to examine the development processes I am exploring in this thesis.

In discussing development here I want to be clear about what I mean by 'development processes.' Rather than just assuming linear trajectories from development organisation to (potential) user, my research explores the impact on a variety of stakeholders engaged in the construction of the resources in this development ecology. In this study I examine these ICT4D development programs, which includes

asking how they get designed and the impact they have on a variety of stakeholders as they enter into their mediated practices/media-related practices. To do this I draw on a multi-site mixed methods approach to examine both the 'normative dimension' (van den Hoven, 2012, p. 31) and moral considerations (Oosterlaken, 2009, p. 98) of design that shape the ICT4D resources, and the subsequent impact it has on stakeholders who come into contact with them. In doing so I examine the capabilities the development organisation is pursuing, the assumptions they make, and how it fits into the on/offline spaces the (potential) user/s inhabit.

Researching Development: Following Technological Objects in the Field

As discussed, this thesis follows three projects from the point of creation through to dissemination, led by one community development organisation in Asia. In particular my focus is on how these ICT4D projects get conceptualised and the expected human wellbeing outcomes from the project *and* the actual outcomes from the project.

To this end I have three primary research questions that guide this thesis and will be explored across three specific cases:

RQ1: How are ICTs designed and developed for development purposes?

RQ2: What is the impact on those who come into contact with these projects?

RQ3: How do (or don't) these projects enhance individuals' capabilities, and thus their functionings?

In approaching these questions I have undertaken a mixed methods study with a substantial component constituting a multi-site ethnographic study. This approach draws on data from my participation as a Monitoring and Evaluation Consultant with the community development organisation, which is the case study of this thesis. It also includes in-depth email and face-to-face interviews with designers and users of the resources. As well, it includes a document analysis of those documents associated with the programs, and includes the analysis of internet data (analytics and web-metrics) collected from the ICT4D projects in this study. The methodology and the ethical considerations of collecting this information are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Outline of the Thesis

My starting point, as indicated above, is to examine the role of the technologies in the implementation of development programs by community development organisations. However, what exactly do we mean by 'community' and 'development'? These terms are not fixed, and their meanings have changed over time, as both practices change, and our understanding of these words intersect with new technologies. In the first two chapters I examine and consider how we might conceptualise 'community' and 'development' in late modernity.

In the first chapter I examine the term 'community,' discussing what it means to practice community as new technologies have come to permeate our lives. I first discuss the move away from the traditional notion of geographically demarcated community, which made up the spaces theorists such as Durkheim (1933) and Tonnies ([1931]1957) refer to, to what Wellman (2001, 1979) terms 'liberated communities,' and Bradshaw (2008) has termed the 'post-place community.' I consider how the networks of cities (Fischer, 1995; Rainie and Wellman, 2012) have been extended through the affordances of technologies, and how they are being used in contextual ways, across on/offline spaces (Hine, 2015; Jurgenson, 2011; Rey and Boesel, 2014). I discuss both the importance of understanding the contextual media-related practices, as well as the potential affordances (and limitations) of technologies with particular reference to the groups that are the focus of this study - queer young people and HIV Advocates. I argue that these shifting notions of community require us to (re)consider the implications this has for how we think about the space/s of development and how individuals use ICTs in and across particular contexts.

In Chapter 3, I examine the term 'development,' and discuss the CA as underpinning the development approach of this thesis. I draw on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital to consider how this might extend the CA, and our understanding of how capabilities are (or are not) realised, and used towards political ends. I also examine recent work undertaken on the CA in design processes (Oosterlaken, 2012, 2009; van den Hoven, 2012), and, draw on recent work on design and affect,[8] and examine its

[8] Affect here is defined as the outcome of the encounter between entities (human and non-human) and how these entities become affected by these encounters (Deleuze, 1988; Thrift, 2004). Discussions of affect, as Paasonen et

potential role in new technologies (Ahmed, 2004; Ash, 2014, 2012; Hillis et al., 2015). In doing so I consider how the use of recent work on affect, as well as work on media-related practices might illuminate design thinking, and assist in thinking through how design takes place that intends to create possibilities for human development outcomes and the resulting (un)intended effects.

In Chapter 4, I outline my methodology. As discussed, it is a mixed methods study with a substantial component constituting a multi-site ethnographic study that includes interviews and document analysis, as well as an analysis of internet data. I draw on a feminist methodological approach (See for instance: Moss, 2002; Oakley, 1981) and, in this chapter, I reflect on my role and research position as both an insider/outsider. In doing so I discuss the limitations, challenges and opportunities my role, as a researcher, affords in this setting.

In Chapters 5 and 6, I examine the design of two "online" resources developed for queer youth. In Chapter 5, I examine the design of a web-application (web-app) designed for queer youth by drawing on multi-site ethnographic work, interviews with staff and program documentation. I examine in this chapter how the web-app is framed and the 'affective markers' (Ahmed, 2004) that are used by the designers to have certain intended development outcomes. To this end I examine what capabilities are expected to be enhanced and also the design considerations that are expected to lead to these possibilities.

In the following chapter (Chapter 6) I examine the construction of 7 videos developed for *YouTube* by queer young people in the region, curated by the community development organisation. Drawing on interviews with the filmmakers and staff, as well as documents developed during the construction of the resource I examine how these digitally intimate artefacts get produced and distributed. In particular, I examine how the existing capabilities and resources of filmmakers, as well as their own political goals, regulate the construction of the videos. I argue that their work is focused on (re)constructing the *symbolic meaning*[9] (Bourdieu, 1989; Swartz, 2013) of

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al. (2015, p. 19) point out, are centered around "... how bodies or objects may produce or experience intensity as they pass from one state to another." I am interested in how affect gets incorporated into design and how affect travels in social impact projects. I discuss this in further detail in Chapter Three.

[9] *Symbolic meaning* (symbolic power) is used by Bourdieu (1989) in his work. Bourdieu argues that the ability to (re)construct, impose and legitimatize symbolic meaning is available to those with the necessary symbolic capital

sexuality within the region. I then follow the films with the filmmakers as they participate in their release and distribution. In doing so I show how the films enter different on/offline spaces - at times facilitated by the filmmakers - which lead to enhancing the filmmakers' capabilities as they participate in, and enhance the affective response of the films.

In Chapter 7, I follow the web-app, and its associated components, as they are implemented within Asia. Drawing on ethnographic data, interviews with staff, queer young people ('users'), and internet data I examine the implementation of this ICT4D project. At the start of this chapter I document how the project was subject to cyber-attacks representing the precarious context the project was operating within. In the following sections I document first the interviewees' media-related practices as queer young people – showing how they access a diverse number of resources online from an assemblage of sources to develop and (re)create identities. I draw on this data to ask how the web-app fits within these existing new mediated practices. My findings show how the participants had affective experiences with the web-app as they engaged with it. Interestingly, the affective response was not always experienced through the design components that were meant to facilitate this experience. However my findings show that this affective experience did connect them to the capability resources built into the functionality of the site. Rather than enhance their capabilities though my findings indicate that the design of the ICT4D resources often did not respond to the complex media engagements they already have, or their needs in local places, which were often constructed by the organisation as specifically related to public health concerns. I argue that an emphasis on understanding the media-related practices of young people, and their own capability needs in geographic places needed greater emphasis to enhance community and agency, and requires ongoing exploration in future research projects.

In Chapter 8 I turn my attention to an ICT4D project developed for global HIV Advocates. Drawing on interview data with staff and advocates, as well as document analysis data I examine how this project was developed, and the advocates' experience with the resource. I extend the previous chapters' findings by asking what we might understand by focusing on the media-related and mediated practices of the

– that is those with the necessary legitimacy, authority and prestige. (For an extensive discussion of the use of this concept see: Swartz, 2013). This is discussed at length in Chapter Three.

advocates. My findings show that whilst the ICT4D project sought to enhance these practices it often fell short. This was related to the purpose of the advocates' mediated advocacy practices, which I indicate was focused on enhancing their symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1989). My findings indicate that the resource failed to explicitly enhance the advocates capabilities, and furthermore did not specifically address the capability barriers that prevented them from enhancing their advocacy practices. I argue that this maintained existing barriers, and thus, did not create a resource that extended their advocacy projects.

In Chapter 9 I conclude the thesis by reiterating the importance of examining technologies in development practice. As I argue throughout this thesis, it is crucial to examine how ICT4D projects are designed and implemented for geographically dispersed communities in late modernity. The use of diverse theoretical approaches provides for a nuanced and, I believe, theoretically insightful account, of how these ICT4D projects seek to imagine and develop projects for communities in and across diverse contexts. If the goal of the CA is to enhance people's lives that they have reason to value, then we need to continue to ask whether development that incorporates technologies meets this end in late modernity.

2. Defining Community and Examining the Affordances of ICTs for Queer Youth & HIV Advocates

This chapter examines the normative and critical conceptions of 'community' and pays particular attention to the central role that new technologies have come to play in shaping the way that communities form, evolve and operate. In this chapter I begin by reviewing the way that community has been conceptualised by the classical social theorists focusing on Durkheim, Tonnies and Simmel, and how the debate developed throughout the twentieth century drawing on the work of Wirth, Gans and Fischer, all of whom had a particular interest in sociality in urban spaces.

Building on this debate, I then discuss how in late modernity individuals have come to participate in the 'network society.' In doing so I draw on Rainie and Wellman's (2012) work to examine the concept of *networked individualism*, and discuss how, using the language of affordances (Hutchby, 2001) new technologies extend the reach of the 'network society.' I use Wang et al's (2011, 2012) concept of *Phatic Technologies,* and boyd's (2011) concept of *Networked Publics* to argue that human interaction is extended through new technologies, and technological platforms. In doing so individuals are afforded new opportunities to engage in community in shared contexts (Rainie and Wellman, 2012) and to reach "interactional goals" (Wang et al., 2011, p. 44). This is particularly important, I argue, for groups who are socially and politically marginalised.

The way networks operate, and how individuals participate in community across spaces is then examined. Rejecting a 'digital dualist'[10] approach, I draw on Rey and Boesel's (2014) concept of *augmented subjectivity*, to argue that individuals participate across a range of on/offline spaces in 'entangled ways'. This ontological positioning of the on/offline as entangled is important, I argue, for taking into account both the context of media engagement *and* the affordances of community. I draw on Hobart's (2010) conceptualisation of practices as *media-related practices*, as discussed in Chapter One, which extends our understanding of individuals' practices as occurring in relation to new technologies *in* places, where both context and the technology are entangled.

[10] Digital dualist approaches ontologically position the online and offline as separate spaces (See more: Jurgenson, 2011). I discuss this in more detail later in this chapter.

In the following section I use this conceptualisation of community and on/offline entanglement to examine the two groups who are the recipients of the programs outlined in this thesis - queer youth in Asia and HIV Advocates. For queer youth, I argue, greater research is required to understand how they are engaging in the region to participate in community. For HIV Advocates further research is required to understand how their media-related practices engage within a broader HIV activist community. In both cases increased attention needs to be paid to the changing ways they use new technologies, and the reasons they turn towards certain technologies over others as they participate in communities that extend beyond geographic place/s.

I conclude by making the case for a research agenda that examines both *how* and *why* politically and socially marginalised groups use technologies, how they find/enact forms of community through their engagement with these resources, and the experiences they have as they traverse these diverse on/offline settings.

'Community' and Classical Social Theory: Understanding an Urbanising World

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries social theorists sought to examine the impacts of industrialisation, capitalism, bureaucratisation, and urbanisation taking place as industrial capitalism became a dominant feature of society. This was characterised by changes taking place from pre-industrial societies, characterised by tight-knit homogeneous communities, to increasingly modern industrialising societies typified by the heterogeneous city. Some theorists, Tonnies and Wirth for example, lamented these changes and saw increasing fragmentation and isolation.

Writing in the late 1800s in Germany, Ferdinand Tonnies (1887) described the transition from pre-modern society to modernity as a movement from *Gemeinschaft* (community) to *Gesellschaft* (society). In his work, he lamented the modern loss of what he saw as group solidarity in *Gemeinschaft* (Bounds, 2003, p. 16; Rainie and Wellman, 2012). He described a move towards a society (*Gesellschaft*) as dominated by a rational will (*Kurwille*) where the individual was free from the constraints of *Gemeinschaft* norms that had originally been passed down through traditions, beliefs and practices within the tight-knit groups of rural society (Flanagan 1990:47 Loomis & McKinney 1957:9). However, for Tonnies' (1887) *Gesellschaft,* he argued, was

"…transitory and superficial" (35) where "…everybody is by himself*[sic]* and isolated, and [where] there exists a condition of tension against all others" (65).

Writing at a similar time in France, Emile Durkheim also sought to theorise the impacts of modernity, albeit somewhat differently to Tonnies. In his seminal work *Division of Labour,* he argued that the complexity of modernity required an increasingly specialized and differentiated division of labor between individual members of society (Bounds, 2003). Similar to Tonnies he made a distinction between the pre-modern and modern society. The former, he argued, was dominated by *mechanical solidarity* and the latter by *organic solidarity*. Mechanical solidarity is characterized by the "…organised totality of beliefs and sentiments common to all the members of the group" (Durkheim [1893]1933:129). The division of labour is minimal and society is held together by a "…collective conscience [that] completely envelopes our whole conscience and coincides in all points with it" (Durkheim [1893]1933:129). This collective consciousness, Durkheim argued, bound members together through the sameness of their lives (Kivisto, 1997; Morrison, 2006). In contrast industrial society is characterised by far greater complexity. There is a significant increase in the division of labour and individuals become more specialised in their tasks, but at the same time they are dependent on one another for the society to operate. Thus rather than view individuals as fragmented isolated atoms like Tonnies, Durkheim saw increasing interdependence in modernity. However as society shifted and evolved society was subject to what Durkheim called *anomie* – which is a state of normlessness that occurs when there is a breakdown of social solidarity and social integration – where there becomes an absence, often temporarily, of a living bond between society members (Marks, 1974; Morrison, 2006).

In his work, *The Metropolis and Mental Life,* Georg Simmel agreed with Durkheim's conceptualization of increasing interdependence of individuals. Simmel argued that the increased specialization of the individual "…makes each man*[sic]* the more directly dependent upon the supplementary activities of all others" (Simmel [1903]1955:409). However his focus on the city-dweller's personality led him to argue that whilst there might be increasing interdependence, the urban resident became de-sensitised, sophisticated, and blasé due to the excess of stimuli in the urban environment (Bounds, 2003, p. 17). In working through these concerns, he argued that the individual at once became "…'free' in a spiritualised and refined

sense, in contrast to the pettiness and prejudices which hem in the small-town man*[sic]*" (Simmel [1903]1955:418), and yet, paradoxically, the individual also became a stranger in the city, an individual who is "…culturally and socially distanced from others…" (Bounds, 2003, p. 16). The dialectic that emerged meant that the individual was, in Simmel's view, free from the constraints of pre-modern societies but at the same time distanced from others within in the city.

Wirth (1938, p. 12), writing later in the 20th century drew on Simmel's work to argue that whilst the size, density and heterogeneity of the city increased, the relationships urbanites had with their fellow residents were characterised by being "…impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental." His work clearly expressed concerns with 'urbanism', and contained a similar nostalgia to that of Tonnies' for the pre-modern community:

> Whereas, therefore, the individual gains, on the one hand, a certain degree of emancipation or freedom from the personal and emotional control of intimate groups, he*[sic]* loses, on the other hand, the spontaneous self-expression, the morale, and the sense of participation that comes with living in an integrated society (Wirth, 1938, pp. 12–13)

For Wirth (1938) the relationships formed within the city's metaphorical walls had become impersonal and superficial, which was reminiscent of Tonnies' and Simmel's earlier work.

Gans (1968, 1967, 1962) disagreed with this pessimistic portrayal of the impacts of urbanism, arguing that those groups who lived in the city and suburbs continued to enact 'quasi-primary' relations and strong social ties persisted in modernity. This conclusion was supported around this time by a number of other studies (Liebow, 1967; Whyte, 1943; Young and Wilmott, 1957) that indicated that connection and community were present in urban settings. These studies illustrated that modernity and urbanization did not necessarily mean the demise of community. Rather they indicated that the heterogeneity that typified the city, "…the melting-pot of races, peoples, and cultures…" (Wirth, 1938, p. 10), actually had the potential to bring people together in the form of communities.

Claude Fischer (1978, 1975), writing in the 1970's, extended this work on community in late modernity, taking aim at Wirth's claims, and that of subsequent scholars. His *'Subcultural theory of Urbanism'* argued that urban size and density did not lead to deviance and disorganization but rather that the 'critical mass' of people present in urban spaces was "…sufficient to maintain viable unconventional subcultures" (Fischer, 1975, p. 1320). He argued that large urban populations were able to support subcultures of individuals with similar "…beliefs, values, norms, and customs associated with a relatively distinct social subsystem" (Fischer, 1975, p. 1323). These unconventional subcultures can be defined as "…collectivities of people who are in one sense or another underprivileged or even oppressed…[who] resolve, handle, work through or 'answer' shared problems" (Jensen, 2006, pp. 262–263). In doing so the city provided the space for these politically and socially marginalised individuals to come together. In this way Fischer argued, as Bounds (2003, p. 26) points out, that "…urbanism does independently affect social life but does so positively by strengthening social groups".

Community in Late Modernity: Networked lives and the Affordances of New Technologies

Community as Solidarity in the Network

These connections or opportunities for connection to others echoed points made by Simmel (1955) in his later work, *The Web of Group Affiliations.* He argued that the size of the city allowed for group affiliations, or social circles to emerge, and that people live at the intersection of numerous social circles that occupy their time, energy and commitment (Kivisto, 1997, p. 127). These social circles, he argued, were individual to the extent that "…each individual establishes for himself*[sic]* contacts with persons who stand outside this original group-affiliation, but who are 'related' to him*[sic]* by virtue of an actual similarity of talents, inclinations, activities and so on" (Simmel, 1955, p. 128).

Rainie and Wellman (2012), building on Simmel's later work on social circles, argue that in late modernity networks play an important role in the way that individuals engage in forms of sociality. In their work they argue that individuals are now engaging in new forms of networking called *Networked Individualism.* This is characterised by "…a tangle of networked individuals who operate in specialised, fragmented, sparsely interconnected, and permeable networks" (Rainie and Wellman, 2012, p. 21). The individual, they argue, is part of many networks that meet the individual's social, economic and emotional needs across sparsely knit networks of others which provide "…opportunities, constraints, coalitions, and work-arounds" (Rainie and Wellman, 2012, p. 21) for an individual's needs.

Whilst networks afford "…access to vital resources, knowledge and influence which might not otherwise be available…" (Gilchrist, 2009, p. 84) the network itself, as Rainie and Wellman (2012) argue, is not a community. Rather it is the shared space within networks that provides for the interconnections for communities to develop (Rainie and Wellman, 2012). In making this argument Rainie and Wellman draw on Feld's (1981) work to argue that activities are organised around a common 'foci' or focus, such as a local hangout or youth space. This focus provides the shared context that creates opportunities and interconnections between people, where they "become interpersonally tied and form a cluster" (1016). In this way, clusters of people come together where joint activities can take place around a common focus and form a community.

I want to draw out this conceptualisation of the interpersonal ties here and examine what it is about this cluster formation that holds people together within this shared context. The answer, perhaps, is in Wellman's (2001, 1979) earlier work, when he conceptualised individuals participating in 'liberated communities.' In this work he argued these communities were held together by the solidarity of their members. Bhattacharyya (2004) argues similarly, in the community development literature and, drawing on Durkheim's work, argues that solidarity (shared identity and norms) "… is the essential characteristic of community" (10-11), which distinguishes it "from all other types of social relations" (12). In this way we can conceptualise community as more then a cluster of people around a shared context, but also examine it as a space

in which a shared identity and norms (solidarity) form around a foci (shared space) that works to develop and hold communities together.

Community in the Network: The Affordances of 'Phatic Technologies' & 'Networked Publics'

The language of affordances (Hutchby, 2001), as discussed in Chapter One, is useful here to consider what role technology plays in the development and maintenance of these communities. In Rainie and Wellman's (2012) work they argue that ICTs, such as the internet and mobile/cell phone, afford individuals with increased opportunities for networking, in looser, diverse and more fragmented networks. New technologies afford easier access to spaces where individuals with shared identities and/or norms can come together. There are numerous examples of the emergence of this, particularly for individuals from particular 'unconventional subcultures.' For instance technologies have been shown to afford networking opportunities for those who identify as transvestites and/or cross-dressers (Ferreday and Lock, 2007; Hegland and Nelson, 2002), as well as those with sexual interests deemed deviant by society, such as sadomasochistic practices or BDSM participants (Rambukkana, 2007), as well as males who are seeking sex with other males without condoms (Mowlabocus, 2007). These studies indicate how online spaces afford opportunities for connection, support and identity exploration, particularly when it can be perceived to be unsafe or difficult to seek these communal spaces, or similar others, in offline settings. Furthermore, recent studies have also shown how ICTs afford opportunities for those seeking support for stigmatised mental health concerns (Collin et al., 2011), sexual health concerns (Cohn and Richters, 2013) and have been shown to be important for providing support and information to individuals following a HIV-positive diagnosis (Hanckel et al., 2014; Mo and Coulson, 2010).

In conceptualising these technologies, and their affordances, I find Wang et al's (2011, 2012) concept of *phatic technologies* useful for its emphasis on the human relationships that are afforded through these new technologies. They argue that a phatic technology can be defined as a

> …technology that serves to *establish, develop and maintain human relationships*. The primary function of this type of technology is to create a social context with the effect that its users form a social community based on a collection of interactional goals (Wang et al., 2011, p. 44)

Such phatic technologies might include, for instance *Facebook*, *Tumblr*, *YouTube*, *Sina Weibo* and online forums or discussion platforms on websites. These are spaces where interaction can, and does take place, and where human relationships form. boyd (2011) discusses these spaces as *networked publics* which

> …are simultaneously (1) the space constructed through networked technologies and (2) the imagined collective that emerges as a result of the intersection of people, technology, and practice…[which] introduces distinct affordances that shape how people engage with these environments (boyd, 2011, p. 39)

Using both concepts – *phatic technologies* and *networked publics* - is useful here to the extent that we might consider how 'human relationships' are formed through existing platforms that create the social contexts or imagined collective experience/s for networked individuals to pursue 'interactional goals'. Conceptualising technologies in this way challenges recent theses of social erosion (Bhattacharyya, 2004) and community decline (Putnam, 2001) that fail to take into account the affordances of new technologies. In making this case I would argue rather that the engagement in these communities is facilitated and made more pronounced through technologies. As Papacharissi (2015, p. 1) argues in relation to social media, importance should be placed on the "…social properties of media, as they manifest themselves through the uses people make of networked platforms past and present, digital and non-digital" and, I would argue, as they pursue 'interactional goals.' In doing so we can examine how phatic technologies and networked publics get used (and (re)designed!) for networks, what they contribute to existing practices, and how this overlaps with the 'digital *and* non-digital' worlds individuals inhabit.

Space/Place and On/offline Entanglements: Media-Related Practices in Everyday Settings

The 'digital and non-digital' represent a broader concern by internet researchers to examine how individuals participate across online platforms and offline spaces. Traditionally, as Jurgenson (2012) argues, there has been a tendency to separate the online and offline, as if they happen in two different arenas. He labels this conceptualisation, 'digital dualism'. Rather than engage in this digital dualism, Jurgenson (2012), as well as other scholars (Marletta, 2009; Wellman, 2004) have argued for seeing the online and offline as overlapping and integrated within individuals' lives and maintain that researchers should examine the entanglement and symbiosis between the on/offline as individuals pursue their life projects (Marletta, 2009). In part, for this reason, many scholars have turned away from discussing the 'virtual' as something that happens 'out there', as if the geographic places in which individuals live (and their bodies!) are separate from their participation with phatic technologies.

This has also, more recently, been addressed in the community development literature, which has traditionally focused on community as occurring within specific geographically demarcated places. For instance, Bradshaw (2008, pp. 13–14) argues that community takes place in what he terms *post-place communities.* In doing so, he draws on Bhattacharyya's (2004) work to argue that "…solidarity is less often demonstrated collectively through attendance at something and more in communication or virtual celebrations". His argument contends that individuals participate in online spaces for interaction *with* offline geographic places. Offline places, for Bradshaw, become an important "node in the network" where both transactions and collective action can take place. His point is that community is, and does get incorporated into new technologies, and that a greater focus needs to be placed on how community development conceptualises communities across on/offline spaces.

The understanding of individuals participating in community in both online and offline settings has important ontological consequences for how we undertake, and understand research subjects' lives. To this end we need to explore the entanglements and complexities of how individuals utilise phatic technologies in their life projects as

part of their life worlds, and by extension as part of their participation in community. This involves an examination of a variety of internet spaces they utilise *as well as* the physical locations or context in which these practices take place. As Hine (2015) explains in relation to the internet, it is

> …a culturally embedded phenomenon, as online activities acquire meaning and significance in so far as they are interpreted within other online and offline contexts as and as accounts of what the Internet is and what it does, in general and in the particular, continually circulate through diverse online and offline contexts (Hine, 2015, p. 192)

In this way the on/offline converge and their meaning is made through the spaces in which they develop, and are used. This extends feminist geographer Massey's (1994) early work that argues geography effects social relations, to argue that social relations are, and become effected through the complexity of the online and offline spaces that individuals inhabit. In making this claim context, physical location and embedded power relations in these places remain important – a key point of Massey's work – and impact on individuals' lives. Importantly though, their lives are *also* impacted by their participation in the phatic technologies and the networked publics that are part of their networked lives.

In making this claim we can then conceive of individuals as moving between and across both the on/offline to make sense of their lifeworlds. I draw on Rey and Boeshel's (2014, p. 184) concept of *augmented subjectivity* here which is useful to understand the individual's experience. They use this term to emphasise "…the continuity of the subject's experience (as opposed to its "split"-ness), even as the subject extends her*[sic]* agency and embodiment across multiple media". Their argument follows that whilst digital technologies and "organic flesh" do not have the same properties, what is important is that "…the experiences mediated by the subject's organic body nor those mediated by her*[sic]* digital prostheses can ever be isolated from her*[sic]* experience as a whole" (184). Ontologically this allows us to move beyond the 'digital dualist' binaries of the online and offline. In doing so it opens the space to pursue a more nuanced approach that recognizes the entanglement of the on/offline that accounts for and "…acknowledge[s] all of the media that comprise the augmented subject" (Rey and Boesel, 2014, p. 185). Furthermore, we

can then conceptualise practices in a similar way to Hobart (2010), who refers to these as *media-related practices,* as discussed in Chapter One. Hobart's (2010) concept of *media-related practices* is useful here as it emphasises that practices change as individuals turn towards new technologies. I approach the study of practices in this way, and argue that such a position provides researcher/s with a clearer picture of how on/offline spaces interact, and in so doing I hope that such an approach might extend our understanding of "…how media are embedded in the interlocking fabric of social and cultural life" (Couldry, 2010, p. 50).

Subcultures in the Network: Examining the Affordances of New Technologies for Queer Youth and HIV Advocates

In updating his *Subcultural theory of Urbanism,* Fischer (1995) argued that the possibilities of interaction afforded by some modern technologies, or phatic technologies, provide the space for unconventional subcultures to come together without the need for propinquity that was previously required. Whilst place, as Bradshaw (2008) argues remains an important node in the network,[11] Fischer's updated theoretical work has been substantiated and augmented by a number of studies (See for example: Wellman, 2001; Hegland and Nelson, 2002; Mowlabocus, 2007) emphasising the affordances of new technologies for bridging ties between unconventional subcultural groups across geographic spaces. For these groups technologies provide a way to understand identity and connect with similar others and share resources, particularly in problematic offline contexts.[12] In this section I reflect on the contexts, affordances, and challenges recent research has identified for those who are the "recipients" of the development programs in this thesis: Queer Youth in Asia and HIV Advocates.

Queer Youth and New Technologies

Throughout East and South East Asia many LGBT young people endure discourses and narratives that position their non-heterosexual identities, desires and behaviors as negative and deviant. In some countries this discrimination is embedded in legislation

[11] Massey (1994) would argue similarly.
[12] By problematic offline contexts I am referring here to contexts that stigmatize or marginalise individuals because of their identity or perceived identity. I discuss these contexts and impact on individuals in the Chapter Three with particular reference to the concepts of *stigma* (Goffman, 1990), and *negative symbolic capital* (Bourdieu et al, 1999).

(Itaborahy and Zhu, 2013). For instance, within the last two years both the Singaporean and Malaysian courts have upheld legislation that criminalizes same-sex behavior, and more recently in 2015 the Malaysian court upheld a ban on 'crossdressing,' which has implications for those with trans identities ("Malaysia court upholds ban on cross dressing by transgender Muslims," 2015). Elsewhere in the region, such as in Brunei, and Aceh in Indonesia, legislation has recently been introduced that strengthens the penalties for engaging in same sex activities. This has been enacted and enforced recently in late 2015 in Aceh, with the detention of two women perceived to be lesbians ("Two alleged lesbians arrested in Aceh," 2015). It is within these contexts where the "everydayness of compulsory heterosexuality…" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 147) persists, and where discrimination and stigma have implications for young peoples' wellbeing and their livelihoods. Such discrimination has been shown to create a climate that encourages verbal and physical violence (Pratt and Buzwell, 2006; Thoreson, 2011) and has negative impacts on mental health and wellbeing (Dyson et al., 2003; Manalastas, 2013; Robinson et al., 2014). Such contexts hinder access to the limited support services available and limit opportunities to connect with similar others (*Being LGBT in Asia: Thailand Country Report*, 2014, For instance see: *Being LGBT in Asia: the Indonesia Country Report*, 2014, *Being LGBT in Asia: The Philippines Country Report*, 2014, *Being LGBT in Asia: Viet Nam Country Report*, 2014). Furthermore, as Thoreson (2011) argues, feelings of insecurity in contexts that marginalise can limit mobility and agency, and in doing so restrict the economic participation of LGBT people.

However, whilst this *de facto* and *de jure* discrimination and prejudice has major implications for queer young people and creates contexts of risk, this does not preclude the possibilities for LGBT youth to engage in forms of queer world-making (Taylor and Dwyer, 2014). As recent research (for example see Austria Jr, 2004; Bond, 2009; Gray, 2009; Hanckel and Morris, 2014; Hillier et al., 2012; Paradis, 2016; Sulfridge, 2012; Thomas, 2002) has shown, the internet affords LGBT young people who have access to it opportunities to explore and form identity, obtain support, meet similar others and get access to important (sub)cultural knowledge. These include a variety of phatic technologies/networked publics, such as dedicated online forums (Hanckel and Morris, 2014) and newsgroups (Marciano, 2011), 'hook-

up apps' like *Grindr*[13] (Castañeda, 2015), as well as broader social media platforms such as *YouTube* (O'Neill, 2014; Wuest, 2014), which I discuss in Chapters 7 and 8, and *Tumblr* (Selvick, 2014). These spaces afford LGBT young people with opportunities to try out same-sex performances and intimacy (Hillier et al., 2010), to share their queer lived experiences with similar others (O'Neill, 2014; Selvick, 2014; Wuest, 2014) and participate in forms of political participation and activism (Hanckel and Morris, 2014; Wood, 2014). Part of the appeal of this participation, as recent work has found (Hillier et al., 2010; Robinson et al., 2014), is the human interaction - finding similar others in spaces where there is both perceived anonymity *as well as* the potential for face-to-face interaction. For young people this is important as they negotiate the complex terrain of self-making and safety across on/offline spaces.

These online spaces have also been shown to facilitate a mentoring function, which enhances the information young people have access to. Recent studies (Castañeda, 2015; Hanckel and Morris, 2014; Marciano, 2011; Thomas, 2002) have found more 'experienced' or 'self-aware' others provide support and transfer knowledge to LGBT young people. This represents a form of (sub)cultural knowledge, which can help in reducing queer young people's feelings of distress, refuting stereotypes and negative perceptions of queer identity and contribute to understanding the jargon/slang used in queer spaces. In doing so, these phatic technologies afford a "…forum for the transfer of (sub)cultural capital" (Munt et al., 2002, p. 130), which provides individuals with information to make decisions that assists them in navigating the contexts in which they live (Hanckel and Morris, 2014).

In doing so LGBT young people bring together the on/offline to (re)construct identity as they explore sexuality and gender. As discussed earlier in this chapter, context plays an important role, which Gray (2009) points out in her work with rural youth in the US. She argues that each context requires different identity work as different young people "…confront different heteronormative/homophobic burdens" (Gray, 2009, p. 21) in their lives. Gray's (2009) work highlights how a range of *phatic*

[13] Grindr is a popular 'hook-up app' - a smart phone application used by men who have sex with men to meet similar others. It "…uses your mobile device's location-based services to show you the guys closest to you who are also on Grindr" ("Grindr: Learn More," 2015). I discuss it here for its potential affordances, however it must also be noted that there is space for exploitation as people seek advice in the context of sexual encounters. As well as this there is also the risk of surveillance by authorities <See more here: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-2768302/For-gays-abroad-social-networking-poses-risk.html>. However as I discuss further in the findings chapter young people use an assemblage of spaces to form identity and take safety and privacy seriously as they traverse online spaces (See Chapter 7)

technologies/networked publics are used in conjunction with, and informed by the offline settings in which individuals participate. The complexity of how this takes place is interestingly articulated in Butler and Falzone's (2014) examination of LGBT youth ('Kuchu youth') in Uganda. They document how Kuchu youth use the internet with other forms of Western *and* non-Western media to engage in dialogue offline with other Kuchu youth to form their identities. Not only does this research document the complex interactions between online space and geographic place, but it also discusses how transnational media get used by queer young people to inform and (re)construct identity. Further studies that document the experiences of LGBT young people from the global north *and* global south are crucial to understanding the different ways, and contexts in which media get used, as well as the transnational consumption and production of information, and how these inform identity - a point I make elsewhere (Hanckel, Forthcoming).

Global HIV Advocates: Online tools in Advocacy Practice

To define the work of HIV Advocates we need to start from the point of their emergence. The Human Immunodeficiency Virus, or HIV, emerged, and entered biomedical discourse in the early 1980s. The discourse at the time was dominated and controlled by institutions such as pharmaceutical companies, the media, and medical bodies (Juhasz, 1995). In response, as Gillett (2003) argues, advocates and activists (those living with HIV, their supporters and advocates) sought to disrupt and respond to this 'gradual institutionalisation' of the discourse surrounding HIV/AIDS. As Juhasz (1995:8-11) argues "The point is not that what is represented in commercial television is necessarily *wrong* (although sometimes it is), but that it is *incomplete*" and alternative media affords the opportunity to share "vital information…about drug protocols, coping strategies, or government inaction, to make their opinions public…" and (re)frame the existing debate. This was, as Laverack (2013, 2012) terms, a form of *health activism* which is defined as

> …a challenge to the existing order whenever it is perceived to lead to a social injustice or health inequality and uses a range of tactics that vary according to

> the function, structure and purpose of those trying to redress the imbalance of power that has created the situation in the first place (Laverack, 2012, p. 429)

Rather than rely on social institutions to set the agenda, HIV advocates sought to, and did engage in forms of health activism with the intention "…to exert control over the meaning of HIV/AIDS through their media practices" (Gillett, 2003, p. 609).

The ways in which advocates use the media has changed over time with the advancement and affordances of new technologies. These have included the use of the fax machine and phone counseling (Gillett, 2003) and the use of video equipment to film and present alternative narratives of people living with HIV/AIDS through documentary storytelling (Hodes, 2015; Juhasz, 1995). It has also included, more recently, internet related tools, such as the use of listservs and mailing lists to disseminate information (Vijaykumar et al., 2014), the presentation of digital documentaries (Juhasz, 2015), as well as the maintenance of advocacy websites and spaces on social networking sites (Loudon, 2010). For advocates with access to limited funding and resources (Spicer et al., 2011) these technologies allow them to disseminate information quickly and at a low marginal cost to a variety of stakeholders, including those directly effected by HIV/AIDs (Loudon, 2010). Importantly this is taking place in a broader context in which activists and advocates are increasingly using new technologies in new and disruptive ways to engage in forms of activism (For example see: Bakardjieva, 2009; Castells and Catterall, 1999; Earl and Kimport, 2008; Eltantawy and Wiest, 2011; Tindall, 2002). As Dawson (2012, p. 336) has argued - the "…communication, connectedness and interaction made possible by the internet are critical for social movements in the contemporary world".

For HIV Advocates online technologies get used for their affordances in strategic ways. Whilst used for the dissemination of content, as suggested above, they also draw on a variety of technologies to "…sustain and reinvent forums for the exchange of lay knowledge" (Gillett, 2003, p. 617). Technologies are also used to mobilise "…material and ideological support…" (Loudon, 2010, p. 1087) for their work across a range of stakeholders. Furthermore as Loudon's (2010, p. 1084) work indicates, this is also about "self-presentation" as advocates present a "well-managed online presence," which appeals "…to the symbolic association of ICTs with modernity and

productivity." In doing so the advocates strategically use technologies in their practices to enhance impact and sustain collective identities (Gillett, 2003). The picture here that these studies paint is HIV Advocates as networked individuals who participate in transnational networks to affect change in both the short and long term. However, further research is required to explore how they choose, use and incorporate phatic technologies and networked publics into their transnational advocacy practices, and the needs of the advocates, a concern I address in Chapter 8.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided an historical overview of the term community and how it has changed and been conceptualised in early and late modernity. Contrary to the arguments put forward by some authors (Bhattacharyya, 2004; Putnam, 2001) I argue that community and solidarity persists in late modernity, and is particularly evident within subcultural communities. For instance Putnam (2001) claims that solidarity, or social capital, has decreased based on measures of decreasing involvement in local community institutions and activities. However, whilst people may still live in local spaces, their activities are dispersed across community networks, often involving on/offline spaces, as they live as networked individuals. In this chapter I have discussed how members of subcultural groups are participating in communities in the 'network society,' during a time in which individuals have access to larger and more diverse networks across the globe (Rainie and Wellman, 2012). New technologies - phatic technologies and networked publics - play an important role in facilitating access to information and extending and creating new ties to similar others (Tufekci, 2010). I have argued here (and do so throughout my thesis) that these new technologies afford opportunities for individuals to participate in broader communities as part of complex on/offline engagements. As augmented subjects they participate as networked individuals within particular marginalising structures and contexts of power, which extend and give meaning to their on/offline experiences. Community then, in this thesis, is conceptualised as a shared space in a network that enables clusters of individuals, subcultural augmented subjects, to come together in forms of solidarity to work through 'interactional goals.'

Conceptualising community in this way invites us as researchers to start to ask important questions about how networked individuals engage with, and participate in forms of community. In particular we can ask how phatic technologies and networked publics are used by community members to enact and participate in forms of community, and how they are assembled in community development settings to respond to the needs of those who come into contact with them. It requires, I argue, asking how ICTs are used as part of individuals' lifeworlds and examining their media-related practices. In doing so we can ask how they engage in forms of community as both national and transnational subjects, and to what end. My thesis explores these questions with regards to queer youth and HIV Advocates and asks how the ICT4D programs, which I explain in the subsequent chapters, fit into their practices within the challenging contexts in which they live. It is the development and design of these programs that I turn to in the next chapter.

3. Conceptualising 'Development' in ICT4D projects: The Capability Approach, Power and Affective Design

Technology affects lives. Kleine (2013:1)

Recent work in ICT4D studies has focused largely on the provision, adoption and diffusion of technology for development (Andersson and Hatakka, 2013; Arnold and Stillman, 2012). However less work has been done on understanding exactly *how* ICTs are used for human development purposes (Andersson and Hatakka, 2013; Brown and Grant, 2010; Walsham, 2013) to improve the living conditions of communities "…rather than becoming an end in themselves" (Gigler 2001:36) . This requires, as Qureshi (2011) argues, a broader view of development that is focused on the human freedoms that technology enables. In response to these concerns some ICT4D scholars (Qureshi, 2011; Zheng, 2009) have advocated for approaches that draw on the *Capability Approach* (CA), a development paradigm developed by Amartya Sen in the 1980s. The CA is focused on enhancing individuals' freedoms, or *capabilities*, so that they can live lives they have reason to value (Sen 1999). It provides a normative tool for conceptualizing and evaluating well-being (Robeyns, 2005), and its use has been advocated to examine the "…life opportunities and the range of options for people to access and use ICTs to both improve their quality of life and to accomplish their goals" (Zheng, 2009, p. 77). This thesis (Similar to other recent ICT4D studies: Andersson and Hatakka, 2013; Andrade, 2013; Bass et al., 2013; Díaz Andrade and Urquhart, 2012; Kleine, 2010; Madon, 2004; Thapa et al., 2012) draws on the CA, as an underlying development paradigm, which was also used to guide the practitioners in developing the technological resources examined in this study. In the beginning of this chapter I explain this framework and provide an overview of recent work that draws on this approach to examine ICT4D projects.

The CA can be used with other theoretical frameworks to examine the complexity of the social (See: Oosterlaken, 2012; Robeyns, 2005; Zheng, 2007). In doing it can help us examine "...how technology and human capabilities are related" (Oosterlaken, 2012, p. 16). I follow Kleine's (2013) call in the subsequent sections of this chapter to think through the CA with the help of social theories more generally. In doing so I first draw on the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1986, 1989), and more specifically,

on his work on *habitus*. Habitus, a historically embodied form of *capital*, gives an individual a point of view, a disposition or position, in the world through which they can interpret their own and others' actions (Appelrouth, 2008). Drawing on Bourdieu's work on habitus I focus, in particular, on his concept of *capital* (resources), as well as his work on *symbolic knowledge* to examine how the resources an individual has provides them with varying abilities to participate in the struggle for classifying the world, and making their classification of the world resonate. I argue, drawing on the work of development scholars (See: Bunyan, 2010; Green, 2008; Shaw, 2008), that development initiatives are both a space for enhancing capabilities, as well as a space in which power is challenged, and Bourdieu's work provides a useful conceptual framework for analysing the struggle for power that emerges through development initiatives.

In the subsequent section I discuss the role of technologies and their relationship to development. I argue these spaces warrant further examination to determine how they contribute to enhanced capabilities and participation in the construction of symbolic knowledge. To this end, I argue one way forward with this project is to examine how technological spaces are designed to enhance capabilities. In so doing, I draw on recent work on affect (Ahmed, 2004; Ash, 2014, 2012; Thrift, 2004) and argue that this work provides a valuable lens, rarely used in the literature, to consider how these technologies are designed to respond to structural inequalities and contribute to capability sets. I argue that we can consider how *affective design* (Ash, 2012) considerations are used in (re)designing technologies and how they might work to enhance capabilities, and contribute to participation in the broader contestation for symbolic knowledge.

I conclude this section by bringing the theoretical frameworks in this chapter, and the previous chapter together. In doing so I reiterate the aims of this study, which include a focus on examining how technologies are (re)designed for development outcomes and how they may contribute to, and shape the world they are actively produced within.

The Capability Approach: An Overview

The capability approach (CA)[14] aims to evaluate and assess individual wellbeing and social arrangements. The CA emphasises human capabilities, rather than focusing only on economic resources. As a development paradigm the CA focuses on expanding individuals' substantive freedoms, or what Sen terms *capabilities,* and removing the "…various types of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency" (Sen, 1999, p. xii). The purpose of enhancing capabilities, such as access to schooling, quality health resources and/or quality sexual health information, is so individuals can choose to incorporate them into their lives, and thus engage in "…states of affairs that they value and have reason to value" (Alkire, 2010, p. 193).

Capability sets – the capabilities an individual has access to – structure the possible choices individuals have available to them to engage in lives they have reason to value (Sen 1999). Being able to choose whether to incorporate a capability into one's life requires first having access to that capability. Thus, if a person is illiterate their capabilities will be severely restricted. The choices individuals make form part of what Sen (1999, 2009) refers to as *functionings:* the 'beings' and 'doings' that a person does, and values doing, in their everyday lives. Examples of functionings are diverse and can include: being healthy, being able to work, feeling connected to a community and/or feeling confident.

The distinction between functionings and capabilities is, as Robeyns (2005, p. 95) points out

> …between the realized and the effectively possible; in other words, between achievements on the one hand, and freedoms or valuable options from which one can choose on the other. What is ultimately important is that people have the freedoms or valuable opportunities (capabilities) to lead the kind of lives they want to lead, to do what they want to do and be the person they want to

[14] The CA was initially developed by Amartya Sen and has been built on and developed by others, in particular Martha Nussbaum (2000, 2003, 2011). Whilst there are many similarities between the approaches there are also differences. Where applicable I indicate these differences, but adopt Sen's version of the CA in this thesis.

> be. Once they effectively have these substantive opportunities, they can choose those options that they value most (Robeyns, 2005, p. 95)

Thus the focus of the CA is on individuals' 'freedoms' to pursue ends that lead to lives that they value. These 'ends' can include realising functionings that enhance individual wellbeing, as well as other goals, such as enhancing the wellbeing of others. In this sense the capabilities that one has represents the various combinations of functionings that are feasible for the individual to achieve (Sen, 1999, p. 75). To this end the CA is concerned with the capabilities an individual has, not because they are necessarily exchangeable for income or money (Robeyns, 2005) but rather, because of how they enable individuals "…to achieve *combinations* of valued functionings" (Sen, 2009, p. 233). In particular, in the context of this thesis, when examining development approaches that use ICTs, the CA allows us to ask both what capabilities the ICTs are designed for and being used for, and what functionings are they fulfilling (Alampay, 2006).

The focus on capabilities here is important, as it sits in contrast to other philosophical development approaches that have focused solely, or primarily, on economic outcomes, consumption, happiness and/or desire fulfilment (Robeyns, 2005). In the past many development focused theories have focused on aggregate economic growth (eg: GDP and GNP), which Sen (1999) argues, have misunderstood how wealth is distributed within families and local communities, and in so doing, have not focused on the wellbeing of individuals impacted by development initiatives. The CA, as a normative approach asks about individuals' wellbeing, the capabilities they need to live lives they value, and the multidimensional issues which prevent capabilities from being realised (Bass et al., 2013; Díaz Andrade and Urquhart, 2012; Hatakka, 2013). As Madon (2004, p. 5) indicates in her research exploring e-government initiatives in Kerala, India, the CA paradigm allows for a focus not only on the supply side of technology but also the demand side of technology to examine what people can/cannot do with the ICTs available to them "rather than measuring mere access, expenditure, the establishment of infrastructure and the imparting of ICT skills." Thus we can ask here, as I do throughout this thesis, what can people do with the ICT4D initiatives available to them, and how does it contribute to lives they have reason to value, and subsequently, their overall wellbeing.

When talking about capabilities it is important to note that Sen (2009) has resisted the call for developing a prescribed list of weighted capabilities. Whilst others (see for example: Nussbaum, 2003, 2011, 2000) have suggested, and argued for, a prescribed list of weighted capabilities Sen has argued, as Zheng and Stahl (2012, pp. 71–72) point out, that "…the list and weighting of valued capabilities should be defined by individuals themselves". This emphasis on development that is "defined by individuals themselves" is important for Sen (1999, p. 288) who argues that development subjects should not be seen as "…patients to whom benefits will be dispensed by the process of development" (288) but rather they should be seen as active producers of development outcomes. Thus the importance here of working *with* people to define capabilities is crucial to the CA.

However whilst this conceptualisation is important, it brings up some important philosophical and practical challenges in terms of its implementation. For instance, an important question exists about whose voices get heard as people define their capability needs. For Sen (2009, p. 242), he argues that the "…valuations and weights to be used may reasonably be influenced by our own continued scrutiny and by the reach of public discussion". As a process we should ask how those with socially and politically marginalised voices are heard, as they often remain unheard in the "reach of public discussion" (see for instance: Fainstein, 2011). Furthermore, the focus on the individual needs in this framework brings up a concern about whose capability sets get enhanced when individuals may be seeking capabilities that are not only different but also (potentially) in contradiction with each other. Indeed this is perhaps most evident when considering the capabilities of individuals with different levels of symbolic power.[15] In particular, as others have indicated (Hill, 2003; Poolman, 2012), in the pursuit of more just outcomes, the aim of enhancing the capabilities of some individuals may work to disempower others. For instance Hill (2003, p. 129) discusses how increased equity in organisational contexts could "…result in increased unemployment benefits and reduced executive pay." Similarly, in Chambers' (2006) discussion of vertical hierarchies of power, he discusses how those in higher social positions of power – "uppers" - such as government officials and political leaders are

[15] I discuss this concept in more detail below, drawing on Bourdieu's (1989) use of this term

rarely likely to want to pass on, or decrease that power. I address some of these concerns throughout this chapter, and examine how they are addressed in the ICT4D project examined in this thesis.

Furthermore, what also requires further thought in these discussions is the complex relationship/s that exists between development practitioners and development subjects that inevitably impacts on the capabilities that are prioritised. Over the last two decades, as development has changed so has the conceptualisation of the place of the practitioner and development subject. Recent work (Johnstone, 2007) has called for a reflexive development practitioner who is conscious of the contextual power dynamics between practitioners and stakeholders. This calls, Johnstone (2007) argues, for working with communities to make determinations about what is in their best interest. Westoby and Kaplan (2013), perhaps more poetically, use the metaphor of a 'responsive dance' to consider this relationship between communities and practitioners. They suggest that practitioners are immersed in a complex mutual dance with communities that confront issues of power in dialogical and responsive relationships. The emphasis here is on working *with* communities. This conceptualisation of development fits into the CA, and is also congruous with Robeyns' (2010) work on operationalizing the CA, which emphasises defining the capabilities that need to be enhanced with communities and then identifying the barriers and inputs required to make this happen. These development methods, including the one proposed by Robeyns (2010), are about ensuring individuals have "…the opportunity to own the problem by feeling and defining it, and also to apply their knowledge/material resources for solving it" (Bhattacharyya, 2004, p. 24). Indeed this approach also recognises that the ability of individuals to deliberate and make determinations of value is in itself a functioning.

Importantly perhaps, is viewing the CA as dynamic and not static. As Coeckelbergh (2011) argues, capabilities remain open to changing interpretation and prioritisation. This process requires an engagement in

> …a cumbersome hermeneutics that dances between unstable interpretations of technological changes, changes in the meaning of capabilities, changes in individual and societal practices, value changes, and dynamic relations between these changes (Coeckelbergh, 2011, p. 92)

In this thesis, I am interested in how stakeholders are creating and (re)creating spaces of development amidst these ongoing changes *as well as* how practitioners engage in a 'responsive dance' with individuals in transnational ICT4D development programs.

The Capability Approach: From the 'means to achieve' to the 'freedom to achieve'

The CA, as Robeyns (2005) points out, is a framework that draws attention to certain types of conversions. That is, capability inputs (resources) must be converted into capabilities, which individuals can convert into functionings ('doings' and 'beings' that are constitutive of their lives). The conversion of these factors into capability sets are important, however their realisation is impeded by the contexts in which individuals are situated (Hart, 2012; Robeyns, 2005). Figure 3.1 below, adapted from Robeyns (2005), provides a model for conceptualising these conversions. Beginning on the left hand side of the model is the 'means to achieve' stage, where capability inputs (resources) need to be developed and distributed, or capability obstacles (eg: social norms) removed for individuals to realise certain capabilities (Conradie and Robeyns, 2014). When capabilities sets are realised at the 'freedom to achieve' stage, individuals can then *choose* whether or not to incorporate these into their life-projects as part of their overall set of valued functionings ('achievement'). An example of this could be for instance the experiences of LGBT young people who face heteronormative contexts of risk that position their attraction, desire and/or identity as problematic and in some circumstances as criminal. These contexts create barriers that impede access to support services, peers and knowledge, and thus their ability to access forms of support and connection to similar others,[16] which impedes their ability to live lives they have reason to value.

[16] This point was discussed in the previous chapter, and is a point I return to in the later chapters in this thesis

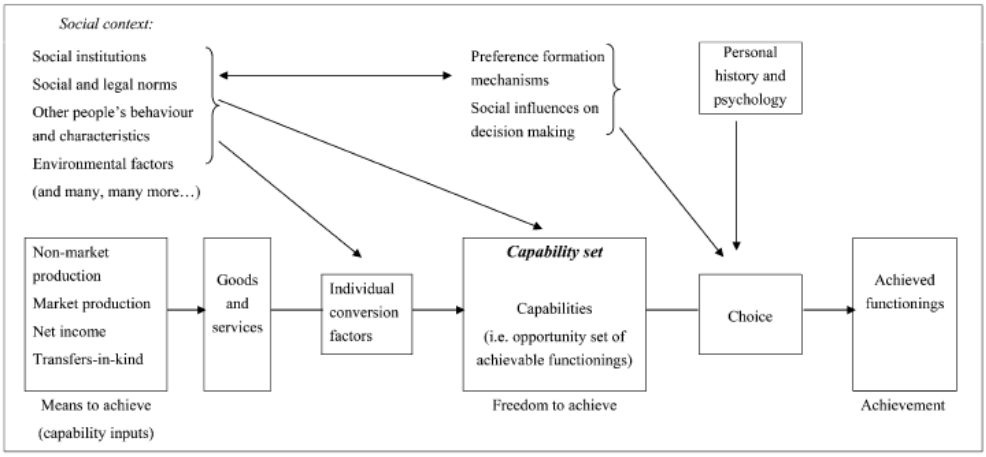

Figure 3.1 - A Representation of an Individuals Capability Set and their Social and Personal Context (Source: Robeyns (2005))

As a starting point, it is important to point out that the model presented here represents a very linear development trajectory. However, this is unlikely to be the case in practice. Firstly, it is important to note, (See: Kleine, 2013) that the CA is dynamic, and as stated above, occurs within contexts of changing capability priorities and dynamic technologies (Coeckelbergh, 2011) that change with the processes of development. Furthermore, as Robeyns (2005, p. 95) argues, there are blurred lines between both the capability inputs, and capability sets, so that "…some ends are simultaneously also means to other ends (e.g. the capability of being in good health is an end in itself, but also a means to the capability to work)." This is important to note, and also important to consider how capabilities are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but can reinforce each other.

However, taking into account these considerations, this model of the CA is useful in the way that it articulates the entangled role of structure and agency within the social milieu in which the individual, or group, is situated. In particular, at the beginning of the model on the left hand side, there is a recognition that the realisation of capabilities is impeded by the 'social contexts' in which individuals are situated (Hart, 2012; Robeyns, 2005). ICTs can be considered in this model as capability inputs, according to the CA. However their use, within specific contexts, can be impeded by structural barriers, which might both undermine their use as well as the range of capabilities an individual has access to. This is evident for instance in Hatakka's (2013) research. He examined how Kenyan women engaged in ICT training groups

and found that the interrelated barriers of low literacy, access and affordability of the technology and gender norms prevented women from accessing the internet, and thus the potential benefits of its use. Similarly Kleine's (2013) study, on the development of telecentres in Chile, a part of a broader ICT-development policy, found that class, as well as social and gender norms (structural barriers) affected both men's and women's access to these telecentres, which impacted on their potential capability sets. In both examples the authors draw on the CA to identify the contextual multidimensional barriers that prevent capabilities from being realised, which is, as other authors argue (Bass et al. 2013; Díaz Andrade and Urquhart 2012), one of the strengths of the CA.

In the second part of the diagram, on the right hand side, as discussed earlier, the focus is on individuals choosing which capabilities to incorporate into their lives. This again, as is evidenced by the diagram, a choice that is made within the social milieu in which one is situated. Robeyns (2005, p. 102) suggests that we might think about a 'constrained choice' that exists, that impacts on the ability to choose capabilities, which are "…interwoven with a person's own history and personality, values, and preferences" which Kleine (2013) shows in her use of the *Choice Framework* with the CA. Drawing on sociological literature, we might also argue that the choices individuals make are fundamentally related to their position in the social system, which impacts an individuals' tastes and expectations (See for instance: Bourdieu, 1984), which is, I would argue, inseparable from an individuals' habitus (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986 1989), which I discuss below. However, whilst these constraints exist, what is important for the CA, and at stake, is an emphasis on ensuring individuals are able to "… genuinely access … all the capabilities in their capability set" (Robeyns, 2005, p. 102) to be able to choose just outcomes so that they can lead lives they value. To this end, it is just as important to recognise, as discussed earlier that choice is likely to change as individuals change with development, and that changes take place within broader social structures.

The Capability Approach and the Habitus: Thinking with both Sen and Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu's extensive work (For example see: 1990, 1989, 1986, 1977) on social life provides an important theoretical lens for extending the CA. In particular, in this thesis, I draw on his overlapping concepts of the *habitus, capital* and *symbolic power.* My reading of Bourdieu is, similar to Swartz (2013), as a political sociologist. Importantly Bourdieu's concepts seek to understand how the social world is constructed. It is how these elements are structured which act "…as a central organising dimension of all social life" (Swartz, 2013, p. 3) and is intrinsically linked to power. I am particularly interested here in how politically and socially marginalised individuals and groups have (or don't have!) access to certain resources (*capital*), which structure their participation in the symbolic struggle for power over how they are classified in the social world. To this end, I draw on Bourdieu's work to extend the CA and examine the role that ICT4D initiatives might play in (re)configuring and (re)negotiating power in the contexts they operate within.

The Habitus: Transposable Dispositions

Bourdieu (1977) argues that individuals make sense of their place in the world through what he calls the *habitus.* The habitus is the acquired "…systems of durable, transposable dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72), which give an individual a point of view, or position, in the world in which one can interpret their own and others' actions (Appelrouth, 2008, pp. 686–688). Dispositions are, importantly, more than just attitudes *but* also include "….a spectrum of cognitive and affective factors: thinking *and* feeling …" (Jenkins, 2002, p. 76) which "naturally generate practices adjusted to the situation" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 108). These "…durable and transposable systems of schemata of perception, appreciation, and action… result from the institution of the social in the body (or in biological individuals)" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, pp. 126–127), and in so doing represent a 'socialised subjectivity' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 126) through "…the internalisation of the structures of that world" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 18). In this way, we can think of the habitus as a 'structuring mechanism' operating from within agents (Wacquant, 1992, p. 18) that is "…an active residue of his or her past that functions within the present to

shape his or her perceptions, thought[s], and bodily comportment" (Swartz, 2002, p. 63).

Importantly, whilst the habitus works to guide action it is

> …not the fate that some people read into it. Being the product of history, it is an *open system of dispositions* that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures. It is durable but not eternal...[however] most people are statistically bound to encounter circumstances that tend to agree with those that originally fashioned their habitus (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 133)

Thus the habitus, or system of dispositions, is a deep but mutable system that structures practices. It is, as the discussion above suggests both structured through individuals' histories, and is 'affected' by the social milieus in which individuals are socialised. The outer world is internalised. I will come back to this point on affect later in the chapter, however here I want to emphasise that the habitus both structures practices, and indeed choice, whilst also being open to change. As Bourdieu argues:

> …a *dialectical confrontation* [occurs] between habitus, structured structure, and objective structures. In this confrontation, habitus operates as a structuring structure able to selectively perceive and to transform the objective structure according to its own structure while, at the same time, being re-structured, transformed in its makeup by the pressure of the objective structure. This means, that in rapidly changing societies, habitus changes constantly, continuously, but within the limits inherent in its originary structure, that is within certain bounds of continuity (Bourdieu, 2005, pp. 46–47)

Important then is this *dialectical confrontation* that occurs as the habitus, a structuring structure, encounters (and is remade) through the objective structure, within the limits of the 'originary structure.' The potential for change or disruption, as Swartz (2002, p. 66) argues is likely to be about the degree or size of the change that takes place, which can result in the conditions "…for retreat (or exit) as the habitus self-selects out of those fields, or crisis as the habitus stays and protests." In particular, I use this concept here to consider how development processes have the potential to change and disrupt the habitus of a variety of stakeholders who come into contact with the

development initiatives under examination. For instance, enhancing capabilities is likely to disrupt and change the habitus, which I discuss further below. Furthermore, we can also ask, as I do below, what is the role of development in disrupting the habitus, and how might it impact and/or (re)frame objective structures?

The Habitus as Embodied Capital: Capital and the Struggle for Symbolic Knowledge in Development Spaces

Bourdieu (1986, 1977) argues that the habitus is a historically situated, embodied form of *capital*. Capital here represents resources that individuals have access to. In his discussions Bourdieu (1986) argues that there are three generic types of capital:

> …capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital,* which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital,* which…may be institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital* made up of social obligations ('connections'), which…may be institutionalised in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu 1986:47)

A focus on capital in these three forms (economic, cultural and social)[17] is important, Bourdieu argues, because their distribution plays a crucial role in the organisation of social life. In particular, he argues that the volume and types of capital one possesses, plays an important role in an agent's[18] power and capacity to define the structure of the social world (Appelrouth, 2008; Bourdieu, 1989). To this end, in regards to the CA, we can think about capital, and the habitus in several ways. Firstly, we can consider the types of capital a range of development actors have access to, both in terms of the capital they have prior to participating in development and the types of capital that might be enhanced through development as capabilities. Secondly, we can consider how an individual's habitus contributes to decision-making in development, in particular in Bourdieu's framework, how individual choices are based on tacit calculations that take into account capital, as well as the past experiences of the individual within the opportunities and constraints of their structured environments

[17] Capital is not new in development thinking, it has been discussed elsewhere in the development literature. For instance see Emery and Flora's (2006), and Pigg et al's (2013) use of the *Community Capital's Framework*.
[18] Bourdieu argues that this can also apply to a group of agents and/or institutions as well.

(Swartz, 2013, p. 48). These are important concerns that I address in my analysis of the ICT4D initiatives in this study. However, a broader question that Bourdieu asks, and which I examine in this study, is how access to resources plays a role in broader power struggles.

Thus in terms of thinking about power we can turn to Bourdieu's work on a fourth type of capital - *symbolic capital.* Symbolic capital can be understood as a type of 'metacapital,' which is a dimension of the other capitals (Swartz, 2013) and is associated with legitimacy, authority and prestige. Symbolic capital is important to the extent that those with it have the capacity to impose and legitimise symbolic meaning (symbolic power). In this sense symbolic capital structures what is viewed as valid and rational:

> …the categories of perception, the systems of classification, that is, essentially, the words, the names which construct social reality as much as they express it, are the crucial stakes of political struggle, which is a struggle to impose the legitimate principal of vision and division (Boudieu, 1990, 134 cited in Swartz, 2013, p. 87)

The focus on imposing a legitimate vision of the world for Bourdieu is important symbolic work, and is crucial in his framework to both developing and maintaining power. A clear example of this is the way that sexuality is constructed and perceived. In most contexts in Asia, as discussed in Chapter Two, there remains an "everydayness of compulsory heterosexuality…" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 147), which imposes meaning about sexuality and sexual identity, and is impressed upon bodies. For those living with diverse sexualities, they experience narratives and experiences of stigma,[19] something experienced by others as well, including, for instance, HIV-positive individuals (see for example: Chenard, 2007; Churcher, 2013). Stigma here is associated with how bodies are symbolically marked and classified, and for individuals whose bodies are marked as stigmatised they experience a form of what Bourdieu calls "*negative symbolic capital*" (Bourdieu et al, 1999, 185 cited in Swartz, 2013, p. 106). Inevitably, classificatory schemes that are imposed by those with the symbolic capital to legitimise them, are important to the extent that such *symbolic*

[19] I use the term stigma here in a similar sense to Goffman (1990), who uses the term to refer to an attribute that is perceived to be 'deeply discrediting' and an individual that has the stigmatising attribute can experience forms of rejection by society in both real and perceived ways.

meaning not only maintains the marginalisation of particular social and political groups, but also, as discussed in Chapter Two, negative symbolic capital affects individuals' practices (eg: support-seeking; connection to others) and how they see themselves, which ultimately affect the lives they are able to lead.

In this framework the symbolic capital to impose meaning plays an important role in how individuals are classified, and thus how individuals are and become marginalised. As Goldberg (2003, p. 728) indicates classificatory schemes are "…both weapons and stakes in political struggles". Development scholars (Bunyan, 2010; Hamilton, 1999; Hill, 2003) have argued that a development approach needs to address and evaluate the distribution of power, and Bourdieu's framework provides a tool to do this. In the literature the notion of power in development settings has been discussed in two ways: 1) To enhance individuals' reflexivity and thus their ability to talk back to power; and 2) To incorporate and affect broader political aims and goals through development initiative/s themselves. I focus on each in turn below.

The first concern here is focused on individuals. It emphasises development as a process that should provide "…a lens through which existing structures and practices can be critically scrutinized in order to find ways to create a more equal, supportive and sustainable alternative – 'the world as it could be'" (Shaw, 2008, p. 34). This is closely aligned to Freire's[20] (1974) model which discusses building a *critical consciousness* in individuals, which is a form of empowerment. Some authors have argued that 'capabilities' can be used synonymously with the language of 'empowerment' (See for example: Johnstone, 2007; Robeyns, 2010) as it "…represent[s] the power of the individual (or group) to avoid harms and pursue valued forms of functioning" (Johnstone, 2007, pp. 76–77). However, if we are to use capabilities as synonymous with empowerment it needs to be not only about the ability to 'avoid harms' but should also provide enhanced capabilities for individuals to scrutinize and critically reflect on the world. In doing so, an empowerment approach, or CA, might be examined for its ability to enhance the capabilities an individual has access to and, as part of this enhancement, the program's ability to

[20] Freire argues for providing space for people to engage in forms of 'critical transitivity' that leads to an increased critical awareness: "The important thing is to help men *(sic)* (and nations) help themselves, to place them in consciously critical confrontation with their problems, to make them the agents of their own recuperation" (Freire, 1974, p. 16). Freire's work is interesting from a CA perspective - the crucial mechanism he used for developing a critical consciousness was through literacy training.

enhance the critical reflection of individuals and understanding of why they may hold marginalised positions in the social world. This is about the ability of development projects' to enhance capabilities *as well as* contribute to shifting individuals' habitus, which "…may be *changed by history,* that is by new experiences, education or training" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 45) as part of the development project. In this way, we can consider both the capabilities that are enhanced as well as how they might increase an individual's ability to participate in broader political struggles.

The second way that power is discussed in relation to development is that it is discussed in reference to the power structures that the development initiatives themselves are able to affect. To this end, development scholars like Green (2008) argue that development should not only take into account the local problems faced by a community, but also how they fit into broader social movements and social actions taking place. Bunyan (2013, 2010), whilst focused on locally and geographically demarcated communities, makes a similar point, arguing that power should remain a central feature of development programs and their analysis to examine how communities and development organisations are able to affect social change. Thus the focus here, is on understanding development – in part – as being about the "…strategic work on particular issues or problems rather than *the* community as an entity in and of itself" (Green, 2008, p. 52). What is argued here is that the development initiative can be used as a mechanism to participate in broader social change initiatives that could be presumably occurring at national, regional and transnational levels. To this end, in the context of this study, I argue that it is important to examine how ICT4D initiatives are engaged in and contribute to the (re)distribution of power.

In discussing Bourdieu's work Loic Waquant (1992) explains:

> … players can play to increase or to conserve their capital, their number of tokens, in conformity with the tacit rules of the game and the prerequisites of the reproduction of the game and its stakes; but they can also get in it to transform, partially or completely, the immanent rules of the game. (Wacquant, 1992, p. 99)

This emphasis on the game, in which power struggles play out is an important starting point here in thinking through the possibilities of development. As the quote above

suggests, individuals can get into the game 'to transform…the immanent rules of the game'. At stake in development, using the lens above, is asking how development initiatives enhance capabilities to provide the tools for individuals to participate in the game; and how development initiatives become involved in the game. In doing so we can ask how development initiatives contribute to a broader struggle for symbolic meaning.

Affordances of Technologies: Designing Development Initiatives to Enhance Capabilities

In this section I focus on the role of ICTs in ICT4D initiatives. I have argued that we might consider the internet spaces in this study as capability inputs in the CA to the extent that they are meant to enhance individuals' capabilities who come into contact with them. We can examine how they aim to enhance capabilities and participate in the struggle for forms of power, by bringing new (re)designed spaces into people's lives. However, how these (re)designed spaces come about, and how they are constructed is what I want to discuss here.

In particular I want to focus on what happens prior to their emergence as 'capability inputs.' That is, I am interested in how these ICT4D initiatives, those *phatic technologies* (Wang et al., 2012, 2011) and *networked publics* (boyd, 2011), discussed in Chapter Two are developed and designed, as much as I am interested in their outcomes in this thesis. In this section I focus on their development. As boyd (2011) argues, in relation to networked publics:

> …networked publics share much in common with other types of publics, the ways in which technology structures them introduces distinct affordances that shape how people engage with these environments. The properties of bits – as distinct from atoms – introduce new possibilities for interaction. As a result, new dynamics emerge that shape participation (boyd, 2011, p. 39)

To this extent I am interested in the ways that the 'properties of bits' are assembled in the technologies used in the community development programs, and the affordances they are meant to create. I first consider below how we might conceptualise the design of such projects, and then, I draw on recent theoretical work on affect (Ahmed, 2004;

Ash, 2014, 2012) to consider how technologies are designed to create particular affects. In doing so I want to consider how 'bits' come together in ICT4D initiatives to generate affect, and in so doing I suggest a greater emphasis should be placed on the examination of affect in design of ICT4D initiatives as capability inputs.

Design in Development Space/s

Design here is used broadly. I use it in a similar way to Nichols and Dong (2012), who use "…the word design in the sense of a projection of possibilities, of the creation of a world that does not yet exist, rather than the popular definition of design as about giving form and style" (191). Whilst form and style are interwoven within the discussions of the development of the ICT4D projects under examination in this study the focus here is on the 'possibilities' that might come from these projects, and that are built into the making and constructing of the technological development projects in question. A focus on design is important. As van den Hoven (2012), argues,

> …design products empower us and constrain us, they enable us to do certain things and prevent us from doing other things; moreover they are ubiquitous and in part constitutive of our human environments. As such design products have an important normative dimension (van den Hoven, 2012, p. 31)

This normative dimension is particularly important as design requires tradeoffs and choices about what gets incorporated into the design of technological resources. The CA can go some way to understanding these decisions, as Oosterlaken (2009, p. 98) argues: "…the concept of human capabilities offers a richer understanding of well-being" and in taking this approach can "...include moral considerations concerning autonomy, privacy, sustainability, accountability, responsibility…" into the design of artefacts. To this end we can consider what capabilities might be enabled (or disabled) by the normative values that get incorporated into design. Oosterlaken (2009) in her paper draws on one example of privacy, albeit briefly, to illustrate this point. In her example she suggests that the CA might be used in debates about ICTs and privacy, which might allow us to reconsider how ICTs affect an individual's capabilities to control personal information flows. To extend this point, we might also consider how

enhancing this capability through considerations about privacy in design might enable other capabilities. For instance, Hillier et al (2012) found LGBT youth valued spaces where they could be anonymous when exploring their identities online, due to the potential risks involved in disclosure. In this sense the capability to be in control of personal information has the potential to impact on whether other capabilities are realised. Thus, how 'moral considerations' get incorporated into design is an important consideration for understanding what normative values get privileged over others and what effect/s this might have on an individual's overall capability set.

In the findings chapters I examine some of these moral, normative considerations in the design of the ICT4D development initiative/s. In particular, I examine how design responds to the barriers that prevent capabilities from being realised. In so doing I ask how affect-based approaches to design might contribute further to our understanding of the role of technology in individuals' lives, and the role it might play in enhancing individuals' capabilities as well as their participation in broader political struggles.

The Capability Approach and Technology: Affect-based Approaches to Design

Affect here is defined as the outcome of the encounter between entities (human and non-human) and how these entities become affected by these encounters (Deleuze, 1988; Thrift, 2004). Affect is important here to the extent that it is engineered into the design of technological artefacts, and the potential role it is perceived to play in enhancing capabilities.

In this sense it may be best to think of *affective design* as a starting point, which Ash (2012, pp. 3–4) defines as "the process of attempting to indirectly generate particular kinds of affects or responses through the material and aesthetic design of products in order to capture and hold users' attention." To this end we can consider how design incorporates certain elements into 'products' or artefacts, with the intention of generating particular affects from the encounter between the human and technological entity. This is evident in a variety of examples; for instance, Thrift (2004:73-74) discusses the affective design of video art and how it incorporates 'carefully staged and scripted' moments with the intent to generate particular affects. For Ash (2012), his work examines video game design, and how 'processes of programming and code'

incorporate signifiers into gaming narratives to (attempt to) control and manage the affective experiences of users. In this sense the technological can be "…understood as not merely instrumental but as generative of sensation and potentiality…" (Paasonen et al., 2015, p. 39) with the intent to result in particular outcomes.

The focus here is on the design of objects as capability inputs for the potential encounters that can take place between the technological artefact (the intervention) and the (potential) user of the service, i.e. the LGBT/Queer subject or HIV Advocate. As Ash (2014) argues, "…objects generate and transmit affects themselves" (2), and in so doing produce what he terms an *inorganically organised affect,* which is "…an affect that has been brought into being, shaped or transmitted by an object that has been constructed by humans for some purpose or another" (4). This object-centered account of affect argues that the technological artefact, like the urban spaces that Thrift (2004, p. 68) refers to in his work, are engineered by humans to "…invoke an affective response" within specific contexts.

Whilst affect can be engineered into artefacts, how it travels once it reaches the (potential) user becomes less certain to the designer/s of the artefact in question. As Ash (2014, 6) argues, the artefact's potential, "…becomes distributed between the designer … as well as the associated milieu in which the object is placed … which the designer has no control over." However, importantly, whilst the "… affective response can clearly never be guaranteed, the fact is that this is no longer a random process either …" (Thrift, 2008, p. 187) and we can consider how affect is engineered into artefacts to shape 'possibilities' for individuals' lives within the context of their use. This means, in taking an object-centred understanding of affect, examining both the material components of the artefact and its capacity to affect *as well as* the environment or ecology in which the object is placed (Ash 2014), the 'networks of interdependencies' that Oosterlaken (2011, p. 431) refers to in taking a CA to design. In doing so we can examine users' anticipated embodied affective experiences, at the point in which they are expected to come into contact with the intervention. This is particularly important, as it allows us to investigate how users are affected by technologies, and why. To this end we can ask how such tools are used in technological spaces, within development projects, that might lead to enhanced capabilities.

In thinking though how affect travels we can think about the affective imprint that is left on individuals as they come into contact with the development initiative. Ahmed (2004) discusses this in terms of leaving an impression, which she considers as "...an affect which leaves its mark or trace" (6). For Ash (2014) he refers to this as the 'affective afterlives' of technical objects. These affective afterlives can be seen, for instance, in Paasonen's (2015, p. 92) study on affective intensities within online exchanges. She argues that affective intensities have the potential to "... attach people to particular platforms, threads and groups". How affect is designed, as well as how it travels with individuals within, and beyond the encounter, is important for understanding the impact of ICT4D projects, and their ongoing capacity to contribute or facilitate change. In particular we can ask what contributions do these imprints have on an individual's capacity to enhance their capabilities and to choose just outcomes that lead to lives they wish to value. Also, we can ask in what ways does this contribute to a broader engagement in political struggles and how. In doing so I examine what are the *affects* of the ICT4D projects on participants' lives, and consider their broader implications to effect change.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the CA as the development paradigm that I draw on in this study, which is used by the development organisation examined in this thesis. In particular the CA is useful, as I have argued for conceptualising and evaluating well-being (Robeyns, 2005). The approach allows us to investigate and ask what capabilities are enhanced, and how, as individuals come into contact with ICT4D initiatives. ICTs here are framed as capability inputs, which work to potentially reframe the habitus, as part of a broader project in the political struggle for symbolic meaning. I have argued that this requires an examination of power.

Furthermore, I have argued that development requires a close examination of how ICT4D projects are designed for development, and the impact of those technologies on those who come into contact with them. This warrants an investigation of the technologies themselves and their aims to affect users, and the capabilities they seek to enhance. It also requires, as I discussed in the previous chapter, an understanding of the networked individual and their media-related practices as they come into contact

with the ICT4D project. In doing so this provides an important framework for examining what the (un)intended consequences of these development projects are, and the capabilities that are enhanced (or not!) through engagement with them.

The concerns presented here, and in the previous chapter, represent three overarching concerns that I examine in this study. Firstly, I am interested in the design and construction of ICT4D projects (capability inputs), and how they respond to and seek to address structural inequalities. Secondly, I am keen to investigate the capabilities that are both intended to be enhanced, as well as those that are actually enhanced as affect travels with objects as they enter into individuals lives. Thirdly, I am seeking to question what role ICT4D initiatives play in broader power struggles for symbolic power and the construction of symbolic meaning. I examine these themes throughout this study. In the next chapter I discuss the methodology used to examine these concerns, and then, in the subsequent chapters, present the findings and analysis of this study.

4. Methodology

In 2013 I approached a regional community development organisation based in the Philippines to inquire about the possibility of examining their ICT4D initiatives as part of my PhD research. I met with the CEO and founder of the organisation, and subsequently became involved in the organisation's internal processes through taking on a 'Monitoring and Evaluation Consultant' role from early 2014. The organisation (*B-Change*), founded in 2011 was, when I joined, in the process of establishing an ICT4D initiative for Queer/LGBT young people in Asia (which was subsequently launched in 2015 during this study), as well as maintaining, and enhancing, an existing initiative for HIV Advocates (HA) (which was launched in late 2012).[21] In this study my focus is on these ICT-based initiatives, which I became familiar with as I undertook a mixed methods study with a substantial component constituting a multi-site ethnographic study. In this chapter I discuss and justify this approach, which involved analysing field notes, an analysis of programmatic documentation, conducting and analysing interviews, as well as analysing internet data.[22][23]

As a research project that is interested in the internet and its possibilities, I begin this chapter with a discussion of the way that recent scholars have framed internet research. This discussion extends some of the points made in the previous chapters. Drawing on work by internet and media scholars (see for example: Baym, 2006; Hine, 2015; Markham and Baym, 2008) I indicate how I take a nuanced methodological approach to the study of the internet. This requires, I argue, drawing on multiple strategies to collect data, and needs to take into account how individuals engage with *and* make sense of the world as they traverse on/offline spaces. This conceptualisation of the internet has shaped the methods used in this study, and in the subsequent sections of this chapter I discuss the multiple strategies used to explore how these ICT4D initiatives were both developed *as well as* the impact on those stakeholders who came into contact with them during the time of the study.

[21] The organisation also was developing a space for HIV-positive men who have sex with men. I have not included this initiative in this study, however I have published research on this program elsewhere (Hanckel et al., 2014), which has informed this thesis.
[22] Data was sourced from the online analytics programs offered by *Google, Facebook, Twitter* and *YouTube*, as well as the accessible data from the back-end of the websites examined.
[23] Ethics approval for this study was granted by the University of Technology Ethics Committee in Oct 2013. In accordance with ethics rules all the data in this study is de-identified.

Prior to discussing the methods used I discuss the sites of analysis. I begin with an overview of the organisation and then provide an in-depth overview of the ICT4D initiatives examined in this study – *BE* targeted towards queer/LGBT young people and the development of videos developed with, and for queer/LGBT youth,[24] as well as the *HIV Advocates* program targeted towards those working on issues related to HIV.

In the following section I discuss the qualitative methods used in this study – both the multi-site ethnographic approach, as well as the interviews. In regards to the former, I discuss how a multi-site ethnographic approach (Hannerz, 2003; Marcus, 1995) was undertaken, which involved moving with organisational staff as they (re)constructed the ICT4D initiatives across on/offline spaces. In order to examine the themes that were emerging from my field notes and the programmatic documentation analysis I conducted 42 formal interviews with staff, content developers as well as users to obtain an understanding of the social reality of those who were involved, or came into contact with the ICT4D projects. In this section I explain the interviews in more detail, how these were conducted, and the research questions the interviews sought to examine.

I then discuss my role as a qualitative researcher in this study. In doing so I first discuss my position and the space I occupied as a researcher. I draw on a feminist methodological approach taken in this research to bring to the surface issues of power and knowledge that emerge within the research process (see for example: Moss, 2002; Oakley, 1981). I draw on Dwyer and Buckle's (2009) conceptualisation of the researcher as not an 'insider' or 'outsider,' but rather as working in the "space in-between" to conceptualise my position relative to the research site/s. I argue this framework is useful in thinking through my role as an ethnographer, and how I navigated concerns about power that emerged in this study.

In the following section I discuss the internet data - quantitative data - collected and analysed in this study. In this section I first discuss my access to this data and information, and the possibilities of using, and drawing on analytics and insights data

[24] The *BE* web space and the development of videos are two separate but interrelated ICT4D projects in this study to the extent that the videos make up one component of the *BE* ICT4D initiative. I discuss this in more detail in this chapter below, and discuss the design and use of the web-space (Chapters 5 and 7) and design and use of the videos (Chapter 6) separately in the findings chapters.

from spaces such as *Facebook Insights*, *Google Analytics*, *Twitter Analytics* and *YouTube Analytics*. I then discuss the limitations and problems I encountered drawing on this data - that was related to the politics of their design that both limit and constrain their use.

Conducting Research that involves the internet

Research that involves the internet has become a burgeoning field of inquiry. Researchers working in this area (For example see: Baym, 2006; Gray, 2009; Hine, 2015; Markham and Baym, 2008) have called for internet studies that considers how the internet fits into, and is shaped by the 'lifeworlds' of individuals. In particular these authors argue that the study of the internet needs to account for how it is "…woven into the fabric of the rest of life" (Baym, 2006, p. 86), and how it acquires meaning and relevance within peoples' lives in the on/offline contexts in which people come into contact with it (Hine, 2015). In this way, these researchers emphasise an approach to the study of the internet (and media more generally) that takes into account the way people experience and engage with media space/s within and across the social milieu in which they are situated.

Positioning the study of the internet in this way is similar to the way I discussed the internet and phatic technologies/networked publics in Chapter Two, and has important methodological implications for this study. In Chapter Two I argued that individuals, as *augmented subjects* (Rey and Boesel, 2014), traverse on/offline spaces as part of their everyday experiences. The emphasis on the on/offline as not separate but working together in complex and symbiotic ways (see for example: Jurgenson, 2011; Marletta, 2009) is an important ontological starting point that impacts on the methodology chosen in this study. Baym (2006), taking a similar ontological approach, argues for a qualitative methodological approach to internet research that includes using multiple strategies to collect data that takes into account the perspective of the participants and the interconnections between the internet and life worlds in which they are situated. This study strongly endorses such an approach; however, I incorporate both qualitative *and* quantitative methods (internet data) in this study.

The Site/s of Analysis: An overview of the organisation and the ICT4D initiatives

The community development organisation, which is the focus of this study, was founded in 2011, with a focus on "…promote[ing] social change through technology…"[25] Based in Manila the organisation has a focus on delivering transnational programs that utilise technology to enhance the lives of those living with diverse sexuality and/or gender identities, and/or living with HIV "…in Asia and other developing and emerging countries." [26] The site was chosen because of the regional focus of the programs as well as the nascent stage of the development of the technological infrastructure, which gave me the opportunity to follow the emergence of these ICTs tools as they were being developed and distributed.

The organisation is comprised of two separate units. A technology team made up of web-developers based in Bangkok, which includes both internal and external contractors. The second unit comprises a service delivery team, which includes staff and consultants based in Manila, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Bangkok and Singapore. These units are entangled in practice, with internal discussions moving back and forth between the two teams, and the conceptualisation and development of the initiatives both informed, and (re)constructed, through these conversations. The number of staff fluctuated throughout the study, however there were approximately 10 to 12 program associates and several consultants between the two units at any one time, who informed the delivery and development of the ICT4D initiatives. Most staff are part-time due to funding constraints.[27] However, all the staff consider themselves activists and used their own resources, particularly their own personal time, to contribute to issues associated with sexuality, gender identity and HIV within South East Asia. These functioned as external projects in the lives of the staff members, but often were used to inform the organisation's work. Important to note is that because of this external work the staff have access to diverse activist and community networks that were maintained across on/offline spaces, that were drawn on frequently for use within the organisation. These networks were diverse, and were maintained at the

[25] From the webpage http://www.b-change.org/what/ <accessed Oct 2015>
[26] From the webpage http://www.b-change.org/what/ <accessed Oct 2015>
[27] The organisation receives funding from a variety of sources (including internal funding, which is generated through the technology unit). The primary funder/s though for the programs examined here are the UNDP and the Levi-Strauss Foundation.

local level, with other activists and community networks, at the transnational level (such as through their participation in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)), and the international level (such as through their engagement in online protest activities, participation at international conferences and engagement in multi-lateral organisations (eg: UN and World Bank activities). This meant that staff were both already engaged and entangled in transnational political networks, and particularly in LGBT/HIV politics that extended beyond the borders of their own countries. For this reason they were also often travelling to different places within, and outside, of the region. The multiple physical locations staff resided in, as well as their travel throughout the region meant, as I discuss below, my own participation in the organisation took on the form of a multi-sited ethnography, as I moved with them in on/offline spaces as they developed and (re)constructed the ICT4D initiatives under examination in this study.

BE: A Program for LGBT/Queer Young People

BE (Originally named *Project Happy*) is the first initiative I discuss in the following chapters (Chapters 5 to 7). In doing so I discuss the web-app *BE* (ICT4D project one), and a series of videos which were developed with filmmakers/storytellers throughout the region (ICT4D project two), as part of the *BE* initiative. The *BE* initiative was in the process of being conceptualized when I first joined the organisation in early 2014. It was during this time that a 'web-app' (a web-application, which is similar to a website) was developed (See Figure 4.1 below for a screenshot of the homepage). It was launched in May 2015, after several issues stalled its release, which I discuss in detail in Chapter 7. The primary target of this ICT4D initiative is LGBT/Queer young people (under 30 years-old) who are living in the primary sites of Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Metro Manila, Singapore, Bangkok; and secondary sites[28] of Phnom Penh, Hanoi, Beijing, Kathmandu and Ulaanbaatar.

[28] Secondary sites are those sites that will be the focus of program delivery from 2016 onwards, but have been taken into consideration in the planning and development of the web-app.

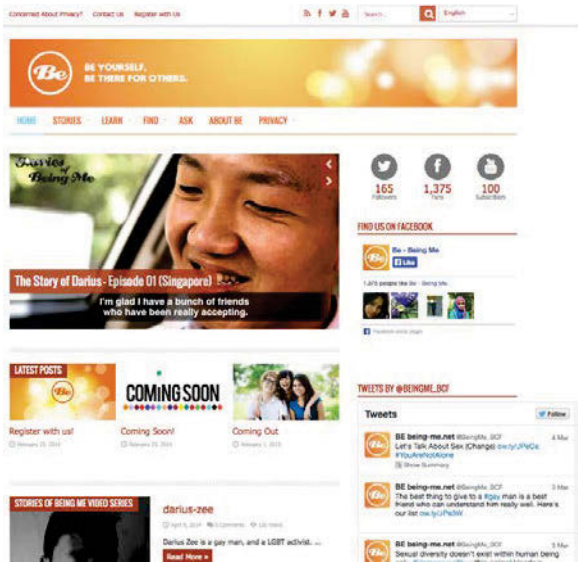

Figure 4.1 - Screenshot of the BE Homepage (May 2015)

The web-app, seen in Figure 4.1, has 5 components: A 'knowledge base' that provides factsheets to users about issues related to identity and sexuality. A 'services map' provides information about, and opportunities to read ratings and comments about legal, health and social services. There is a 'Question and Answer' functionality that allows users to ask questions to their peers, who can provide answers and vote on answers, which is moderated by community managers. A 'helpdesk' provides direct connection to peer support, and referrals to services. As well as this it contains as embedded video content, which were developed for *YouTube*, which is a series of videos that provide visual narratives of people living with diverse sexual orientations and gender identities, created by filmmakers from around the region. This video content is analysed as second ICT4D project in this study, which I discuss in detail in Chapter 6. The content is multilingual, insofar as it is available in the following languages: Thai, Bahasa Malay, Bahasa Indonesian, English and Simplified Chinese.

It is important to note that the web-app is not, as one staff member put it, a *"...stand-alone application"* but is entangled with other on/offline spaces. Thus, the intervention as a whole incorporates both the web-app *and* social network services, and offline events. In the chapters that follow I discuss these aspects of the initiative, how they were constructed, and their impact on those who came into contact with them.

HIV Advocates

HIV Advocates (HA) as an initiative is similar to *BE*, in that it is made up of both multiple online spaces, and offline components. Its aim, as the website states, is to "…share news, experiences, strategies and new tools [with] … Both veteran activists and those new to the fight"[29] The initiative has its origins in discussions that took place between the community development organisation and the funder in early 2012, and subsequent formative research that was undertaken, which led to the development of a website. In Figure 4.2 (below) two screenshots can be seen. The screenshot on the left is the one that was used when the website was first setup in 2012 following the formative research. The second screenshot was used following the redevelopment of the website in 2015.. These changes, whilst interesting, were primarily aesthetic and did not change the overall program goals which remained focused on providing a space for sharing stories, news and ''innovative' activist tools and strategies' to advocates. Importantly, available in English, the site was positioned as a tool that can enhance the capabilities, and thus the advocacy practices, of advocates who come into contact with it. My interest here, which I explain in detail in Chapter 8, is how this ICT4D assemblage was developed, and the expectations of the developers vis-à-vis the actual experiences of HIV Advocates and the role that this initiative plays in their lives.

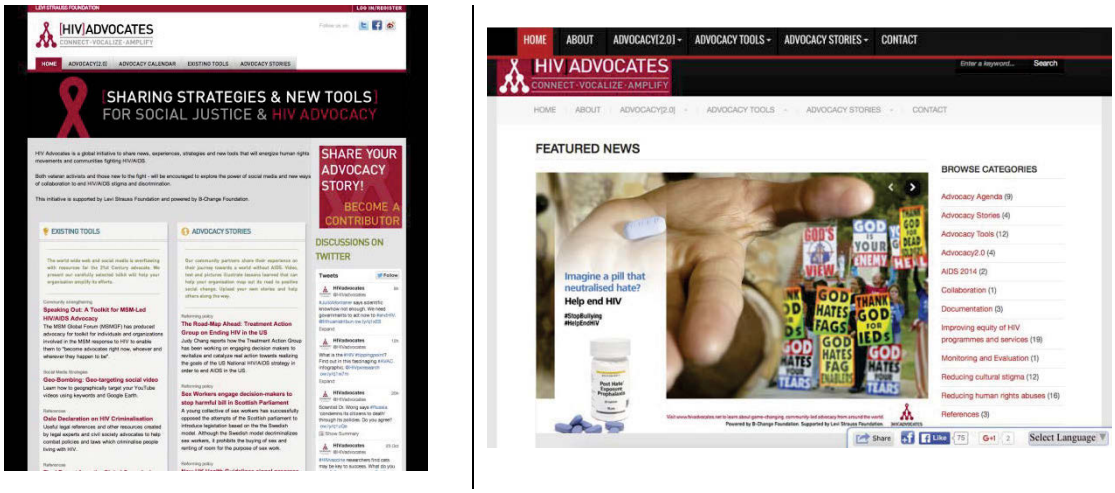

Figure 4.2 - Screenshots of the HA website in 2012, and in 2015, after the redevelopment of the website

[29] From the HIV Advocates webpage http://hivadvocates.com/about/ <accessed Oct 2015>

Qualitative Research Methods: An Overview

A Multi-Site Ethnography and document analysis

The ethnographic method is often used to refer to the "…in-depth study of people in their natural setting" (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 426). This usually involves the researcher placing themselves in this 'natural setting.' In this study, as discussed earlier, I participated in the community development organisation as a 'Monitoring and Evaluation Consultant.' In this role I was able to study how individuals within the organisation developed and (re)designed the ICT4D initiatives under examination.

The ethnographic approach undertaken in this study is what has been called in the literature a *multi-site ethnography* (Hannerz, 2003; Marcus, 1995). It is a multi-site ethnography to the extent that my participation in the organisation took the "…form of (geographical) spatial de-centeredness" (Falzon, 2012, p. 2) in which I moved between and across the on/offline spaces with subjects as they participated in both the design and (re)construction of the technological resources. During the period of data collection (early 2014 to late 2015) I participated in face-to-face meetings and events in both Thailand and the Philippines with staff, in online weekly staff meetings, as well as individual project-related meetings with staff based in Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines and Malaysia.

As well as participating in these meetings I had access to, and participated in the internal communications within the organisation. I participated in conversations with staff members via email, as well as via *Google Chat*,[30] and used the project management platform used by the organisation called *ASANA*. As Hine (2015, p. 3) argues, it is important "…for ethnographers to take part in the diverse forms of communication and interaction that those they study use…" My participation gave me access to these platforms, and to the formal and informal conversations that took place within them. It was during these conversations, meetings and discussions that the intervention documentation – important for the construction of the resource/s – were both developed and (re)shaped. The intervention documentation included formative research, strategy documents, internal proposals, project notes, and funding

[30] *Google Chat* is a direct message feature connected to the *Gmail* platform that allows individuals to participate in informal conversation, either one-to-one or group discussions. Often this involved staff announcements, and staff posing questions and concerns to others who often were looking for immediate answers to their service delivery concerns.

related documents as well as documentation developed for the content of the intervention. I undertook a thematic analysis of this documentation, which was analysed alongside my field notes, to examine the development of the ICT4D initiatives.

From this analysis several key themes emerged. For *BE* this included themes related to queer bodies in the region and their experiences with risk, stigma, discrimination, criminalisation and disconnection. These concerns were entangled with design considerations, with themes emerging of privacy and safety, data security, design(er) responsibility and legal concerns. The video development, whilst having similar themes of queer bodies and risk, was entangled with design considerations that incorporated concerns about networked communities, the symbolic construction of sexuality within the region, and concerns about marginality and empowerment. In contrast, the HIV Advocates design was focused on the barriers that advocates experienced in relation to their technological capabilities, and their impact on advocacy practices. These concerns were evident in design considerations, with themes emerging of community connection, networked practices and design(er) as facilitator. As I discuss below, the themes that emerged were explored in detail in semi-structured interviews with developers and users of the initiatives.

In-depth semi-structured interviews

Over the period of this study I undertook 42 formal in-depth interviews with those who came into contact with the programs – organisational staff, content developers and users of the ICT4D initiatives. This was both to understand how individuals were participating in the development and construction of the programs, as much as it was to examine the impact it had on those who came into contact with the ICT4D initiatives. As Morris (2015, p. 5) argues, the interview process "…gives the researcher access to an interviewee's thoughts, reflections, experiences, memories, understandings, interpretations and perceptions of the topic under consideration." This being the case, the interviews followed a semi-structured format to examine how the participants understood the initiatives, as well as the role the initiatives played in their life projects. Table 4.1 summarises who the interviewees were, how many interviews were conducted with each group of interviewees, as well as the way the interview was

conducted.[31] As outlined in Table 4.1, there were 4 groups of interviewees. The first group was constituted by the organisation staff and consultants (Group 1). The video filmmakers and storytellers, who were engaged to explore how ICTs are designed for development purposes (RQ1), made up the second group. The user (Groups 3 and 4) interviews, as well as the filmmakers/storyteller (Group 2) interviews sought to explore the impact of the projects on the users' capabilities (RQ2 & RQ3). The interview schedules used in these interviews has been included in Appendix A to Appendix E.

Table 4.1 - Overview of the Interviewees

	Group of Participants	**Number of Interviewees**	**Way interview was conducted**		
			F2F	**Skype**	**Email**
1	Formal Organisation Staff & Consultant Interviews*	7	5	2	0
2	Filmmakers and Storytellers**	9 interviewees (16 interviews)[32]	0	13	3
3	BE Service Users***	8	0	3	5
4	HIV Advocates Users***	11	9	2	0
	Total	**35 Interviewees 42 Interviews**	**14**	**20**	**8**

*Formal staff interviews were those that were setup formally, and did not include informal conversations that took place as part of the ethnographic work.

**The filmmakers and storytellers were both content producers for BE, as well as 'recipients' of the ICT4D initiative. I discuss their role in detail in Chapter 6.

***Users here are defined as individuals coming from the target group who came into contact with any of the aspects of the initiatives, including the associated social media spaces, and the on/offline events that took place.

[31] In the following chapters (Chapters 5 – 8) I provide more detail about the interviewees, in particular I outline the respondents demographic information, where the interviews were conducted, the specific recruitment method used, the incentives for participants and, where applicable, the pseudonyms used in this study for the respondents.
[32] For the interviews with the video content producers, as discussed in Chapter 6, these were undertaken at two different points in time. Firstly, prior to the development of the videos and then 6 – 8 months following the development of these videos.

As Table 4.1 indicates above, I used a range of ways to conduct the interviews - face-to-face interviews (*n*=14), *Skype* interviews (*n*=20), and email interviews (*n*=8). I conducted face-to-face interviews where possible; however, due to distance this was not always possible, and *Skype* interviews or email interviews were used instead. Whilst I encountered some technical difficulties with the *Skype* interviews (eg: connection drop-outs; and bad call quality), these were conducted with participants at a time that suited them - where and when they felt comfortable to do so. At times this was conducted with webcams turned on, but in most cases the webcams were turned off which seemed to enhance call quality and prevent additional call drop-outs. As others (Hanna, 2012; Moylan et al., 2015) have argued, the use of *Skype* has many of the advantages of the face-to-face interviews or the telephone interview, and can be a useful tool when distance makes being physically present difficult. However, it does rely on both a solid internet connection and private access to the internet for the duration of the call.

The email interviews involved sending the interviewees a revised version of the interview schedule (see Appendix B) which they subsequently filled in and sent back to me, which I then followed up with further questions. Morris (2015) points out that one of the benefits of email interviews is that they can provide participants with time to consider and reflect on their answers. For the participants in this study the time period for reflection was particularly useful, as it gave them time to articulate their answers in English (not their first language) in an email exchange. Furthermore, the other benefits of email interviews, as has been documented elsewhere (See for example: Cook, 2012; Morris, 2015) included the interviewees being able to participate when their technological connections were poor. They could also participate in a way that allowed them to fit it into their schedule, and could also remain anonymous, which I believe were particular benefits to using this method. In regards to anonymity, for those less comfortable with a queer/LGBT focused website or coming to terms with their sexuality/gender identity this provided them with the opportunity to give feedback about their experiences without having to talk about their perceptions in person. There were a couple of limitations to using email. The questions were sent in English and required at least a basic literacy to engage with them (a free online translator could have been used to translate content if one had the knowledge of how to use it). Furthermore, I had some issues with follow-up, with

respondents not getting back to me. Finally, it is worth noting that calling them 'email interviews' here is for methodological clarity, however they were often sent via the medium that worked best for participants. At times this was via email, though at other times this was sent via a social media channel, such as *Facebook*.

All of the interviewees were provided with an information sheet and consent form - see Appendix F to Appendix M for examples of these. Prior to the interview the consent form was signed and sent back to me. In the course of the research period I positioned myself as both open to questions and concerns about this study and provided space for the participants to contact me, either online or face-to-face to express any concerns they had.

Whilst I will go into further detail in later chapters, it is important to note who was included and invariably excluded in the sampling strategies used to recruit the interviewees. Staff, consultants, filmmakers and storytellers who worked on and/or participated in the program were included. The users (those who had come into contact with the program/s) were recruited in two different ways for each program. For the queer young people, these were people who had come into contact with the resource and had filled out a survey sent out to users about their experiences and indicated – at the end of the survey - they would like to be interviewed. I discuss this survey in detail in Chapter 7. For the HIVAdvocates resource, these were advocates who had come into contact with the program, and were advocates who were connected to the funding body who supported the program, or were within the immediate networks of these advocates. An email was sent from the funding body to participants requesting their participation in the interview. This sampling strategy invariably means that certain users were excluded, which was likely to include - those queer young people who did not fill out the survey either because of concerns about safety; and users who did not feel comfortable and/or have the time to participate in an interview. Furthermore it excludes those who may have used the resource, but are not doing so any longer. However, as I discuss in the following chapters, this sampling strategy included a diverse number of users with diverse experiences and identities.

Qualitative Analysis and the Researcher

> The issue of researcher membership in the group or area being studied is relevant to all approaches of qualitative methodology as the researcher plays such a direct and intimate role in both data collection and analysis
>
> Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p. 55

In this section I want to reflect on my 'intimate' role as a qualitative researcher in this project, and the place I occupied in the spaces studied. I recognise that I am placed at a particularly privileged intersection - I am a white cis-gendered gay male, who is conducting PhD research in 'development settings.' All of the participants in the study were aware of this. As an individual who participated with, and associated myself with the development organisation for the duration of this study, I was, and am quite conscious of the concerns and tensions such a role brings with it. To address these concerns I adopted a feminist methodological approach. This meant, in part, constantly reflecting on the issues of power and knowledge that I brought with me as a researcher, as well as the position of the researched, in this study (Moss, 2002; Olesen, 2011; Standing, 1998). Throughout this study I have been both attuned to the tensions inherent in this position, as well as the affordances it brought with it. This was perhaps most evident in conversations and discussions where my opinion was sought. During these times I was conscious not to speak first, and tried to ensure that their knowledge and framing was privileged over my own views.

My own positionality and 'membership' here is relevant to the research context in which I became embedded. As an Australian gay male, a HIV advocate, and someone who is interested in ICTs, I was to an extent entangled in the lifeworlds of those I came into contact with in this study. In the qualitative aspects of this research I shared these identity markers with participants. In doing so, I drew on Oakley's (1981, p. 41) feminist methodological approach that argues that the goal of finding out more about people is "...best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship." To this end, those involved in this research project were aware of my sexuality, and role as an advocate, which inadvertently also made it easier to understand the jargon and slang that was used by participants when I spoke to, and corresponded with them. This is not to say that my experiences were

equivalent to theirs. Rather, my own experiences were brought into the research at times when and where they could be used for reflection and to understand how they contrasted with the research participants' own experiences. My emphasis here throughout this study has been to consider how the participants themselves have framed their experiences as they traverse varied on/offline contexts as part of their own lived realities.

To conceptualise my role as researcher and participant in the research setting/s I draw on Dwyer and Buckle's (2009) work on 'the space between'. They argue that rather then positioning the researcher as necessarily an 'insider' *or* 'outsider' it is worth moving beyond this dichotomy and rather consider the researcher as participating in 'the space between' these two positions. They argue,

> The intimacy of qualitative research no longer allows us to remain true outsiders to the experience under study and, because of our role as researchers, it does not qualify us as complete insiders. (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p. 61)

My role as a researcher exists, I argue, within this 'space between,' where I had both membership in the groups under study, at least to some degree, but also held a position as a researcher. To this extent I remained not a 'complete insider.' This conceptualisation fits well with a feminist research approach that asks researchers to take into account how power and privilege operate within the field, that recognises the entangled place of the researcher with research subjects *and* also recognises the importance of a researcher who can take a step back and ask 'what is happening here.'

Data Coding and Analysis

The qualitative data used in this study was coded using the *NVivo* qualitative software. This included a process of ordered coding where initial exploratory coding was undertaken and then further coding took place to develop themes and sub-themes. This process loosely followed a 'code mapping' technique that takes an initial coding structure that then "…gets categorised, recategorised and conceptualised throughout the analytic journey" (Saldana, 2012, p. 198). The themes that emerged in the early stages of coding, particularly out of the field notes and document analysis from the ethnographic part of this study, informed the content of the interviews, which

examined these themes with each participant in more detail. I discussed and presented these themes that emerged with those working within the organisation. I discuss the themes that emerged in the data sets in more detail in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

Presenting the Qualitative Research

As Standing (1998) suggests, from a feminist methodological perceptive, the issues of power and knowledge between researcher and researched do not end with the data collection but they continue into the stages of analysis and writing. I have been conscious of this when writing to ensure that the voices are true representations of the participants in this study. Thus, in the writing up of the data all of the inflections, umms and ahhs and breaks and pauses have remained in the transcribed data which were transcribed verbatim. The grammar and spelling (and emojis!) used in the email interview transcripts have also been retained.

Quantitative Research Methods: Collecting Internet Data

I draw on internet data in this study from the online analytics and insights information associated with the online components of the ICT4D initiatives. This included (as articulated in Table 4.2 below) the following analytics programs: *Google Analytics*, *Facebook Insights, Twitter Analytics, YouTube Analytics.*[33]

Table 4.2 - Overview of the Internet Data collected for this project

ICT4D Initiative	Dates Collected	Web-Site Sources	Social Media Sources
BE	Sept 2015 – Oct 2015	*Google Analytics*	*Facebook Insights, Twitter Analytics, YouTube Analytics*

[33] This data collection was also meant to include a content analysis of the user-developed content – however due to limited content, and delays in the release of the program. Thus this was left out of this study.

Videos	May 2014 – June 2015		*YouTube Analytics*

'Analytics' and 'Insights' information collected through these online spaces contain significant amounts of data. When accessing this information a researcher is given access to varying information about 'users' – those who engaged with the web space, the types of engagement and the date and times in which users engage with the space. This is, where available, broken down to include information about the demographics of users (eg: country, city, language, age and gender of users) and also includes the devices they access the web-spaces on, and how often they come to view the information (i.e. link via social media, or a video) embedded in a particular web space.[34] Whilst the exact information often differs between each tool, one of the similarities between all of the analytics programs is their ability to provide time-series information about users' engagement with these web spaces over set periods of time. It is perhaps for this reason that these programs are increasingly being used to evaluate online spaces, and are being used in e-commerce, and increasingly requested by funding bodies[35] to evaluate online development programs (see for example: Hasan et al., 2009; Yeadon, 2001). To this end insights and analytics information present valuable data to help explain some of the key characteristics of users who come into contact with, and use web-spaces.

However I want to argue that although analytics and insights data present some interesting insights, they must be read with caution. As products of major technology organisations these data collection tools have certain design expectations built into them, which limits their use in data collection and analysis. This information is put together by multi-national corporations (eg: *Google* and *Facebook*) with broader commercial and profit-based interests. This 'corporate logic' is important Bivens (2015, 2016) argues, for the design of user interfaces in *networked publics*. This can

[34] Access to particular social media insights is accessible to only those who have the requisite login details to access the social media page/s used on the respective platforms; For web-pages, the tool used in this study, and most prominently online, is Google Analytics, which, after having inserted the relevant HTML lines of code into the website, the Google Analytics Data is open to those with the requisite login details. My position as a Monitoring and Evaluation Consultant provided me with access to this information.

[35] This was evident in the funding requirements outlined by the international funders who supported the ICT4D initiatives in this study.

just as easily be extended to the user interface of the analytics/insights pages as well, which I use in this study. One of my particular concerns about these spaces is with their pre-set categories, which limit how the researcher can read the information presented. In particular I found that on *Facebook Insights* and *Google Analytics* pages the analytics data that is displayed, and accessible to the researcher, is divided into 'male' and 'female' categories. In this way the analytics data is skewed to favour heteronormative bodies from English speaking countries and represents an important limitation in this study.[36]

Furthermore, collecting this data means that we, as researchers, also become subject to the data collection procedures of these organisations. This can and has impacted on data collection in this study. For instance, when collecting the *Facebook Insights* data for BE, between late June 2015 – mid July 2015, *Facebook* changed the age range/s of the demographic data I was collecting, removing the 13-17 year old category (and then reversed this back in late July). These decisions, based on company experiments and internal decisions inevitably affect and impact the data that can be collected. In the context of this study I argue that whilst these analytics tools can provide an interesting source of data it is crucial that they be read with other sources of data, particularly qualitative data, to get an overall nuanced understanding of the phenomena being examined and people's lived experiences.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided an overview of the methods used in this study to examine how the ICT4D initiatives are both developed and constructed, as well as how they are used in individuals' practices and their life projects. As I have discussed throughout this chapter I draw on a mixed methods study with a substantial component constituting a multi-site ethnographic study that incorporates both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis. I have indicated how I was, throughout this study, cognisant of my own position as a researcher, and the inherent tensions of power and knowledge that I brought with me as a researcher as I engaged with research subjects in the 'space between' (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009).

[36] Whilst a broader discussion of these concerns is beyond the scope of this study, the symbolic violence inherent in this data collection warrants further consideration about how we, as social researchers, use this data.

My focus on multiple methods in this study allows me to examine a range of participants' experiences as they move between on/offline spaces, and understand their experiences as they developed and came into contact with the ICT4D project/s in this study. In Chapters 5 to 8 I discuss the findings of this study.

5. Designing an ICT4D Initiative for Queer Youth in Asia: Mitigating Risk and Facilitating Access to Capabilities

Remember: Technology is meaningless without people.[37]

This chapter[38] focuses on the design and development of the BE web-app for queer/LGBT young people in Asia. Drawing on six formal interviews with staff members, as well as ethnographic field notes and programmatic documentation I examine how the web-app was constructed to facilitate access to enhanced capabilities. In particular I have two research questions that guide the focus of this chapter:

How has the initiative been constructed spatially to respond to the lives of LGBT young people and enhance their capabilities? What are the expectations of the designer's about the experiences of the young people who are likely to come into contact with this initiative?

I begin this chapter by discussing the way/s in which the web-app was framed within the organisation. I show how, drawing on a 'user-centred approach', the organisation constructs the web-apps to respond to both the on/offline experiences of the (potential) users' lives. In doing so, the organisation constructs a user who has both access to technology, as well as the necessary network capital (Wellman et al., 2001) to navigate it as part of their life project. This 'user,' as I discuss in this section, is limited in their ability to access certain capabilities because of the perceived role of stigma and risk in their lives, as well as limited or no LGBT regional-based resources available to them. This lack of resources is viewed as a hinderance to their ability to pursue lives they have reason to value. This conceptulisation is important as it impacts on both the scope and design of the overall initiative.

In the following section I discuss how the intervention responds to the users' capability needs. Drawing on the theoretical work discussed in Chapter Three, I examine how affect is incorporated into this design context and how it is used as a response to the risks identified in the construction of the resource. In particular, I

[37] From the Community Development Organisation's *Guiding Principals* Document
[38] A earlier version of this chapter was submitted and published in the journal *Emotion, Space and Society* (See: Hanckel, 2016). I have, in this chapter, extended on, and built on the work presented in that manuscript.

discuss how the organisation uses particular forms of affective design (Ash, 2012) (Discussed in Chapter Three), to create a 'safe(r) space' that is meant to generate affective experiences of 'security', 'trust' and 'safety.' I argue that the design components work together cumulatively, through their 'rippling effects' and the 'sticky' associations of the circulation of objects and signs (Ahmed, 2004, p. 45), to invoke particular affective responses (Thrift, 2004) from those who are anticipated to come into contact with them. In doing so, my findings indicate that generating the affect of safety is crucial for bringing the queer subject into the web-app - to feel safe to login and participate in the programs and, importantly, for its potential to enhance their capabilities.

In the section that follows I examine the types of capabilities that aim to be enhanced through this initiative. In particular, I find that the staff focus on enhancing two particular capabilities. Firstly, the initiative aims to enhance the (sub)cultural capital and knowledge of participants. This is meant to increase their access to information and resources and, as I show, provide the user with diverse information, which can be incorporated into their lives and the contexts in which they live. Secondly, and interrelated, the initiative also seeks to enhance social connection between LGBT youth by providing opportunities through certain functionality, for individuals to connect and talk to each other about gender and sexuality across physical places.

I conclude this chapter by reflecting on how the construction of these design components create an initiative that is designed within "…networks of interdependencies with people, other artefacts and social structures" (Oosterlaken, 2011, p. 431). In so doing the initiative is positioned to increase the capabilities of a particular queer user within the region, as well as contribute to the broader construction of what sexuality means within the region.

The Web-App: Imagining Queer Subjects across On/Offline Spaces

During the design and development of the web-app, the primary focus of the organisation's discussions centred around the 'end-user' of the initiative. This approach is very similar to a 'user-centred approach' to design, which, common in recent ontological approaches to technology development, places the user as the

subject of design (Redström, 2006). In the context of this intervention it means, as one male staff member explained

> …putting the user at the centre of the design process so that we're solving the problem for that user…

The 'user' here, as Redström (2006, p. 129) reminds us "…is something that designers create". In this context the user, and their needs, were compiled from a variety of data points - including formative research with young people,[39] as well as desk research, and the experiences of the activist staff members of the organisation within the region. Importantly, the conversations about the web-app are focused on solving, as the quote above suggests, a problem for the user. Internally staff refer to these problems as 'pain points,' that articulate the immediate concerns the (potential) users are expected to be experiencing related to having an LGBT identity, behaviour and/or desire. As one male staff member articulated,

> …I think that we work from a user centred perspective … We work to ease the pain for the user and that's kind of the design thinking is just like how we can do that in a way that's effective…

'Pain' and 'pain points' here generally refer to risk: risk from families, their peers, work colleagues and from the state, which police sexuality and gender. Importantly, they are also understood as some of the main reasons, or motivations, for use of the web-app and thus guide design discussions and decisions.

Defining the User

Whilst the discussion of the users was ongoing throughout the design conversations during my fieldwork, the users' experiences are perhaps best articulated through the user personas, hypothetical users, which were developed internally by the organisation. In total this included six hypothetical users that would presumably use the web-app. For each persona a profile was created using a template document that

[39] This included a series of focus groups, or what were called 'roundtables' with LGBT people. These took place in Taiwan (Oct 2012); the Philippines; and Indonesia (Nov. 2012) in each capital city with approx. 6 to 11 people in each group. This formative research examined LGBT young peoples' practices of technologies, how individuals connect to similar others, their health and wellbeing needs, and the spaces they considered 'safe spaces' in their respective cities. These informed, along with staff experiences, the development of the web-app.

articulated the immediate challenges facing each potential user, their goals and motivations for completing these aims, as well as their employment status and technology use. These were (re)constructed and (re)developed internally based on internal discussions and feedback from all team members. The personas all had experiences with stigma that limited their capabilities and prevented them from living lives they had reason to value. For some this stigma manifested in fears about having a diverse sexuality and/or gender identity and the potential impact this might have on their own personal lives – such as no longer 'being accepted by family and friends'. In many cases these hypothetical users experienced forms of discrimination and abuse, such as 'trans-shaming & misgendering' and 'get[ing] harassed by police because of her looks'. One persona had been 'evicted from her home because of her sexuality'. These experiences of stigma (both perceived and real) were particularly important because of the expected negative impact it was anticipated to have on their ability to access information about sexuality and gender identity. This had implications for the wellbeing of each persona, which prevented them from seeking out support and information, finding 'friendships' with similar others, and participating in forms of advocacy.

The persona profiles also articulated the staff assumptions about the resources these potential users had access to, particularly in regards to their use of technologies. Of particular note here is that the user personas all had internet access and they were assumed to be literate.[40] Each hypothetical user had the necessary network capital to access and use the internet regularly, and did not experience any concerns or problems with its use. Regular use of the internet was assumed to take place for several reasons. This included the maintenance of friendships and the pursuit of advocacy, through social media channels such as through *Facebook* and *Instagram*. Also, use of the internet was seen as part of the persona's leisure time, which included watching videos on *YouTube*, as well as for information-seeking purposes and for pleasure, such as seeking similar others online for relationships and sexual encounters on services such as *Jack'd* and *Hornet*.[41] They were also expected to access the internet across devices, with many purportedly accessing it through their mobile

[40] That is, literate in at least one of the written languages that the initiative was translated into - English, Thai, Bahasa Malay, Bahasa Indonesian and/or simplified Chinese.

[41] Both platforms, similar to *Grindr* discussed in Chapter Two, provide a platform for men who have sex with men to interact and meet similar others, often for, but not limited to, sexual encounters (Castañeda, 2015). Hook-up apps for those who do not identify as male were not referred to in the persona narratives.

phones, emphasising access to and use of a smartphone device. However, whilst they use these resources, there is assumed to be limited engagement with existing local LGBT online resources. This ties into a broader concern organisational staff have about the limited number of resources available to queer youth within the region, particularly in local languages. Whilst these users were assumed to have varied occupations ('student,' 'HIV counsellor' 'labourer,' 'tech support,' and 'hairdresser') what was particularly interesting is that they were all described in middle class terms with at least some disposable income. They were quite mobile ('loves travelling;' 'moved to Bangkok'), and had enough income and support to access the internet on a device, go to 'music concerts' or regularly go 'to [the] gym.' For the hypothetical trans* users they were expected to have enough money to support many of the costs associated with the process of transitioning, such as 'hormonal therapy' and 'medical bills.'

Thus, what emerges here is a picture of a user who accesses and uses technologies in their everyday lives, but has experiences of stigma and lacks the support mechanisms and information that would enhance their life projects. This conceptualisation of a user who moves between the on/offline spaces is similar to the concept of augmented subjectivity (Rey and Boesel, 2014) discussed in Chapter Two, that argues against a 'split-ness' between young people's experiences of on/offline spaces. The context of stigma and risk that permeates throughout these personas' lives is positioned as an important common thread that informs the design of this resource. This stigma creates and maintains barriers that prevent young LGBT people from enhancing their capabilities. In doing so the design seeks to respond to "Young LGBTs who feel disempowered by lack of access to services and support for SOGI[42]-related barriers" (Annual Meeting Notes, May 2014)

[42] 'SOGI' here refers to 'sexual orientation and gender identity,' and gets used interchangeably in the development of this intervention with SOGIE ('sexual orientation, gender identity and expression') and queer/LGBT (used in a similar way to the way it is used in this study).

ICTs as Circumventing and/or Buffering Barriers to Capabilities

Presenting the initiative in this way provides us with an opportunity to consider how this might fit into a CA model. To this end we might reconstruct the first half of the CA diagram presented in Chapter Three as I have done in Figure 5.1 (below).

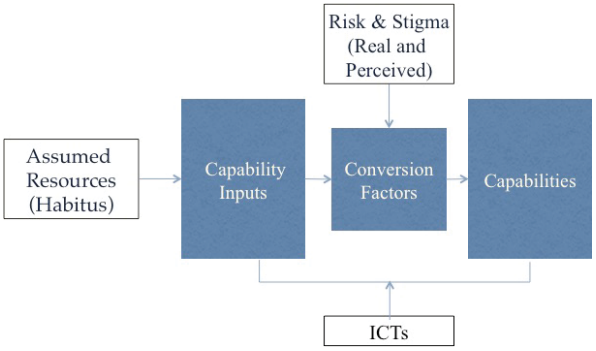

Figure 5.1 - ICTs as providing the space for circumventing or buffering existing barriers

If we work across from left to right, we can consider first the assumptions that are built into the web-app (prior to the capability inputs being deployed). This is, in this context, an assumed user who has private access to a device, is literate and has access to network capital. This represents a particular habitus, with access to certain forms of capital, and thus informs the possibilities of the capability input (the ICT resource – the web-app). [43] The ICTs, the capability inputs, draw on these assumptions and respond directly to the barriers that are perceived to limit their capabilities. In particular ICTs are framed here as a capability input in that they are framed as a way to circumvent and/or buffer some of the structural barriers at the 'conversion factors' stage – which largely centre around risk and stigma in these users' lives and are seen to prevent the realisation of capabilities for diverse LGBT subjects. Particularly important in this framing is the conceptualisation that these technological resources are not currently available, and as one female staff member noted "… that these resources are local and in local languages is particularly important." In the remainder of the chapter I discuss how the technological resource is constructed, and in particular how it responds to risk through the design features developed, and how this

[43] Importantly, these assumptions mean that certain people with different resources are also assumed not to have access to this initiative (at least not in the short-term).

new regional resource aims to contribute to enhancing the capability set of individuals.

Designing for Affect: 'Safety' and 'Security' in the design of the ICT4D Initiative

One of the recurring themes throughout the development of the web-app is on 'safety' and 'safe(r) spaces'. As articulated in the public strategy document, *Connecting the Dots*, the intervention seeks to provide "…safe spaces for young people to reach out to their peers and build communities, enabling individuals to share knowledge and provide mutual support for each other". Whilst I will focus later on the specific capabilities that are expected to be enhanced, the focus on 'safe spaces' as enabling environments here is particularly important for understanding the affective relationship users are anticipated to have with this ICT4D initiative. This emphasis on safety represents an engagement in the symbolic production of a 'trustworthy' and 'supportive' space. Decisions made at both the back-end of the site (such as through development decisions about the storage of data and the chosen URL) to front end decisions (such as the content on the site) are designed to alleviate any concerns of the user and create the affective experience of safety. This has an impact on the coding and infrastructure supporting the tools, and the development of content and internal policies supporting their implementation.

Web-App Back-End Design Considerations

In terms of the 'back-end' of the site or the 'server,' one of the most important concerns for the organisation is the security of user data. This is a persistent theme within the organisation's discussions about the web-app and besides the issue of privacy is a response to broader concerns around surveillance by state actors. This concern has been addressed in several ways. Firstly, all user data that is captured, including Internet Protocol (IP) addresses and any login details and information user/s provide to the organisation, is stored in a physical server outside the region, rather than it being accessible to people and state institutions within the region. Furthermore, discussions around the confidentiality of 'user data' are also of prime concern within the organisation. This is apparent in the internal Code of Conduct document that

outlines the importance of securing and maintaining the confidentiality of user data. Importantly, the de-identification of any data shared internally within the organisation is clearly outlined in the document. It states all electronic exchanges with users must be "…kept confidential within the organisation" and "failure to abide by these terms will be grounds for disciplinary actions and/or termination" (Code of Conduct Feb 2015, p.14). Furthermore, all digital records are expected to be "…maintained in a secured and encrypted storage environment" and when these "…records are no longer classified as active by the duty manager" these will be "archived and encrypted with additional secured measures" (Code of Conduct Feb 2015, p.16)

This concern for safety of data at the back-end of the site is also extended to the Uniform Resource Locator (also known as the URL, or web address) of the site, which has, in previous studies (Buhi et al., 2009) been linked to users' perceived credibility of a site. Whilst the use of URLs within specific country codes, such as '.my' for Malaysia, or '.id' for Indonesia, present opportunities to locate organisations within each geographic space, a decision was made to use a general non-country specific URL to avoid being "subject to the media laws and regulations within these countries borders" (male staff member). As this male staff member put it, "…importantly '.net'[44] allows us not to be controlled by certain media regulations per country codes … This is a greyspace of the media." Media laws are potentially problematic. For instance, in Indonesia the Ministerial Decree No. 19/2014 refers to the 'handling of negative Internet content' (Perdani, 2014), and has been used to block content, where content relates to "religious issues and those related to sexuality and gender — for example, local lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community websites — among other content categories" (Poetranto, n.d.). In Singapore, under the Broadcasting Act (Cap. 28), the Internet Code of Practice, Section 4.2E indicates that any material which "advocates homosexuality or lesbianism" should be taken into account when determining what material should be prohibited online (Internet Code of Practice, n.d.). It is evident that this Broadcasting Act represents a threat to operating and showing LGBT-related content online. This concern was articulated by one female staff member:

[44] '.net' was used at the time of the study, however this has since changed. Though it remains non-country specific.

> "I think because uhh we work in the SE Asia region umm where there are terrible laws in terms of regulation of like online spaces…regulation of physical spaces umm so I do foresee that as a threat and a security risk umm and how that's going to impact different people as well… so I do think that is one big challenge [of] the social-political environment that we are working in…"

Web-App Front-End Design Considerations

In comparison, the 'front-end' actions are used with the aim to immediately create the affective experience of security and control in the (potential) user. Firstly, the framing of the site as a 'web-app' is important. As one staff member pointed out, it "… implies a stand-alone app on an individual's phone" and gives the user the impression "… of being in control of privacy." This is built into the marketing of the initiative. By calling it a web-application or web-app, staff anticipate that users will associate it with an 'app' on their phones, which for many young people is perceived as something they can control, particularly when it comes to privacy (Madden et al., 2013).

Furthermore this sense of privacy is also evident through the 'Concerned About Privacy' link, which appears in the top left hand corner of the web-app homepage (see below Figure 5.2), linking the user to more information about how the space takes privacy seriously, and undertakes measures to secure data.

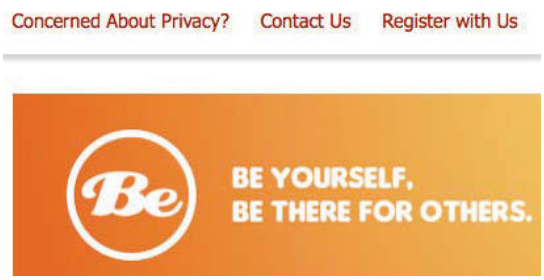

Figure 5.2 - Example of the link to privacy on the BE web-app homepage

> *Once this link is clicked on the user is taken to another page that indicates that:*
>
> *You have full control over your privacy on BE.*
>
> *None of your data will be shared with other social networking platforms (eg. Facebook, Twitter, etc) or organisations, without your prior consent.*
>
> *The team behind BE are committed to delivering an experience that is user-friendly and easy-to-use.*[45]

Importantly, this provides the perception of being in 'control' and that 'your data' is secure as part of the overall user 'experience.' The affect this is meant to generate when the user comes into contact with it is a feeling of security and a sense of privacy. As previous studies (Davis and James, 2013; Marwick et al., 2010) indicate, young people consider privacy and a sense of control important when engaging online and privacy is particularly important in relation to seeking information about sexuality (Hillier et al., 2012; Selkie et al., 2011). It implies young people are in control of their experience on the web-apps, and that they have agency in managing and maintaining data. The importance of this cannot be overstated, particularly for those experiencing, and at risk of, stigma and discrimination (Hillier et al., 2010; Robinson et al., 2014) due to the real (or at least perceived) fear of the repercussions that could come from their participation in these spaces. As one female staff member commented, "…for the users they need knowledge … They need information and they need it to be confidential …" This focus on confidentiality has resulted in the construction of a service that uses symbolic markers to clearly generate the affect of safety, trust and security in the web-apps.

It is apparent that this affect of safety and privacy is meant to become more apparent the deeper the participant goes into the web-app. For instance the user/s must register to the web-app to access its features beyond the knowledge base (i.e. factsheets). This includes agreeing to'…the purpose, values, terms of use and codes of conduct' and, as part of this process, acknowledging the statement that an individual user has '…control over the privacy settings of their profile, and can choose to remain anonymous' (Login page).

[45] Text from the *BE* web-app: http://www.being-me.net/privacy/concerned-about-privacy/ (accessed Dec 2014)

Signs, Symbols and Cumulative Value: The Expected Affective Response

The multiple symbols and objects presented as part of the intervention, at both the back-end and front-end of the site, aim to cumulatively generate an affective experience that is important to the intervention. Ahmed (2004, p. 45) argues that "Affect does not reside in an object or sign, but is an effect of the circulation between objects and signs" which increases in value as signs circulate. The repetition of symbolic markers of safety, such as the secure login protocols, and information on the web-app, work together to accumulate value. They are used to 'capture' the (potential) user's attention (Ash, 2012, pp. 3–4), and invoke the required 'affective response' (Thrift, 2004) through the 'rippling effects' and 'sticky' associations of the circulation of objects and signs (Ahmed, 2004, p. 45).

The culmination of these signs is meant to engineer an affective experience of 'privacy,' 'safety,' 'security' and 'trust' through the arrangement of the technological artefact. In doing so the design incorporates elements that create an (imagined) border of trust and security that respond to the contextual issues of safety that form part of the queer subjects' experiences, which is meant to keep (potential) users accessing and participating in the web-app. Thus the interaction with the artefact creates "(re)actions or relations of 'towardness'" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 8) to the artefact itself. In doing so, the initiative opens up the possibility of enhancing other capabilities.

Enhancing Capabilities: (Sub)cultural Knowledge and Social Connection

As discussed, the primary concern that is articulated throughout this initiative is LGBT young people's lack of access to information and support. Whilst the components of the web-app are varied there are two primary capabilities that the intervention seeks to provide LGBT youth: 1) Enhanced knowledge of diverse (sub)cultural knowledge and representations of sexuality; and 2) Opportunities for enhancing social connection.

(Sub)cultural knowledge here can be understood as the resources and support shared within queer online spaces (Hanckel and Morris, 2014; Munt et al., 2002). As one male staff member observed, the information and resources provided should:

> …speak to daily life of young people who are coming out. Young people who are trying to grapple with the issues of their gender and sexuality and how they want to interact with each other. How they want to date. How they want to learn about sex…

In this way the knowledge on the platform is meant to be relevant to LGBT young people's everyday experiences, as well as respond to the information that LGBT young people want. In doing so, these tools represent a (possible) enhanced capability of (sub)cultural information that is meant to give these young people a resource to help them make decisions about how they 'come out to family and friends,' how to 'access support services' and to engage in 'forms of political activism' within the contexts in which they are situated.

The intervention provides this information in diverse ways, in the form of factsheets (knowledge base), a video series,[46] user-generated information (Question and Answer) and also connection to further professional support (Services Map; Referral Desk). Importantly, the aim of focusing on (sub)cultural knowledge is to enhance the overall wellbeing of LGBT subjects. As one female staff member commented:

> … the impact should be they get more knowledge and [become] more clear and more confident about how can they uh make many decision in the future about their lives …

Thus this increased (sub)cultural knowledge is considered important to the extent that it is accessible and that youth can choose whether, and how they can incorporate it into their lives. This focus is evident also in the *Connecting the Dots* strategy report. As the report outlines one of the primary aims of the intervention is to "…create and distribute originally produced knowledge products and tools that help raise understanding of health and human rights information" (19) so that LGBT young people can, as the staff member above indicated, 'make many decision[s]' about their lives. Important also, as a transnational web-app, is the ability to access diverse representations of LGBT desires, attractions and behaviours, and provide information and narratives that resonate for LGBT youth in a number of different contexts. This is

[46] The videos, and their development, are discussed at length in the following chapter, Chapter 6.

evident, for instance, in the way one male staff member reflects on how the diverse videos might be consumed:

> …I think the video that we have so far show honest … interactions of individuals who are confronted with the issues and they share their side of the story, the pro and cons and…that appeal to people you know that the story is genuine…The story is honest…The story is really straight to your face and the different videos are from different culture but I hope that users from different countries is able to see or maybe can understand they themselves from their own country can grapple with the issues…

This content is important, and is meant to be diverse staff-generated and user-generated content. In reference to the Question and Answer feature, one staff member explained that he is "…not expecting uniformity but diversity" to emerge in the representations of sexuality/gender identity. Thus, once the user is engaging with the platform they have "greater access to resources" and access to "diverse discourses" of identity and how to approach the concerns that they are experiencing. It has been designed so that multiple answers can emerge to the questions posed by other users. Diversity is important here, and is also a central tenet of the CA (Robeyns, 2005), which takes into account a "consideration of interpersonal variations among human beings … in that it explicitly distinguishes different spaces of equality" (Zheng, 2007 n.p). It is used here, in the design of the space, to symbolically illustrate to users that multiple subject positions and responses to LGBT-specific situations are possible. As other work on queer forums (Hanckel and Morris, 2014) has found, diverse (and at times dialectical) responses to questions online can and do emerge and it provides young people with information that they can incorporate into their lives based on their own circumstances, around themes such as coming out to family and friends and dealing with discrimination and violence.

The aim of creating a space of diverse discourses also acts as a broader way of presenting and understanding sexuality. In this sense it is about increasing the critical consciousness (Freire, 1974) of these young people to the extent that it informs them about the 'diverse discourses' of sexuality, and non-heteronormative ways of being within different contexts. In doing so it provides young people with the tools to talk about sexuality, which is meant to facilitate a broader participation by the users of the

service in the symbolic struggle for the meaning and representations of sexuality within the region as they participate in their own forms of queer world-making. By providing a space that has the potential to present diverse views, the initiative extends the work of staff activists who seek a broad understanding of sexuality within the region.

The mechanisms within the platform have also been developed so that user/s can interact and engage with each other in peer-based learning, and connection across the web-app. The *Connecting the Dots* strategy refers to this process of knowledge exchange as the '…'crowdsourcing' of peer support' (Connecting the Dots Strategy Document, p.5). As previous work has indicated, 'self-aware' or experienced online community participants in queer spaces play an important role in sharing information with others within the community (Hanckel and Morris, 2014; Marciano, 2011; Thomas, 2002). This is about sharing resources and experiences as the user is expected to

> … share their experience with another user… It's like learning from another people's experience. It's the best way …to get information…yeah and they provide information about the service…information about the clinic or the counselling service for people (female staff member)

The references in this quote are to the features that allow users to rate and discuss their experiences living as LGBT youth. In doing so, this creates further opportunities for connection. It is meant to provide 'a sense of community' (*Connecting the Dots Strategy Document*, p.5), and is seen as playing an important role in creating diverse content.

Conclusion

The findings indicate that engineering affect into the design of the technological artefact is important, not only for bringing users into the artefact, but also for the barriers that it addresses. The artefact, is an object that is meant to "…generate and transmit affects…" (Ash, 2014, p. 2) of 'safety' and 'trust' through its design, which respond to the barriers of risk, stigma and discrimination present in the on/offline lives of particular LGBT/queer young people within the region. In doing so, the

technological artefact incorporates mechanisms that work to reduce real risks, and provide symbolic representations, affective markers, of 'safe(r) space' for them. These measures, both real and symbolic, target the (potential) user's experience, with expectations that it will generate feelings of 'privacy', 'safety', 'security' and 'anonymity'.

The affective markers here are important for the affective intensities that they are expected to generate when they come together. The cumulative effects of the affective markers engineered into the construction of the artefact create 'rippling effects' that are 'sticky' as these signs circulate, in the way that Ahmed (2004) describes. In doing so, the components are constructed to 'stick together' to facilitate a cumulative experience of a 'safe(r)' space, imbued with trust, security and support onto the bodily experiences of LGBT young people in Asia.

The engineered affect here is important to the extent that it creates an enabling and 'safe(r) space' for enhancing capabilities, and the agency of LGBT youth. The implication is that greater knowledge and connection to support is meant to lead to greater agency to make decisions that impact on the possibilities of users' lives, and, in turn, their wellbeing. Thus, the cumulative affective experience is meant to create a 'safe(r) space' for youth to understand their world and the expectation is that with increased agency, a key goal of community development projects (Bhattacharyya, 2004) – young people can use their enhanced capabilities to more ably (re)negotiate their world/s.

Furthermore, the affective markers of 'safer space' are important for the potential they have to attach people to the platform in an ongoing capacity. The engineered affective intensities are meant to leave an affective imprint (which was discussed in Chapter Three). This imprint of affect is considered important for bringing the user back to the artefact to contribute, learn, and (re)connect with others, across the existing on/offline places that they inhabit, as augmented subjects (Rey and Boesel, 2014). Whilst the impression of affect, and the artefact's capacity to affect is likely to be dependent on the intersectional positions queer young people's bodies occupy across different spaces,[47] the intention of the design(ers) is to make an impression onto the bodies of

[47] See for instance Gray's (2009) work on the importance of context/place for the way young people engage in forms of queer world-making.

queer youth. In so doing it allows for the possibility of ongoing engagement with the 'safe(r) space' within varied contexts of risk in Asia.

The inquiry into this intervention helps us understand how ICT resources are designed within contexts of risk. In Chapter 6 I extend this discussion to examine how the video resources were designed and developed with filmmakers in the region, and how these were constructed for YouTube. In Chapter 7, I examine the affective experience of the users of the web-app, examining how affect travels and the capabilities that are enhanced through use of the service. In so doing, I examine the experiences of young people (users of the service) vis-à-vis the expected affect and anticipated capabilities outlined in this chapter and the next.

6. From Activist Filmmaker to 'Agony Aunt': Examining Queer Filmmakers' Experiences of Publishing and Sharing YouTube Content in Asia

He drew a circle that shut me out —
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout.
But Love and I had the wit to win:
We drew a circle that took him in.
"Outwitted" by Edwin Markham

Making video may be empowering, but it is also challenging, time-consuming, intimidating, and sometimes even dangerous.
(Juhasz, 1995, p. 51)

In the previous chapter I focused on the development of the web-app *BE* for queer young people living in Asia. In this chapter I examine one component of this initiative – the development and distribution of 7 videos for *YouTube*. These videos – intimate stories of 7 LGBT young people - are important to the extent that they are both a component of the initiative *as well as* part of the community development work of the organisation. To this extent they are an ICT4D project, and it is within this chapter that I examine these co-constructed objects, from their development to their distribution.

In particular, I am interested in examining the reasons behind the development of these seven films for an online video sharing platform (*YouTube*), and the impact of producing and distributing these films on the filmmakers involved in this project. To this end, the following research questions guide this chapter:

1. How did the filmmakers' lives and access to resources shape the construction and production of their personal stories for an online video-sharing platform?
2. What impact has the production of the films had on the filmmakers'/storytellers' lives, and their capabilities?
3. How did the filmmakers'/storytellers' participate in the distribution of the videos?

To examine these questions I draw on the 16 interviews undertaken with 9 of the 10 filmmakers'/storytellers'[48] based in Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Nepal, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand respectively. Nine interviews were conducted prior to the release of their films, and seven interviews 8 months after their release. I also draw on field notes, programmatic documentation, including analytics data, and 6 staff interviews to examine the development, production and distribution of these films.[49]

I begin this chapter by discussing the emergence of the 'documentary film' and the role of the intimate 'digital story' on online video-sharing platforms. In particular, I discuss how *networked publics* such as *YouTube*, have, as Burgess and Green (2009) argue, created new struggles for authority and control within the broader media environment and afforded new opportunities for individuals, with the necessary capital, to share, create and, in particular, distribute content (Lange, 2007). For queer young people the ability to share digital stories, where the access and the tools are available, provides a "…valuable performative and discursive space…" (O'Neill, 2014, p. 36) for documenting and discussing their sexuality (Alexander and Losh, 2010; O'Neill, 2014; Wuest, 2014). In doing so it provides opportunities to share queer narratives in often contentious and dangerous spaces. My interest here is in the making of these objects for a networked public and how these 'portraits of real life' (Aufderheide, 2007) get shared through on/offline networks.

The findings in this chapter are presented chronologically - starting from the point in which the 'call to action' was posted online seeking filmmakers, to the production, and subsequent distribution of the videos. As I discuss below, the filmmakers' existing access to certain capabilities and cultural capital allowed them to participate in the project and extend their existing capabilities, and thus their functionings. I discuss how bringing intimate stories to diverse imagined audiences through networked publics extends their engagement in a broader life politics. As the poem, *Outwitted,* suggests at the opening of this chapter, the goal of these films, my findings indicate, is to connect to these diverse imagined audiences – in particular those contentious publics – to shift the *habitus* of the imagined viewer.

[48] It is important to note here that of the seven films, 4 included the stories of the filmmaker themselves, so they were both storytellers' *and* filmmakers'. The other 3 films were produced by filmmakers' but were stories of other LGBT people who lived geographically close to them. I discuss this in more detail later in this chapter.
[49] The methodology is discussed in detail in Chapter Four, and the interviewees are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

The filmmakers/storytellers, as I show below, are entangled with the release of the films. They move *with* their films through networked publics in both on/offline spaces, and participate in the *affective afterlives* (Ash, 2014) and *affective impressions* (Ahmed, 2004) of the films. This participation allows them to, in part, contribute to the informal learning that takes place as their films circulate. In so doing they participate as *networked individuals* (Rainie and Wellman, 2012), creating what I call *'spaces of disclosure'* - spaces in on/offline settings for people to come out, seek support and reassurance *and* talk about sexuality. These *spaces of disclosure* are imbued with affect which provides the potential for enhancing the wellbeing of the audience and, as my findings indicate, contributes to the filmmakers'/storytellers' wellbeing, enhancing their capabilities and extending their life projects.

Documentaries, Digital Stories & Social Change: Online Video in the Contemporary World

The term 'documentary' was first used by John Grierson in 1926 and elaborated on in his 1932 essay *First Principles of Documentary.* In this essay he defined the documentary by its ability to engage in 'creative treatments of actuality', portrayals of reality, that sought to teach and educate, that were distinct from fiction (Grierson, 1932). Whilst debate remains about the forms of reality that are presented in documentaries, the documentary form remains distinct in that its role is to engage with the 'real' and (hopefully) doing so in a way that is "…conscious of the social, political and ethical consequences of doing so" (Nash et al., 2014, p. 2). Indeed, the emphasis on the real here is not only important for the producer, but also for the audience, who expect to see "… portraits of real life … [that will] be a fair and honest representation of somebody's experience of reality" (Aufderheide, 2007, p. 3). These 'portraits of real life' are constructed through the narrative traditions and storytelling conventions that have come to define documentary filmmaking with the intent to display an argument or raise awareness about an issue from a particular perspective (Zoellner, 2009).

One way to conceptualise the documentary, and its 'evolution' into digital spaces in late modernity is as a *digital story*, as Sonja Vivienne (2016) explains:

> Digital stories are short (3-5 min) rich media autobiographical videos, combining personal photographs and/or artworks, narration and music…'Digital' refers to the digital tools used by storytellers' for production (computers, digital cameras, editing software, etc.) and in some cases the digital distribution mediums (Vivienne, 2016, p. 3)

I am interested here in the construction of these digital stories with the 'digital tools' the filmmakers have access to, *as well as* their 'digital distribution' and how the internet functions as a structuring 'distribution medium' for these digital stories. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, these films were made for *YouTube*, a *networked public* - "…publics that are restructured by networked technologies" (boyd, 2011, p. 39). *YouTube*, similar to other sites like *Vimeo,* is branded as "…a convenient and useable platform for online video sharing" (Burgess and Green, 2009, p. 4). Importantly, the focus here is not necessarily on creating video (although that's important!) but that the platform acts as a crucial distribution channel (Lange, 2007) for the sharing of content amongst *networked individuals* (Rainie and Wellman, 2012) across networked publics (Including, for instance *Facebook* and *Twitter*), and as I show in this chapter, across diverse on/offline spaces.

Recent work indicates that, whilst varied between countries throughout Asia, online video sharing platforms, and in particular, *YouTube* as a platform, is playing an increasingly important role in individuals' networked lives. In 2013, for instance, it was reported that of those surveyed in SE Asia[50] who were over 15 and using the internet, there were 42 million "online video viewers" (*2013 Southeast Asia Digital Future in Focus*, 2013). This study also reported that users in SE Asia were likely to use *YouTube* as their main site of entertainment, indicating the dominance of *Google's YouTube* brand within SE Asia. More recent studies (see for instance: *Consumer Connections in a Converging World of Screens*, 2015, "Online Video is reshaping Southeast Asia's media landscape," 2014) - albeit with varied sample sizes and motivations - report similar findings, and indicate a growing trend within SE Asia toward individuals watching videos online and incorporating video into their *media-related practices* (Hobart, 2010). A similar trend is evident in China - a recent survey of 904 internet users found that 75% watch online videos, with 76% indicating they

[50] Their study included Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

would prefer using the online platform rather than watching video on television (Sabrina, 2013). Again, similar to SE Asia, video-watching by Chinese internet users seems to be increasing with recent data indicating that of the users surveyed, over the last month 94% indicated watching videos online, and 81% of these had watched a video from the last month (The Connected Consumer Survey 2014 / 2015 cited in "Google Consumer Barometer Data," 2016). Research undertaken in China indicates that Chinese internet users are likely to use Chinese-based video sites, including the video platforms *iQiyi* and *Youku* (Cecilia, 2014). The absence of *YouTube* here is due to internet restrictions within the country. This data is important as it indicates a high use of video sharing platforms and suggests that its use is increasing regionally. Younger audiences are most likely to be involved in watching, and presumably (re)making and sharing online video content; in SE Asia the consumers of this content are likely to be under 35 (*2013 Southeast Asia Digital Future in Focus*, 2013), and in China, consumers of this content are likely to be under 29 years of age (Sabrina, 2013).

Queer Youth and Online Video

Recent work (Alexander and Losh, 2010; O'Neill, 2014; Wuest, 2014), primarily undertaken in advanced economies, has shown how queer youth have taken advantage of both *networked publics* and access to camera technologies to document, discuss and explore their sexual/gender identity. These online spaces, provide young people with opportunities to see similar others, which Wuest (2014) argues is affirming to young people and creates a shared identity. This access to similar others, and (sub)cultural knowledge presented through this medium is similar to the affordances of ICTs more generally for queer young people (See for example: Austria Jr, 2004; Gray, 2009; Hanckel and Morris, 2014a; Thomas, 2002), and has the potential to enhance their capabilities as they come into contact with these ICT resources.

The development and distribution of videos on a networked public is particularly interesting here because of the *public* nature of these platforms. That is, these intimate stories and videos, once shared *are* shared in public settings, which Vivienne (2016, p. 6) comments places those storytellers, and also the filmmakers and their families in vulnerable situations of judgment from others – "the consequences of truth telling".

Given the predominance of stigma, and how it is embedded in legislation in varying contexts/ways throughout Asia (See: Itaborahy and Zhu, 2013), this is likely to be most pronounced for young people in this study who *are* participating in these contentious spaces.

Whilst important to acknowledge the potential risk to individuals and their families it is just as important to acknowledge, as Vivienne (2016) and others (See for example: Gray, 2009; Taylor and Dwyer, 2014) have argued, that spaces afford important opportunities for enacting forms of agency and engaging in forms of queer world-making. In doing so, individuals with the necessary capabilities have the capacity to participate in the new struggles that have emerged for authority and control in the media environment that video-sharing platforms have created (Burgess and Green, 2009). These platforms provide a "…valuable performative and discursive space…", argues O'Neill (2014) in his discussion of trans youth, and may, through creating diverse representations of being LGBT/queer, contribute to "…offer[ing] alternative ways of understanding sex, sexuality and gender" (Alexander and Losh, 2010, p. 24). New technologies - in this case video-making and distribution tools - present new socio-political resources for addressing social issues for minorities (Antony and Thomas, 2010; Kim, 2011, 2009; Soriano, 2015) and presenting discourses of those who have been traditionally marginalised or inaccurately represented by mainstream media production. How this is done, and its impact on those involved is a central concern of this chapter, and this thesis more generally.

Examining the Impact of Digital Stories

Though the documentary form has provided the potential for encouraging social change since early in the development of film (Brownlow, 1990; Neve, 1992; Gaines, 2001) research to date has had a limited focus on film as an agent of social change (Aguayo, 2013; Karlin and Johnson, 2011; Nisbet and Aufderheide, 2009). Those studies that have investigated the potential for documentaries to shift perspectives have focused primarily on changes in individual audience members' behaviors *after* consuming the film, and on changes that take place "…within the *dominant* public discourse" (Whiteman, 2004, p. 51).

In light of this work researchers (Barrett and Leddy, 2008; Whiteman, 2009, 2004) have suggested taking a more holistic approach to examining documentary film, an approach that takes into account the film, as the object, as only one point on a long continuum. David Whiteman (2004), for instance, presents the *Coalition Model* which indicates the need for examining the entire continuum of the filmmaking process. This continuum emphasises that 'life' exists prior to the broadcast of the film and, as well, following the film's release (Barrett and Leddy, 2008). The viewer, and their experience of the film is only one stage in this long process (Whiteman, 2004, p. 54).

This is a reconceptualization of the way that we consider and analyse filmmaking. In doing so "films are considered part of a larger effort to spark debate, mold public opinion, shape policy, and build activist networks" (Nisbet and Aufderheide, 2009, p. 450). As Whiteman (2009, p. 476) suggests, by taking this approach "much more of their impact can be revealed by attention to recruitment, education, mobilization, and framing within the relevant activist organisations and within the issue network of which they are a part.'' I draw on this approach here, and, in particular, focus on how the films came to be developed[51] within both the context of the organisation and the filmmakers'/storytellers' broader life projects.

Stories of Being Me: An Overview

In 2013 (Aug-Oct), a video[52] and an accompanying web page was launched which sought filmmakers from the region. In particular, it called on "Independent Filmmakers'" located in Bangkok, Beijing, Hanoi, Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Manila, Phnom Penh and Singapore to tell the stories of "young people who are comfortable and happy with who they are regardless of their sexual orientation or gender identity", and placed an emphasis on "…stories told by the people themselves". The project sought "…people across Asia to share their real-life stories about learning to deal with differences in sexual orientation or gender identity." The 'call-out' sought perspectives of young people who 'avoid labels' as well as those "…who identify as

[51] As has been noted elsewhere (de jong, 2008) the 'production' phase is an under-researched area but is crucial to understanding why media products have the form that they do, and how this structures their outcomes (See more: Dornfeld, 1998; Elliott, 1972; Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Silverstone, 1985).
[52] The video was 1:05mins long and included both a male and a female voiceover that read different coloured English text on the video

lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender." This also included those "…who are simply curious or undecided about their sexual orientation and gender identity."

To contribute, "independent filmmakers'" were asked to send in an electronic 'treatment submission' to the community development organisation, which was the first stage of the process depicted in Figure 6.1. The treatment submission included: Their name, their filmmaking experience and an overview of their proposed film incl: The film thesis, and a breakdown of the components of the film into the 'beginning,' 'middle' and 'end.' There were 24 submissions. They were all sent to a panel of 20 reviewers who came from various organisations involved in queer issues and/or media production, and had some connection to the Asia-Pacific region. The reviewers were given a template document that provided a scoring matrix that asked them to score the applications based on the following themes: Whether or not the story was compelling; if it engaged with the wider contexts of family and community; if it seemed attainable; and, if it was relevant for the *BE* web-app. The judges were expected to provide a number of points against set criteria, and make a qualitative assessment against each theme. Of these, 15 reviewers sent back comments, which determined which filmmakers participated in this project. In November 2013 the 7 filmmakers who were successful were given a $US2000 grant to work with the organisation to collaboratively complete their films.

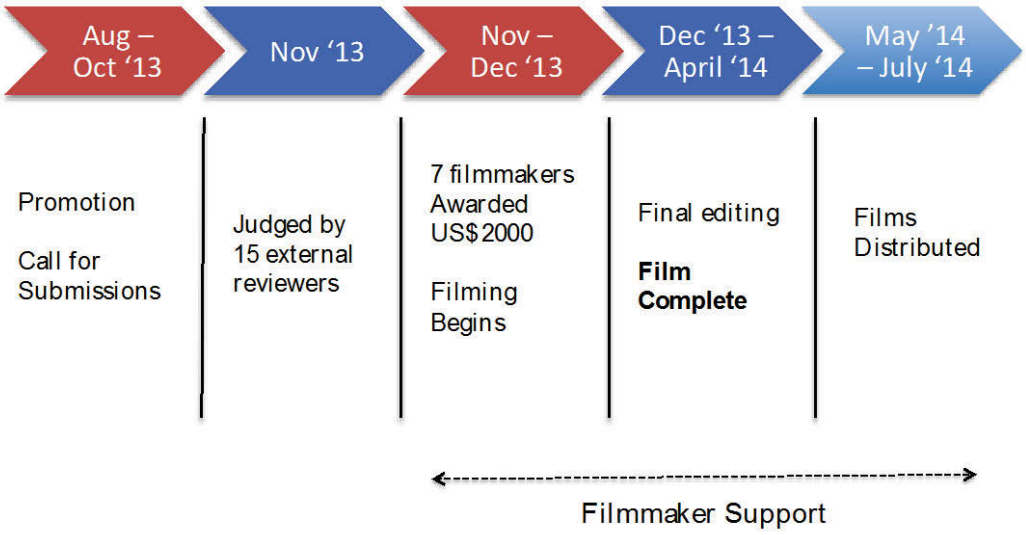

Figure 6.1 - Film Development & Distribution

Reviewing the Treatment Submissions: Clear Narratives and Cultural Capital

As discussed above, the reviewers' comments played a crucial role in which videos made it through the submission process. In this section I analyse the qualitative comments made by these reviewers. The film treatments that were given preference were those that were focused on articulating a personal narrative in a clear and concise way. Treatments that seemed too abstract or narratives that seemed *"…too big for a short film"* were not rated highly. Narratives that included family and friends of the storyteller were important, and the reviewers were interested in films that articulated the potential and real disruption to the family unit[53] that comes from someone within this unit living with a non-heterosexual orientation or diverse gender identity. In particular, the reviewers looked favourably upon those submissions that sought to discuss the concerns of stigma and oppression, which operated within their local settings. As one reviewer indicated when referring to one of the Singaporean video entries: *"A very well thought out narrative grounded in the everyday life of Singapore in the background and a personal story in the foreground."* The local was important here to the extent that the film treatments were 'grounded' in national spaces, *imagined communities* (Anderson, 1991), however the reviewers also sought a film that "*resonates with other LGBT Asians.*" In doing so, the reviewers emphasised treatment submissions that would have relevance at both the local *and* the transnational level within Asia.

One of the key concerns the reviewers were asked to address was whether or not the "filmmaker has demonstrated sufficient knowledge and competency to deliver her/his proposed material?" What became evident here was the importance of the filmmakers' existing cultural capital, and their capacity to produce high quality films, as the reviewers comments indicate:

> *The fact the applicant and his team have produced other work is a good testament that they will be able to deliver. Past successes with other small festivals is also a very encouraging sign.*

[53] The family unit in Asia, as Chou et al (2014, p. 1) point out, plays an "…important role in the maintenance and enhancement of psychological well-being"

The director has previously won grants and commissions, with some experience on this very topic.

The emphasis on filmmakers who have both a background and experience in filmmaking is important here. As is the emphasis, as another reviewer states, where "*The applicant has won awards*". The reviewers sought, in this sense, individuals who had both demonstrated cultural capital (filmmaking) and, importantly, looked favourably upon those who had this cultural capital institutionalised, in the form of 'awards' and qualifications. [54] In Zoellner's (2009, p. 516) study examining documentary for television she found, similarly, that "…industry status and track record based on previous cooperation form part of the symbolic capital of independent producers." In a similar way, the cultural capital of the filmmakers selected played an important role in positioning the filmmaker as having the symbolic capital to be able to develop the film.

The Filmmakers/Storytellers – An Overview

In Table 6.1 I have provided an overview of the filmmakers/storytellers who were interviewed in this study, which also provides information about the 7 films that were constructed for this project. As discussed above 4 filmmakers told their own stories, whilst 3 filmmakers told the stories of other LGBT people that they knew within their local geographic spaces. When discussing the production of the films, I focus on the filmmakers who made the production decisions. In discussing the distribution of the films, I discuss the experiences of the filmmakers/storytellers and how they travelled with the films when they were released.

The filmmakers/storytellers, see Table 6.1 below, came from Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, Cambodia, Philippines, China and Nepal. Six of the seven[55] had formal education in either film or communication studies and two of the filmmakers had their

[54] It is important to note here that the existing cultural capital of the filmmakers' was a concern of some staff members, who believed that this might impact on the films, and not show enough diversity. This is an important concern, and raises a question about how a community development organisation balances the need for high quality videos to obtain important 'reach' strategies whilst also ensuring that the diversity of the community is represented.

[55] The one other individual had experience working on films for an NGO and prior experience creating and uploading videos to YouTube

own film production company. All filmmakers were offered counselling support by the NGO.

Table 6.1 - Filmmakers' and Storytellers' interviewed for this project and Synopsis of Films

	Name	Interview (2014)	Interview (2015)	Country of Residence	Age	Story	Time (Incl. credits)		Film URL
1	Imam Wahyudi	Y	Y	Indonesia	30	This story documents Imam's life as both a Muslim and gay identifying man.	3:37		https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_TvfAUp6r2E
2	Darius Zee	Y	Y	Singapore	26	Tells the story of Darius, a gay Singaporean who lives at home with his family who do not know about his sexuality.	4:01		https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xn6rLGSHCI4
3	Isari Lawang	Y		Thailand	19	Tells the story of Sophon, a gay identifying man with a dis/ability in Thailand.	3:46		https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PNriNRIloQc
4	Sophon Shimjinda								
5	Pivoine Beang	Y	Y	Cambodia	33	This film tells the story of Menghourng's experiences as a trans* person in Cambodia.	3:36		https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xn6Wlc3cOw4
6	Menghourng	Y	Y		28				
7	Cha Roque	Y	Y	Philippines	28	This film tells the story of Cha, a lesbian with a female partner and a child.	4:00		https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ltWLJiq2g8c
8	Fan Popo	Y	Y	China	28	This film tells the story of Iron, an activist who identifies as bisexual from Beijing.	3:27		https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UhhjHS79VOM
9	Iron	Y			29				

10	Nilu Doma Sherpa	Y	Y	Nepal	31	This film tells the story of Nilu, a lesbian who asks what love means to people in Nepal.	3:15		https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ncdCYL2jO14

Producing Films in Contentious Spaces: Heteronormativity, Stigma & Talking in Networked Publics

In the following section I outline two of the filmmakers' experiences of producing the films. These two vignettes, whilst anonymised,[56] are illustrative of the filmmakers experiences. The vignettes explain how these intimate digital stories were constructed in their own contexts, and how the filmmakers navigated issues of stigma and heteronormativity which (re)shaped their films and the 'portraits of real life' they presented.

Rachel

Rachel lived with her female partner in the capital city of her country. Her non-heterosexual identity as a lesbian is a contentious issue in her country, where she recognises that "…people are…more open about these things now than before but I guess there's still a big majority that still doesn't understand." She, along with her partner, own a 'production house' that she started after finishing a communication/arts degree in college. Their studio primarily works on marketing and campaign videos for "…corporate clients…non-government organisations and also other government organisations." In this way her access to film equipment and knowledge about video making is entangled with the way she generates an income.

In parallel with this work Rachel is involved with/in queer activist communities in her local area. She describes how she participates as a committee member of an organisation that undertakes "…social change through the form of art…through creative ways, like…film screenings or by exhibits…" She has participated in public events held by the organisation around LGBT issues. She recalled a particularly important event that took place on the International Day Against Homophobia (IDAHO). At this event she participated as a speaker in the 'Coming Out Monologues,' which as she explained were "…kind of like the vagina monologues but with…coming out as the main topic." This was, as she articulated, an important experience

[56] To protect the anonymity of the interviewees, and adhere to UTS ethics guidelines, I do not use the interviewees' names in the vignettes or in the quotes that follow in this chapter, and all identifying information has been removed.

...I am a very open person in terms of my sexuality but it was just during the time of ummm the Coming Out Monologues that I mentioned that I actually shared my story so before uh I tried to write literature or make films about LGBTs but not really my story. So after the 'Coming Out Monologues' it was a…very empowering experience for me and after that it made it easier for me to share my story so when I found out about it, about the [filmmaking project] I was really excited to do it because [its] in the medium...that I really like to make it…uhh film so there.

The quote here captures the importance of sharing her story in a public space. For her, she indicates this was 'empowering' and important point in her activist journey. Indeed, as she articulates, it has played a crucial role in giving her the confidence ('made it easier') for her to share her story for this project. This ICT4D project was important to the extent that it provided the funding and support to be able to share her story through a creative 'medium' she prefers presenting in.

Her story, similar to the other stories, included individuals within her immediate network – friends, family and colleagues. They spoke in her film about their experiences of knowing an LGBT person. In producing this video she discussed how she had to confront the stigma that her family members experienced because of her sexuality. As she indicated "*...it was just during that time when we were shooting that I saw her [family member] actually cry about it [being bullied by others due to Rachel's sexuality]*." It is interesting here to consider the reach of stigma and the *negative symbolic capital* (Bourdieu et al, 1999, 185 cited in Swartz, 2013, p. 106) (Discussed in Chapter Three) that becomes marked not only on individuals' bodies, but also extends to the family unit of the filmmaker. In doing so it has the potential to add an extra burden onto non-heterosexual bodies. For Rachel, however, whilst she indicated that the stigma was negative, she explained how it gave her and her family member the space to reflect on these concerns together and discuss the role stigma played in their lives. She discusses this as a positive development:

...its one…one of the positive things cause umm I think for a while, I thought…that it's just a story we talk about and that…she's in a way over it already. After I just found out that during filming that it still hits her…we had the talk after that and...it was relieving [for me]…

Filming opened up the space for her to reflect on how stigma affects her family. Following the family member's request she deleted the first video of her family member discussing the impact of Rachel's sexuality on the family unit, and then subsequently reshot the scene. Stigma here impacted on the other filmmakers as well – film subjects dropped out of filming, and some family members refused to participate on camera. This inevitably had an impact on what the filmmakers included in their films and on what was absent, as they created their 'portraits of reality' for a networked public.

The inclusion of family members here is important, Rachel argues, as it creates a relatable story, as she discusses below:

> *It will be like a parent umm appealing to other parents to be open about their children's identities. So it's more striking I think if my mum actually said those words than if I did… Then it would be more easier for other parents to connect with her since she's the mother and not just me speaking.*

As Rachel indicates, she is developing a relatable story so 'other parents' can understand. What is interesting here is that Rachel imagines the audience of this film as parents of LGBT young people. It is not just parents of LGBT young people who make up this audience, but is a complex multi-layered audience that Rachel seeks to talk to, as the following quotes indicate:

> *...umm gay families so I wanted to share my experience with them, to inspire them about coming out and umm having your family accept you for that.*

> *...I want my story to be heard…by the LGBT community here [in my country] and also in Asia but also I think ...the bigger audience should be those who doesn't ahh know much yet about LGBTs uhh the straight people...cause we interact with them all the time*

Similar to all the other interviewees, Rachel emphasises the need to speak to multiple audiences. This includes 'gay families' and 'LGBT community,' as well as 'the bigger audience' – 'the straight people' across geographic space/s. In doing so she wants to tell her story, which she argues is "not really usual" – a portrayal of a lesbian family, with the intent to "open the minds of the viewers that such families exist and that we're no different from them and that we also deserve acceptance…"

Whilst the broader goal is for acceptance, Rachel emphasises the importance of the film as an object

> *...to spark discussions and to make people ask questions ... even if their reactions are negative ... the mere fact that it will be open for discussion and that people may be interested in knowing more about it umm I think that's...a big umm step already.*

Matthew

Matthew's story is an interesting comparison to Rachel's. Like Rachel, he "…majored in…communications …in college" and became interested in "…how moving visuals can tell a story." At the time of production he worked for a government agency, in trade and commerce that did not involve filmmaking. However, he undertook filmmaking as a side-project and incorporated it into his life when time permitted - "Yeah I do it on weekends or I actually work weekday nights when…I get back from work sometimes."

Similar to Rachel, and the other interviewees he is embedded in the local queer/LGBT community. He discussed how he had recently been volunteering his time for a queer organisation in his city, which involved "…handling the editorial content of the[ir] website…[and] merchandising", to assist them with fundraising. Whilst engaged in a different capacity to Rachel, Matthew participated in the queer community and positioned himself as activist within it.

In terms of his context, Matthew lives in a country with a policy that maintains discrimination against same-sex attraction. In our discussion he commented on how the legislation frustrates him, and he sees its symbolic power as an important impediment to acceptance of LGBT identities and rights. As he argues, "…things cannot progress…because of this single law because the fundamentalists are always using this law…to say it's [same-sex attraction is] illegal." This emphasis on this law, and how people use it to construct the meaning of sexuality in the region, is important for understanding the construction of Matthew's film.

Matthew's film was conceptualised and framed by his audience, which changed during the development of his script. His focus initially was on developing "a personal film to my mum…" which was part of his coming out narrative. Whilst his mother remained an important part of the imagined audience he discussed how he changed the script to focus on a broader global audience:

> *I think because of the fact [that] this is for [a] global audience and that was why ummm that was the inclusion of [legislation in this film] … I think for a global audience I think this idea that [legislation] still exists is umm is something that the gay movements about…*

As he discusses in this quote he sought to reach a broader 'global' audience as part of this film, and contribute to enhancing the goals of what 'the gay movement's about.' When pressed further about this imagined audience the picture got more complex. In particular, he discussed how he wanted to use the film to educate the LGBT community and that it "…will find a place in…LGBTs who sort of have issues coming out." Furthermore he also saw an important place for the film to "reach out to more people who may not be…LGBT or may not even be allies*"* and discussed its importance at both the international as well as national level.

Similar to Rachel and the other filmmakers he saw his film as an important object for talking within the LGBT community, as much as it was important for talking to people who do not identify with, or even necessarily support, LGBT people. In constructing his story he emphasised the intimate and personal:

> *"I want to bring it [my film] back to being personal…because a lot of the discussion about…[the legislation] from the other camp was that you know gay men have this lifestyle… I think I just wanted to come from this point…that gay men are just like any other people…We do not choose a gay lifestyle over other people … you know ...I mean I know a lot of us…live like normal human beings. We go to work everyday. We hang out with friends. We have drinks … you know. We take the same kind of transport everyday…"*

The emphasis on the 'personal' here is similar to Rachel's film about emphasising a relatable narrative. Matthew seeks to emphasise that LGBT people 'are just like any

other people'. He also explained how he went to lengths in his film to narrate the story in a language he was not comfortable in, because the viewer would relate to a "traditional conservative" family unit that spoke not in English, but in a language associated with his ethnic identity. This was an important part of his narrative, and thus an important part of the 'portrait of reality' he had constructed.

For Matthew he hoped the film would encourage the audience to *"...reflect [on] or...think about their lives"* or even "…inspire them to umm make changes to their own lives …" His expectation was that as it moved through on/offline spaces it would be subject to both positive and negative views, but is hopeful, similar to Rachel, that the film will lead to increased "debate or discussion" across networked publics.

Constructing Narratives for Multiple Imagined Audiences

As was clear in both vignettes and in the interviews with all the filmmakers, there was an emphasis on constructing videos for multiple audiences. In doing so, the targets of their films include those with queer identities and desires *as well* those with heterosexual identities/desires ("straight people") including families of LGBT people; oppositional targets ("fundamentalists" and "conservatives"); and decision-makers ("governments"). The aim, the filmmakers indicate, is to engage with diverse audiences at local, regional and transnational levels. The expectation here that the films will be seen by overlapping audiences is important and talks to the potential anticipated networked audience who might come into contact with the videos through a networked public - *YouTube.*

In connecting to these audiences, the filmmakers and storytellers discuss the presentation of their messages in three ways: to inspire the LGBT community; to present alternate narratives of LGBT identity; and to normalise identity and present versions of sameness. What is occurring here is an attempt to disrupt and shift the audience's imagined habitus, as part of the filmmakers' and storytellers' political projects. Below I discuss these three aims of the filmmakers' work and the 'political struggle' they participated in to impose a legitimate (alternate) vision of the world.

To Inspire the 'LGBT Community'

Within the LGBT community, the films are meant to work as a supportive device, to educate - to "*…to inspire and lift up people"* as one filmmaker put it. In doing so, the filmmakers and storytellers seek to speak to other LGBT people, and particularly young people who are coming to terms with a diverse sexuality and/or gender identity/desires. Their aim here is to present narratives that emphasise that there is nothing individually wrong with being LGBT and, in so doing present digital stories, from a particular perspective, of what it is like living with non-heterosexual identities and desires within the contexts in which they live (eg: national laws, and ongoing stigmas). The filmmakers seek to emphasise and normalise non-heterosexual identities and, as one filmmaker indicated, show that there is "nothing weird about being yourself."

In some ways the emphasis here on providing messages of 'hope' and 'inspiration,' is similar to the *It Gets Better Project (IGBP)* developed in the US by *The Trevor Foundation*. The IGBP's goal is to address LGBT suicide by encouraging adults to upload videos on *YouTube* that talk to LGBT young people and explain that their situation will 'get better'. There has been much recent work written on this campaign (See for instance: Johnson Jr, 2014; Muller, 2012; Rattan and Ambady, 2014; Tseng, 2010). This includes criticisms that the videos assume that individuals come from a particular structural position and that 'it will get better' for them (Johnson Jr, 2014; Tseng, 2010) and the assumption that young people are seeking narratives of 'it gets better' from adults (Pullen, 2014). On this latter point Pullen (2014) argues that an emphasis on adult narratives may unintentionally deny the present pain of young people and in his work he argues for a greater focus on peer narratives, rather than adult-based narratives, to connect LGBT youth who "…are looking for communion and co-presence, in working through the denial of organismic needs" (80). I want to argue that in part the videos do this. They are intimate stories shared on a networked public that provide peer-based perspectives that document issues faced regionally, and culturally within Asia by the LGBT community. They aim to, for the filmmakers/storytellers, provide a sense of 'communion and co-presence' with other young people, and explain that their sexuality and gender identities are not 'weird' or unusual. In doing so, whilst they come from particular intersectional positions, the intimate stories do focus on normalising sexuality and highlighting the structural

issues within their contexts which frame their sexuality as 'negative' or 'problematic.' They offer alternative narratives that situate sexuality as not an individual's problem, but society's,[57] and whilst the framing here is not on 'it could get worse,' a difficult angle to take for a mental health site, it definitely is not restricted to a formula of everything is guaranteed to get better either.

Aims to Present Alternate Narratives and Discourses

In particular, the filmmakers discussed how they sought to contribute to undermine the typical narratives and representations that exist of LGBT people within the region. Many discussed the representations of sexuality, which they saw as limited. In doing so they sought to present stories where, as Rachel indicated above - "*the story is not really usual*" or common in the media. Such narratives and representations include topics of bisexuality, same-sex parenting, and the intersectional identities of living with diverse sexualities, dis/ability and religious beliefs. For the filmmakers they indicated that many of these topics rarely get discussed, and when they are discussed the representations/narratives are quite negative. Their contribution here was framed as both local *and* regional with the aim to showcase broader representations and discussion about LGBT identities within the region. They discussed this as contributing to how the 'LGBT community' and 'mainstream' audiences understand and classify sexuality, and in doing so their aims were to contribute to a broader understanding of what it means to be LGBT within the region. Their films sought to contribute to alternative narratives in a networked public space that is being increasingly used within Asia.

Appealing to Sameness: Constructing Stories that are 'like other people'

Particularly interesting here is the emphasis that the filmmakers placed on framing their narratives in ways that normalised being LGBT, and, in so doing, appealed to sameness. This was evident in both the vignettes above and was a recurring theme throughout the interviews. As the following quotes by two of the filmmakers indicate:

[57] A point I have made about the affordances of online spaces for queer youth elsewhere (Hanckel and Morris, 2014b)

I just hope that where ever it is shown people will like it and it will make them think of our community [as] one with society and not treat it as an alien entity (Female Filmmaker)

The reason I decide to select him [the storyteller is] because I think he has got talent and he try[s] to…show his friend and family that he…even though he is gay…he can still do everything like other people… (Female Filmmaker)

The aim of the filmmakers is to present a narrative of LGBT people being 'just like any other people'. The emphasis is to reposition the LGBT community – moving away from its current position as an 'alien entity' and rather focus efforts on finding points of solidarity and connection to emphasise LGBT people as being capable of doing 'everything like other people'. As Rachel said "I want to share my story for them to know that we are like you too…" In doing so the filmmakers incorporate elements into their stories and narratives that they argue appeal to sameness, with broader goals of acceptance and reduced discrimination. The appeal to sameness is part of a broader struggle for contesting the meaning of sexuality, and a way to shift and disrupt the habitus of those who are antagonistic towards and position non-heteronormative sexualities and desires as problematic and not 'normal'.

A central goal was to, at the very least, "*spark discussions"* and to *"make people ask questions"*. In so doing they use the networked public platform "…to carve out discursive spaces for expression and control" (Soriano, 2015, p. 424). This contributes to enhancing the filmmakers' and storytellers' existing life projects, and brings together the political and the personal, as they attempt to shift perceptions, and have an impact on those who come into contact with the films across on/offline spaces.

Post-Production: Release of the Films

The films were released[58] on *YouTube* across 12 weeks between May and June 2014 which coincided with a soft launch of an early version of the transnational queer

[58] Prior to the release of each film the organisation provided each filmmaker with '*psychosocial support,*' which meant connecting them to a local supportive NGO in their country who could assist and provide support if the filmmaker needed assistance post-release of the film. Though this support was available no filmmaker/storyteller drew on it.

youth program in Asia.[59] All films were in the language chosen by the filmmaker and storyteller, which was likely to be the dominant language in each country, but were subtitled in English. The films, as of 30th June 2015[60] were viewed over 18,500 times, as indicated in Table 6.2. The primary audience for each video was likely to come from countries within the region, and, in particular the target cities of the organisation. This also included (see Table 6.2) a sizable number of viewers from the US and the UK, which is indicative of the global nature of the platform. In terms of demographics, the majority of people watching during this period were aged between 18 and 24 (31%) or 25 to 34 (44%) years old, which fits the demographics of those expected to engage the web-app *BE,* as discussed in Chapter 5. In terms of gender, whilst taking into consideration the limits of the analytics data, overall more males watched the videos, however when there was female/trans representation in the films there was an increase in the number of female-identifying viewers. In part I would argue that this is likely to be associated with seeing a familiar other, and highlights, at least to some degree, the importance of diverse representations in digital story telling.

Table 6.2 - Overview of the YouTube Videos as of June 30th 2015

Videos	Views	Primary Audience/s[61]	M (%)	F (%)
Nepal	9290	Nepal (35%); US (17%); UK (15%)	56	44
Singapore	4564	Singapore (24%); Indonesia (17%) Philippines (10%)	80	20
Indonesia	1669	Indonesia (66%); Singapore (9%) US (5%)	80	20
Thailand	996	Indonesia (29%); Thailand (25%) US (10%)	76	24
Philippines	775	Indonesia (21%); Philippines (16%) Singapore (15%)	66	34
Cambodia	733	Cambodia (26%); Indonesia (14%) US (12%)	66	34
China	555	Indonesia (20%); US (14%); Nepal (12%)	55	45
Total	**18552**			

[59] This was later re-launched in May 2015, as discussed in the following chapter, Chapter 7
[60] This date is one year since the release of the films.
[61] Top three audiences included only

Whilst the films were released on *YouTube* this was not the primary space in which people came into contact with them. According to the *YouTube* Analytics Data 58% of viewers saw the videos off the platform in other networked publics. In doing so they were likely to come into contact with them on other social media platforms such as *Facebook* (80%), *Google+*(5%), *Twitter* (3%), as well as the web-app (2%). In part this can be explained by the way that the organisation shared content across these *networked publics*, and embedded them within the *BE* web-app.[62] The sharing of these videos also explains – at least in part – why Nepal and Singapore had a high number of viewers. For Nepal the inclusion of local 'celebrities' (e.g. Ms Nepal) in the video is likely to have led to increased sharing of the content. In contrast, for the video from Singapore, the release of the video coincided with *PinkDot*, Singapore's annual pride event, that has a strong social media presence. During the time the video was shared across *PinkDot*'s social media channels. Again, this highlights the distribution focus of *YouTube* and the role that it plays in moving and distributing video content, digital stories, into other on/offline settings. It is worth noting that the comments feature, a frequently used feature below the *YouTube* videos, was disabled by the organisation as they did not feel they had the resources to '*manage*' and '*facilitate*' the potential comments on YouTube. Though, as is evident in my discussion below, this took place elsewhere in networked publics off *YouTube and* in other on/offline spaces that the video travelled into.

As discussed in Chapter 4 this analytics data is interesting for its ability to provide a broad overview of how the films circulated. However it provides little indication of the impact of these videos within the networks in which they circulated. I spend the remainder of this chapter examining the impact of these videos on the filmmakers' and storytellers' lives. I follow the films *with* the filmmakers as they traverse these networked publics with their videos, and explain their experiences as the films were distributed.

[62] The web-app constituted 2% of this traffic. This is likely to be associated with the problems encountered with developing the app, which I discuss further in the following chapter.

The Circulation of Content: Following the Films with the Filmmakers

In the post-release interviews with the filmmakers and storytellers, most indicated how they shared their film within and across their personal networks. In practice this meant sharing their videos across *Facebook, Twitter,* through *WhatsApp,*[63] and on their own personal blogs. They shared it strategically – to where their likely audiences would be, and to those who would also share it through their networks - to their "*friends and family via Facebook, because Facebook is very popular in [my country]"* and also amongst their "*team [at] work."* At times this also included showing "*...the video to my work mates directly from YouTube"* and over meals with friends where "*…we just watched the three minutes of video and they talk[ed] about [it]"* afterwards. In this sense the videos moved and circulated throughout the personal networks of all the filmmakers/storytellers in on/offline spaces. Interestingly, only one filmmaker decided not to share her story - because she was from a small community and did not want it circulating throughout the community and was "scared how others would react." However it circulated on her Facebook wall and she was "tagged" by others within her community. Similar to the other filmmakers/storytellers, whilst she received mostly positive feedback from this network "…there were a few who didn't like the fact that I came out." During this time her mother also was contacted by local community members "who called up my mother and say 'Oh my god what has your daughter done' and 'she shouldn't be talking about this.'"

As the films circulated, however, throughout their networks the filmmakers/storytellers discussed how it validated their activist identities. The participants discussed a sense of achievement – having family, friends and work colleagues – close people within their immediate networks - "*…like and put their comments on my post, "Excellent". "Well done". "Keep doing that". "Appreciate", etcetera."* This was important as it affirmed their personal investment in the project.

As well as sharing them within their own personal networks they also participated in public screenings of their films. These were often aimed at much larger audiences and were screened in a variety of settings - a university lecture theatre in Jakarta; in

[63] *WhatsApp* (similar to other services such as *Line* and *WeChat*) is an instant messaging service that relies on a connection to the internet to send and receive content between individuals (it facilitates both one-to-one contact and also one-to-many)

seminar and conference venues in Manila, Kathmandu and Phnom Penh; and at cafes and in local LGBT centers in Singapore and Beijing. These were often organised by the community development organisation and/or the funding body in collaboration with the filmmaker and local LGBT organisations. The attendees included individuals connected to or associated with these organisations. For the filmmakers their participation usually included a speaking role that involved a question and answer session and post event discussions with local audiences. For the community development organisation they saw this as an opportunity to connect to new audiences of young LGBT people, and establish and maintain networks with the local LGBT organisations. These audiences included NGO staff, LGBT activists, and staff from multilateral organizations. The audiences included "straight people" usually university and school students, as well as staff that worked at these organisations. The filmmakers used these opportunities to provide informal education about sexuality and saw it as an opportunity to enhance understanding about sexuality, and its meaning in the region:

> *"During one conference that we had that was organised by the UN Embassy…we had quite a lot of school children there…They couldn't believe there were girls dating girls…I was shocked by their reaction because it was as if they were meeting someone gay for the first time. They were asking me some weird questions…This one person asked me like "How do you like feel…being a man trapped inside a woman's body and still dating other women and trying to take it away from men." So these were the kind of questions they were asking and for me it was really funny because the whole idea of a lesbian has not clicked for them yet." (Female Filmmaker)*

At times the filmmakers/storytellers encountered stigmatising comments as the filmmaker indicates in the quote above. When they encountered these they saw this as an opportunity to provide informal education and knowledge. For some, they were surprised at the ignorance around non-heterosexual identities, as the filmmaker describes below:

> *I was very surprised …because I thought those people who work for [multi-lateral organisations] must have lots of knowledge about gender equality and…diversity. It seems a lot of them didn't really know much about it but it was good*

conversation because they were very open and they want to know about new knowledge (Male Filmmaker)

The videos were clearly an important object that provided a resource for the filmmakers/storytellers to discuss and engage in debate about sexuality.

Spaces of Disclosure: Participation in the Affective Afterlives of the Films

In participating in the distribution of their films, the filmmakers/storytellers often spoke about how the distribution of the films created important spaces for individuals (viewers) to talk about their own sexuality in interesting ways. In doing so these individuals reached out to the filmmakers as their films entered their lives to disclose their sexuality, and also to get assistance and support. Often this occurred at the public screenings:

> *What…make me unexpected was, few gays confessed themselves that they are also gay. They confessed after the film screening finished and during Q&A. They mentioned that, before, they tried to hide their status even with[in] their family...But after they watched the film, they decided to show in public who they are. And they said this film is educational and help[s] to reduce discrimination. (Female Filmmaker – Email Interview)*

As the quote suggests, the filmmaker and their film as it entered into the audience's lives, became part of the audience members' coming out narratives. It opened up the space for those who do identify as LGBT to talk about their sexuality in more open ways with the filmmaker and others around them. As one filmmaker observed - those *"…who are not very comfortable in sharing about their sexuality…[had] been more willing to talk about topics such as that"* after the seeing the film.

For some filmmakers/storytellers this was people they knew, whereas for others they were approached by those they either knew by association, or didn't know at all, as the following two quotes indicate:

> *I had almost like 6 or 7 girls who had inboxed me on my Facebook page and uh they wanted to talk to me more about…what it's like…and they wanted to*

talk about their relationship and what they'd had been going through and how they're tackling it… (Female Filmmaker)

So after the screening – I think it was a week after – he dropped me a super long Facebook note and we were not friends yet. What he said was he was very thankful that I had the screening…He was having his own problems coming out to his own sister who is my friend as well as his own parents you know. He told me that the film gave him motivation and inspiration in terms of umm addressing his own issues because he has always been in a dilemma as a gay man himself…yeah so I mean it was kinda weird but amazing for me because I don't know who he is and he sent me such a long message to thank me for doing the work that I did and…and this and that. I was kinda like wow you know…amazing! (Male Filmmaker)

The above quotes suggest how the filmmakers/storytellers were seen as having a certain level of symbolic and (sub)cultural capital and were sought out for advice and assistance. A female filmmaker summed this up:

"I went from making the video to almost becoming like an agony aunt"

The filmmakers here play an important role in passing on knowledge and information to others – as individuals who seemed to have the requisite (sub)cultural capital. Young people actively sought to reach out to these filmmakers/storytellers to discuss their experiences with them.

As the films circulated in on/offline spaces the filmmakers/storytellers participated in the affective intensities generated by the films. I want to draw here on Ash's (2014) work on *inorganically organized affects*, which focuses on the objects and the affects they "generate and transmit" (2), as discussed in Chapter 3. These objects – digital stories - present to audiences representations of LGBT bodies living in contentious spaces that get shared and consumed in public (eg: forums, university theatres) and private spaces (eg: the bedroom). What is interesting here, as individuals come into contact with the films the filmmakers/storytellers become (un)intentional participants in their *affective afterlives* (Ash, 2014), as they leave a "mark or trace" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 6) on individuals in on/offline spaces. In doing so I argue here that what I call '*spaces of disclosure'* emerge. Imbued with affect these spaces are created across

on/offline settings, which provide safe(r) space for people to come out, seek support and reassurance *and* talk about sexuality. Most interesting here is the filmmaker's role as participant, facilitator and 'agony aunt' in these discussions.

There are a couple of reasons for this. Firstly, the narratives the digital stories present represent the lives of LGBT young people throughout the region. In part, it would seem that the stories offer narratives of "communion" and "co-presence" (Pullen, 2014, p. 80), which is in part related to the films' appeal to 'sameness' that are potentially relatable to young LGBT audiences. Secondly, the filmmakers' participation in the affective afterlives of the films is important – it fits into prior research (For example see: Hanckel and Morris, 2014a; Munt et al., 2002) that indicates that (sub)cultural capital is passed on by more knowledgeable and 'self-aware' others in online communities. This finding extends this work by indicating how the filmmakers themselves are engaged by individuals who are affected by their films. This engagement is also likely to be part of a broader shift in the media and the way individuals engage with *YouTube* - as we see the distance between the producer and the audience decrease, which provides opportunities for *spaces of disclosure* to emerge as part of the affective afterlife of the film.

Enhanced Capabilities: Strengthening and Extending Networks and Political Participation

As a community development program this ICT4D project connected a group of filmmakers to economic capital required to make the films: the US$2000 grant gave the filmmakers the capacity to access equipment, pay a crew and travel to the required locations to undertake filming. It also connected them to an experienced filmmaker who owned a film production company in Manila, who was hired as a consultant during the period, and liaised with the filmmakers regularly through web-based software, *phatic technologies* (Wang et al., 2012, 2011), such as *Skype* and email. The role of staff here played out in a very similar way to the 'responsive dance' that Westoby and Kaplan (2013) refer to when discussing communities and practitioners. During this time the consultant, as well as other staff members, provided guidance and support. In conversations with these staff members they discussed taking an approach that was very "hands-off," whereby they sought to ensure that the

filmmakers could tell their own story, as outlined in the treatment brief accepted in Stage Two of the video project. The filmmakers discussed a good and helpful relationship with the staff members and, in particular the consultant, who guided them to produce video content that was clear. As one filmmaker reflected:

> "…I think it[s] good to me…[to know] how to make a… a good movie like that. I accepted [the consultant] suggesting how to be… how to make a good movie like that… (Male filmmaker)

He, like the other filmmakers, emphasised the importance of the consultant and staff members being approachable and knowledgeable about film, and letting them tell their story in their own way. The consultant, guided by the organisation's goals and reviewers' comments, was seeking clear stories and wanted films that were "*strong*" and "*powerful*" and would fit into the 3 to 4 minute *YouTube* timeslot. In providing feedback and assistance the filmmakers discussed how they were able to learn new filming skills from this exchange.

Beyond the filmmaking skills, the filmmakers'/storytellers' participation also had an impact on strengthening their existing networks. In particular they discussed how their participation strengthened their existing LGBT activist networks, enhancing and maintaining their networked position within activist circles. As one filmmaker put it:

> *...I will just be totally honest I don't think it changed my connections to the community itself but I mentioned there were some new friendships kind of grew in some ways… (Male Filmmaker)*

The filmmaker role strengthened their social capital and maintained and further validated their positions as activists within the spaces they live within.

For some, their activist position/s was further strengthened through being connected to media outlets who wanted to discuss their stories. As one filmmaker commented, *"They called us because they watched the video…That's how we got talking on the radio…"* This opened up opportunities to further discuss their stories via local and national media outlets – in online news outlets, and on radio and television. In doing so, the filmmakers/storytellers were able to extend their participation in the construction of the meaning and classification of sexuality within the region through various forms of media. The symbolic capital they were seen to have extended their

activist work. The films in this sense added to an overall stock of symbolic capital, which positioned them as people whom others could approach for comment about sexuality and gender diversity within the region.

Concluding Comments

In this chapter I have examined how 10 filmmakers/storytellers came together with the community development organisation to develop 7 films about LGBT identities for *YouTube*. I have argued in this chapter that this ICT4D project extended the reach and capacity of the filmmakers' activism, and in so doing validated their activist identities and extended their advocacy work. The importance of taking a holistic approach to examining these documentaries, or digital stories, as others have argued (Barrett and Leddy, 2008; Whiteman, 2009, 2004) has been crucial here to understand the impact and experiences of those involved in the filmmaking.

The filmmakers had, importantly, the right cultural capital and 'scripts' to participate in the making of these films. Their existing capital gave them access to important networks, and equipment that was used with their existing capabilities to develop their digital stories. The organisation staff were able to provide economic and further cultural capital to the filmmakers, as they engaged in a *responsive dance* (Westoby and Kaplan, 2013) with them to tell their personal stories, "portraits of real life" (Aufderheide, 2007, p. 3) of LGBTs, to multiple overlapping imagined audiences.

As I have discussed throughout this chapter the filmmakers'/storytellers' engagement in this work extended their participation in what they saw as a broader challenge for the symbolic meaning of sexuality in the region. In doing so it brought the personal and political together in the production and distribution of the films. They had the opportunity to educate the "straight people" about non-heterosexual identities, and discuss their stories in on/offline spaces. They became (un)intentionally brought into the *affective impressions* (Ahmed, 2004) and *affective afterlives* (Ash, 2014) of their films, which created *spaces of disclosure* – which brought the filmmakers into the lifeworlds of the audience as they shared intimate details in safe(r) spaces that are created through the object itself. In doing so, through the participation of the filmmakers/storytellers' the films worked to extend and transfer (sub)cultural capital

to the audience and worked to extend the filmmakers' capabilities and activist identities, which became enhanced through participation in the project.

In the following chapter, Chapter 7, my focus turns to the young people who came into contact with the web-app, discussed in Chapter 5, and the videos, discussed in this chapter. In doing so, I turn my lens towards the young people's affective experiences and media-related practices as they engaged with and came into contact with the ICT4D projects discussed so far in this study.

7. Cyber Attacks and Stigma, Transnational Identity Exploration and Queer World Making: Examining the Launch of the BE Web-App

In the previous two chapters I examined how components of the *BE* web-app were developed and constructed. In doing so, I argued that the design of the ICT4D program, and its associated resources, are about enhancing capabilities *and* also about responding to contextual issues of risk and heteronormativity within the region. In this chapter, I examine the launch of the *BE* platform and the experiences of those who came into contact with the web-app and its components during the research period. I draw on data from the first 6 months following the formal release in May 2015 of the program. I draw on the ethnographic data, as well as the 6 interviews with staff and 7 interviews conducted with young people who engaged with the program following the formal release of the ICT tool – 'early adopters' of the project. Due to delays in the ICT4D project, which prevented earlier data collection, recruitment was more difficult than anticipated. Nonetheless, there were key overlapping themes that came up in the interviews, which provide important exploratory data for an under-researched topic. Furthermore, to explore the research questions in this chapter I also draw on the qualitative component of a formative survey, undertaken within the organisation between August and September 2015 with 55 participants. As well as this I draw on *Google Analytics* and *Facebook Insights* data to examine the users of the ICT4D program.

The following research questions are examined in this chapter:

1. What was the experience of launching this ICT4D program in Asia?
2. What are the *media-related practices* of LGBT youth in Asia?
3. What are the experiences of young people who came into contact with the web-app? Do they experience it in a similar way to the expected 'user experience' as conceptualised by the designers (see Chapter 5)?
4. What impact does it have on the users' lives - their capabilities and overall functionings?

To examine these questions I begin this chapter with an overview of the launch of the web-app. As I describe below, following the formal release of *BE,* the web-app sustained multiple cyber-attacks, with two major attacks directly impacting the delivery of the ICT4D project. I discuss here how a design focus on contexts of risk, as discussed in Chapter 5, was important for mitigating, although not completely discounting the impact of these attacks. This context of risk, as well as funding constraints, had implications for the overall ICT4D project, and impacted on its ability to provide the overall service to the intended user.

In the subsequent section I turn my attention to the users of the platform. Following an overview of the user demographics – obtained from the analytics and insights data – I discuss the 'users' and their *media-related practices*. Drawing on the interview data, my findings indicate how varying contexts of real and perceived risk - stigma and discrimination - effect these young people's lives. In these contexts I show how, similar to other studies (For instance see: Gray, 2009; Hanckel and Morris, 2014; Hillier et al., 2012, 2010; Paradis, 2016), the internet plays a crucial role for these young people – for identity (re)construction, exploration and queer world-making, and connects them to local offline resources where they are available. The internet sites they draw on include an interesting assemblage of spaces (LGBT news, entertainment, support services, as well as medical and human rights sites), which includes international sites (often developed and designed in advanced economies), as well as limited regional-based content. I argue here that understanding this context is important for not only understanding how the web-app fits into these queer youths media-related practices, but also for understanding how these practices – that draw on multiple resources within the context of local places – (re)construct the queer/LGBT identities of these young people.

In the following section I examine the young people's experiences, and perspectives of using the web-app. In doing so, I discuss how the affective symbolic markers of privacy and safety, designed into the web-app, travel and the young people's affective experiences from engaging with the web-app. The young people, as I show, engage in forms of labor as they seek out markers of safety within the design features to make strategic decisions related to safety and security.

In the final section I turn my lens towards the anticipated enhanced capabilities that were meant to come from the use of the ICT4D program (in particular subcultural knowledge and social connection, see Chapter 5). My findings indicate that whilst the young people see potential in the web-app to deliver these capabilities it often does not meet their needs due to the content and structure of the resources.

Launching the *BE* Web-App: An Overview

On May 17th 2015 the *BE* web-app was officially launched[64] (an image of the web-app at the point in which it was launched can be seen in Figure 7.1 below). The organisation drew on their existing networks to promote the app, which meant sending out information to community-based organisations (CBOs) within each country,[65] as well as promoting the project through their social media channels (*Facebook* and *Twitter)*. The contact with CBOs was often in the form of emails, but also included sharing information at external meetings and regional conferences that the staff attended. The social media channel promotion took place on the *BE Facebook* page, *Twitter*[66] channels and, as discussed in the last Chapter, through *YouTube* and the distribution of the videos. At the time of the launch the *Facebook* page had 9,216 followers, the *Twitter* channels had 1,270 followers, and the range of existing *YouTube* videos they had available – as at launch – had 19,223 views, with 93% of these views related to videos from the *Stories of Being Me* video project (Discussed in Chapter 6). The organisation created a series of posts to share their resources through these channels, often incorporating pictures and video related to sex and sexuality, which included their own content and external content that they felt would resonate with their audience.

[64] It is worth noting here that there was a soft launch a year beforehand (in April 2014) - during that time the web-app was released in beta (to coincide with the launch of the videos discussed in Chapter 6), and went through a couple of iterations – Beta 1.0; Beta 2.0. This gave the organisation a chance to test the features of the web-app. However – during this time it was not advertised or marketed publicly and at the end of 2014 it was taken offline. After some modifications, and an internal change of IT staff (including the project lead and team of developers) it was (re)launched in May 2015. It is from this point that I discuss the impact of the program in this chapter.

[65] Approximately 125 organisations in total

[66] The Facebook Page and Twitter Handles had been developed approx. 2 years prior to the official launch of the web-app, which explains the number of participants who had 'liked' or 'followed; the organisation. I discuss these in more detail below.

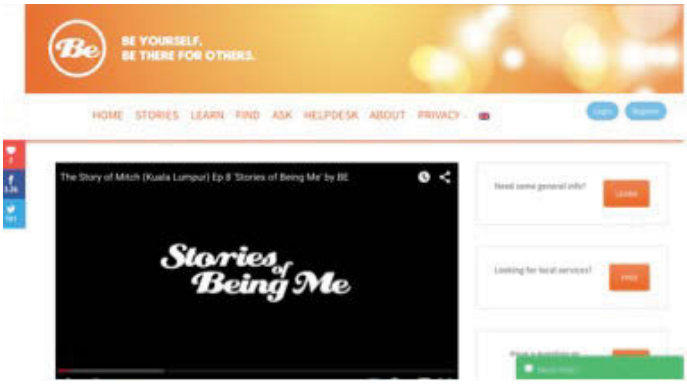

Figure 7.1 - A Screenshot of the BE Homepage when it was officially launched in May 2015

Disruptions to Development

There were two significant disruptions to the site following its launch. The first was related to the funding stream of the program. The largest donor for the program was meant to deliver important financial capital for the program in early 2015, however due to the bureaucracy of the funding body, as one male staff member put it – the "*...red tape...*" – this funding was not delivered until late October 2015. This impacted on the organisation's ability to employ full-time staff, and meant that due to the concerns around the funding it was difficult for the organisation to ensure consistent and ongoing promotion of the web-app and content delivery. In part, this limited the types of content which could be developed and meant that in the six months post the launch of the web-app only six articles were available to read, and the content was only available in English and Thai.

The second disruption involved two cyber-attacks that were significant enough to temporarily shut down the ICT4D program shortly after its release. The first of these was a '*brute force'* attack, which is an attack undertaken by "…automated software…used to generate a large number of consecutive guesses as to the value of the desired data" ("Brute Force Attack," n.d.). Often this is used to obtain usernames and/or passwords to get access to sections of a website at either the front-end of the site or the back-end. These attacks, as one staff member indicated, are actually quite common - "*They actually happen all the time in varying levels of intensity."* However there was "*...one significant brute force attack"* that involved *"...an automated bot…trying to infiltrate the backend…"* In doing so this caused the servers to

overload, which "*brought the site down,*" and in so doing caused the site to be offline for several days.

The second cyber-attack on the web-app was a *Distributed Denial of Service Attack* (DDoS). A DDoS is an attack from many computers, whereby simultaneous requests are sent "…causing a web-server to become inoperable as it struggles to respond to more requests then it can handle" (Zetter, 2016). This can, as Zetter (2016) points out, be used as a tool to bring down a system, and at times can be used as a 'smokescreen' to obtain data from a website. The DDoS attack that took place not only brought the web-app offline, but also replaced it with an image (Seen in Figure 7.2 below), presumably the logo or 'tag' of the individual or group who attacked the system. As can be seen in Figure 7.2 they used the alias or tag name 'islami hacker.' This alias would suggest that those behind this cyber-attack are affiliated, or connected with a religious body or institution. This connection to a religious institution is interesting, and concerning, as religion continues to play an important role in maintaining discrimination and stigma against those with non-heteronormative identities within the region.[67] Whilst the identities of those involved cannot be verified, it highlights the importance the staff placed on the 'safe(r) space' as discussed in Chapter 5, particularly the focus here on maintaining forms of security at the back-end of the site. As one male staff member indicated "…*the security protocols held up.*" When these attacks occurred an internal decision was made to temporarily take the ICT4D project offline, and suspend the social media outreach for several days, which was, as discussed below, one of the main sources of traffic to the site. During this time the staff decided to invest in resources and hire a security analyst, who was contracted to assess the system's security moving forward, which led to "*increasing server capacity*" and "*beefing up security protocols*."

[67] There remain several ongoing explicit struggles between religious institutions and non-heteronormative/LGBT communities within the region. This is evident in two cases from early 2016: In Indonesia religious institutions have been quite vocal about both banning representations of LGBT in the media and also 'reforming' LGBT people (See for example: Halim et al., n.d.); A similar incident was witnessed in the Philippines in February 2016 with a popular Senatorial candidate - boxer Manny Pacquiao – using his *Twitter* channel and *Instagram* feed to suggest that LGBTs were "worse then animals" citing biblical scripture to make this case ("Philippine boxer Manny Pacquiao apologises for gay slur," n.d.).

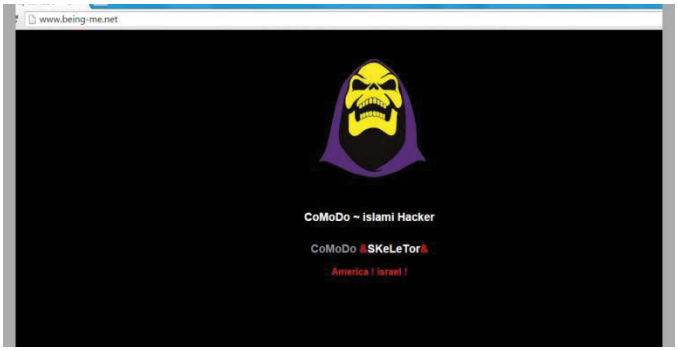

Figure 7.2 - Image that was associated with the DDoS attack

Evident here are the constraints that effect ICT4D programs, and the constraints on their ability to provide services and enhance individuals' capabilities. In particular, funding and security concerns in difficult contexts affected the program's ability to provide the service. The resources used to hire a security analyst cut into the funding for the ICT4D program. Security risks, and the potential for destructive cyber-attacks represent new and real threats to ICT4D programs, particularly those targeting individuals who are marginalised from mainstream society and experience forms of *negative symbolic capital*.

The BE ICT4D Initiative: An Overview of the Users

The ICT4D web-app attracted 3,052 unique users in the first 6 months of its development. Of those accessing the site (unique visitors) - 74% came from Asia and 64% of the total number of unique visits came from the target countries – with most users coming from Thailand (24%), Singapore (14%), Philippines (10%), Indonesia (7%) and Malaysia (5%).

The associated social media spaces (*YouTube*, *Facebook* and *Twitter)* of *BE* also had a bit of traffic during this period which is primarily attributable to the rise in the content as part of the promotion of the project. The *Facebook* users who 'liked' the *BE Facebook* page increased in this period (January to June 2015) from 5,059 to 12,261 followers, a 142% increase. *Twitter*, where less resources were invested, had a moderate increase in followers from 1,271 to 1,330 users across the 5 channels, with English the most popular channel of engagement with 1,295 followers. Videos were added to *YouTube* during this time which included the *Stories of Being Me* video series discussed in the previous chapter, as well as videos about experiences of living

with diverse gender/sexuality identities and expressions throughout the region. During these first 6 months, the videos were watched 7,819 times. It is worth noting that approximately half of these users on the social media channels came from the target countries (*YouTube* = 62%; *Facebook* = 43%; *Twitter* = 40%).

In terms of demographic data, the analytics information provides a snapshot of those engaging with the ICT4D project, which was primarily the target audience of the project. The *Facebook Insights* data, for instance, indicates that the users who connected to the project via this networked public were typically between 13 and 17 (52%) or 18 to 24 (37%). *YouTube Google Analytics Data* indicates that those watching the videos were typically between 18 to 24 (24%), 25 to 34 (42%) and 35 to 44 (24%) years old. Whilst the *YouTube* analytics indicate a slightly older target group, these figures taken together indicate that the organisation's aim to attract young people under 35 within the region is, at least to some degree, successful.

In the following section I bring together the interview data, as well as the formative survey data to examine the experiences of the young people with the web-app and whether it was meeting the capability needs of queer young people.

Being Queer in Asia: An Overview of the early users of the BE Web-App

In the following sections of this chapter I draw on data from the interviews I conducted, as well as qualitative data from a formative survey – a survey of users[68] - that was conducted by the organisation 6 months after the launch of the site and was available in English and Thai. The survey was positioned as a 'quick' user evaluation that sought to further understand the initial reactions of the participants and determine if the site was 'useful' for them. The survey was promoted on social media, and also in a pop-up window when users accessed the site, which sent them to a surveymonkey link. In total, 55 participants completed the anonymous survey (the participants were from the region, and in particular, from the target countries of the organisation, including the Philippines (19); Thailand (15); Malaysia (12); Singapore (4) and Indonesia (4)). In Table 7.2 (below) I have provided an overview of the 7 users whom

[68] 'Users' is broadly defined and includes any individual who came into contact with the program during the first 6 months.

I conducted in-depth interviews with. The participants were recruited through the formative survey undertaken by the organisation and asked if they would like to participate in an interview. If they agreed, I contacted them by email and provided them with more information about the study. If they participated, they were provided with a $30AUD voucher for their time. As discussed in Chapter 4, the reach of recruitment was dependent on the participants seeing the survey, and being actively engaged in either the social media channels of the program or the web-app (where the survey was promoted). Furthermore, as the survey was only available in English or Thai languages it did not include any recipients of the program whom did not speak these languages.

The interviewees are between the ages of 18 and 34. All but one participant had access to a university education. They can all read and write in English, as well as being fluent in the dominant language in their country. They all have private access to the internet with relatively stable internet connections, and identify with diverse sexualities and gender identities, which for some were being (re)constructed at the time of the interview. Interestingly, these participants represent similar profiles to the participants the organisation anticipated targeting in the design of the program, and have very similar attributes to the hypothetical personas developed, which were discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 7.1 - Overview of the Interviewees: 'Early Adopters' of the BE Program

	Country	Sexual Orientation***	Gender Identity***	Age Range	Language/s can read and write**	Education Completed	Interview Type
Ahmad*	Malaysia	Gay	Man	25 - 34	English, Bahasa Malay, Chinese	Undergraduate; Currently undertaking a masters degree	Email Interview
May	Thailand	Lesbian	Woman	25-34		Graduate Student	Email Interview
Nor	Malaysia	Lesbian	Woman	18-24	English, Bahasa Malay	Student	Email Interview
Val	Philippines	Queer Adrophilic	Transqueer	25-34	English, Filipino	College Graduate	Email Interview
Dian	Indonesia	Unsure	Man	18-24	English, Bahasa Indonesian	University Student	Email Interview
Nolan	Philippines	Gay	Man Genderqueer	25-34	English, Filipino		Skype
Ice	Thailand	Queer		25-34	English, Thai	PhD Student	Skype

*The names of the participants have been changed to protect the identity of the participants

**Languages as indicated by participants

***The participants self-identified with this gender identity and sexual orientation

A Queer Experience: Growing Up Queer In Asia – Risk, Identity Exploration & Queer World Making

In the following section I discuss the experiences of the interviewees. Drawing on the interview data I examine their experiences of growing up with same-sex identities and/or desires, and/or being gender diverse.

Contexts of Perceived and Real Risk and Stigma

A prevalent narrative from all the young people in this study was how they navigated contexts where the "everydayness of compulsory heterosexuality…" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 147) persists. As is clear from the following quotes:

> *It's hard being LGBT in Asia, especially Indonesia because the culture is closely related to religions. Many people don't understand about the issues. I have a religion class at my campus and the lecturers were against LGBT. They taught the students that being LGBT were wrong. They called them "living a lifestyle" and even animals didn't do that. My friends often make fun of them. My church is also against LGBT. It makes me sad and depressed like no one understands me and I feel I don't have anyone else to tell. I attend monthly support group and I'm comfortable there because the people understand me.* (Dian, Indonesia)

> *In Thailand, we do not believe in same-sex couples, because it's unacceptable and unsteady. They often think that lesbian[s] can turn back to men…Some bad guys think they can turn on lesbians become to straight girls by raping. LGBT people can be discriminated to get a job, health service, educational system and entertainment service without human right[s] protection common law. Many people said Thailand is the lucky countries that people in this society are accepted sexual diversity. That's not true.* (May, Thailand)

> *Yes, it's difficult. Not all people in Malaysia is open-minded or even open about this issue. Once they know you're gay, the society will not accept it. They will try to change you.* (Nor, Malaysia)

The quotes illustrate that the interviewees are clearly aware of the potential stigma and real threats that they live with, as well as their fears and lived experiences of rejection. It is clear, as these quotes show, how the dominant institutions in these queer young people's lives (the state, religious bodies, the school, their family and peers) maintain expectations of heteronormativity. This can clearly be a difficult time for young people when they do not fit the version of sexuality which is expected of them. This was perhaps most evident in the narratives of the interviewees when they discussed coming out to others, or disclosing their sexual orientation. May spoke about how her mother refuses to accept to accept her sexual orientation:

> *I don't want to come out to my parents yet, but my mom asks me about my roommate. So, I told her that my roommate is my girlfriend but she didn't accept me and my girlfriend as a couple. She still hopes that I will have a boyfriend and get married one day (*May, Thailand*)*

A young gay man from Indonesia had had the courage to tell some of his friends. Their response was one of disbelief:

> *Yes, I started to tell 3 of my very good friends when I was 22. All of them were shocked when I told them. Although they did not reject me, one of them did occasionally asked me to change back to be a straight during our normal conversation for a period of 10 years.* (Ahmad, Malaysia)

A lesbian interviewee from Thailand commented that the people she told refused to take her seriously:

> *I told S when I was questioning my gender identity. She didn't take it seriously. I told everything to a male friend (T). He wanted to "cure" me. I told everything to a female friend (P). She had known about LGBT issues and she supports me.* (Dian, Indonesia)

The realisation that coming out could evoke hostility made May very strategic about how she would discuss (or not discuss) sexuality with others:

> *I keep calm and live in closet because I don't want to called out or make fun by other students…. my colleagues and my classmates have doubt about my sexuality but I never let them bring me to my personal topics.* (May, Thailand)

In doing so, they make strategic choices and decisions about when to discuss their sexuality, and with whom. They seek to ensure their own safety and avoid the potential discrimination and/or violence that comes from having a non-heteronormative body, or being positioned as a queer subject. Clearly hiding ones sexuality or not being 'out,' as is the case with these interviewees, has implications on their mental health and wellbeing, which has been discussed elsewhere (Dyson et al., 2003; Manalastas, 2013; Robinson et al., 2014). In this sense being able to be open about a non-heternormative sexual identity could be considered a capability, which many of the participants did not have due to the structural issues of stigma and/or discrimination that persisted in their lives.

Seeking Information and Finding Community Across Transnational Spaces: ICTs and Queer Young Peoples Media-Related Practices

Although these contexts are laden with risk, this does not preclude the possibilities for LGBT youth to engage in queer world-making (Taylor and Dwyer, 2014). In particular, similar to recent research in this field (See for instance: Gray, 2009; Hanckel and Morris, 2014; Hillier et al., 2001; Paradis, 2016; Robinson et al., 2014)[69] the internet is a vital resource to seek out sub-cultural knowledge - information and resources about sexuality. Interviewees spoke of how they found support through the internet. -

> *With the progress of information technologies, we are able to get more info and studies regarding LGBT from other countries. This somehow validates us in a way that we are not abnormal, sick or alone in this world. Also, with the help of [the] internet, Facebook and mobile apps, we are easier to find people [who] undergoes similar situation and have peer support.* (Ahmad, Malaysia)

An interviewee who identified as transgender only realised she was "transgender" after consulting relevant websites:

[69] As was also discussed in Chapter Two

> *Before the only sexuality that I knew was "gay" and when I had access with the Internet and met with fellow transgender individuals, I realized that I am beyond the label "gay". I self-identify as transgender. (*Val, Philippines*)*

The quotes indicate that the internet affords access to important (sub)cultural knowledge and similar others, which works to provide information that not only validates their experiences but reframes and repositions their understanding of sexuality as not their problem, but that it is a problem of a heteronormative society.[70] Furthermore, the internet also works to help them explore and understand their identities and sexualities, as well as connect them to the (often limited) resources available in their local areas. Thus, as the participants indicate, following a period of exploration online they sought out and found local resources which often included *"the support group and my psychologist"* (Dian, Indonesia) as well as *"…local LGBT groups…LGBT talk[s], seminar[s], workshops and other activities"* (Ahmad, Malaysia). In this sense the on/offline work together in a symbiotic way (Marletta, 2009), where one informs the other – the young people engage in online spaces because of the heteronormative places they live, and the online space is used to connect with others and gain knowledge and engage in on/offline safe(r) spaces *and* to help navigate the heteronormative spaces in which they live. It also breaks down isolation by providing a sense of belonging and connection, a community, as the young people engage as *augmented subjects* (Rey and Boesel, 2014) moving between on/offline places.

Particularly interesting was the emphasis by the participants on accessing "info" about "LGBT from other countries". The interviewees, with English skills, access to technologies, and the appropriate network capital (Wellman, 2001) discussed how they drew on an assemblage of multiple international, regional and local web-spaces to explore and understand their identity.

> *I started with afterellen.com site, LGBT YouTube's channel and group of sexual orientation in Thailand.* (May, Thailand)

When asked to elaborate further via email, May explained:

[70] This supports similar findings from work I undertook in Australia on queer forums (Hanckel and Morris, 2014)

> *For international site; Huffpost gay voice, GLAAD, LGBT feed.com, pinkdot.sg and afterellen.com…For Thai site; teenpath.net, LGBTIQs news group, and LGBTIHumanrightsthailand group.* (May, Thailand)

The interviewees draw on international and local sites to obtain important (sub)cultural information and support, which they access to contribute to identity construction in local spaces. In doing so, they (re)construct their identities within local contexts, and draw on international resources as part of their sense-making of the world. In part, this is attributable to the dearth of local resources "*..which we are still lacking"* (Ahmad, Malaysia).

Noteworthy, is that this content includes international, regional and local content and a number of resources. When I asked Dian (Indonesia) about the sites he visited he indicated:

> *These are the sites that I still remember, and it's hard to access some of the websites in Indonesia because the Department of Communication blocks them. I have to use proxy. General: Truth Wins Out | Fighting antigay lies and the ex-gay myth; SuaraKita | LGBT News Portal; BuzzFeed LGBT; What Is Gender Dysphoria?; http://www.ilga-europe.org/; http://dayagainsthomophobia.org/; www.susans.org/ ; Ardhanary Institute; Arus Pelangi; John Corvino; Various Youtube videos; Various tumblr pages; Wikipedia; Rationalwiki; Hudson's FTM Resource Guide; Christianity: The Epistle; Religious tolerance -- all points of view; Matthew Vines; Transgender Christians; Mengenal dan Memahami LGBTIQ*

Drawing on his network capital (Wellman, 2001) Dian is able to use his knowledge of how to 'use proxy' to get around the legislative impediments to exploring sexuality and gender diversity in online spaces.[71] In doing so, like the other participants, he draws on a variety of resources, an assemblage of information that includes entertainment sites, human rights sites, peer-based resources and support and health-based resources. Interestingly, it also includes resources, around religion. Using this assemblage of information within the context of offline places is part of the everyday media-related practices (Hobart, 2010) of the interviewees.

[71] A point I discussed in Chapter 5

Furthermore, and also important is that the interviewees are not just engaging in internet use for identity construction and social belonging, but also for queer world making. This means that they are using the internet resources and web-spaces to participate in, enhance and contribute to the 'LGBT community':

> *Now, I have a blog site to reviewed LGBT movies and benefit issues for lesbian life. I have a plan to create my own channel on YouTube.com it's about lesbian lifestyle and some advice for coping with mental health. (*May, Thailand*)*

In doing so, May, as a 'self-aware' or 'experienced' LGBT individual, provides peer information and support to other young people with diverse sexualities and gender identities[72] across the online spaces she uses. Thus, for some this means developing new resources, whereas for others it means utilising the existing resources in on/offline spaces to educate others, and provide points of informal learning:

> *At times, whenever I am still asked why I identify as transgender [it] makes me feel awkward because the reasons of how come I have to explain my own SOGIE. I do not want to explain why but rather make a statement out of it instead. I understand most people still do not grasp the concept of SOGIE specifically transgender and sharing our narratives and experiences would allow them to be open-minded.*

Val (Philippines) talks about the importance of providing information to others about sexual orientation, gender identity and/or expression (SOGIE). The interviewees spoke about the importance of sharing their own stories in on/offline spaces as a way to contribute to and disrupt the limited number of media representations of LGBT people. This form of queer world making is in many ways similar to the goals of the filmmakers as discussed in the previous chapter and their endeavour to change the symbolic meaning of sexuality within the region. Using the resources they have access to these young people talk about engaging online to address forms of stigma and discrimination in their lives *as well as* contribute to the material available for others.

[72] As has been found in previous studies (Castañeda, 2015; Hanckel and Morris, 2014; Marciano, 2011; Thomas, 2002), and discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

Encountering the *BE* Web-App

As anticipated, due to the launch strategy, which involved the use of networked publics (such as *Facebook* and *Twitter)*, the interviewees were likely to come into contact with the web-app through the social media sites and on/offline spaces that they were already connected to:

> *…about last year I joined a group…of LGBTi activists in Thailand… we just share news and um gossip or something like that related to sexuality and one of them just post umm a link from…[the BE] Facebook page and I just saw… a video about umm a few umm I guess they were activists from different SE Asian countries….they mention umm who they were in terms of sexual identity and I thought that this look[s] good because when that person share this on that group he also described this is a new website…* (Ice, Thailand)

> *…I can recall that I saw in my Facebook newsfeed about the Fighting Abuse video posted from a Facebook friend who happens to be part in the video. From there, I saw the links: BE website and Facebook page. (*Val, Philippines*)*

> *I get to know about this Facebook page from a LGBT workshop that I participated [in]. There was a Philippine speaker sharing about this website and its purpose.* (Ahmad, Malaysia)

Ice and Val highlight the importance of the videos – which responds directly to the weight that the designers placed on them as part of the overall reach strategy in bringing people to the ICT4D initiative. As one of the staff members mentioned, "*The videos are gold for us…*" in referring to the potentiality of the videos to *'…guide the audience to the web-app[s] to see the videos because that builds awareness'. YouTube,* as a networked public, was seen to have great potential to gain and reach a large audience, and subsequently bring these people to the web-app. As indicated the interviewees came to the site through their participation in networked publics, such as *YouTube*, as they navigated these spaces as *networked individuals.* That is - as content and information about the ICT4D project was shared in on/offline LGBT spaces the young people participated in they became aware of the service. To this end the social capital - their networks that had been developed through their own exploration - were

important for connecting them to this resource. All of the interviewees had heard about the project through being connected to existing LGBT networks.

In the sections that follow I discuss the initial reactions and experiences of the interviewees with the web-app, first focusing on their perceptions of the space as 'safe' and 'trustworthy,' as anticipated by the designers. I then examine the role of the ICT4D project and its ability to have an impact on individuals' capabilities, a core aim of the ICT4D project.

Security and Safe(r) Space: Affective Experiences

As discussed in Chapter 5, the developers of the site focused on ensuring that users would view the site as trustworthy and secure. These elements were meant to work together to generate a particular affective response of safety, trust and security that would lead individuals into the web-apps with the intention of enhancing their capabilities (Hanckel, 2016). In discussing the site with interviewees I asked them to talk through their experience of accessing the site, whether or not they could trust the website, and why this was the case.

A major concern articulated was the importance of safety and privacy:

> *I can trust the BE website as I am only browsing and getting info from there. Thus there is no risk for me to expose my identity etc there. Therefore, I do not particularly have concern[s] over the security there.* (Ahmad, Malaysia)

Defining and determining the level of risk involved for Ahmad in entering and using the ICT4D project is important here. The participants indicated that they valued anonymity, which aligns with previous research that indicates that young people are concerned about their privacy in online spaces (Berriman and Thomson, 2015; boyd, 2014). This is perhaps even more likely to be the case for queer young people who live in often precarious contexts that stigmatise and discriminate (Hillier et al., 2012). The importance of remaining anonymous was articulated by May, who discussed the role of having to sign up on the site to get access to some of the functionality:

> *Furthermore, I have a question. Why would I register before getting access for chatting? If someone would like to talk by anonymous what should they do?*

*Or someone would like to access immediately? … For register, I have a doubt for it. Is this necessary? (*May, Thailand*)*

This quote reiterates not only the importance of privacy but also the need for designers of web-spaces to justify registration procedures. Some parts of the site, such as the ability to comment, were not available unless users registered first. This decision was made by the designers for two reasons. Firstly, to provide 'accountability' to a user if they posted content. Whilst they could sign up anonymously they did have to provide an email – which was a tool used by the organisation to regulate the comments made by users. Secondly, this had to do with data collection. A registration feature provides more information about user/s and was considered important information for the funding body (and future funding possibilities) to justify the project's continued existence. However, such a registration procedure can also be, as May indicates, a source of concern. The capability to have the control over the flow of personal information and privacy is clearly important for the possibility to engage in other parts of the web-app, and subsequently the possibility of whether other capabilities are realised.

When asked about whether they felt the web-app was safe and trustworthy the participants emphasised the importance of the space as a non-commercial entity:

*The website is simple. Not that many ads. So, in a way I feel secure. (*Nor, Malaysia*)*

*…because umm typically I think you might… go into any website and they have so many advertisements on that…You just suspect that this website might give me any virus or not but your website looked clean in terms of graphics and contents and everything so I think it is something that you know this website is not built by a random people its just you have a group…a group of people can contact or something like that…so I think it is a website for me I think that I can trust…I can trust it (*Ice, Thailand*)*

Both Nor and Ice perceived that the lack of advertisements on the web-app positioned the site as a 'clean' or, as other interviewees referred to it – as a 'simple' space. This works as an important sign or signifier to indicate a trustworthy space. The connection of safety to an absence of advertisements ('Not that many ads') is likely

connected to concerns of participants around the commercial use of data, as well as the potential impact that a questionable website might have on an individual's device, such as a 'virus.' Furthermore, as Ice (Thailand) indicates, the lack of advertisements is also read with other signs, such as the importance of the people behind the initiative – that it was 'not built by random people' but rather 'a group of people' that were contactable which was important. As Dian explains below, the 'group of people' extends to not just the immediate designers, but also to those who are affiliated with the organisation:

> I: *Do you think of the BE web-app as a place you trust? Does it feel safe and secure?*
>
> D: *Yes, it does. Because the website is supported by many international human rights organizations.*
>
> I: *You said the BE site was supported by many international human rights organisations. I was just wondering how you know that this is the case.*
>
> D: *It's on the About page. Supported by UNDP, USAID, UNICEF, Population Services International, Being LGBT in Asia initiative and partners with Advocates for Youth, International Gay & Lesbian HR Commission, International Planned Parenthood Federation, Oogachaga.*
>
> *The average of the organisations is about human rights and equality.*
>
> (Dian, Indonesia)

Dian emphasises the importance of the organisation, and the 'group of people' behind it, being connected to multi-lateral and progressive organisations. He discusses how he goes onto the 'About Page,' then compiles the information on the associated organisations to come up with an "average [sic] of the organisations". This is important, and clearly the interviewees value the cultural capital associated with these external multilateral institutions, such as the UNDP. Here he is talking about the general themes that the organisations listed convey in their practices – about "human rights and equality". In doing so these signs stick together, in the sense that Ahmed (2004) uses the term, and are valuable for their cumulative value, which indicates that the intervention is, or at least has the potential to be, a 'safe(r) space.' Importantly,

this involves interesting strategic work and certain forms of emotional labour on the part of the young people, who look for these signs to indicate that this is actually a safe(r) space. Importantly, these design components generate a feeling of 'safe(r) space – an affective response - which is important in determining whether they will continue to use the site beyond this point.

Diverse Experiences from Regional Voices

The interviewees, as they continued through the web-app, discussed how the knowledge on the platform, and its associated social media content was important because it was "…*about people's experience in Asia*" (Dian). As another interviewee commented,

> *I think the website is about being the "authentic self" from and within Asia… I appreciate the diversity of the stories and the narratives of their "authentic selves". It gives a broader view on what is happening (the good and the bad) of the diverse people of diverse SOGIE. (*Val, Philippines*)*

Val's comment illustrates that the 'authentic' and 'diverse' voices and information from within Asia – the 'narratives' and 'stories' of people's experiences within Asia - is important to the participants. Providing a range of information from Asia was an important concern in the development of the resource. The staff emphasised the importance of providing relevant regional and local content for individuals who come into contact with the web-app and its associated resources. Ice articulates the experience of coming into contact with some of these resources for the first time:

> *...I think umm to me it is…inspiring. I mean for me it's like when I passed through the journey to discovering myself ... my own sexual identity. I have never discussed about my journey to anybody and to see those videos is like…some people just you know tell their stories tell their experience and what they are doing right now and I think it is good… Those people just sit in front of me and then share their stories and I think it is good to know that I am not alone…to have that kind of experience… (*Ice, Thailand*)*

The visual here of the young person finding a similar other on the screen – "those people just sit in front of me and then share their stories" – is important because it reiterates the ability of online spaces to connect individuals to stories and subcultural knowledge about similar others. Ice here is also articulating an engagement in the *affective afterlives* (Ash, 2014) of the films that I discussed in the previous chapter, Chapter 6.

As Ice (Thailand) indicates, one of the benefits of the web-app is its ability to be both a local and regional resource at once:

> *…maybe umm you know because…this website is regional-based so it's not just about Thai society that we can see you know the big picture of not just LGBT communities in Thailand but we can see that well…situations and life of LGBT people in other countries in the same region as us as well so I think it is interesting…*

The quote suggests that the ICT4D initiative, and the affordances of the internet, provide the space for young people to engage in 'LGBT communities' in local and regional spaces. This represents the possibilities of ICT4D projects, and is similar to the type of community development approach that Bradshaw (2008) advocated in his discussion of the *post-place community* (see Chapter 2). In part, this resonates with the users because of their existing media-related practices that connect them to local, regional and international resources, as I described above. The web-app here provides important local and regional information and representations of LGBT people that is seen as missing from their lives.

Enhancing Capabilities? Examining the met and unmet needs of Queer Youth

In discussing the content on the site the interviewees appreciated the content, which they saw as a resource for both assisting them with their own identity construction, as well as providing a tool that they could share with others:

> *I think this page is helpful for a person who has a coming out problem. We can share the coming out story, support each other, and get some advice for deal[ing] with parents. (*May, Thailand*)*

> *...however knowing that there is something like this… I'll be able to discuss my gender with other people whose not familiar with it. (*Nolan. Philippines*)*

As May (Thailand) and Nolan (Philippines) indicate the (sub)cultural knowledge is positioned as important for its potential to connect to existing resources *as well as* something that they could share with others. On this latter point, they discuss using the resources to speak to others about sexuality identity and desires, as well as gender identity and expression. This is an engagement in queer-world making to the extent that it is about participating in the (re)construction of the symbolic meaning of sexuality, with the intent to help similar others ('support each other') and discuss with 'other people not familiar with it.' In doing so, similar to the filmmakers, they seek to change, or at least have an impact, on the habitus (see Chapter 3) of those who come into contact with these resources, which they aim to share throughout their networks.

However one of the recurring themes in the interviews and survey data was that there was a dearth of subcultural knowledge and information on the site that could enhance their capabilities. As Ahmad (Malaysia) suggested, "…*the site's info seems still quite lacking and brief. Thus, it may not fulfil different LGBT needs.*" The interviewees were keen on information that directly related to enhancing their lives lived in local spaces. There were three themes that emerged in the subcultural knowledge they were seeking from the site, which included dealing with discrimination and bullying, seeking social connection and increased opportunities for participation in queer world-making. I discuss each in turn.

As discussed above the young people in this study are aware of and concerned about the stigma and discrimination that comes from living with a queer body. They are looking for supportive information about how to deal with, and live with LGBT identities within the institutions that remain important to their communities. This was most evident in regards to their discussions about religion, and what they would like to see included in the web-app:

> *Reconciliation of faith and sexuality is one key issue that has not been addressed much. Would be good to see it addressed via the web-app. (survey respondent)*

[The web-app needs to include] …the challenges of LGBTQ in [the] Islamic community. (survey respondent)

The quotes above refer to religious institutions and/or faith, and importantly indicate that young people are seeking resources that will help them to navigate the often precarious intersection that exists between having an LGBT/queer identity and/or desire and co-existing with faith, which discriminate and stigmatise. Furthermore this emphasis on discrimination and bullying is as much about knowledge – "*...[an] awareness about homophobic action against the LGBT community in these country such as Malaysia and so on (survey respondent)* – as it is about having the tools to do something about it in their lives – *"How to deal with bullying in schools." (Translated from Thai, survey respondent)*. In particular, the importance of both *local* information and locally specific tools are clear here.

This emphasis on wanting knowledge related to the local spaces in which they lived was evident in their discussions related to the 'services map.' This particular feature – described internally by the designers as similar to *TripAdvisor* or *Yelp* – was designed to provide information about, and opportunities to read ratings and comments about legal, health and social services. It was considered useful as Val (Philippines) indicates for finding "*communities who can help in some ways"* and allow them "*to contact that community [organisation] and make a personal visit."* Despite this, the tool was viewed as falling short of the capability needs by some of the interviewees and survey respondents:

*… it will be good if you have suggested the place for hanging out and friendly with LGBT in Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia. I need to support LGBT owner, and I think we should make a strong community for dealing with the law or norm of society. I didn't mention the pub or bar, I mean café, gallery and other services. (*May, Thailand*)*

Activities, or places to go out to eat and drink, or group-specific gathering places, or places related to or friendly to LGBTs, to provide people more choices. Info about non-friendly places should also be shared to strengthen our group and to support entrepreneurs with positive attitudes toward LGBTs. (Translated from Thai, survey respondent)

Whilst the app was constantly being updated and improved as new information about local spaces was available, the designers focused the resource on connecting people to health, social and legal support services, which comes largely out of a public health framework, which is focused on enhancing wellbeing through health-related support services. However, interestingly, the young people, as the quotes above suggest, would have preferred resources that connected them to a diversity of local spaces they could engage with (or not). This is a broader definition of wellbeing, and such places were diverse and included, "*local events"* and "*LGBTQ friendly café, restaurant etc.*" or "*Localize[d] LGBT NGOs supporting various causes,*" as well as *"LGBT-friendly workplaces/job opportunities."* In expressing these capability needs these young people are asking for information that allows them to connect with local others for fun and social connection, as well as opportunities to be connected to work-places and spaces that are supportive of the LGBT community. They expressed a desire for resources that would enhance their life projects as LGBT people and provide them with an opportunity to engage in an LGBT community.

This emphasis on engaging and being part of an LGBT community is further articulated in their request/s for information related to entertainment, news and diverse regional representations of sexuality in the media:

> *The article should be involved with lifestyle as sports, hobbies, or the story of LGBTIQ celebrities or activists. (*May, Thailand*)*
>
> *Profiles of prominent Asian LGBT (survey respondent)*
>
> *Stories of both successful and non-successful LGBTs (Translated from Thai, survey respondent)*

This is about knowing about the LGBT community and seeking "*Updates, LGBT news" (Translated from Thai, survey respondent)* to enhance their own understanding of LGBT issues and community. These young people are seeking enhanced subcultural knowledge to incorporate a sense of participation and engagement in the 'LGBT Community' into their functioning sets, particularly at the local level.

Furthermore, as part of this participation, they also articulated a capability need in that they are seeking greater participation in LGBT community activism. In particular here the respondents indicated an importance in being connected to resources that could

contribute to their advocacy and assist them in their efforts to engage in queer-world-making. They wanted, as discussed earlier, information that was not only useful for them, but also useful for educating others:

> *News about transitioning, more about non-binary and gender queer. Articles that we can point our friends to so that they, too, can be educated. (survey respondent)*

Respondents wanted information that would allow them to "*educate homophobe[s]" (survey respondent) and 'battle against homophobia and transphobia' (survey respondent).* This is about enhancing their own knowledge as much as it about enhancing the knowledge of others, and in doing so these young people seek to engage in forms of everyday political action, where they can include these activities into a repertoire of political actions with the resources they have access to (For a broader discussion of youth political participation see: Collin, 2008; Fyfe, 2009; Norris, 2003; Vromen, 2007). In some ways there is overlap here with Freire's (1974) concept of *critical consciousness* and the notion of disrupting the habitus (Bourdieu, 1977; Swartz, 2013) through forms of informal knowledge sharing and education. This is a participation in queer-world making. In doing so, this was less about tools to deal with everyday forms of bullying, but rather more broadly about how to engage in forms of political action against 'homophobia and transphobia' at the local and regional level.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed how the web-app – *BE* – was launched in May 2015, the events that followed and the experience of the 'early adopters'. As discussed in Chapter 5, the designers took into account the real and perceived threats of local spaces in Asia, and attempted to create an affective space of safety and trust. The site was clearly operating in a precarious environment of stigma and heteronormativity, which was articulated by the young people in this study, and also impacted on the delivery of the service. The interviewees discussed how they could see the potential of the site for incorporating it into their *media related practices.* They saw the web-app as a useful tool for providing locally specific information as part of their

engagement with an assemblage of information from on/offline spaces as they (re)constructed identity as *augmented subjects* (Rey and Boesel, 2014) and *networked individuals* (Rainie and Wellman, 2012).

Finding safe(r) space online, an emphasis the designers placed on constructing the web-app, was crucial for these young people. Interestingly this involved markers of 'safe(r) space' that were not anticipated by the designers (such as the organisations involved on the About Page and/or the emphasis on its non-commercial nature). The affect of these components though was clearly important. This involved engaging in certain forms of labour to determine if the web-app felt safe, which included ensuring the site was not commercial, that it was designed by others who could be trusted, and that anonymity *was* assured, particularly through the processes of registration. These markers are, as Ahmed (2004) speaks of them, 'sticky' and create 'rippling effects,' and are likely to work with the existing design features of the site that I discussed in Chapter 5. In doing so, they provide the possibility for further exploration into the site and its features, which the young people engage with. The feeling of being in control of personal information *is* an important capability to access other capabilities.

An important point here also is the capability needs of the young people, and their emphasis on the lack of local/regional resources. In examining the capability needs of the young people it was clear that the focus on regional voices and local content was important for enhancing their wellbeing. The emphasis on the local cannot be overstated; it is where these young people's lives are lived and where they want to lead lives they can value. It is the addition of these resources online, as they discuss, which will further their opportunities for fun, social connection and belonging *as well as* contributing to broader goals to disrupt the heteronormative habitus they are faced with in their lives. This moves beyond public health models, and incorporates a broader sense of wellbeing – the capability approach as a lens is useful for considering the multidimensional needs and barriers these young people face as their lives take place across on/offline spaces, as augmented subjects (Rey and Boesel, 2014). In doing so, they are seeking resources from a community development platform that can enhance their agency and social connections – the two key outcomes (functionings) Bhattacharyya (2004) argues are crucial for community development outcomes, as discussed in Chapter Two.

This chapter concludes the discussion on the web-app *BE.* In the following section I turn towards the *HIV Advocates'* platform, to examine it as a comparative ICT4D project in this study.

8. An Examination of the Development and Use of an ICT4D Resource for Globally Networked HIV Advocates

In Chapters 5, 6 and 7 I examined the *BE* web-app – an ICT4D resource – that was designed for queer young people in Asia. In doing so, I focused on how the design of the web-app responded to contexts of risk, and an "everydayness of compulsory heterosexuality…" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 147) that characterises SE Asia. The design of this web-app drew on affective markers of 'safety' and 'trust' to attempt to enhance the capabilities of the users. However, as discussed in Chapter 7, whilst the resources felt 'safe' for the users, often the capabilities the designers sought to enhance were not necessarily realised because of the limited scope of the resources of web-app, particularly in relation to content that sought to enhance the (sub)cultural capital of the user/s.

In this chapter I turn my lens towards another ICT4D project – the development of a website and associated social media channels for global HIV advocates and activists – to build on these findings. My focus is on the development of the ICT4D resource for HIV advocates and the experience of the HIV advocates who engage with it. The following questions guide this chapter:

1. How does the design of this global ICT4D project seek to respond to the perceived needs and capabilities of global HIV advocates?
2. What are the *media-related practices* of these advocates?
3. What are the experiences of the advocates who come into contact with the ICT4D resource? Do they experience it in a similar way to the way the designer's expect them to experience it?
4. What impact does this ICT4D project have on the users' lives, their capabilities and overall functionings?

In examining these questions I draw on ethnographic field notes, programme documentation, interviews with staff and 12 in-depth interviews with advocates.[73]

I begin this chapter by providing an overview of the ICT4D project. I discuss how the resource was designed as a space for both existing as well as new advocates to

[73] These methods are discussed in detail in Chapter 4: Methodology, and the interview participants are discussed in detail later in this chapter

enhance their advocacy practices and, more broadly, contribute efforts to "*amplify as well as intensify efforts to end AIDS*" (Concept Brief Document: Phase II, April 2012, pg.1). As I discuss, the website drew on formative research with advocates to identify their capability needs, and structured the resource around these presumed needs. In so doing an ICT4D resource was created that provided toolkits, stories and case studies to advocates with the intention of enhancing their capabilities, focused on enhancing their overall on/offline advocacy.

In the following section I provide an overview of the advocates who participated in this research and their media-related practices. This section builds on recent work in this field (See for instance: Gillett, 2003; Juhasz, 1995; Loudon, 2010; Spicer et al., 2011; Vijaykumar et al., 2014) to examine how the advocates use and utilise existing technologies in their practices. I then examine the role of the ICT4D project in the advocates' lives and reflect on how the project fits into these media-related practices, and thus the projects capacity to enhance the advocate's capabilities.

HIVAdvocates.net: The Development and Emergence of the ICT4D Program

Formative Research: Defining the User

In July 2012 the biennial International AIDS Conference took place in Washington DC bringing together "…those working in the field of HIV, as well as policymakers, people living with HIV and others committed to ending the epidemic."[74] Taking advantage of transnational activists and advocates being in one place, the community development organisation (*B-Change*) with the funder (Levi-Strauss Foundation) organised a 'summit', a global workshop, titled *Advocacy 2.0.* This summit included 61 global advocates/activists who were recruited through the networks of the funder and the community development organisation. It included advocates who represented "…the leadership of their organisations or program managers for their advocacy work" (Summit Meeting Report). Of the 61 participants 36 were direct recipients of the funder organisation, and the advocates came from 45 countries. This summit was,

[74] Text from: Katabira, E. and Havlir, D. (2012) 'Words of Welcome from the Co-Chairs' http://www.aids2012.org/Default.aspx?pageId=480 <accessed 10th October 2015>

as I discuss below, an important event that came to affirm and validate the organisation's conception of the potential 'user' of the ICT4D resource, whose capabilities would be presumably enhanced through their interaction with the project.

In 2012 the organisation started constructing the 'user' – the HIV Advocate whom they believed would use this service. This was evident in two key events that took place prior to the summit. Firstly, a concept note was produced in early 2012 between the funder and community development organisation. This document argued – through desk research and observation – that there was an opportunity to assist advocates in using new technologies to enhance their advocacy efforts. In particular, as one male staff member put it, there existed at the time "*…few [ICT4D] platforms that actually focus[ed] on HIV Advocacy.*" This established a need to do further research that examined advocates' practices and needs – particularly their use of ICTs – to "Learn about their degree of utilisation of social media and other Web 2.0 technologies in their work" (Concept Note, Feb 2012 Pg. 1). Importantly, as the concept note outlined, the emphasis here revolved around the use of ICTs to enhance the advocacy practices of advocates who were presumed to have limited capabilities to engage in effective advocacy online. The concept note referred to a need to "improve inter-connectivity" via ICTs amongst advocates, and also "improve competency on using social media," with the expectation that it would lead to an "increased capacity" of advocates "to strategise and implement social media campaigns" (Concept Note, Feb 2012 Pg. 1-2). The emphasis here was on advocates whom were engaged in or interested in engaging in HIV Advocacy, and the role that an ICT4D initiative might contribute to their combinations of functionings, and lead to lives they have reason to value.

The organisation, with the support of the funder, developed a survey to examine the needs of advocates, and justify investment in the project. In March 2012[75] a survey was distributed to advocates to provide the development organisation with information about the advocates' practices. It focused on "*...your advocacy priorities, the strategies you use, your successes, and the barriers you encounter" (Summit Presentation Slides, July 2012).* In total, 33 advocates who were recipients of funds from the donor organisation filled out the survey. This formative work presented a

[75] The survey was available to respondents to undertake between March 19, 2012 to May 28, 2012

picture of advocates who, whilst constrained by resource and funding limitations, used a variety of strategies in their advocacy practices, with the least likely activity to be engaging in 'strategic communications'. 'Strategic communications' here was defined by the organisation, and discussed in the survey, as "the use of communication tools" (Situational Analysis, June, 2012), which largely meant and referred to the use of the internet, and particularly social media, in advocacy practices. The survey results also showed that 'strategic communications' were not only the least used strategy, but also were perceived to be the least effective strategy in the activists' toolkits. And when asked which area needed the most improvement in their advocacy practice half of the participants indicated their strategic communications practices needed improvement, as the situational analysis discussed:

> *Strategies that involve strategic communications have been identified as the main advocacy area that need improvement, especially social media campaigns (42%), communications planning (39%), and media advocacy (33%).*
>
> Situational Analysis, June 2012

This confirmed the assumptions the organisation had. In particular, it confirmed that the advocates sought to both improve their use of ICTs for advocacy purposes, and thus validated the need for investing in an intervention that would assist them to this end.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the emphasis on the use of ICTs became the focus of the summit. The presentations and workshops were focused on the use of ICTs for advocacy purposes. The summit was as much an opportunity for skill-building as it was for the organisation to validate their assumptions about the (potential) user, and contribute to the justification of the program with additional data. In particular, it was noted in the summit evaluation report that the advocates valued "…time to network, share stories and collaborate" and ICTs were seen as a space to make this happen:

> There is vast opportunity to respond to the wants and needs expressed by the delegates in the post-Summit period and use communications tools and strategies to help achieve these goals.
>
> Summit Meeting Report

Indeed this further justified the importance of an ICT4D resource that could enhance the advocates' work, and maintained the momentum for its development.

HIVAdvocates.net: An Overview of the Resource

In late 2012 the HIV Advocates ICT4D resource had been developed, and was publically available for the advocates to use. The central component of the ICT4D resource, like the web-app discussed in Chapter 5, was a website (*HIVAdvocates.net* - a screenshot can be seen in Figure 8.1 below). This website was accompanied by a social media strategy that included *networked publics* – Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest and Sina Weibo – that was managed by an external media company based in Hong Kong.

Figure 8.1 - A Screenshot of the homepage of the *HIV Advocates* Website

As outlined in the concept brief the development organisation sought to provide an ICT4D resource that included:

> …a web-site platform to deliver "stories from the frontline", advocacy tools and other resources... This website was supported by a social media strategy…creating multiple channels for community engagement and fostering participation from…advocates. (Concept Brief Document, Phase II Jan, 2013, Page 2)

As the quote suggests the goals of the program focused on creating space/s for advocates to share their stories and gain access to tools and strategies they could use in practice. In doing so the website had two main parts. This included a stories section, which sought to provide a space for advocates to share narratives of their experiences and read about the experiences of other advocates. The stories section was the section where most staff resources were allocated. Staff sought stories from diverse locations around the world and worked with advocates to develop these stories, which were case studies of the work these advocates did. This component was meant to enable further opportunities for connection and collaboration for advocates through linkages between projects, which advocates were meant to undertake themselves. The second section, where less emphasis was placed in terms of staff resources, was a 'toolkits' section. This section sought to provide advocacy tools and resources related to undertaking HIV Advocacy, such as good practice guides ('Good Practice Guide in Sex Worker-Led HIV Programming'), where to get information ('Global Health and Human Rights Database') and a limited number of 'how-to' guides related to using online tools, such as how to use *Google Forms* and *Hootsuite*.[76] The social media component of the ICT4D project was seen as tool to share these resources, as well as for sharing broader news and information about HIV. Managed by the external social media company, based in Hong Kong, the social media content was managed through a monthly editorial calendar that listed the proposed content for the next month. This was then sent to the organisation to approve, and then implemented when approval was given. The social media focus was also positioned as an important way to stay present in the networks of the advocates, and provide further opportunities for collaboration by bringing activists together within the social media spaces they were presumed to be using.

Important here were ideas of enhancing advocates networks, and opportunities for social connection to 'amplify' their advocacy:

> Both veteran activists and those new to the fight – will be encouraged to explore the power of social media and new ways of collaboration to end HIV/AIDS stigma and discrimination. (About Page, HIVAdvocates.net)

[76] *Google Forms* provides free and accessible online forms, and can be used as a survey tool. *Hootsuite* is a social media management and distribution platform.

The emphasis here was on both enhancing the potential user's knowledge (cultural capital) and also providing space for connection and 'collaboration,' to enhance the networks (social capital) of the advocates. In doing so, the organisation sought to provide a space that could provide "…engagement on a 24/7 basis to a global audience" (Concept Note, Jan 31 2013) that would presumably lead to enhanced capabilities for the (potential) users.

ICTs as Capability Inputs for Enhancing Capabilities

Similar to Chapter 5, we can consider how this fits into the CA model. To this end we might reconstruct the first half of the CA diagram as I have done in Figure 8.2 (below).

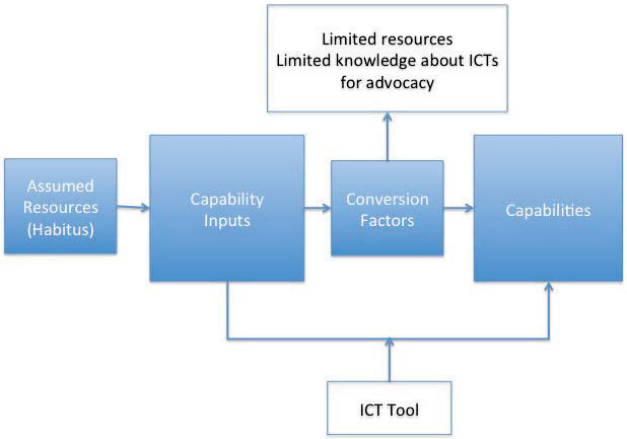

Figure 8.2 – Conceptualisation of Needs by the Organisation

If we work across from left to right, we can consider first the assumptions that are made about the (potential) users of the resource. The designers made several assumptions about the user, which are embedded into the design of the project: 1) That the advocates had limited knowledge of how the internet could be used for advocacy purposes; 2) That the advocates had the resources, willingness and initiative to share and connect through this ICT4D project; 3) That the main barrier facing advocates was the lack of a platform to connect and source resources; and 4) That the resources offered would be suitable for advocates and their networked practices.

Importantly here the designers, in the development of the program, assume that the advocates have a willingness to learn *however* they believe that the barriers facing the advocates at present are the limited resources they have access to, as well as the limited supportive resources available to learn this information - the gap this ICT resource seeks to fill. The ICT tool here – the HIVAdvocates website and associated social media channels – represent capability inputs. Their purpose is to enhance advocates capabilities and circumvent these existing barriers.

In particular the capabilities the project sought to enhance included: 1) Opportunities for advocates to share their stories and work; 2) To enhance the tools and resources the advocates had access to; and 3) To enhance connection between advocates working within the broader 'HIV community.' I explore below whether these were the barriers experienced by the advocates, and whether the anticipated capabilities were enhanced. Prior to turning to this however I turn to the role of affect in design in bringing the users into the platform, which I argue the designers used as a tool for enhancing capabilities.

Connect. Vocalise. Amplify: Affective Design and Affective Intensity

Perhaps the aims to enhance these capabilities were best articulated through the tagline of the project, *"Connect. Vocalise. Amplify."* These words are positioned prominently on the ICT4D project resources, and are stipulated as guiding principles when discussed in funding documents:

> "2.0" thinking can enable advocates to think outside of the box, *connect* with likeminded individuals, *vocalise* their stories and experience[s] they have and *amplify* these messages to new audiences in [the] hopes of recruiting other people who are passionate about social justice to join the fight to end AIDS. (Concept Brief Document: Phase III, June 2014, pg. 1)

The emphasis here is on providing ICT4D tools to enhance, or 'amplify', the advocates' messages and experiences to connect them to similar others who are participating in 'the fight to end AIDS.' In doing so '2.0 thinking' is about participating, and potentially extending, the advocates' networked practices. To this end, the organisation positions the advocates as networked individuals in an

international community of advocates, and assumes that these web resources will be able to be incorporated into their networked practices.

Using the framework of affect we can think about the affective potentiality that is incorporated into this design. In particular, as discussed above, the words *"Connect. Vocalise. Amplify"* were incorporated into the website, prominently displayed on the homepage, and seen as users traverse the site. The emphasis here is on action and connection, which was reinforced throughout the site. For instance, in the about section the website is described as a space to "share" and "energise…movements and communities fighting HIV/AIDS."[1] On the homepage the user is presented with rotating banner images of activists in various roles – this includes people holding banners clearly in protest in physical locales and images of (presumably) activists looking above the camera and presented as if mid-sentence talking to others, the user, as they focus in on the camera. These are accompanied by headlines of stories associated with these pictures, reinforcing what we see in the images, including for the image of the protestors - "Russian Theatrical Street Protest Strategies to Highlight Inequitable Corporate Tactics" and for the image of the talking activist: "From Miss to Hit: How ITPC keeps its eye on the target of ending AIDS." These components offer not just a link to articles, but – I argue – work together cumulatively with the constant presence of the words *Connect. Vocalise. Amplify* to create 'affective intensities' (Paasonen 2015) for the users which seek to "... attach people to particular platforms, threads and groups". It is the 'sticky' associations of the circulation of these objects and signs (Ahmed, 2004, p. 45) that seek to invoke particular affective responses (Thrift, 2004) from the users. The site seems to aim to recreate traditional sites of protest, or physical gatherings of activists in an online setting. The site is designed in such a way whereby affective intensities are sought to emerge, in the way Paasonen (2015, p. 92) uses this term. For the designers they want to create a 'swell,' an extension of the movement to end AIDS in the online setting and see ICTs as a crucial part of future advocacy in that they are "…an enhancement of existing evidence-based inventions" (Concept Note: HIV Advocates Phase III). Thus the affective design components seek to tap into the networked lives of the potential users to generate feelings of connection between activists *through* the platform with the intention to enhance advocates capabilities (social and cultural capital). Through the

use of in-depth interviews I examine these assumptions, and the experiences of advocates below.

A Profile of the 'Advocates'

In Table 8.1 (below) I have provided a profile of the 12 HIV advocates interviewed in July and August 2014. Ten of the interviewees were recruited through the funding body, whilst the other two came through the networks of the advocates I interviewed. All of the advocates were connected to advocacy organisations and they considered themselves participants of a broader HIV Advocacy community, with their advocacy work often taking place across the global north and global south - either to impact outcomes across countries, or impact the issues they were working on nationally. As Table 8.1 indicates the advocates were often working across a variety of issues, with HIV advocacy being one component of the work they were doing. Of these interviewees I met with 10 at the AIDS2014 Conference in Melbourne, Australia in July 2014, and the other two interviews were conducted via Skype in August 2014. The interviewees came from North America, South America, East and South-East Asia and Eastern Europe. The main issues/themes that emerged in the interviews were a focus on the role of symbolic capital in the advocates' lives, and the importance of resources that addressed their cosmopolitan needs (and limitations) as globally networked advocates. I discuss these concerns in detail below.

Table 8.1 - Interview Participants

#	Name*	Place	Role	Focus	Gender
1	Candice	New York, United States	Communications Officer for an International NGO	HIV & Access to treatment	F
2	Natalie	Buenos Aires, Argentina	President of a National NGO	HIV and Drug Users	F
3	Ian	Russia	Volunteer for National Health & Social Justice Organisation	HIV and Drug Users	M
4	Greg	Washington DC, US	Director of an International Human Rights Organisation	Human Rights and HIV	M
5	Kate	New York, United States	Director of an International Advocacy & Policy organisation	Prevention and Treatment of HIV/ Hepatitis C	F
6	Alexis	Washington DC, United States	*Director of a National Coalition of Services*	*HIV/AIDS Prevention*	F
7	Mary	New York, United States	Director of a Global NGO	HIV & Access to treatment	F
8	Hai	Beijing, China	Executive Director of a City-Based Sexual Health Organisation	HIV and Men who have Sex with Men, and Sex-Workers	M
9	Serena	Shanghai, China	Director of Advocacy, Research and Policy	Right to health for marginalised groups	F
10	Gary	Shanghai, China	Executive Director of a City-Based Sexual Health Organisation	HIV and trans* people, and sex-Workers	M

11	David	Jakarta, Indonesia	Director of a Legal AID Institute	Advocates for services for HIV positive people and drug users	M
12	Andreas	Jakarta, Indonesia	Communication Officer of a Legal AID Institute	Advocates for services for HIV positive people and drug users	M

*Participants names are pseudonyms

An Overview of the Media-Related Practices of the HIV Advocates

In Chapter Two I discussed how recent work (Gillett, 2003; Juhasz, 1995; Loudon, 2010; Spicer et al., 2011; Vijaykumar et al., 2014) has shown how advocates incorporate *phatic technologies* into their advocacy practices. This research has shown that HIV advocates draw on a variety of platforms and online spaces to disseminate information and connect to other advocates (Vijaykumar et al., 2014), as well as other stakeholders, including those who are targets of their advocacy (Loudon, 2010), to advance their long-term and short-term advocacy goals (Gillett, 2003; Hodes, 2015; Juhasz, 1995). Together these studies present an interesting picture of HIV advocates/activists who use and draw on networked technologies in complex ways to enhance their practices. Below, I expand on this work, and further our understanding of global HIV advocates' media-related practices.

Advocates' Networked Lives

The advocates in this study – similar to previous findings (see Loudon, 2010) – report that their use of ICTs involves engaging with a variety of stakeholders - decision-makers, policy-makers, the media, new and existing advocates, as well as local communities who are affected by HIV in varying ways. This often involves a diverse number of networked spaces and phatic technologies, such as *Skype*, Listservs, *Twitter* and *Facebook* as well as their own websites, that are used to communicate messages, network and connect to others in a variety of ways. Their use of these platforms is rarely uniform and dependent on the context, as Greg, a director of an international Human Rights organisation, observed *"...the advocacy really depends upon who the target is and what we're trying to achieve"*. To this end ICTs afford advocates the possibility of reaching and extending their networks to a number of individuals across networked publics.

Mary, a director of a global NGO, outlined the diverse use of technologies in her practices, and the purposes they serve for her work:

> *…we have our Listserv. We have a website. We have Facebook. We have Twitter. So we're really trying to push on all cylinders now to make sure that the word gets out and that best practices, challenges, or issues or any action that is happening in one particular place is -- everybody can know about it…Sometimes it's to kick start. Sometimes it's to spread. Sometimes it's to agitate, like get people more aware and angry just through these tweets. And then sometimes, very targeted advocacy can happen through it*.

Similar to Mary, other advocates discussed the importance of using a range of networked publics, as part of broader advocacy strategies to target a variety of audiences 'to kick start', 'to spread', 'to agitate' and make 'people more aware' about issues related to HIV.

Advocacy that Incorporates Technologies: The Pursuit of Symbolic Capital

It is the affordances of technologies here that provide opportunities to reach networks of people that the advocates talk about as important to attain their advocacy goals. What is interesting is the way that advocates position themselves in these networks, which is often as a coordinator or facilitator of knowledge. Kate, a director of an international advocacy and policy organisation, provided an example of her role in coordinating information on a Listserv:

> *Yes, I think one of the things, if I'm talking about the Listserv, one of my goals with the Listserv is making sure that people have access to the same information and so sifting through a lot of information that people don't need to read or won't read and getting them the key things, not a deluge of stuff but just make it the most important or the best example of something. And then trying to also put a question out there that will encourage people to exchange around an issue.*

Apparent here is that Kate, like the other advocates, is engaging as a networked individual to the extent that the technology affords her a network that brings people together to 'exchange around an issue' and use it for their own on/offline advocacy goals. Kate also discusses her own role in using technologies in her practices – to make 'sure that people have access to the same information'. In doing so, similar to

the other advocates, she articulates being in the role of a facilitator or as an intermediary between people interested in, or affected by the issue. Similarly, Candice who is a communications officer for an international organisation, articulated her use of ICTs:

> *... I think it really is about figuring out how to use technology effectively to document critical issues as they occur at the grassroots. And then channel them upwards as far as they need to go to make the difference, so that when we know that there was a homophobic attack in Azerbaijan, within 24 hours, there's some sort of response and we're able to quickly create a campaign and put pressure on someone. Or maybe it's not about that but it's about getting someone to a safe house, that's what the technology can help facilitate. That's really cool about the world that we live in now. But at the same time, we really have to also teach people on the ground how to use that technology effectively because it is like that's where other things disconnect.*

In the example, Candice discusses how technologies extend her organisation's reach and her advocacy, allowing them to quickly respond to crises, and move information between different stakeholders and across the borders of the nation state. She discusses how the technology affords the opportunity to 'facilitate' these advocacy efforts, and its use by networks of individuals. Though at the same time she recognises that not everyone has the same cultural/network capital ('we really have to also teach people…how to use technology') to take advantage of its affordances. In doing so the 'we' here is as much about facilitating information and knowledge as it is about educating those who are 'on the ground' to use 'technology effectively' for advocacy purposes.

The position of facilitator or intermediary, the advocates argue, allows them to disseminate knowledge and information throughout their networks. As Greg argues, as an advocate learning new knowledge there is a "*responsibility that comes with that, to bring that knowledge back and to infuse that into your network"* (Greg). Technologies here, Greg continues, can be thought of as being used "*…as a network amongst activists to share information and to get information out."* The emphasis here on taking advantage of networked positions to share information is important.

The technologies here afford them with the capacity to share their ideas with others, as Natalie indicates when discussing her use of an email newsletter:

> *I think that it's very important tool…it's a way to put some ideas and to discuss issues with other stakeholders. I know that it's well-received, for instance, by governmental officials. They pay attention to what we are saying and what that means.*

Natalie emphasises here how the tool is used to disseminate information as a platform to 'put some ideas' out to 'stakeholders.' This dissemination is linked to their long-term advocacy goals, with an emphasis here on this being seen by decision makers ('government officials') – crucial stakeholders. However whilst she emphasises the need for these stakeholders to 'pay attention' to what is being said through these outlets, whether or not this is the case, and the impact at the policy level is more difficult to determine.

The emphasis here on getting certain stakeholders to 'pay attention' cannot be understated. With limited resources the advocates discuss the importance of having the right people hear/see their messages:

> *So, sometimes our videos can go viral and get a lot of views. But I'm sort of less interested in reaching 100,000 people who are all sympathetic college students…[I am] more interested in seeing who I can reach to this that it's going to really cause them to think differently about the issue.* (Greg)

> *… It's not just about numbers. My goal is not to get the entire world of Twitter people to necessarily know about -- You know what I mean? I think sometimes people just think in terms of numbers but that is definitely not going to be helpful. It'll just create more of a headache probably. But I do want certain kinds of people to be involved...*(Kate)

Like the other advocates quoted, Kate and Greg discussed using technologies to engage with networks of those 'certain kinds of people' they are attempting to connect with. In doing so, they choose the technologies which they believe are those that their audiences use and make assumptions about the media-related practices of those they are targeting their messages towards based on their goals. In many cases this involves a combination of social media messaging, but also involves other tools such as

"*…traditional communication tools such as cell phone or cell phone text" (Hai)* or radio and podcasts where "*Not everybody…[has] a smart phone" (Mary).* In doing so, they consider their imagined audience's media-related practices and direct their limited resources towards advocacy efforts that target these practices.

The investment in these technologies is associated with their multiple goals, which I argue below is about an investment in symbolic capital. As the following quotes illustrate:

> *S: We have these quarterly newsletters and blogs, like the…reports that gives a bit of analysis.*
>
> *I: Why do that?*
>
> *S: Because we do hard work and we...I think we do very good work. And we don't want people to forget about us. So we want to get money you know...* (Serena)
>
> *We try to spread ideas, but -- We have to be well-known as well, but that's not the main point here, but we're also trying to do that. But the main point with our Facebook, Twitter and Slideshare and Issuu accounts, is to spread the idea.* (Andreas)

Both advocates are emphasising the importance of investing resources to enhance their symbolic position. In part, like Candice, they want stakeholders to 'pay attention' to them. It allows them to connect and sustain ties, to call on favours, to sustain their funding streams, and ultimately extend their advocacy goals. Also, as facilitators or intermediaries of knowledge, they position themselves in important ways to facilitate how knowledge gets moved through networks of advocates, and what is seen by crucial stakeholders. In doing so, they aim to construct themselves as important nodes in the HIV community by targeting 'certain kinds of people' across platforms. Thus they construct for themselves a position with the necessary symbolic capital to make an impact and sustain an important presence within the broader HIV community to make changes over time. However, as I discuss below this is regulated by their own resources, barriers and (limited) capabilities.

Regulated Media-Related Practices: The Role of Capital, Digital Infrastructure and Language in the Advocates' Practices

One of the dominant themes in each interview, not surprisingly, was the advocates' concerns around limited resources, and in particular, access to economic capital. They spoke about the importance of being able to "*secure some funds…"* which gets used to "*…turn that back into good work which then can promote us to get more money"* (Mary). Again the importance of investing in symbolic capital and sustaining the organisation's work for future advocacy is as important as the investment in the immediate advocacy that is being undertaken.

Furthermore, economic capital here is also discussed as important for filling in the advocate's internal resource needs. In the contexts of the interviews about their technological needs, the advocates discussed the importance of economic capital for hiring extra resources that will assist in enhancing their technological capabilities, as David discusses:

> *I think it's more of utilising technology because – and it's quite obvious that the information and technology is still developing and if we cannot catch up with this development…[we] will be lack[ing]…in terms of using media. It's not just social media but media. And we've been thinking actually about using technology and social media as well. That's why we also last year recruited IT staff to strengthen…the use of IT within into our work in a more general sense.*

In this quote, David articulates the importance of utilising and engaging with the 'media,' and the importance of the process of playing 'catch-up' to understand how it works. He also indicates how they have used, or are considering using their limited financial resources to hire 'IT staff.' David is referring here to a communications person, an 'advocacy communication officer' who can manage their social media accounts and fill what is perceived as an important gap in the network capital of the advocates. In hiring this person David indicates that this person "*...handled our Facebook account, Twitter account, and other social media account. And we use these…[for] our social media campaign and advocacy..."* In doing so, this fulfils a capability deficit the advocates experience which is associated with not feeling they have the network capital to engage in advocacy in online spaces in the right way. Kate articulates this in the following quote:

> *…We do have a communications and advocacy person who guides that like doing the e-blast or helping develop webinars and using technology increasingly in an effective way. So he's really the resource for me when I'm thinking about what I'm doing next, how I might want to communicate to people or get information out…* (Kate)

Investing in 'communications and advocacy' directs their resources in a way that seeks to sustain their advocacy presence, and is perceived to benefit their symbolic capital within the networks they participate in.

Whilst they sought to invest resources to benefit their often limited network capital they also spoke about the barriers that emerged when doing global advocacy, in particular, with concerns around language and geographic place. Whilst they positioned their work as global they were acutely aware of how place-based issues and concerns regulated what was possible, and thus the affordances of ICTs. As Natalie, from Argentina, discusses below:

> *… our web page, it's in Spanish and in English. But of course, we are not able to translate everything all the time. So, the English web page is much more weak than the Spanish one. And on the other side, it's not so easy for us to sell and to distribute our news and our work in the English-speaking world. And that's a problem, particularly for fund raising. That's a problem because for us major donors are in non-Spanish countries. So, the question of language is one of the limits we are finding.* (Natalie)

Here, Natalie highlights language-based issues. As the advocates indicate, they often do not have resources to translate materials for their audiences and where English resources are available they often cannot be used because of the limitations on the advocates' time. Again the issue of ensuring resources are in English 'for fundraising' relates to the importance of sustaining a presence in the 'English-speaking world', which is important within this HIV community, where English dominates and creates difficulties if you cannot participate in this space. Ian talks about the importance of being able to participate in English to highlight issues affecting his country, and thus create worldwide attention to the issues they are addressing "*to get the response…and to attract the attention of the public around the world to this case."* However, this involves labour in translation and targeting individuals, and requires the resources to

be able to speak across languages. As Hai indicated, this was not necessarily open to everyone. In making this point he spoke with reference to the AIDS conference, where the HIV community comes together:

> *...for English conference, we don't see many Chinese who can speak on the stage, even though they have done a lot of work on the ground. Because of the language barrier, they can't make their words to be heard.*

In this way the dominance of English-based resources is a concern articulated by the advocates, and represents a broader concern about how to effectively participate, and share information through their networks with limited resources. In particular, they discuss how to translate resources with limited economic *as well as* network capital. These regulate their practices. In the following section I examine how these media-related practices shape the experiences of advocates with the ICT4D resource.

Use of the ICT4D Resource

As discussed earlier, the site sought to enhance the following capabilities of the advocates. A key aim was to give advocates the opportunity to share their stories and work; A second aim was to enhance and expand the tools and resources the advocates have access to. Finally, it sought to enhance the connections between advocates working in a broader 'HIV community'. In this section I examine the experiences of user/s as they came into contact with the site.

Amplifying Reach

One of the primary goals of using ICTs for the advocates was its potential to enhance or 'amplify' their reach. However, Kate, an advocate based in New York, discusses how uploading a story to the site would meet this goal:

> *...I'm not that familiar with the scope of who's reading it – their [HIVAdvocates.net] audience. So I was so happy to have the opportunity to both share our experiences…assuming and hoping that a lot of...other people reading it…. I don't know like how many people read it or if they shared it or*

anything… I think if it was a place where our issues could be amplified or shared, and then, we could, excuse me, preach [to] people who are interested so we can then share more or involve them. So if it was like a way to reach people through that site, it would be great...

In this quote Kate indicates how there is potential here to have her stories and work 'amplified' through the platform. However, she indicated that because she was not sure of the 'scope of who's reading it' it was unclear how this could contribute to her overall capabilities.

Candice articulates this concern in the following way:

If we could actually see that people were reading it or something, it would have been more incentive… I think also if there's any way you could cross-fertilise [promote] content like that piece that's for HIV advocates picked up on other things like maybe slightly bigger sources. Then that would obviously be really valuable because we're always trying to get stuff where I can reach more people.

The emphasis here is on 'reach' and audience/s – the advocates see the value in an ICT4D resource that will extend their networks, and 'amplify' their messages if the content 'can reach more people.' However, the ICT4D project is conceptualised as having potential *because* it is written in English:

...I think, first, any means that improve[s] the visibility of the organisation for us it's very important because in our web page, it has some visitors. But I'm sure that we don't have the same range of visitors that this web page [HIVAdvocates.net] has. So, to have some story there, it's a way of saying, "Okay, our organisation is being known, is being seen by other people." ...And again, the issue of language as it is in English web page for us is good because it's a way to reach…(Natalie)

Again the emphasis here on speaking to audiences in English for their own investment in their future advocacy efforts is apparent here. The emphasis on connection to other advocates, and those who will extend the symbolic legitimacy of advocates is crucial as I discuss below.

Connecting to Community: Extending Social Networks

The advocates all expressed interest in being further networked to other advocates, but felt that the design of the resource would not facilitate the process of connecting. David and Alexis had the following analysis:

> *...what's missing is that we are not really interacting with NGOs who posted their stories on the website. For example, there are stories about how we vaccinate in Russia. There are stories about Uganda. There are stories about South Africa, but we're not really connected. We're just posting these…all in there. Just posting stories to the website…. I mean, I can see NGO A in the US, NGO B in Thailand, NGO C in Russia, but with this A, B, [and] C we are just posting stories on the website...We are not really connected...* (David)

> *How far out into the advocacy zone can the platform go? That it can then be used as an interactive zone where we exchange information and successes, and failures, and encourage engagement around that.* (Alexis)

Both advocates are interested here in social connection and, in particular, extending their networks and presence in the broader HIV community to 'exchange' and 'encourage'. Alexis refers to this as 'true interactivity':

> *There has to be motivation for true interactivity. True interactivity with the potential for you and I to know each other beyond the site, but know each other through the work we're doing…*

The advocates here are expressing an important need to participate in forms of community and *extend* their existing stock of social capital. In doing so, they recognise the possibilities for moving from the site to other on/offline spaces *with* other advocates to enhance their social capital/networks and reach new audiences and, as Serena argues, to "…share different experience[s]." Ultimately the goal here is to enhance their own social capital and networked positions. Interestingly, the social media component of the resource, which was perceived as important for the organisation as a way for the advocates to connect to each other, was rarely referred to by advocates. Most advocates when thinking about the project and its potential to connect them to other advocates discussed the website as the main resource with the potential to do this. To this end the advocates indicated that they wanted to connect to

others and they saw the platform as an opportunity to expand their networked lives, but they believed the functionality was not in place to make this happen, as it lacked opportunities to facilitate connections between the advocates.

It is clear that the advocates are seeking opportunities to feel connected, and to connect to each other, and are, interestingly, seeking the 'affective intensities' that the platform sought to tap into. However, what is clear is that it fails to meet the needs of the advocates because of the limited information about the reach of the content, as well the limited functionality to create moments of affective attachments to others - 'true interactivity.' In this sense the affective potential of the site, as joining a group of activists, remains limited because the design does not generate connection, or provide the necessary detail to enhance their media-related practices. As I discuss below, this was one part of the multidimensional barriers that were not taken into account by the organization, which ultimately meant that the capabilities the organization sought to enhance were not realized.

Enhancing Knowledge: Seeking Cultural Capital for Advocacy

The advocates also saw potential in the toolkits section of the resource as well; however, they were ambivalent about its relevance to their work and its potential to enhance their capabilities. The advocates expressed concerns about the limited amount of content on the site, and its specific relevance to enhancing their lives and advocacy practices. As David commented, "*When we're looking at the advocacy tool sections…there are not many tools or resources available…*". Ian noted how important it is to provide diverse information and tools and how crucial it is that it is *also* current information:

> *There are not so many materials on this website. And most of them, if you go for these subsections, like 'Human Rights Advocacy'…most of them are just news…It's like half a year old … I will not read it probably.*

For Ian, the importance of the knowledge on the site is about its usefulness in adding to his own advocacy efforts, and contributing to his knowledge about HIV. He expressed a desire for tools that would enhance his practice, which involved up-to-date information that could be disseminated across his own networks, and contribute

to his performance as an expert within the HIV community. Interestingly none of the advocates mentioned or discussed the social media presence of the ICT4D project, which was meant to both connect the advocates to external tools *as well as* provide up-to-date information about the project.

In terms of the specific tools and information they were seeking – capabilities they felt they were missing – this included an emphasis on tools that would assist their ICT advocacy skills, which they believed were not currently adequate on the site. As the advocates indicated when asked what other tools could be useful for their practices:

> *… I guess, the social media strategies…because we are at the stage of learning and exploring the role of social media into our advocacy work.* (David)
>
> *…how could you communicate the issues well…* (Andreas)
>
> *Maybe what I need to better understand [is] how to promote our accounts in social network[s]. It's just such practical things about how to make it more popular and more visible.* (Ian)

The three quotes suggest that the advocates believe their capabilities could be enhanced through further resources/tools that enhance their communication capabilities and, in particular, enhance their use of the internet and social media for advocacy. Interestingly, this *was* an emphasis of this ICT4D project at its inception, as discussed at the start of this chapter. The question this evokes is why the resources were not available to respond to these direct needs of the advocates. There appear to be two primary reasons for this. Firstly, it is related to where the organisation allocated their resources. The emphasis was on providing an online resource with case studies that showcased the work of advocates *rather* than providing toolkits on how to use online spaces for advocacy. This focus, as discussed above, also assumed that advocates would connect with each other after seeing the stories, and would take this initiative on their own. This emphasis resulted in the toolkits being limited in their information. In addition the functionality and design components were not created for connecting diverse advocates working across different physical spaces. That is, the design of the resource did not provide functionality that afforded opportunities for advocates to connect with each other, which they sought from the resource.

Secondly, neither the toolkits nor the stories took into account one of the major barriers to the media-related practices of the advocates – the language and place-based concerns they faced. Whilst the reports to the funding body emphasised "*an attempt to have more diversified content in a language other than English,*" this was never realised due to both funding constraints and internal staff resourcing. However, when I asked interviewees about what would enhance the content, the concerns about place-based resources *and* language concerns were often mentioned. There were also concerns about the cultural contexts of the stories and toolkits. Gary, based in China, argued that the resources of this ICT4D project should be more culturally relevant:

> *Asians have different needs, and how we can make sure that the toolkits we provide, the resources that we provide that they can really use it or is really useful for them. (Gary)*

This was a concern raised in the reporting of the project. Staff wrote:

> … [we have] featured original content from the North and to some extent Latin America. The challenge now is generate stories from Asia-Pacific. (Report to Funder, Nov 2013)

Trying to speak to global advocates across specific contexts and provide useful resources for their intersectional positions was an ongoing editorial concern for staff throughout the project

Furthermore, when the advocates viewed resources as useful, or transferable into their practices they cited language barriers to sharing this content amongst their networks. Natalie is based in Argentina. She was frustrated by the lack of content in Spanish:

> *No, what I was saying before, because of language, because I have found interesting stories there. I'll give you an example. It was these virtual courses…We try to put there a lot of materials for people. And many of the stories [on HIVAdvocates.net] would be very good examples to discuss, but I would need to translate them to put them there. And we don't have the capacity to translate. Besides, I imagine that if I ask for permission, maybe there would not be a problem, but we don't have the capacity to translate.* (Natalie)

Serena who is based in China, had a similar sentiment:

> *Yes, different language for them. Like my colleagues, they can't read -- or we can't read English website. It's difficult for us, I think.* (Serena)

In both cases for Serena and Natalie, they identify how they could imagine using the resources to share amongst their networks and distribute the content as facilitators of information. *However,* they are unable to because of the language barriers.

Enhancing Capabilities?

The advocates here clearly indicate how they have the need for greater knowledge and information about HIV Advocacy and networking in online settings. To this degree the organisation pursued important capabilities that the advocates believed they were lacking. The users here were similar to the "users" whom were constructed by the organisation – they had access to online technologies, their activism was transnational in scope, and they were working in settings where they had access to limited resources. However the realisation of these capabilities were impeded by a number of multidimensional barriers that were not envisaged during the design of the ICT tool.

Importantly there were several factors that prevented their uptake of this resource, which were intrinsically related to their media-related practices. As part of their own investment in seeking symbolic legitimacy, they were seeking markers of community and networks of people whom they could connect with. To this extent the advocates were seeking the intensity of feelings of connection and belonging, which could enhance the overall impact of their advocacy work. For the advocates it was also about language and place-based concerns and an investment of time and its meaning. The advocates turned away from the ICT tool in this sense because the resource did not cater to their needs as they sought to use the resources to enhance their social and cultural capital to – ultimately – enhance their own symbolic capital and legitimacy as advocates.

Conclusion

I have shown in this chapter how the ICT4D resource sought to enhance the advocacy practices of HIV advocates. The designers of this resource worked on the assumption

that the advocates needed support and resources to extend their advocacy practices in online spaces. The advocates' practices, as discussed, draw on new technologies to sustain and extend existing networked connections as part of their participation in a broader HIV community. We can think of the advocates here as engaging in networked individualism to the extent that they are participating as "…a tangle of networked individuals who operate in specialised, fragmented, sparsely interconnected, and permeable networks" which provide "…opportunities, constraints, coalitions, and work-arounds" (Rainie and Wellman, 2012, p. 21) that incorporate various ICT platforms. The advocates engage with a number of stakeholders, often in 'targeted' ways with the intention to enhance their capabilities, and in so doing, enhance the impact of their advocacy. However, the advocates' practices are limited by their economic, network and linguistic capital.

My findings indicate that the resource, due to the content it offered *and* possibilities for connection, was limited in its capacity to enhance the advocate's capabilities. In particular the advocates report how their own participation on the site as content producers *and* consumers is difficult to sustain as there are few clear links between participation with the project and enhancing their network and symbolic capital. These concerns are associated with the ICT4D project's ability to help them extend their networks and participate in a broader HIV community, as well as contribute to their overall advocacy projects. My findings here indicate that the advocates in their discussions, similar to the young people in Chapter 7, explained that they saw potential in the site; however, due to the resources *and* possibilities for connection it was limited in its capacity to enhance their capabilities.

9. Technology for Social Change: Concluding Comments

'Community development' in late modernity is changing with the development and adoption of new technologies globally. Recent scholars (See: Andersson and Hatakka, 2013; Brown and Grant, 2010; Qureshi, 2011; Walsham, 2013) have argued for nuanced approaches to the study of ICT4D projects that examine the human freedoms that technology enables. This study responds to this call by drawing on the Capability Approach (CA) developed by Amartya Sen (1999), Bourdieu's (1989, 1986, 1984; Swartz, 2013) work on *habitus* and *capital* as well as theories of affect (See: Ahmed, 2004; Ash, 2014, 2012; Thrift, 2004) to examine the design, development and use of these new technologies in development programs. A primary goal in this study was to use these concepts to examine how ICT4D programs respond to, and get used by networked individuals (Rainie and Wellman, 2012) as part of their everyday complex media-related practices (Hobart, 2010). In doing so, I examined the capacity of these ICTs to enhance the capabilities of those who came into contact with them during the period of this study.

I had three overarching questions that guided this study. Firstly (RQ1), I asked how are ICTs designed within development contexts for imagined 'users,' the constructed subject/s of design? Secondly, I sought to examine the impact of these constructed technologies on those who came into contact with them (RQ2). Thirdly, I sought to explore what capabilities and functionings were (or were not) enhanced by participation in these project/s, and the role that the projects played in contributing to individuals leading lives they have reason to value (RQ3). To examine these questions I undertook a mixed-methods study with a substantial component constituting a multi-site ethnographic study. The study followed the technological objects, from their inception, their design and construction, to their implementation and distribution. I examined how these technologies, designed within Asia, affected the lives of 'users' – queer young people and HIV Advocates. The several key findings that emerged from this analysis are discussed in turn below. Following this, the implications and limitations of the study are discussed as are possible avenues for future research.

Designing ICTs for Development

The three case studies examined in this thesis show the complex design considerations that are part of the development and implementation of ICT tools. In particular, in response to RQ1, I have shown how the designers constructed potential users of the service, imagined users with particular forms of capital. Their experiences of living within diverse, often precarious, spaces led to the development ICT resources that were arranged in particular ways to create "(re)actions or relations of 'towardness'" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 8) to the artefact itself, with the goal to enhance capabilities. Importantly I have shown in the thesis how affective design (Ash, 2012) were important in constructing the resources, and responding to the multidimensional barriers that prevented capabilities from being realized. Below I discuss the role of affect here, which as I have discussed throughout this thesis, remains nascent in the development literature, and has had limited use in discussions of the CA.

Safe(r) Spaces: Mitigating Risk and Enhancing Capabilities

As I was finalising this thesis in June 2016 a mass-shooting took place in an LGBT/queer nightclub – a safe(r) space – in Orlando in the United States. The affects of this event reverberated throughout LGBT/queer communities around the world in on/offline spaces. This is a reminder of the "…everydayness of compulsory heterosexuality…" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 147) that persists globally in varying degrees and that stigmatises and marks LGBT/queer bodies with *negative symbolic capital*, and is often accompanied by varying levels of violence. The concerns of what happened in this nightclub – a 'safe(r) space' that was violated – is important for the discussion here. The perception of the safe(r) space of the nightclub is just as important as the technological safe(r) spaces that were designed (and used) by the queer young people in this study. As the findings suggest, 'markers' and 'traces' of 'safe(r) space' were important to the extent that they mitigated against real and perceived risk/s as "…an effect of the circulation between objects and signs" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 45) of 'safety.' Whilst the space was still subject to attacks – cyber attacks – that came from external threats, the emphasis on affective markers in design, and the affective experience of queer young people, were crucial in this study for the queer young people for its potential to enhance their agency and engagement with

community - key capability goals of community development projects (Bhattacharyya, 2004).

Intensity and the 'Affective Afterlives' of ICT Artefacts

As my findings have shown across all case studies, the affective experiences, and how affect travels, is important in understanding the impact of technological objects in development. In particular as I have shown, queer young people seek 'safe(r) spaces' and indeed invest time and labour in ensuring they feel safe, as part of their complex media-related practices. For the YouTube films, the affect they created travelled to users and involved the filmmakers, in what I have called *spaces of disclosure* for young people - who seek community, connection and crucial (sub)cultural knowledge. In this way the producers of the videos became (un)intentionally brought into the *affective impressions* (Ahmed, 2004) and *affective afterlives* (Ash, 2014) of their films - *spaces of disclosure* – which brought the filmmakers into the lifeworlds of the audience as they shared intimate details in safe(r) spaces that are created through the object itself.

In comparison, for the HIVAdvocates they articulated how they sought *affective intensities* (Paasonen 2015, p. 92) from the resource to connect with other advocates. Whilst this was not realized due to functionality and content constraints the emphasis on connection, support and belonging to enhance their own capital was important, and the seeking of these affective intensities is an important finding here.

Affect however remains an underutilised theoretical concept in ICT4D studies, in both thinking through the design and implementation of ICT4D tools/resources. Affect in the cases examined here is considered crucial for the possibility of enhancing capabilities, and is an important consideration in how objects were designed (RQ1) and the experiences of those who came into contact with them (RQ2). How affect travels, and its role in the design and development of new technologies for social impact is an important area of further research that this study points towards.

The Media-Related Practices of Individuals

In thinking through the possibilities for engaging with ICT tools in this study I have contextualised this within the experiences of end-users, and their media related practices. In this section I reflect on the importance of considering the contexts which frame users experiences with the ICT resources – and the importance of the CA in identifying the multidimensional barriers that impacted their experiences with the ICT tools, and the realization of capabilities (RQ2 & RQ3)

Addressing the Multidimensional Barriers that prevent Capabilities from being Realised

Throughout the study I have asked whether, and how, the ICT4D projects developed contribute to the life-worlds of the 'users' who came into contact with them. The CA here has been an important framework for considering, as other authors have argued (See: Bass et al., 2013; Díaz Andrade and Urquhart, 2012; Hatakka, 2013), the multidimensional barriers that prevent capabilities from being realised. In this study the barriers that the interviewees highlighted (e.g. stigma, limited economic capital and network capital) prevented them from leading lives they valued. Much of this was to do with the resources they had access to. For the filmmakers economic capital was required to pursue their projects, as well as the extra support and resources to support and distribute their work. The queer young people emphasised the need for multiple resources that would enhance their abilities to find local safe(r) space/s, connection to similar others and possibilities for queer-world making in local languages, as heteronormativity and stigma persist in the places they live out their everyday lives, as power is distributed in unequal ways (see for instance: Massey, 1994). For the HIV Advocates they articulated the need for resources in multiple languages, for network capital, and contextually relevant resources they can use in practice.

The goals of the program design were to circumvent, and/or dissipate some of the structural barriers in place and connect the target users to resources that would enhance their capabilities. Development workers/practitioners, as I discussed in Chapter Three perform a "dance" with communities (Westoby and Kaplan, 2013). I would argue that this dance in ICT4D projects often takes place *within* the design and

development of the resources, as much as through their distribution. Across the case studies this impacted on the outcomes of the programs. For instance the resources provided by the designers at *B-Change* for the queer young people and HIV Advocates, this dance was often out of sync. For the former – queer young people – their need for safe(r) spaces that provided diverse content was only partially met. Similarly for the HIV advocates they sought a space, which would provide context relevant resources and connection in diverse languages, and clear opportunities to enhance their overall symbolic capital. In both cases the resources failed to deal with some of the structural barriers, or provide tools that would enhance the capabilities of the users.

Contributions to the Symbolic Construction of Meaning and Symbolic Capital

Of ongoing importance that the findings in this study point to is the broader role that the ICT4D programs play in contributing to the symbolic construction of knowledge, and in so doing, contributing towards social change. In Chapter 3 I discussed how recent authors (See for instance: Bunyan, 2010; Green, 2008; Hamilton, 1999; Hill, 2003) have argued for 'development' approaches that contribute to the (re)distribution of power, and thus remove some of the structural barriers that prevent capabilities from being realised. For instance, the development of the resources for queer young people in precarious media contexts represents an important symbolic act, when few resources exist. Furthermore this project plays a key role in providing support and information to queer young people to accept and understand non-heterosexual identities, an important factor in providing them with tools to participate in the symbolic construction of meaning of sexuality as I have shown elsewhere (Hanckel and Morris, 2014).

For the HIV Advocates project, the ICT tools sought to enhance the agency and community of advocates, as well as invest in the political project of HIV advocacy more broadly. To this end these were used as both a means to enhancing capabilities *as well as* an end to advocacy as well. The organisation was as much an advocate for social change and engaged in HIV advocacy, as well as seeking to enhance individual capabilities. In this sense, similar to the conceptualisation of power in development

discussed in Chapter 3, the organisation focused on power at both the individual level (empowerment), and focused on change at the broader societal level.

For the filmmakers the 'responsive dance' by the organisation and filmmakers led to the development of technological films that enhanced the capabilities of the filmmakers and had important affects on both the filmmakers lives and those users who came into contact with the videos. Indeed in particular the results presented in this thesis indicate that the organisation provided important resources to extend the participation of the filmmaker's engagement in the symbolic contestation of the meaning of sexuality. In doing it contributed to enhancing the work of the filmmakers which was focused on (re)constructing the *symbolic meaning* (Bourdieu, 1989; Swartz, 2013) of sexuality within the region.

In all three case studies this is *as much* about enhancing the capabilities of communities' and individuals' as it is about how the project/s can lead to broader social change. Future research needs to examine if and how ICT4D resources contribute to doing this.

Implications and Further Research

Whilst I am conscious of the limitations of this study – that I investigated three case studies from one organisation in Asia and relied at times on a small number of interviewees, as well as my own positionality (as discussed in the methodology chapter) – there are some noteworthy implications of this research. Firstly, further research needs to be conducted into how community development organisations organise limited resources to design, develop and construct ICT4D programs for individuals who live in and engage across *post-place communities* (Bradshaw, 2008), which all participants engaged with as they traversed international, regional and local spaces in on/offline settings. To date the ICT4D research often takes place in geographically bounded settings. More research needs to be done on the boundaries that communities set themselves, how power operates and constructs local space/s and how participants seek transnational assemblages of information.

Secondly, more research is required to investigate the groups focused on in this study. There remain/s ongoing research work that needs to take place to examine how queer

young people seek resources and find community which "…acquire meaning and significance in so far as they are interpreted within other online and offline contexts" (Hine, 2015, p. 192) in their lives. For HIV Advocates, and advocacy more generally, there is a need to further examine what resources they need that would enhance their advocacy practices – functionalities – that can enhance their symbolic capital and capabilities and thus their participation in broader advocacy communities, and their capacity to influence change across on/offline settings.

The CA in combination with the concepts utilised is a useful framework for considering the design of ICT4D resources, the multidimensional barriers (both perceived and real) and the potential of technological artefacts as they get implemented. In particular considering the affects in design, and the affective experiences of those who come into contact with the resources is important for considering the reach and possibilities of ICT4D projects. In particular - as I have noted - we need to ask further questions as researchers about the design components of ICT4D projects vis-à-vis their impact on individuals who use the programs, and the role the design, and the experiences of users, play in contributing to enhanced capabilities, and leading to live lives they have reason to value. In doing so, we might get a clearer picture about how design can enhance the particular capabilities, and thus the functionings of individuals.

Final Remark/s

Development is a changing and dynamic process. The pursuit of social change, and engaging with people to enhance their capabilities, and thus their functionings through technologies is, and remains, important as individuals live lives as augmented subjects (Rey and Boesel, 2014) in complex ways. As researchers it is useful, and perhaps imperative, to think about the potential social impact and the (un)intended consequences of social change that comes from individuals' interactions with ICT4D objects. In doing so, we can contribute to enhancing design possibilities that are responsive to changing needs and the often diverse capability needs of those who use them. This information can contribute to development outcomes that allow people to "…assert, celebrate or contest their 'place' in the world" (Shaw, 2008, p. 34) across on/offline settings. Development in this sense does not reach a conclusion; rather it is a process, of which ICTs are well placed to be a part.

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Appendix A – BE User Interview Schedule

BE User Interview Schedule

1. Can you start by telling me a little bit about yourself. Where do you live? What do you do?
2. Do you identify with a diverse sexuality or gender identity?
3. How did you find out about/hear about the online service?
4. What did you think of it when you first saw it? How did it make you feel?
5. What were you looking for when you came to the service?
6. What have been your experiences of using the service?
7. What made you decide to register to the site?
8. Do you like using it? Why/why not?
9. Have you accessed similar services, either online or in your local area, before? Is this different? If so, how?
10. How do you fit this into your life around other commitments?
11. What do you feel you have got out of the online service?
12. What would you change about it if you could?
13. Do you want to continue participating in the service?

    Thinking into the future, what do you need?

Appendix B – BE User Email Interview Questions

BE Email Interview Schedule

1. Can you start by telling me a bit about where you come from and what you do?
2. Have you told anyone about your sexuality? If so, whom? And how did it go?
3. Do you find it difficult being LGBT in Asia? Why?
4. Where do you find information about LGBT issues? What information have you found so far? Do you think it has been useful, or not useful?
5. In the survey you indicated that you have seen the BE Facebook page located here: https://www.facebook.com/BeingMe.BCF. How did you hear about this Facebook page??
6. What do you think of the information on the BE Facebook page? Do you find it useful for you?
7. Now I want to specifically ask you about the BE website located at http://www.be-app.me. Could you tell me what you think the website does and who it is for?
8. How did it make you feel when you first went on the BE website? Please explain.
9. Do you think the BE website is a place you would trust? Does it feel safe and secure? Why/why not?
10. How do you think the BE website fits into the overall LGBT community? Please explain.
11. What do you think could make it more appealing to young LGBT people like you?

Thank-you very much for your time - We really appreciate it ☺

Appendix C – Filmmaker/Storyteller Interview Schedule

Filmmakers/Storytellers Interview Schedule

Background

- Have you lived in the XXXX country all your life?
- How was it growing up with a diverse sexuality/gender in XXXX country?
    - How do you identify? / Did you feel connected to similar others? Part of the LGBT community?
- What led you into film/video production?
    - When did you start/why?
    - How does film production fit into your life?
    - Have you used the internet to display your films previously?

Engagement with the organisation.

- How did you hear about the organisation?
- First engagement with the organisation?
    - What do you think about the 'Stories of Being Me' project? Initial thoughts
    - Why did you decide to make a film?
    - Was $2000 enough?
- Tell me more about your video
    - What did you try and capture? What was the story?
    - Techniques used
    - Did you imagine an audience when you putting the video together? If so, who was that?
- Making the video
    - Did you have enough resources
    - Challenges/Positives
    - How did this fit into your other projects that you are working on?

- Process of working with the organisation – challenges/positives?

Future: Impact of the film

- What do you want to see happen with your film?
  - What type of reactions do you think you will get from the film? (Positive/Challenging)
  - What do you anticipate happening with your films?
- What impact do you think the film will have?
  - In the LGBT community? More broadly?
  - On the organisation's youth project?

Appendix D – HA Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule HIV Advocates

Org and Role

Can you tell me a bit more about your organisation and what you do?

- Who do you target?
- How do you work with (or for) HIV-Positive people?
- What is your role in the org? What does this involve?
    - What got you involved in this work?

I am interested to know more about your advocacy work.

- What do you think its means 'to do' and be engaged in HIV Advocacy?
- Who does your advocacy target?
- How do you go about doing this advocacy
    - Is it online/offline? What challenges do you face doing this work & using technology?
    - How do you involve social media in this advocacy work?
    - What role (if any) does *HIVAdvocates.net* (and its associated resources) play in your advocacy?
        - How often do you use the site?
        - What do you think of the site?

Future Focus

- Thinking about your online advocacy moving forward – what are your needs moving forward?
    - How could a platform like HIVAdocates.net support you and your organisation? (Eg: Toolkits/resources)
- What do you think HIV Advocacy will look like in the next couple of years?

Appendix E – Staff Interview Questions

Semi Structured Interview Schedule – Staff

I want to begin by asking you a bit about your background, before you started with [organisation]. Could you please tell me a bit about where you grew up and your education/training?

- Have you worked on similar projects in the past? If so, what were they?
- Do you have other forms of employment outside of your work with this organisation? If so, what do you do?
- Are you involved in any other LGBT organisations?

When did you start working with this organisation?

What was your primary motivation for joining this organisation

- What is your role?
- What does this role involve?
- What have you done in this role so far?
- What have been some of the highlights of working in this role?
- What have been some of the challenges of working at this organisation?

I want to now talk to you specifically about the program BE . Could you start by telling me a bit about what you think the site is aiming to do.

- Who do you think will be the main users of the site?
- Where do you anticipate these users will come from? Why?
- What impact do you think the site will have on the users? Why?
- What do you hope the users of the site will get out of using the site?
- What features on the site do you think might lead to these outcomes?
- We talk about "safe(r) space" in the organization - what do you think is meant by that?

- How does that come into design thinking do you think?

Are you confident that the site will achieve the aims set?

Are you confident that the organisation will achieve what it has set out to do?

How do you see the future of the organisation?

Appendix F – BE Interviews Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

I _____ agree to participate in the research project **Community development in the new millennium: Understanding the role of technology in community development programs** [Approval No: 2013000605] being conducted by Benjamin Hanckel ([redacted]) of the University of Technology, Sydney for his PhD degree.

I understand that this research study is trying to learn more about how young people use **http://www.be-app.me**

I understand that I am being asked be part of this study because of my experiences using **http://www.be-app.me**

I will sit and talk with the researchers about my experiences for about 1 hour.

I am aware that I can contact Benjamin Hanckel (benjamin.hanckel@b-change.org or [redacted]) or his supervisor Associate Professor Alan Morris (Alan.morris@uts.edu.au or +61 2 9514 4880) if I have any concerns about the research.

I can also choose not to participate in this research study at any time without giving a reason, and no one will be upset.

Benjamin Hanckel, the researcher, has answered all of my questions.

I understand that all information I give could be used in future research work and will not identify me in anyway. I also understand that I will be digitally recorded during the conversation and the researcher will type it out afterwards – this will be safely locked up and the researchers will make sure my name cannot be linked to any of the information I give. Only Benjamin Hanckel and the people who run [insert service] will have access to this information.

_____ ____/____/____
Signature (participant)

_____ ____/____/____
Signature (researcher or delegate)

NOTE:
This study has been approved by the University of Technology, Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any aspect of your participation in this research which you cannot resolve with the researcher, you may contact the Ethics Committee through

the Research Ethics Officer (ph: +61 2 9514 9772 Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au) and quote the UTS HREC reference number. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix G – BE Interviews Participant Information Sheet

INFORMATION SHEET

Community development in the new millennium: Understanding the role of technology in community development programs

(Approval Number: *2013000605*)

WHAT IS A RESEARCH STUDY?

A research study is a way to find out new information about something. You do not need to be in a research study if you don't want to.

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?

My name is Benjamin Hanckel and I am a student at the University of Technology, Sydney. My supervisor is Associate Professor Alan Morris.

WHY ARE YOU BEING ASKED TO BE PART OF THIS RESEARCH STUDY?

You are being asked to take part in this research study because we are trying to learn more about how young people use **http://www.be-app.me**. We are asking you to be in the study because of we want to know about your experiences of using this service.

IF I SAY YES, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?

We will ask you to sit with us and talk about what you think of http://www.be-app.me. It will take about 1 hour.

The researcher will use a digital recorder to record the conversation and use the recording to write it out afterwards. All your information will be safely locked up and 'de-identified' (which means that the researchers will change your name so that no one will know who you are). Only Benjamin Hanckel and the people who run http://www.be-app.me will have access to this information.

The information you give may be published in books or journals in the future. Anyone who reads these will not be able to identify you in any way.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS TO ME IF I JOIN THIS RESEARCH?

Some of the questions might make you feel a bit uncomfortable or they might be hard to answer.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?

You don't have to say yes.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?

Nothing. No one will be upset if you don't want to do this study. If you don't want to be in this study, you just have to tell us.

IF I SAY YES, CAN I CHANGE MY MIND LATER?

You can change your mind at any time and you don't have to say why.

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have concerns about the research that you think I or my supervisor can help you with, please feel free to contact me at benjamin.hanckel@b-change.org or on +61 [redacted]. Or alternatively you can contact my supervisor at alan.morris@uts.edu.au or on +61 2 9514 4880.

If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected with the research, you may contact the Research Ethics Officer on +61 2 9514 9772, and quote this number: 2013000605.

Appendix H – Filmmakers Interview Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

CONSENT FORM

I _____ agree to participate in the research project 'Community development in the new millennium: Understanding the role of technology in community development programs' [Approval Number: 2013000605] being conducted by Benjamin Hanckel ( ) of the University of Technology, Sydney for his PhD degree.

I understand that the purpose of this study is explore how community development projects use technology.

I understand that I have been asked to participate in this research because I have been involved in Stories of Being Me and that my participation in this research will involve an interview that will last for approximately one hour.

I am aware that I can contact Benjamin Hanckel (or +61) or his supervisor Associate Professor Alan Morris (Alan.morris@uts.edu.au or +61 2 9514 4880) if I have any concerns about the research. I also understand that I am free to withdraw my participation from this research project at any time I wish, without consequences, and without giving a reason.

I agree that Benjamin Hanckel has answered all my questions fully and clearly.

I understand that the research data gathered from this project may be used in future research projects and be published in a form that does not identify me in any way. I also understand that the interviews will be digitally recorded and transcribed. These will be de-identified and archived in password-protected folders online, accessible to Benjamin Hanckel and staff at The B-Change Foundation.

_____ ____/____/____
Signature (participant)

_____ ____/____/____
Signature (researcher or delegate)

NOTE:
This study has been approved by the University of Technology, Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any aspect of your participation in this research which you cannot resolve with the researcher, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (ph: +61 2 9514 9772 Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au) and quote the UTS approval number. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix I – Filmmakers Interview Participant Information Sheet

INFORMATION SHEET

Community development in the new millennium: Understanding the role of technology in community development programs
(Approval Number: *2013000605*)

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?
My name is Benjamin Hanckel and I am a student at UTS. My supervisor is Associate Professor Alan Morris.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?
This research is exploring how community development programs use technology in their projects.

IF I SAY YES, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?
I will ask you to be part of an interview – I will conduct the interview and will ask you to tell me about your experiences with B-Change Foundation's project/s. The interview will last for approximately one hour.

The research data gathered from this project may be used in future research projects and be published in a form that does not identify you in any way. The interviews will be digitally recorded and transcribed. These will be de-identified and archived in password-protected folders only accessible by Benjamin Hanckel and the B-Change Foundation staff members.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCE?
There are very few if any risks because the research has been carefully designed. However, it is possible that during our discussion you may disclose some things of a personal nature, if this is distressing for you we can stop the research, without any consequence to you.

WHY HAVE I BEEN ASKED?
You have been asked because of your experiences with Stories of Being Me. We are interested in learning more about your experiences with this project and how this project fits into your life.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?
You don't have to say yes.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?
Nothing. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

IF I SAY YES, CAN I CHANGE MY MIND LATER?
You can change your mind at any time and you don't have to say why. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?
If you have concerns about the research that you think I or my supervisor can help you with, please feel free to contact me at [redacted] or on +61[redacted]. Or alternatively you can contact my supervisor at alan.morris@uts.edu.au or on +61 2 9514 4880.

If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected with the research, you may contact the Research Ethics Officer on +61 2 9514 9772, and quote this number: 2013000605.

Appendix J – HA Interview Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

CONSENT FORM

I _____ agree to participate in the research project 'Community development in the new millennium: Understanding the role of technology in community development programs' [Approval Number: 2013000605] being conducted by Benjamin Hanckel ( ) of the University of Technology, Sydney for his PhD degree.

I understand that the purpose of this study is explore how community development projects use technology.

I understand that I have been asked to participate in this research because of my work in HIV Advocacy and my involvement in the HIVadvocates.net project. I understand that my participation in this research will involve an interview that will last for approximately one hour.

I am aware that I can contact Benjamin Hanckel (or +61) or his supervisor Associate Professor Alan Morris (Alan.morris@uts.edu.au or +61 2 9514 4880) if I have any concerns about the research. I also understand that I am free to withdraw my participation from this research project at any time I wish, without consequences, and without giving a reason.

I agree that Benjamin Hanckel has answered all my questions fully and clearly.

I understand that the research data gathered from this project may be used in future research projects and be published in a form that does not identify me in any way. I also understand that the interviews will be digitally recorded and transcribed. These will be de-identified and archived in password-protected folders online, accessible to Benjamin Hanckel and staff at The B-Change Foundation.

_____ ____/____/____
Signature (participant)

_____ ____/____/____
Signature (researcher or delegate)

NOTE:
This study has been approved by the University of Technology, Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any aspect of your participation in this research which you cannot resolve with the researcher, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (ph: +61 2 9514 9772 Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au) and quote the UTS approval number. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix K – HA Participant Information Sheet

INFORMATION SHEET

Community development in the new millennium: Understanding the role of technology in community development programs
(Approval Number: *2013000605*)

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?
My name is Benjamin Hanckel and I am a student at UTS. My supervisor is Associate Professor Alan Morris.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?
This research is exploring how community development programs use technology in their projects.

IF I SAY YES, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?
I will ask you to be part of an interview – I will conduct the interview and will ask you to tell me about your experiences with B-Change Foundation's project/s. The interview will last for approximately one hour.

The research data gathered from this project may be used in future research projects and be published in a form that does not identify you in any way. The interviews will be digitally recorded and transcribed. These will be de-identified and archived in password-protected folders only accessible by Benjamin Hanckel and the B-Change Foundation staff members.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCE?
There are very few if any risks because the research has been carefully designed. However, it is possible that during our discussion you may disclose some things of a personal nature, if this is distressing for you we can stop the research, without any consequence to you.

WHY HAVE I BEEN ASKED?
You have been asked to participate in this research because of your work in HIV Advocacy and your involvement in the HIVadvocates.net project. We are interested in learning more about your experiences with this project and how this project fits into your work.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?
You don't have to say yes.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?
Nothing. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

IF I SAY YES, CAN I CHANGE MY MIND LATER?
You can change your mind at any time and you don't have to say why. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?
If you have concerns about the research that you think I or my supervisor can help you with, please feel free to contact me at [redacted] or on +61 [redacted]. Or alternatively you can contact my supervisor at alan.morris@uts.edu.au or on +61 2 9514 4880.

If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected with the research, you may contact the Research Ethics Officer on +61 2 9514 9772, and quote this number: 2013000605.

Appendix L – Staff Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

CONSENT FORM

I _____ agree to participate in the research project **Community development in the new millennium: Understanding the role of technology in community development programs** [Approval No: 2013000605] being conducted by Benjamin Hanckel ( ) of the University of Technology, Sydney for his PhD degree.

I understand that the purpose of this study is explore how community development projects use technology.

I understand that I have been asked to participate in this research because I have been involved in the development of the community development projects that B-Change Foundation runs.

I also understand that my participation in this research will involve an interview that will last for approximately one hour.

I am aware that I can contact Benjamin Hanckel (benjamin.hanckel@b-change.org or) or his supervisor Associate Professor Alan Morris (Alan.morris@uts.edu.au or +61 2 9514 4880) if I have any concerns about the research. I also understand that I am free to withdraw my participation from this research project at any time I wish, without consequences, and without giving a reason.

I agree that Benjamin Hanckel has answered all my questions fully and clearly.

I understand that the research data gathered from this project may be used in future research projects and be published in a form that does not identify me in any way. I also understand that the interviews will be digitally recorded and transcribed. These will be de-identified and kept in password-protected folders only accessible to Benjamin Hanckel.

_____ ____/____/____
Signature (participant)

_____ ____/____/____
Signature (researcher or delegate)

NOTE:
This study has been approved by the University of Technology, Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any aspect of your participation in this research which you cannot resolve with the researcher, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (ph: +61 2 9514 9772 Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au) and quote the UTS approval number. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix M – Staff Participant Information Sheet

INFORMATION SHEET

Community development in the new millennium: Understanding the role of technology in community development programs
(Approval Number: *2013000605*)

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?
My name is Benjamin Hanckel and I am a student at UTS. My supervisor is Associate Professor Alan Morris.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?
This research is exploring how community development programs use technology in their projects.

IF I SAY YES, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?
I will ask you to be part of an interview – I will conduct the interview and will ask you to tell me about your experiences working at B-Change Foundation. The interview will last for approximately one hour.

The research data gathered from this project may be used in future research projects and be published in a form that does not identify you in any way. The interviews will be digitally recorded and transcribed. These will be de-identified and archived in password-protected folders only accessible by Benjamin Hanckel.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCE?
There are very few if any risks because the research has been carefully designed. If, at any point the discussion is distressing for you we can stop the research, without any consequence to you.

WHY HAVE I BEEN ASKED?
You have been asked because of your experiences with the organisation B-Change and the projects that they run. We are interested in learning more about your experiences with this organisation and your role in the development of these projects.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?
You don't have to say yes.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?
Nothing. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

IF I SAY YES, CAN I CHANGE MY MIND LATER?
You can change your mind at any time and you don't have to say why.

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?
If you have concerns about the research that you think I or my supervisor can help you with, please feel free to contact me at benjamin.hanckel@b-change.org or on +61 [redacted]. Or alternatively you can contact my supervisor at alan.morris@uts.edu.au or on +61 2 9514 4880.

If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected with the research, you may contact the Research Ethics Officer on +61 2 9514 9772, and quote this number: 2013000605.