FOOTBALL FOR EMPOWERMENT:

THE INTERPLAY OF EMPOWERMENT AND CRITICAL COSMOPOLITANISM IN STREET FOOTBALL WORLD'S INSTAGRAM IMAGES

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Abstract
The fields of development communication and intercultural communication have both undergone important paradigm shifts. While development communication strives for empowerment, intercultural communication tries to transcend differences and essentialism.
This study examines the visual communication of an international non-governmental organisation (NGO), Street Football World (SFW), through their images on Instagram. At the same time, it also takes into account both empowerment from development communication and critical cosmopolitanism from intercultural communication. The focus of this study is to explore the interplay of paradigm shifts in both fields in reflected in SFW's Instagram activity. It also aims to see how Instagram, as a social media platform, aids empowerment.
The study used qualitative visual content analysis with the help of tabulation to analyse a total of 113 static Instagram images on SFW's official Instagram page from January to April 2018. The findings show that there are three main themes that are interwoven in each of SFW's images: equality, togetherness and positive outlook (or "count smiles, not goals"). The elements of the images and these themes together reflect the new perspectives in both communication fields. It also shows how the affordances of Instagram are beneficial in helping an international organisation like SFW in conveying empowered participation.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Ha was wearing football attire that day, although he was not playing—he was already a high school student. He only came to watch and relive the experiences that he once had. I listened to Ha as he watched the little children in colourful football attire playing joyfully on the pitch and recounted his memories at the FFAV Cup 2016. Through his story, I understood that he was once one of those kids who was involved in and had been deeply impacted by the activities of Football for All in Vietnam (FFAV). With a sense of notalgia and peace, he shared how these events have not only nurtured his passion for football, but have also helped him have fun while learning about life skills, equality, fair play and teamwork.

This story and encounter with Ha when I was an intern for FFAV is one of the vast number of examples of how sports and other initiatives are being used to encourage social development and change. In fact, it is part of a bigger movement and sector called Sports for Development and Peace (SDP). The sector brings together various organisations or actors that use sports and other physical activities to reach certain development goals and as a medium to aid conflict resolution (Young & Okada, 2014). Various actors take part in these development activities and movement, such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), donors, governments, local organisations and people.

My thesis is a case study of one specific NGO called Street Football World (SFW) and its visual communication activity on Instagram to communicate development. SFW is an international NGO that is headquartered in Germany. However, it has network members in 90 countries worldwide that undertake similar missions (one of which is FFAV, the NGO in the aforementioned story.) SFW's Instagram consists of images and videos that reflect the events and activities that these organisations organise, regardless of their geographic locations. In this study, I have specifically chosen to look at SFW's Instagram instead of other social media platforms such as Facebook. Although SFW has considerably more followers on Facebook, the engagement rate on their Instagram page is much higher. Furthermore, being an international NGO, the case of SFW offers some insight into the way development communication and intercultural communication are being practised nowadays. This is especially important when it comes to research in these two fields, as both have recently undergone major paradigm shifts.

Development communication and intercultural communication have evolved considerably through the years. The former has shifted from the early modernisation paradigm to the current paradigm that prizes empowered participation. Instead of forcing a certain view of development (e.g. economic and technological advancement) onto the countries or communities being helped, development nowadays fosters the

balance of power, giving voice to the communities themselves (Sam, 2017). This way, communities can take control of their own situations and to make decisions on the issues in their communities. Meanwhile, the field of intercultural communication has been moving away from the old essentialist paradigm where culture was perceived as categories or boxes to which people belonged or as a national trait that people within a nation would share (Holliday, 2011). This has deepened perceived differences among people instead of cultivating understanding and dialogue. Therefore, current research in intercultural communication has taken alternative routes, one of which is the critical cosmopolitanism approach that will be further explored in this study.

Although development communication and intercultural communication are two distinct fields, these paradigm shifts, however, seem to be very closely connected. Both have shifted into a state where differences are to be transcended, people are to be treated equally instead of being othered, and common grounds are established to empower individuals and communities. The case NGO in question, SFW, is an international NGO that communicates with various parties and various communities through its Instagram posts. For this reason, it provides a resourceful case to analyse both development communication and intercultural communication elements present in its Instagram posts and the possible interplay between them in forming a message.

Social media in general and Instagram in particular are becoming more and more popular day by day, allowing people and organisations to engage with other users, to access and share information and moments beyond geographical boundaries, usually at little or no monetary cost. Social media has become an accessible and convenient vehicle for many NGOs to maintain and build mutually beneficial relationships with its publics (i.e. public relations) (Brunner, 2019). With the soaring competition for visibility and viability amongst the rapidly increasing number or NGOs, social media, if used skilfully and strategically, may help to reinforce the kind of image and foster the kinds of relationships that the organisation so desires. On the contrary, if not utilised in the right way, the situation may become trickier. When it comes to international NGOs like SFW, besides understanding how to use the platform, the communication practitioner must also comprehend how to engage diverse audiences in the way that rightly reflects and promotes development. This is even more important today when many NGOs are functioning and communicating in an international and intercultural setting.

This study takes into account these factors altogether, addressing what has not been looked into in previous research, hence the following research questions:

1. How does Street Football World's visual communication (through their Instagram images) relate to the paradigm shifts in development communication and intercultural communication?
2. In what ways do Instagram images allow Street Football World to depict football as a tool for empowerment?

This thesis consists of six chapters. After this first introduction chapter, chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework, with the literature review of key concepts and literature of this study. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology that was used to carry out the study. After that, chapter 4 presents the findings of the studies. Chapter 5 will

then present the discussion of the findings. Lastly, chapter 6 will conclude the study with final remarks, implications and suggestions for future research.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Development communication

In this section, I will be discussing development communication, its definition, how it has evolved over the years, the changing practices, as well as go more in depth into empowered participation in development communication. As the NGO that I will be looking at specifically in this study, SFW, is working towards assisting development among people and their community through football, having a good grasp of these concepts is key to understanding how the NGO chooses to communicate development and their motive when using social media to construct their organisational image and communicate with their publics. This will be further discussed in the public relations section, 2.3.

To start off, development communication is defined by Wilkins (1996, p. 97) as "the strategic use of communication for the alleviation of social problems in evolving societies." In a later study, Wilkins and Mody (2001, p. 385) referred to it as "a process of strategic intervention toward social change initiated by institutions and communities." Development communication stems from the practical needs and situations of a specific community, and therefore, will continue to develop its own unique traits and purposes (Sinha, 1976). This 40-year old observation remains true at its basis today; development communication does manifest from the unique needs and situation of a community. However, an interesting question arises with regards to communication and reach. At the time of Sinha's research, the global reach of development communication was hard to imagine. Now with all the development and use of technology in communication, some aspects of development communication have evolved, such as the means of communication and how it is understood. Therefore, development communication nowadays also focuses on the way communication and media impact and aid development and social change, and hence also the elements of human change and development such as language, cultural, historical, social, etc. (Melkote, 2018). In practice, as a global development network that works in 170 countries worldwide in the field of development, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) assists these countries in overcoming their development challenges and expanding local capacities by helping them gain access to information, knowledge, resources, etc. to attain sustainable development (UNDP, n.d.). With that said, the concept of development communication is central to what the organisation does. The UNDP defines development communication as "a social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is also about seeking change at different levels including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change" (UNDP, 2009, pp. 5 - 6).

The shift and evolution of the way development communication has been researched and practised goes hand in hand with the shift in the way development has been perceived over the years. This study will delve into the topic of communication technology (e.g. the Internet, social media, etc.) to explore how it shapes contemporary development communication. To better understand development communication, it

is necessary to also understand the concept of development and how it leads to the changing approaches in development communication nowadays, which will be discussed in the next section.

2.1.1 Changing approaches in development communication

The concepts of development have evolved considerably over the years. According to Srinivas Melkote there are several perspectives on development (Melkote, 2003). However, this paper will only address two that have played major roles in shaping the two paradigms (the modernisation paradigm and the alternative paradigm) of development communication theories up until now. The first perspective, modernisation, shaped the dominant modernisation paradigm. It saw the economic growth and technological development that was burgeoning in the West after WWII as vital to development. The second perspective on development is empowerment. This perspective emerged in the 1990s as part of the shift in the way development is conceptualised and is essential to the empowered participation approach in the alternative paradigm. The concept of power is central to this point of view, as it sees a lack of power among people and communities in development programs as the constraint to development (Melkote, 2003). The concept of empowerment in development communication will be further discussed, as it lays ground for this study. The chart that I have constructed below shows the relationship among the different paradigms and models of development communication (Figure 1). The outlined boxes show the models that will be looked into in this study, and the arrows illustrate the evolution of the models in a chronological order.
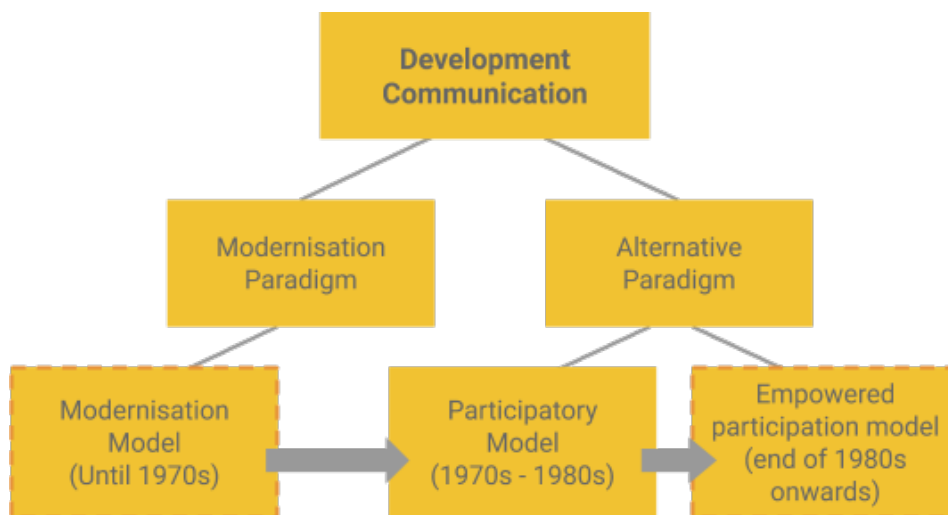

Figure 1   A flow chart summarizing the main paradigms and models of development communication.

Tracing back to Everett Rogers' research in 1976, we gain insight into this transition between the old modernisation paradigm and the new alternative paradigm. Rogers is undoubtedly an eminent figure in development communication research. He

contributed greatly to this field, and more importantly, his research spanned across the different models of development and development communication (i.e. modernisation, diffusion of innovation, participatory, etc.). In fact, he was a proponent of the modernisation paradigm, but with insight from his work, he was also pioneer in recognising the limitations that came along with it (Melkote, 2006). He discussed and critiqued in his article the dominant (modernisation) model of development that was prevalent before the 1970s. At the time, the notion of development was very much based on the idea of materialism and economic growth due to factors such as the Industrial Revolution, that more advanced nations then possessed more technology, and on an overly simplistic emphasis on quantification (e.g. per capita income) (Rogers, 1976). Additionally, Mcdowell (2003) also drew attention to another reason for the emphasis on modernisation: it was a part of the Cold War framework (mostly centered around the U.S.) that aimed to prevent communism from spreading. Economic prosperity was then thought to have been the antidote to the misery that made people more receptive to communism. Obviously, the neglect of human values, equality and the quality of life of such conception of development led researchers to question this old dominant paradigm.

Riding those waves, Rogers summarised a new definition of development on which contemporary development and development communication frameworks are based. He defined development as a "widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom, and other valued qualities) for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control over their environment" (Rogers, 1976, p. 225). Furthermore, he pointed out that it was essential that everyone received equal opportunities in accessing information and development benefits, participated from a grassroots level, developed projects that were relevant to their own development goals, and integrated various ideas and factors that would tailor to the very need of the local community (Melkote, 2006).

Nowadays, the term development, as described by Melkote, refers to a process where people are provided with meaningful opportunities, which in turn would help them not only to ameliorate their and their community's quality of life, but also realise what development is to them and what approaches they can actively construct to achieve development (Melkote, 2003). In other words, the new concept of *real* development has thoroughly taken into account a community's own insight and contribution to their own development, as well as the many unique factors that might contribute to the community's development. It also came to terms with the fact that one community's sustainable development cannot simply be measured against another's, nor by growth of material acquisition. This forms the basis for the alternative paradigm (and thus the participatory model and empowered participation model) of development communication that is currently used by different actors and development organisations today.

2.1.2 The empowered participation model in development communication

To this day, there have been two major paradigms of development communication theories stemming from how development is understood as mentioned in the earlier sections: the modernisation paradigm and the alternative paradigm (consisting of the

participatory model and the empowered participation model) (Melkote, 2018). Because much attention was placed on economic growth, industrialisation and technological advancements after World War II, and development was assessed upon quantifiable indicators based on standards of countries in the global West, mass media and other top-down modes of communication were in favour. In the communication and modernisation theory, communication was a way to persuade and transmit information and ideas to countries and communities that were deemed not as developed, as well as communicate the desirable characteristics of people that were considered necessary for a transition to take place (Melkote, 2003). This idea, in a way, resonates with and reflects the notions of individualism and collectivism from the old intercultural communication perspective that used to be some well-known cultural labels for certain geographical locations on the globe, and not without pre-assigned characteristics (Holliday, 2011). While individualistic traits were said to mostly be associated with countries of the Central-West, collectivistic traits were associated with the rest, or South European, Latin American, African and East and South Asian countries (Holliday, 2011). Additionally, associations were also made between low achievement, deficiency, poverty, not being exposed to modern mass media and "collectivist cultures", versus high achievement or advancements and individualist ones (Holliday, 2011). The diffusion of innovations theory, also in the first paradigm, expanded on the communication and modernisation theory by placing an emphasis on the importance of communication in diffusing the innovations further in local communities to catalyse change (Melkote, 2018).

As aspects such as equity of growth, meeting basic needs, employment and interpersonal relationships gained focus in the idea of development in the 1970s, development communication theories began to emphasise participation in development (Melkote, 2003). One of the frameworks that is gaining momentum in the field of development communication is the empowered participation (i.e. empowerment) framework. This framework acknowledges the power imbalance in society, thus making the balancing of social power its guidelines for development. According to Melkote, empowerment is an ongoing process that aims to activate social, psychological, cultural support systems, networks and resources, etc. (Melkote, 2003). Speer and Hughey (1995, p. 730) defined empowerment as "the manifestation of social power at individual, organisational and community levels of analysis." It aims at building capacity for the local community so they can gain control over matters that are important to them and their community's development. This way, the issue of power imbalance can be alleviated. In the old paradigm, the role of the change agent is the expert or benefactor. However, in the empowerment framework, the change agent collaborates with the locals to facilitate change and to bring out the endogenous elements vital to a more sustainable kind of change (Melkote, 2003). This shift coupled with the growth of online and social media inevitably leads to new manifestations of development programs online as well as the way they are communicated to the public.

Theoretically, the paradigm shift is taking place. This, however, does give rise to a practical question. Is the shift also taking place in practice? According to the *Time to Listen* report (Anderson, Brown & Jean, 2012), one of the trends in today's international assistance approach is stepping away from response (reacting to crises) and moving, instead, more towards prevention (e.g. capacity building, addressing

underlying systemic problems.) Nonetheless, at the heart of it, this approach still focuses on what is weak or missing in the community being assisted. Put differently, instead of delivering material resources, aid providers are delivering, for instance, training, advice and ideas to tackle the capacities that they think the assisted community lacks (Anderson et al., 2012). However, this focus on what is thought to be lacking inevitably leads to a focus on what needs to be delivered or supplied instead of the qualities of which the community is capable or already has.

2.1.3 Football for development

Sports has become one of the popular strategies in encouraging development and peace building (also known as sports for development and peace movement/sector, or SDP); it also plays a role of social intervention, especially in disadvantaged communities (Kidd, 2011). SDP aspires to utilise sports as a medium and common ground to facilitate dialogue, reconciliation and intercultural communication, especially in conflict areas, and to work towards the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (Kidd, 2008). According to the UNESCO International Charter of Physical Education and Sport, human beings have a fundamental right towards accessing physical education and sport, having full opportunities to take up sports, and especially children, the old and the handicapped must have the right and be provided with opportunities to develop through sports and physical activities (UNESCO Charter, 1978, art.1). However, with the situation of inequality in the society and the world, not everyone has equal access to sport and physical activity opportunities, especially those who belong to the lower income groups (Kidd, 2011). Therefore, many programs have been executed and various organisations have also stepped into the game to bring sports to the people, and use it as a device for development and peace.

One of the kinds of sports that has been quite common in promoting development and peace worldwide is football (or soccer). Football is well known all over the world. It can easily be organised and managed, and the apparent cultural variation remains minimal (Rookwood, 2008). Football is also a team sport that encourages people to interact, bond and engage in a game together, yet, a game of football is also, to an extent, disciplined and framed within a set of rules, requiring a certain level of boundary (Rookwood, 2008). Therefore, Rookwood (2008) argues that with these elements in play, while sometimes conflicts may occur when people participate in a game of football with the intention of development and peace, the regulatory component of football creates a safe zone and "teachable moments" for participants to learn about conflict resolution. Furthermore, such activities expand youths' social circle, encouraging their social learning. In his study, one case that Rookwood looked into was the F4P (Football for Peace) project. He pointed out one of the factors that contributed to their success was that they embraced the importance of taking part and that teams comprised mixed identities to avoid associating certain identities with victory or loss, which was also openly embraced in the game (Rookwood, 2008). For that reason, he also emphasised that when it comes to football for peace and development, the game or sport itself should not be considered of utmost importance, but rather the integrated values, the child, participant and their learning and development (Rookwood, 2008).

Among the many goals that many football for development programs aim to achieve is gender equality. The programs strive to get both male and female

participants to take part, and through the programs and activities, they wish to contest traditional gendered roles, overcome underrepresentation of females in football, as well as to empower girls and women. In some cases, however, these goals are sometimes met with challenges. In one example, a study conducted by Sugden (2008), looked into the case of a Football for Peace project that took place in Israel. The conflict between Israel and Palestine has been long-standing and is rooted deep in history. The project was thus organised to use football as a medium to "bridge the gap" (by encouraging understanding and peaceful co-existence) between Jewish and Arab towns in Israel, and at the same time, to promote female inclusion, gender equality in sports and football (Sugden, 2008). However, the project encountered many setbacks and challenges. There was much controversy over the inclusion of females in the projects, and especially when males and females had to be in the same space for sporting activities. Therefore, the finals of the project fell through, as it was opposed by local religious leaders (Sugden, 2008). While this presents certain challenges of promoting gender equality in football in certain cultural settings, it also raises the question of whether or not encouraging female inclusion in sports in some communities, where this is not the norm nor is highly regarded, is a form of cultural imperialism (Sugden, 2008). The case of Football for Peace described above also sheds light on the complexity of facilitating such sporting programs to tackle certain social issues.

2.2   Development communication from an intercultural communication perspective

When examining social media and PR activities of an international non-governmental organisation (NGO) as the one in this study, it is essential to also look at how development is communicated to and with stakeholders who might come from a range of backgrounds. Much of the early research in the field of intercultural communication focused on national cultures and leaned towards essentialism. In other words, in the essentialist point of view, cultures are tied to certain nations or geographical places, and those who belong to one culture will essentially be different from those who belong to another culture (Holliday, 2011). While this way of thinking can be the root of chauvinistic judgements and othering, it is sometimes hard to avoid, as it is almost a default and natural way of viewing cultures and differences (Holliday, 2011). Some of the well-known researchers in this earlier phase of intercultural communication research include Edward Hall, Geert Hofstede and Fons Trompenaars. Hofstede's and Trompenaars' works are, indeed, among the most cited in the field of intercultural communication to this day. Their research was in part influenced by that of Edward Hall, and the other part influenced by social psychology methods in the mid-1900s (Breidenbach & Nyiri, 2009).

Hofstede's model, for instance, framed different national cultures based on their differences in cultural dimensions such as collectivism versus individualism, power distance, masculinity versus femininity, long term versus short term orientation, uncertainty avoidance, and indulgence versus restraint (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov, 2010; Hofstede, 2011). Hofstede's work was conducted on quite a wide scale. Specfically, he got responses to his survey from people who worked in subsidiaries

in more than 50 countries of IBM, a big multinational company (Hofstede, 2011). The study was later replicated several times on international participants from other organisations in many other countries, providing yet more comparative data from a bigger pool of countries (Hofstede et al., 2010). This yielded over 100,000 questionnaires, and the data allowed him to construct quite a clear-cut model consisting of the aforementioned dimensions. Hofstede's research had been very influential not only in academia, but also in various fields such as training, consulting and business practices (Bing, 2004), management, psychology (Erdman, 2018), education (Signorini, Wiesemes & Murphy, 2009). However, Hofstede's model has also encountered much criticism. Hofstede based his reasoning and research on the notion of national cultural dimensions, and the idea that people's core values are defined by their nationality and do not change in their lifetime (Breidenbach & Nyiri, 2009). This perception was criticised to have created stereotypes, for using nationality as a predetermination for culture, and for disregarding "individual variation, power structures, conflicts within groups, and historical change" (Breidenbach & Nyiri, 2009, p. 275).

Another critical point of view towards Hofstede's paradigm was that of Brendan McSweeney (2002). McSweeney critiqued Hofstede's framework on the basis of five assumptions on which Hofstede based his conclusion. Firstly, Hofstede assumes that the IBM employees who responded to the questionnaires were constituted of three discrete cultural components: organisational, occupational and national. Secondly, he assumed that everyone within a nation 'carried' the national culture. Thirdly, his study assumed that every respondent answered the questionnaire based on their unconscious values and overlooked the fact that they might answer based on how they expect themselves to be seen. Fourthly, it was assumed that differences in responses could be analysed to identify the differences in national cultures (p. 104). Lastly, McSweeney pointed out that Hofstede's model assumed that the national culture remains the same regardless of variances in situation and circumstances in the nation. In a nutshell, although Hofstede acknowledges cultural diversity and complexity, the categorisation and overgeneralisation of national culture still ties his framework back to a form of essentialism (Holliday, 2011).

In recent years, such essentialist constructs have been increasingly questioned, and the intercultural communication field has undergone a major paradigm shift as to how "culture" is regarded. Rather than seeing culture as deterministic, Piller (2012), for instance, raises the point that culture is not something that is predictive, nor does it determine behaviour. It is only an abstraction of behaviour (Baumann, 1996 cited in Piller, 2012). She proposed that intercultural communication should be channeled towards discourses that make use of "culture" as a resource for communication instead of being confined in the idea of cultural difference (Piller, 2012).

Revisiting the notions of individualism and collectivism mentioned in the above section, Holliday (2011) critiqued these ideas as mere ideological constructs. Individualistic cultures are often used to refer to geographical Central-Western countries, while collectivistic cultures refer to other Latin American, Asian and African countries. Within that assumption, individualism and individualistic thinking tend to have the upper hand despite its claim as being neutral (Holliday, 2011). These do not reflect objective facts, for who gets to decide what is better, superior or works

more effectively in the world? Or are they constructs that were (unconsciously) built to justify the ways of functioning of the Center/West, and how it could view and manifest its power towards the rest—the non-West/Periphery societies?

These constructs and dimensions that were part of the first wave of intercultural communication research, and part of the Hofstedian framework (for example individualism and collectivism), yet, understanding them are relevant to gaining perspective into development communication. Connecting back to the modernisation framework mentioned in earlier in section 2.1.1 and the idea of delivering to assisted communities (in section 2.1.2), countries that were providing aid felt a need to deliver material resources to boost technological and economical growth in other communities because they saw this as something those communities lacked. If such constructs of "culture" such as individualism and collectivism were to prevail, they would continue to feed the mindset of differentiation and duality. In that case, "cultures" with more "power" would see communities without those desired "cultural traits" as lacking, and, therefore, would need to be helped in order to advance and develop.

Many alternative routes have been proposed and taken by intercultural communication scholars. Ingrid Piller (2012), for instance, emphasises the interconnected and dynamic nature of culture: cultures do not exist in isolation, people can belong to many cultures that can be in constant change and flux. Another one of these alternative routes has been moving away from the notion of national culture and the Hofstedian legacy and towards a critical cosmopolitanism point of view. Critical cosmopolitanism can be understood as "an approach that shifts the emphasis to internal developmental processes within the social world rather than seeing globalisation as the primary mechanism" (Delanty, 2006, p. 25). In other words, critical cosmopolitanism brings awareness to the cultural complexities and fluidity that may exist even within a system or community (Holliday, Kullman & Hyde, 2011). It also aims to identify and understand social transformation by recognising new social realities (Delanty, 2006). An approach in the critical cosmopolitan perspective is the encouragement of non-essentialist threads as opposed to essentialist blocks in intercultural interactions. In such interactions, drawing on cultural blocks tends to be a natural inclination; blocks construct boundaries based on the idea of "us" versus "them", national cultures and separate experiences (Amadasi & Holliday, 2017; Holliday, 2016). However, in order to enhance one's intercultural encounter and help one to transcend the boundaries that cultural blocks encourage, the use of cultural threads should be employed (Amadasi & Holliday, 2017). Pulling on cultural threads is becoming aware of one's own cultural trajectory and past, how these elements influence our experiences, so that one can then identify and mingle with others' threads when communicating with them (Holliday, 2016).

In this sense, the notion of blocks and threads, and critical cosmopolitanism is highly relevant to the development communication practice, especially within its empowered participation framework. Not only is it important because it brings attention to the real voice and cultural realities of the Periphery, but because it also creates a space of power that has led to de-centered cultural empowerment for marginal communities (Holliday, 2011). Moreover, the empowered participation framework acknowledges an inequality in power of local communities, and aims to

empower them by letting their voices be heard, by helping them access necessary information and opportunities so they have the social power to influence or take charge of their own development. Having a good grasp of the cultural blocks and threads concepts may also prove to be essential for communicators of development so as to be mindful of any preconceived ideas of culture or development, and not to impose certain ways of being upon a group of people. This creates opportunities for dialogue and cultural negotiation to figure out what works best for a given issue. It also makes room for exploration and understanding of each party's past influences or background that are brought to the table, so that when the right threads are drawn, effective communication takes place for efficient development plans and processes. By identifying the right threads with its audiences, an NGO can more easily reinforce their organisational image and communicate more effectively.

Below is a summary table of the paradigm shifts in intercultural communication and development communication. The table also highlights the similarities in the shifts between the two fields.

Development communication	Intercultural communication
Modernisation - Linear, top-down communication. - Delivering to assisted communities what they are lacking. - Difference/gap between the donor/expert/benefactor and the recipient/helped. - Power difference (donors belong to "more developed" communities and claim more power). - Creates a dependency dynamic	**Essentialism** - People belong to different cultural categories and are defined traits from those cultures. - Someone from one culture is at their core different, distinguishing them from someone else who is from another culture. - Certain cultural traits tend to be more "desirable" or hold more power than others - Unchanging cultural traits/categorisation
Empowerment - Participatory, non-linear communication - Collaborate with local communities to facilitate the use of resources and ideas from within the communities themselves - Aware of power imbalance; empower people and local communities; strive for social justice - Build equal, collaborative relationship with communities	**Critical cosmopolitanism** - There is cultural fluidity and complexity even within a community or system; diversity is the norm - Brings attention to the voice of the "Periphery" (away from "center") due to acknowledgment of the inequality in between - De-centered cultural empowerment for marginal communities - Encourages the use of cultural non-essentialist "threads" (instead of "blocks") to relate and communicate with others

Table 1   Summary table of paradigm shifts in development communication and intercultural communication

2.3   Public relations — where it stands in development communication

In recent years, non-commercial organisations have become more commercialised than before, due to an increase in non-profits and competition, and a decrease in support from the government (Vestergaard, 2008). In fact, Vestergaard (2008) reported NGOs' bigger focus on marketing and branding and arousing and maintaining public awareness to be an NGO's most basic prerequisite. The study investigated the case of Amnesty International and how the NGO rebranded and reconstructed its image in the eyes of its publics amidst compassion fatigue. Compassion fatigue is conceptualised as when people become helpless, numb or indifferent from being too frequently exposed to content depicting suffering or misfortune in the media (Vestergaard, 2008). There has been a tendency for the media to feature striking and negative images or representations to capture the audience's attention (Moeller, 1994). However, Moeller (1994) also reported that many studies on fundraising through direct mail revealed that positive images attracted more donations compared to negative ones, as the latter could lead people to turning away. Furthermore, in certain coverage topics, compassion fatigue can become a simplistic stereotypical representation that would further reinforce more stereotypical coverage, and "is a result of inaction and is itself causes inaction" (Moeller, 1994, p. 52). By discussing the way Amnesty International alters its organisational image to stand out from other NGOs and gain attention from the public, the study provides an instance of how humanitarian organisations are seeking novel ways to boost visibility and public action/engagement by steering clear of compassion fatigue and creating a mark of their own (Vestergaard, 2008). Nowadays, one of the many methods that has been increasingly employed amongst non-profits and NGOs is the use of social media to bridge the communication between organisations and their publics. Specifically, this method takes advantage of social media and their affordances to do PR for an NGO or a cause.

Public relations (PR) is one of the well-known concepts in the field of communication, yet it does not have a universal definition. In academia, PR has been conceptualised as having a management function by some, while others focus on the relationship building and maintaining aspect of PR (Brunner, 2019). In practice, on the other hand, the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA), after a period of research in 2011 and 2012, has come up with an updated definition of PR. According to the organisation's official website, PR is defined as "a strategic communication process that builds mutually beneficial relationships between organizations and their publics" (PRSA, n.d.). In other words, PRSA states that in essence, PR seeks to shape the way an organisation is perceived by its stakeholders and publics (i.e. those who are involved in the communication process, the audiences, etc.) through means of influencing, engaging and building relationships with them via various platforms (PRSA, n.d.). Daymond and Demetrious (2013) define PR as "a communicative activity used by organizations to intervene socially in and between competing discourses in order to facilitate a favourable position within a global context" (p. 3). In the latter definition, an emphasis is placed on the way PR plays a political role in influencing the meaning-making process, placing an organisation at a desired position.

2.3.1 The functions of PR

With this basic understanding of PR in mind, it is easily seen that PR is highly important in the functioning and maintaining of an NGO. NGOs often deal with many different publics, ranging from their donors, volunteers, participants (i.e. those from the local community who take part in the events that have been organised), the government or other stakeholders. Functioning usually on a limited budget makes strategic communication and relationship building (or PR) all the more important. PR helps to shape an NGO's desired image in the mind of its publics, while maintaining the beneficial relationships and partnerships that are vital to the sustaining of the organisation. In order to do so, social service organisations and NGOs employ various public relations tactics in their communication process such as publicity (i.e. through news media), creation of events, encouraging the use of the organisation's services, creating educational materials or sending out newsletters (Wilcox, Cameron & Reber, 2015). A case of a global NGO's use of Instagram in a study by McNely (2012) was investigated in a study by McNely, revealing that they use the social medium for PR in order to communicate their organisation's image as well as for reaching its donors by posting images that are easily identified by donors. This is a form of publicity in the organisation's PR activity. Despite not being entirely effective with their PR on social media, the organisation, as suggested by the study, could benefit from more humanisation (i.e. showing the human aspects of the organisation, such as featuring a member, a related person or pets, etc., so as to make the organisation feel more human) and interaction with its audiences through comments (McNely, 2012).

2.3.2 PR and social media

2.3.2.1 Affordances of social media for PR

The use of new media in general and social media in particular is becoming more and more popular amongst NGOs and non-profits. Nowadays, social media are used as an "extension" of a company's website. Social media provide organisations with a space to interact with their followers, reinforce their branding and, for some, showcase happenings that are related to the organisation in a more informal way. Many times, they reach more people compared to an organisation's website.

NGOs benefit greatly from the use of social media, as social media allow for communication beyond national boundaries, as well as minimise the costs of the process (Seo et al, 2009; Rodriguez, 2016). This is an especially important aspect for NGOs, for they often have to operate on a limited budget and funding. Besides the above-mentioned benefits, NGOs and non-profits opt to use social media as a way of informing publics and stakeholders about their profiles, services and events. This is the more extensive function of social media for NGOs (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012). Social media also act as a means to foster relationships, networks and communities, and call for action from its publics and stakeholders (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012).

As PR seeks to place an organisation at a favourable position in the eyes of its publics through strategic messages to the right audiences, social media can be a beneficial tool for NGOs. With the rise in the use of social media, NGOs can make use of

these platforms to communicate their organisational image or corporate identity that they desire. Rodriguez (2016) regards social networking sites as technological infrastructures that are composed of publics and stakeholders; they act as vehicles that allow for the creation and transmission messages that could be addressed to suitable audiences. Furthermore, for transnational or international NGOs, social media and the internet play an even more crucial role in placing the control of images and how messages are disseminated in the hands of activists, giving them the power to emphasise important social movements or events that are happening in any part of the world (Atkinson, 2010 cited in Rodriguez, 2016).

2.3.2.2   Instagram

Instagram is a social media platform and application that was launched in October 2010. Although now owned by Facebook, unlike Facebook, Instagram's unique feature is that it is more visually centred. This emphasis on visuals makes visual content on Instagram approachable, lively and interactive. In certain contexts, "a picture is worth a thousand words," as the old saying goes. Visuals (i.e. images and videos) can more easily capture the audience's attention at first glance compared to a block of text. Furthermore, visuals can also make use of additional visual assets such as lighting, colours, composition and visual rhetorical figures to better communicate a message or explain accompanying text, or even convey feelings that are hard to describe in text. While text-based content may encounter language boundaries when shared with another country or community that uses a different language, visuals tend to be more universal in nature.

Instagram offers many functions. Users of Instagram can now easily take photos, use premade filters or other image functions and make quick edits to their images or videos before posting them onto the platform, or to other social media platforms (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, etc.). Another more recent feature that Instagram offers its users is the ability to post stories that would disappear within 24 hours. To date, according to Hootsuite, a reputable social media marketing and management platform, there are one billion Instagram users every month, and 500 million users who use Instagram Stories everyday (Newberry, 2019).

Instagram has many affordances as a social media platform and application. McNely (2012) pointed out that Instagram features a reverse-chronological timeline, it allows users to like and comment, and it allows for asymmetric follower relationships. The fact that visual posts on Instagram (e.g. photos, images, videos, etc.) encourage social interaction between an organisation and its followers makes it possible for organisations to communicate strategically through their Instagram post. This is one of the ways an organisation can strategically shape its image in the mind of its followers, which is also central to an organisation's PR activity.

An organisation's organisational image is "part of the self-referential process through which an organisation attempts to tie down and reproduce its identity," and the way an organisation would be viewed by outsiders who are interested (Faber, 2002, p. 33). However, organisations might not always have absolute control over their organisational image. Those that are able to create a memorable image and to better shape how their organisational image is perceived by outsiders hold more image power (McNely, 2012). Thus, the image power of an organisation can be improved by

aligning organisational identity and organisational image as well as using different communication and rhetorical tools in shaping external perceptions (McNely, 2012). That being said, social media, such as the visual-intensive platform Instagram, breeds even more opportunity for organisations and NGOs to construct and maintain their organisational image and are becoming more commonly used. Being able to use such platforms to their advantage would assist an organisation in reinforcing their image power.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research aims and questions

In the previous theoretical background chapter, I have examined the direction in which development communication and intercultural communication is going today. There has been a shift in the way development communication is headed, especially in research, with a tendency towards empowerment and empowered participation. A great importance is placed upon empowering people and their communities endogenously, giving them access to opportunities and information. In practice, on the other hand, some studies point out that many development programs are still tied to the old linear delivery/assistance mindset (Anderson et al., 2012). This highlights the importance of examining how an international NGO like SFW is communicating visually. Moreover, with the increased use of social media in international NGOs to support their public relations activities, exploring communication with an intercultural perspective is also necessary. The shift in intercultural communication, interestingly, is closely tied to the shift in development communication, too. It leans towards transcending differences to embrace non-essentialist views. This theoretical background lays foundation for a better comprehension of the NGO in question's Instagram activity and development communication. Especially as this is an international NGO communicating with a range of audiences globally, an intercultural perspective is beneficial in understanding how they construct their organisational identity and how they are bringing people from all over the world together to work towards a common cause. There have been few studies that examine the interplay between development communication and intercultural communication that exists in an NGO through their use of social media. Therefore, in this study, I will explore the way paradigm shifts in intercultural communication and development communication manifest in SFW's visual communication on Instagram. Then, I attempt to specifically go into how using Instagram images helps SFW to communicate their vision of "changing the world through football". I will delve into how the images depict their use football as a medium in empowering local communities and their network members all over the world. In short, I will be exploring this topic with the guidance of the following research questions:

1. How does Street Football World's visual communication (through their Instagram images) relate to the paradigm shifts in development communication and intercultural communication?
2. In what ways do Instagram images allow Street Football World to depict football as a tool for empowerment?

Before discussing the sample and the research method used to analyse the data, in the following section, I will introduce the international NGO Street Football World. I will also provide some background information of the organisation along with its mission and vision.

3.2 Street Football World

In this study, I looked specifically into the case of the NGO Street Football World. Street Football World (SFW) is an international NGO founded in 2002 by Jürgen Griesbeck, who was at the time a German PhD student in Medellin. Moved by the incidence where the football player Andres Escobar was shot after his own-goal leading to Colombia's not being able to continue in the 1994 World Cup, Jürgen searched for new conflict resolution approaches. He realised that the football pitch was the common ground where dialogues and cooperation could willingly happen. This gave birth to Fútbol por la Paz (Football for Peace), a football project that acted as an antidote to violence. Realising that there were similar organisations around the world with similar missions (i.e. using football as a medium to tackle local/social issues), Jürgen founded SFW with the vision of connecting these grassroots organisations all over the world to create an even bigger collective impact through football. Therefore, SFW goes by the mission of "changing the world through football" (Street Football World, n.d.).

Today, SFW has 135 member organisations that have brought the movement and activities to more than 2 million people in 90 countries. In addition to these members, SFW also partners with governments, FIFA, UEFA, sponsors, private partners, etc. who share the same vision. The reason SFW wishes to create a strong network is because it wishes to empower those organisations that strive to make sustainable impacts, not only in their local communities, but also in partner communities and in the world. Additionally, having a network means those who are part of it are able to connect with others in the network, to be inspired and act together to change the world through grassroots football. SFW's current goal right now is to achieve this change by 2030. Specifically, SFW aims to bring about social change in eight main areas: employ-ability, education, social integration, peace building, gender equality, health, youth leadership, and environment. The NGO strongly believes in the power of football to make these changes happen because football is a common language and culture that people and communities around the world share (Street Football World, n.d.).

3.3 Sampling and dataset

The sample that was chosen for examination in this study was images, consisting of photos and static graphics, from SFW's official Instagram page. SFW is active on both Facebook and Instagram. However, I specifically chose to look at their Instagram content instead of Facebook because although Facebook has more followers, their Instagram content receives more engagement (i.e. likes and comments). This engagement rate means that the content actually reached at least some audience rather than being lost in their newsfeed. In addition, SFW is very active and consistent in posting on their Instagram account, ensuring that it is one of their main social media channels.

The NGO's Instagram page is public, therefore, all of its posts are accessible to the public. Although SFW uploads a variety of visuals ranging from photos to graphics and short clips (each post accompanied by a caption), only images and static visuals were examined. Clips and videos, as well as all captions were excluded from the sample in this study due to the study's limited scope. Furthermore, the number of videos were very few compared to the number of images that were posted, and videos require a different method of analysis from images and other static visuals. Through the preliminary observation, I also found that the captions only act as an explanation to the images and did not distort the meanings of the images in any way. Therefore, this study will focus solely on analysing static images. Captions will be occasionally referred to during analysis, but each individual image is the study's unit of analysis.

The dataset used for analysis consisted of images from the first four months of 2018 (i.e. starting from the first post in January 2018 to the last post in April 2018), with each image being a unit of analysis. SFW posts very often on their Instagram page, therefore, the amount of data that was acquired from January to April was already very rich. With that being said, expanding the dataset and analysing the data would go beyond the scope of this master's thesis. These images, as mentioned above, included photos (e.g. portraits, photos of events, football matches, children, activities, workshops, etc.) and some graphics. In many cases, each post consisted of several images. The number of images in the dataset totaled 113. The images along with their dates were screenshot and archived for reference.

3.4   Data analysis

The study, in general, can be classified as an abductive one, as it is both data driven, and at the same time it is informed by previous studies. Furthermore, it describes the process in which new discoveries are made through logical and methodological reasoning (Reichertz, 2004). The abductive approach is best used in studies that aim to discover new things, new concepts and relationships (Dubois & Gadde, 2002), which is the case of this study. The data is analysed using the qualitative visual content analysis research method, with the help of tabulation.

In the first part of this section (3.4.1), the process of tabulating the data will be discussed. The second part (3.4.2) will then look at the visual content analysis process in depth.

3.4.1   Tabulation

Despite this study being a qualitative visual content analysis study, tabulation and counting of occurrences was used in the beginning stage. In this study, I used tabulation as a way to count the frequency or occurrences of certain elements or phenomena in SFW's Instagram images with the use of coding. This tabulation step helped to specify details of certain observations, to ground observations, and spot anomalies that, when coupled with the qualitative methods of the study, could then be further explained and explored. Furthermore, as Instagram, an image-heavy medium, was

studied, and as SFW posted quite often, tabulation helped to look into more detail a larger number of images (Carneiro & Johnson, 2014).

After having identified the visuals that make up the dataset, I familiarised myself with the dataset by first going through all the images in the dataset at once, which allowed for a better grasp of the general content and feel of the dataset. From first glance, SFW's Instagram posts (excluding videos) consisted of four main types of images within this timeframe. The four types included: images of football related activities (on the pitch/playing area), images of non-football related activities and events (e.g. workshops, other training sessions, special networking events), portraits (e.g. of a player, a celebrity or a team member), and graphics and communications products (such as the organisation's magazine). This gave insight into the kind of content and elements that could be coded in when tabulating. After the preliminary observation, I referred to a study that focused on the analysis of images and that had a model specifically developed for that purpose (this is discussed in more details in the paragraphs to come). The codes of my study, on the other hand, were constructed based on SFW's purpose statement on their official website (the summary of the statement can be found in the "Street Football World" section above) and from the elements that arose as I examined the images initially. The next paragraph will be dedicated to how the codes were developed, with reference to previous studies.

The main study that was referred to, by Kedra and Sommier (2018), examined photography depicting refugee children in the European refugee crisis, providing a model for coding and analysis in this study. The study sought to answer the questions of how these photos of refugee children are constructed (visually and rhetorically), and how they are positioned in the current refugee representation scheme (Kedra & Sommier, 2018). The researchers were unable to find a highly suitable pre-existing visual research method to help answer their research questions; therefore, they resorted to constructing one of their own. The model is called the model for visual rhetorical interpretation (Kedra & Sommier, 2018) and was specifically used to interpret journalistic photographs. It was built on the premise of a number of methods: "elements of visual rhetoric, denotation and connotation, compositional interpretation, and intertextuality" (Kedra & Sommier, 2018, p. 44). The model proposed by Kedra and Sommier is as below (Figure 2):

1	basic denotation	What does the photograph show? What kind of story does it present?
2	analysis of photographic techniques and atmosphere	How do framing, lighting, composition, colour and its saturation help in making an argument? What is the atmosphere of the photograph?
3	visual rhetorical figures	What kind of visual rhetorical figures can be identified in the photograph? What are their roles in constructing an argument?
4	symbol and intertextuality	To what other texts does the photograph refer? What symbols does it depict?
5	emotional engagement	What kind of emotional engagement with the story does the photograph conduct?
6	the visual argument	What argument is made through the photograph?

Figure 2   Model for the visual rhetorical interpretation of journalistic photos (Kedra and Sommier, 2018, p. 45)

This model was developed by Kedra and Sommier to answer the question of how the photos in question are constructed in their study and how they are positioned in the current refugee representation scheme, with the unit of analysis being each photo. Therefore, this made it relevant to my own study and research question when analysing each Instagram image (mostly journalistic photos) to identify how it helped to construct SFW's organisational image. Therefore, the model was applied to the coding and analysis parts of this study. Specifically, questions from the first three steps (i.e. basic denotation, analysis of photographic techniques and atmosphere, visual rhetorical figures) were taken into account to later develop codes. The steps 4, 5 and 6 from the model were integrated into the qualitative analysis of the images, which will later be discussed in the next section (3.4.2 Visual content analysis).

With the guiding questions from the model's first three steps, I was able to construct three corresponding broader sections for my tabulation: basic denotation (with the subcategories photo location and topic; people and photo content); photographic techniques and atmosphere; and visual rhetorical figures. As for the basic denotation section, coupled with my preliminary observation, I included codes such as "football game or related", "non-football game event", "portrait, individual person featured", "location type", etc. Referring back to SFW's vision and mission, I also added codes such as " Disadvantaged, minority people/players engaged in an activity/game", "Gender: Girls & women players, all genders featured (e.g. playing together on the pitch)", "Holding hands/ huddling/ hi-five/ hand shake/ helping", etc. All the codes in the first "basic denotation" section are shown in Table 2 below.

Basic denotation	Photo location and topic	Outdoor/indoor/not clear
		Location type
		Football game (or related)
		Group/teamwork, discussion, workshop
		Special event
		Non-football game event
		Landscape
	People & photo content	On the day of the event
		Portrait/featured individual
		Coach/instructor with team
		Individuals of different backgrounds, professions collaborating, playing; emphasis on different countries
		Disadvantaged people/players, from a minority group engaged in an activity/game
		Gender: girls & women players; all genders featured
		Celebrity/important person
		Hygiene products, wellbeing, health, health organisations
		Relating to care for the environment
		Very basic/underprivileged conditions or environments
		Smile
		Gestures showing excitement, joy, positivity
		Holding hands, huddling, hi-five, handshake, helping
		Inspirational quote (in the image)

Table 2   Codes in the "Basic Denotation" section

In the photographic techniques and atmosphere section, I wished to examine the way the photos were taken, the mood of the image (based on the atmosphere or the facial expressions of people in the photo), or whether the image was a graphic or communication product (e.g. a photo of the organisation's magazine, a visual that has graphics drawn on it or has quotes added to it, etc.) (Table 3).

Photographic techniques and atmosphere	Natural / manipulated / do not know
	Dynamic / static
	Graphic communication product (e.g. books, brochures, banners, etc.)
	Type of shot (e.g. long shot, medium shot, closeup, etc.)
	Angle
	Mood (serious, neutral, happy, empowering, formal)

Table 3   Codes in the photographic techniques and atmosphere section

The last section of the tabulation is the third step in Kedra and Sommier's study, the visual rhetorical figure section. From my observation of the posts and based on the study, I included two visual rhetorical figures, oxymoron/juxtaposing elements and visual hyperbole (a visual emphasis on a certain element in the photo) (Kedra & Sommier, 2018). Another code for this section is "absent of visual rhetorical figure" for those images that did not have an apparent or intended visual rhetorical figure.

All the images from January, February, March and April of 2018 were then individually listed and coded. For questions or codes that could simply be answered with "yes" or "no" was coded as no = 0 and yes = 1. Other more open-ended questions were coded with more numbered options, such as when coding the location type of an image, it was coded as 1 = on the pitch, 2 = generally outside (i.e. an unspecified location outside), 3 = on stage, 4 = in a room, and 5 = do not know (i.e. when the location cannot be identified). After the coding process had been accomplished, occurrences were counted. For yes/no questions/codes, all the numbers "1" were added up to show how many times something occurred among the images (e.g. how many images featured a celebrity). For the remaining questions, occurrences of each number were counted and listed in the "total" section. These occurrences, as mentioned before, help to ground observations and bring attention to any details that are worth deeper examination. Further, they help to identify recurring or prominent elements present in the images that would later be explored for emerging themes in the visual content analysis section.

3.4.2 Qualitative visual content analysis

The qualitative visual content analysis stage aimed at yielding patterns as well as important and noticeable information from the dataset that could be delved into, and from which themes were likely to emerge to answer the research questions. Once the tabulation process was complete, the number of occurrences of the codes was then further examined and looked into based on the steps 4, 5 and 6 of Kedra and Sommier's model for visual rhetorical interpretation (i.e. symbol and intertextuality, emotional engagement, and the visual argument, respectively) (Kedra & Sommier, 2018). From this dataset, symbols from the photos, for instance, could specifically be discussed, as well as factors such as emotional engagement, which could potentially

pervade the kind of atmosphere or feelings that the organisation might wish to communicate to its audience.

Another work that informed this study was one by McNely (2012). In his research, McNely examined how three different organisations shape their organisational image power through Instagram images. Among them was a global non-profit organisation. He developed six process categories that were core to the organisations' shaping of their image from examining these organisations' Instagram pictures. The six process codes are: orienting (providing the audience with recognisable landmarks), humanising (humanising organisation's daily life, or featuring member), interacting (interacting with the audience), placemaking (cueing specific locations linked to organisation's image/work), showcasing (showcasing products and goods), and crowdsourcing (calling for action, feedback or engagement) (McNely, 2012). This stage of analysis, in other words, focused more on the connoted meanings of the Instagram images based on the tabulation results to identify emerging themes. Some representative images of each theme were chosen to be analysed in more depth.

The themes that were identified in this study were distilled through observation and through the elements that proved to occur the most, based on the results from tabulation.

4   FINDINGS

4.1   Tabulation results

In this section, I will first briefly summarise the main points that I have cultivated from the tabulation process (content, photographic techniques and atmosphere, and visual rhetorical figure), using the three main categories of the tabulation as the backbone for reporting.

Based on the dataset, content-wise, there were some apparently prominent and consistent elements in the images that SFW posted on their Instagram account. For instance, most of the images (87 of 113) were of outdoors happenings, while half of all images were specifically photos taken on/off the football pitch. It is also quite understandable that most photos were of people taking part in football or football-related events together. While most photos were taken of football-related events, almost all of the remaining captured still, though non-football related, people taking part in, for instance, teamwork, discussions and workshops. Another common element in the images were of women and girls, or both genders participating in the same activities. These images (77) made up about ¾ of all images. Images that captured smiles (68) and showed gestures of excitement, joy and positivity (78) came up quite often as somewhat signature to SFW's image posts.

On the other hand, some types of images or elements, though they did appear once in a while, were not quite recurrent among the Instagram images. Images that featured hygiene products or were related to people's wellbeing and health organisations (6) were quite sparse. Even more so were images about care for the environment. In fact, all three of these photos were from the same one post that was uploaded on the World Water Day (based on the caption). Specifically, the post was to raise awareness about the importance of clean water and how SFW's football activities were enabling children and the community to learn about clean water as well as hygiene. Additionally, there were a few images (4) that had inspirational quotes written on them. Some types of images were a little more common compared to the instances just mentioned before, however, they still fall in the less eminent side of the spectrum. Such images include images that featured a celebrity, or an important person in the organisation/member organisations (10), or those that captured people of a minority group (e.g. refugees, etc.) or disadvantaged people (e.g. amputated individuals or those with down syndrome, etc.) being engaged in an activity or game (16).

The rest of the categories that fall in the mid-range frequency section were photos of certain happenings on the day of the event, making these posts a kind of "news channel". There were also photos of special events, possibly to inform that they had happened. There were also a decent number of photos (36) that featured people from different backgrounds (e.g. countries, professions, etc.), or that there was an emphasis on different countries (based on their captions).

The results of all categories in the basic denotation section is presented in the table below (Table 4).

Basic denotation	**Photo location and topic**	Outdoor/indoor/not clear	Outdoor: 87 Indoor: 19 Not clear: 7
		Location type	On the pitch: 56 Generally outside: 30 On stage: 2 In a room: 13 Do not know: 12
		Football game (or related)	No: 33; Yes: 80
		Group/teamwork, discussion, workshop	No: 85; Yes: 28
		Special event	No: 72; Yes: 41
		Non-football game event	No: 85; Yes: 28
		Landscape	No: 107; Yes: 6
	People & photo content	On the day of the event	No: 76; Yes: 37
		Portrait/featured individual	No: 88; Yes: 25
		Coach/instructor with team	No: 86; Yes: 27
		Individuals of different backgrounds, professions collaborating, playing; emphasis on different countries	No: 77; Yes: 36
		Disadvantaged people/players, from a minority group engaged in an activity/game	No: 97; Yes: 16
		Gender: girls & women players; all genders featured	No: 36; Yes: 77
		Celebrity/important person	No: 103; Yes: 10
		Hygiene products, wellbeing, health, health organisations	No: 107; Yes: 6
		Relating to care for the environment	No: 110; Yes: 3
		Very basic/underprivileged conditions or environments	No: 85; Yes: 28
		Smile	No: 45; Yes: 68
		Gestures showing excitement, joy, positivity	No: 35; Yes: 78
		Holding hands, huddling, hi-five, handshake, helping	No: 90; Yes: 23
		Inspirational quote (in the image)	No: 109; Yes: 4

Table 4   Tabulation results for basic denotation

With respect to photographic techniques and atmosphere, all except eight images were natural images. In other words, these images were of a photojournalistic style. Most of them (81) were dynamic. This means that they showed people being active or in the process of doing something, as opposed to posing. There were more

long-shot photos (37) as compared to other types of shots, which means that the photos captured more, from further away, and were able to include more elements of the background. Interestingly, also more images communicated a happy and positive mood and atmosphere (44) as compared to other types of moods. While many others depicted quite a neutral atmosphere, 20 images were quite empowering (i.e. they show participants feeling empowered, being able to achieve something together, or the subject of the image standing confident and strong, etc.).

The results of all categories in the photographic techniques and atmosphere section is presented in the table below (Table 5).

Photographic techniques and atmosphere	Natural / manipulated	Natural: 105 Manipulated: 8
	Dynamic / static	Dynamic: 81 Static: 32
	Graphic communication product (e.g. books, brochures, banners, etc.)	No: 105 Yes: 8
	Type of shot (e.g. long shot, medium shot, closeup, etc.)	Long shot: 37 Full shot: 28 Medium-long shot: 15 Medium shot: 19 Medium closeup: 11 Closeup: 3 Choker: 0
	Angle	Below up: 16 Eye-level: 81 From above: 16
	Mood (serious, neutral, happy, empowering, formal)	Serious: 4 Neutral: 36 Happy: 44 Empowering: 19 Formal: 8

Table 5   Tabulation results for photographic techniques and atmosphere

Concerning visual rhetorical figures, three codes that were included in this category were oxymoron or juxtaposing elements within an image, visual hyperbole and an absence of visual rhetorical figures. Although most of the images (72) did not have any purposeful visual rhetorical incorporated into them, 23 utilised juxtaposing elements and 28 utilised visual hyperbole to create an effect or communicate a message.

The results of all categories in the visual rhetorical figure section is presented in the table below (Table 6).

Visual rhetorical figures	Oxymoron; juxtaposing elements	No: 90 Yes: 23
	Visual hyperbole	No: 86 Yes: 27
	Absent of visual rhetorical figure	No: 41 Yes: 72

Table 6   Tabulation results for visual rhetorical figures

4.2 Qualitative visual content analysis results

Having summarised the results of the tabulation process, I will now discuss the themes that I have identified from the observation and tabulation results. As mentioned earlier in the paper and in the previous methodology chapter, a total of 113 images posted by SFW from January 2018 to April 2018 were tabulated and the occurrences of various codes were counted. The results yielded from the tabulation process revealed many details that could then be tied together into consistent themes that would be discussed later in this section.

There are three main themes that were identified across SFW's Instagram images in the dataset. The themes include equality, togetherness and "count smiles, not goals" (also understood as the positive outlook of the NGO, the name of this section takes after a slogan of one of SFW's network members). These three themes are, however, not exclusive, but are intimately connected to one another. Within each theme, I will also incorporate the analysis of some representative images that reflect that theme.

4.2.1 Equality

One of the most highly recurring elements of SFW's Instagram images in the dataset is equality. Equality here, as presented through SFW's images, is not solely confined to any specific type of equality. As a matter of fact, it ranges from gender equality, socio-economic equality to equal participation and equal opportunities for its participants and member organisations. One of the codes that was quite eminent was the code of gender equality. From the early description of the data from the tabulation process, about ¾ of these images portrayed women and girls, or both male and female participants taking part in the same activity. The following images (Example 4.2.1a and 4.2.1b) are two of the many images that present the notion of gender equality.

Example 4.2.1a   Streetfootballworld [@streetfootballworld]. (2018, January 9) "Giving an assist
                  to female empowerment through football! Read more about the #game-chang-
                  ing work streetfootballworld network member @yuwaindia does in [Insta-
                  gram photo]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/p/BdvIv5OFwgi/


In this photo (Example 4.2.1a), the girl in the foreground, who is approaching in the direction of the camera, is the main focus of the image, although there are many other children in the background. Her hair is flying as she runs, and her photo was taken in the midst of action. She has a big smile on her face and seems to be enjoying what she is doing on the pitch with all the other children. The use of visual hyperbole (exaggeration to make a point or stimulate feelings) emphasised the girl, her state and her actions. This connects with the mission of SFW that aims to empower girls and women through football and other activities associated with the organisation. The fact that this girl in the foreground is the focus and that she seems to be striving in the situation resonates with the stated purpose of SFW. Despite her being the main subject, the photo was taken in a way that revealed much of what was happening in the background as well. In fact, the shot was a full shot which allowed the viewer to see an interesting point of this photo: there were both boys and girls taking part in what seemed to be a football related activity on the pitch. Whatever activity she and other children were involved in, they were in it together, equally.
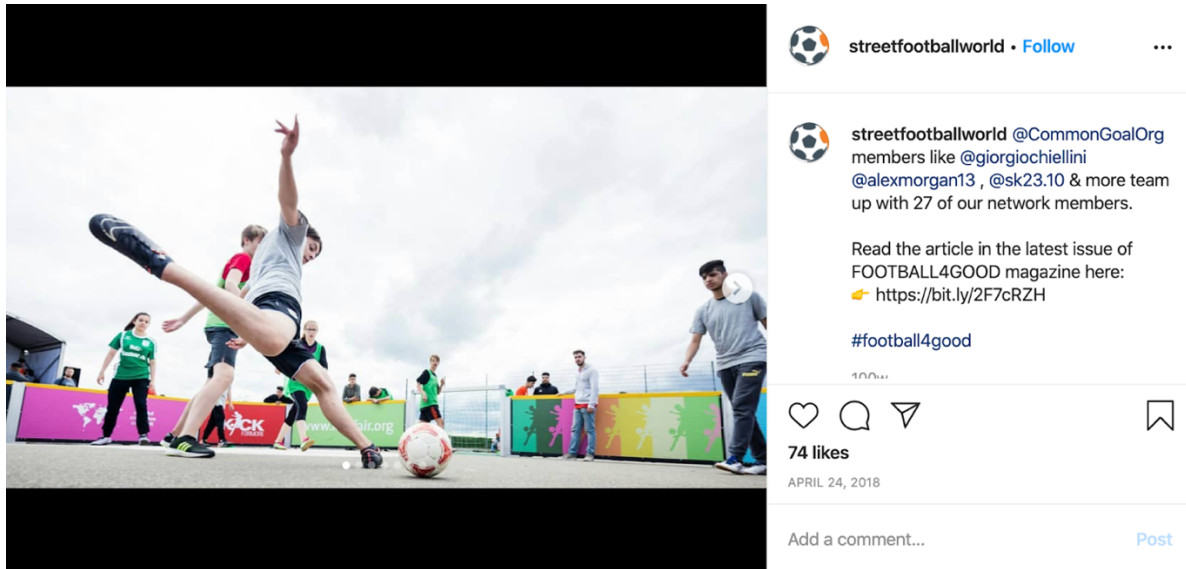
Example 4.2.1b   Streetfootballworld [@streetfootballworld]. (2018, April 24) "@Com-
monGoalOrg members like @giorgiochiellini @alexmorgan13, @sk23.10 &
more team up with 27 of our network members. Read the article in [Instagram
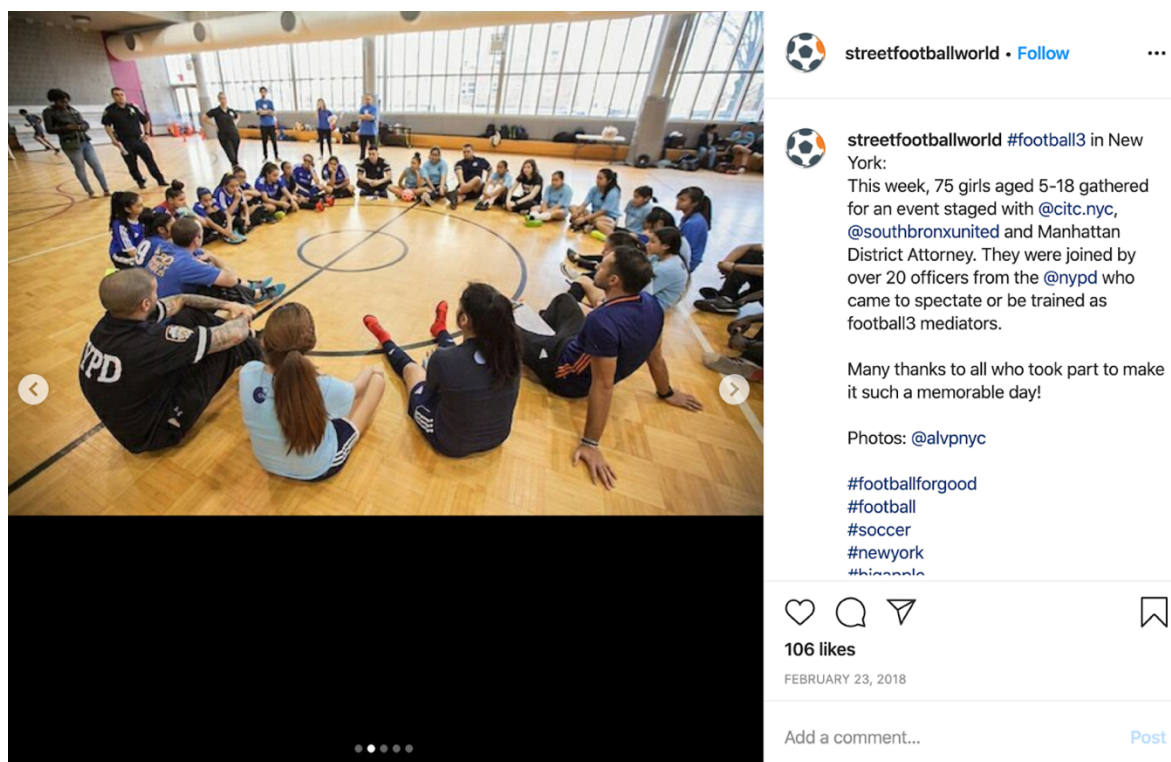photo]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/p/Bh8-nBeAJCg/

Example 4.2.1b was also among the photos, like Figure example 4.2.1a, that fea-
tured both boys and girls, males and females partaking in a game of football or an
activity together. This challenges what we often see on the media where there is male
football and female football, with male football being more dominant. Even the SDP
movement itself has also become quite gendered, placing more focus on females
(Hayhurst, 2014). SFW seems to have gone a step further than only emphasising the
participation of girls and women in football; they tend to establish a new norm in their
images that males and females get equally participate in events, such as a game of
football together. By doing so, SFW seems to skilfully address the problem of gen-
dered upbringing by showing new possibilities in their images and depicting them in
a more positive light.

However, SFW not only convey the concept of equality through gender equality
through their images. The following are instances of other ways equality is portrayed
(e.g. other social categories such as disability, social class, professions, etc.) in SFW's
image posts.
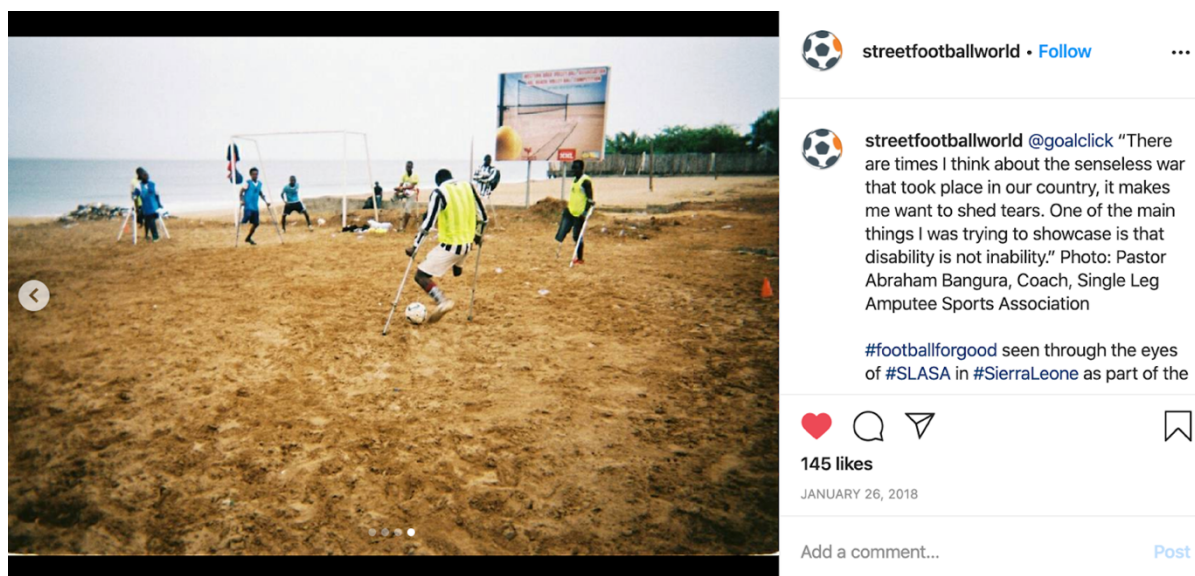
Example 4.2.1c   Streetfootballworld [@streetfootballworld]. (2018, January 26) "@goalclick "There are times I think about the senseless war that took place in our country, it makes me want [Instagram photo]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/p/Beaq3jclGkO/

This particular image (Example 4.2.1c) is among one of the most powerful images on SFW's Instagram page. The image depicts a group of football players, who are amputees, playing seemingly without any restrictions despite their physical and environmental restrictions. Besides the striking content of the photo, the photography techniques and visual rhetorical figures intended in the image increase the dramatic feel of the situation. The lighting and colours of the photo have been edited in a way that the colours are more dramatic and there is more contrast. Furthermore, both visual hyperbole and oxymoron were used in this photo. The photographer seemed to have exaggerated the dirt pitch (hyperbole), giving more space for the pitch in the photo. The image of the pitch also acts as a placemaking and orienting function (McNely, 2012), in which the dirt pitch directs the audience SFW's core image of grassroots football, street football, and making football possible anywhere it is safe. This, in turn, also adds to the use of oxymoron (juxtaposing contradicting elements), in which some disadvantaged players are playing in a very basic environment, and yet, their energy remains so strong. Referring to the caption, it can be understood that these players are amputees from war; they are playing on the make do dirt pitch, yet it seems from their spirit that nothing has been taken away from them at all. The photo, being one that was taken by SFW's network member, conveys SFW's support of programs that entitle disadvantaged people to the same opportunities as those who are not so disadvantaged. Through the voice of their network members, such as in this case, SFW is able to strengthen their own voice and image.

Example 4.2.1d   Streetfootballworld [@streetfootballworld]. (2018, February 23) "#football3 in New York: This week, 75 girls aged 5-18 gathered for an event staged with @citc.nyc, @southbronxunited and Manhattan [Instagram photo]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/p/Bfil21al_r6/

Example 4.2.1d shows another aspect of equality that SFW tends to convey and embrace. In this picture, some girls are taking part in a training session with officers from the New York police department (NYDP at the back of a participant's shirt). Adults wearing the same police uniform are sat in a circle with the girls, among them and some behind them. Everyone was sitting in a circle, in a relaxed posture/manner and listening attentively. Their gaze seemed to be focused in a direction, possibly on the person who was speaking. Despite the many participants taken part, the image exerted a peaceful and warm atmosphere. The slight distortion in figure of the people standing up in the upper left corner suggests that the photo was taken with wide-angle lens, allowing the who group and atmosphere to be "embraced" into the photo. With reference to the caption, it can be understood that despite the officers working in a field that does not relate to football, they are still encouraged to mingle with children and teenagers to learn football mediation skills.

SFW's choice of images appears to convey a message that discriminating people based on their sex, gender, profession, physical appearance and abilities is something that does not belong to football. Participants are usually depicted being treated equally, being respected for who they are, and they are given the power to make choices, participate, as well as the many opportunities to access resources and information. Most photos seem to be generated from local communities and network members, and most appear to involve only those in the communities carrying out their

usual events amongst themselves. This is the essence of empowerment. Through the lenses of SFW, football can be a common ground upon which all kinds of equality can be nurtured and flourish.

4.2.2 Togetherness

The second theme that emerged was togetherness. There was an overarching atmosphere among the photos that people—trainers, network members, volunteers, children, women, men, participants, etc.—were consistently taking part in something meaningful together, and they were enjoying this togetherness. Not only did this manifest in photos of football games, where playing together is a given, it is also portrayed through the act of holding hands, hugging, giving each other high-fives, shaking hands or helping each other (about a quarter of the images in the dataset). This was present in images of different events, workshops or even other non-football related activities (almost all except, for instance, portraits and images of communication products). Even if they were not physically holding hands or huddling, they were still engaged with one another in some kind of common activity, such as discussing in a workshop, being trained together, or especially when people from different backgrounds, age groups and situations are brought together into a certain activity or event to learn from each other and enjoy the opportunity of being together, etc.
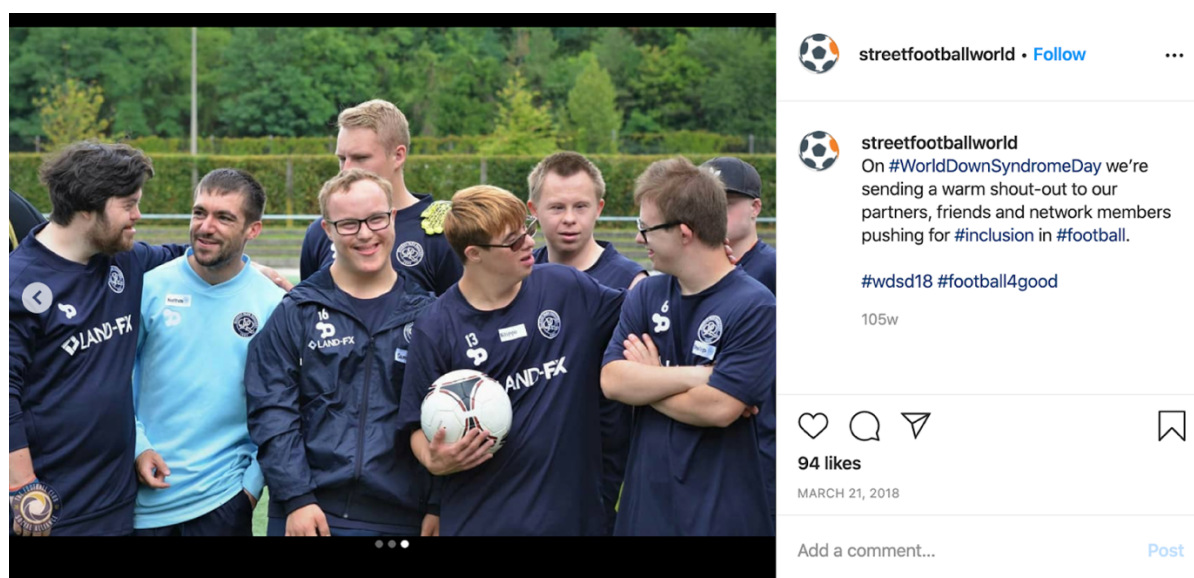
Example 4.2.2a   Streetfootballworld [@streetfootballworld]. (2018, March 21) "On #WorldDownSyndromeDay we're sending a warm shout-out to our partners, friends and network members pushing for #inclusion in #football. #wdsd18 [Instagram photo]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/p/Bgl9_GcDd8K/

Example 4.2.2a is a medium shot photo which focuses on the group of players with down syndrome (with reference to the caption) outside of their football game or
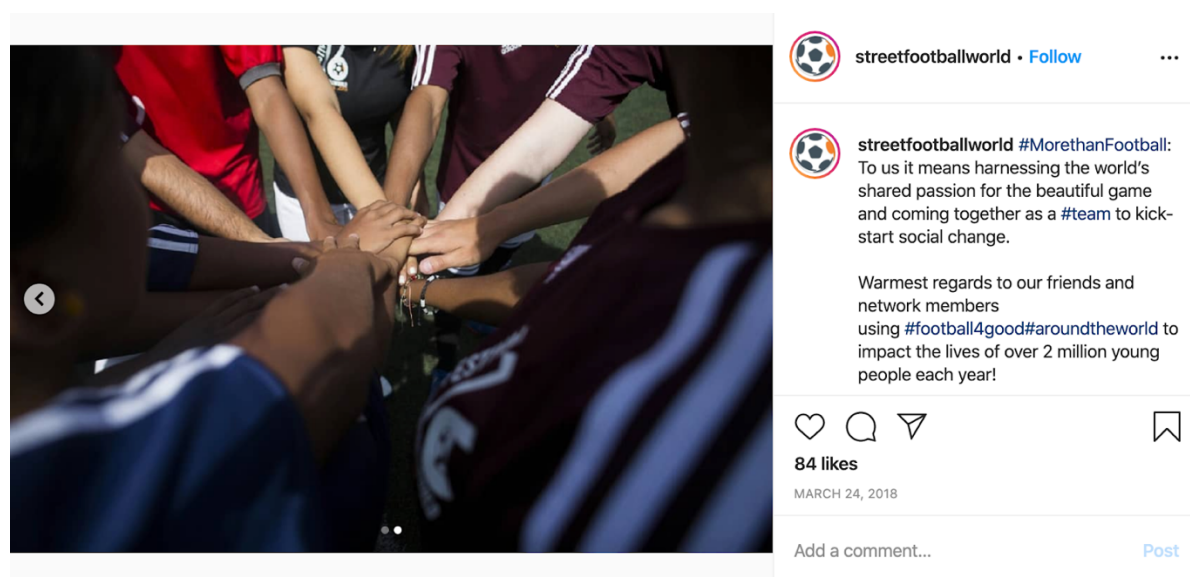
match. One of the players was still holding the football in his arm while he seemed to be talking and touching another player in a caring manner. Two other players to the left of the image were huddling as they talked. Most were captured smiling as they communicated with one another. The depiction of genuine connection and care even outside of their match communicates a sense of togetherness, connoting that football brings people together not only in a match on the pitch, but it is also carried off the pitch where participants get a chance to engage in conversations with each other and build positive human connections.

Example 4.2.2b   Streetfootballworld [@streetfootballworld]. (2018, February 9) "Girls and women take centre stage on and off the football pitch in Lebanon: Read about the @auswaertigesamt funded project [Instagram photo]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/p/Be-ujselful/

In this photo (Example 4.2.2b), we can see women from a local community in Lebanon (according to the caption) in their traditional everyday clothing playing football together with other women and their children. This, itself, is the first interesting juxtaposition in the photo. The women's colourful dresses are not something that one would commonly see people wearing when they are playing football. The photo suggests that they appear to be active and having fun. Although there are no features in the photo that depict people holding hands or huddling, etc., there is still a sense of togetherness in spirit through interaction and embodied interaction. The women were concentrated on the ball that was being kicked by the woman in blue; meanwhile, one of the children in the picture gazed at the face of the female player with much engagement in the activity. Everyone was positioned in a somewhat circle-like group, where

they were facing one another, and could all engage in the football activity. The girls and women portrayed here, with their children, came together to enjoy playing football. The placemaking and orienting elements (McNely, 2012) of the photo made the dirt ground and the football into elements that link the audience's thoughts back to SFW. Not only so, they also incorporated the sense of togetherness and equality that then connects back to SFW as well. Through the image, the organisation seems to communicate that SFW is grassroot football that brings people together, that values people for who they are and that stands up for these values on the pitch and beyond.

streetfootballworld • Follow

streetfootballworld #MorethanFootball: To us it means harnessing the world's shared passion for the beautiful game and coming together as a #team to kick-start social change.

Warmest regards to our friends and network members using #football4good#aroundtheworld to impact the lives of over 2 million young people each year!

84 likes

MARCH 24, 2018

Add a comment...   Post

Example 4.2.2c   Streetfootballworld [@streetfootballworld]. (2018, March 24) "#MorethanFootball: To us it means harnessing the world's shared passion for the beautiful game and coming together as a #team [Instagram photo]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/p/BgtZF_VFj45/

The photo in example 4.2.2c seems to have used visual hyperbole to carry the organisation's message. The image places an emphasis on the hands of different participants/people/players being put together, as if saying "we're all in this together". This is also an image that is often seen in football games, and that could easily evoke the viewer to think of a football game. The participants seem to be wearing football or sports attire, and they also tend to be standing on the pitch, yet, we do not see the participants' faces. Metonymy (using a part to represent a whole) is, therefore, another visual rhetorical figure used in the photo. The only elements within the frame are hands and arms. However, they are used to represent the people who are involved. The "hands together" element is used to represent the whole, which is the team. It seems that through the photo composition and elements, SFW wishes to put across the message of bringing people together, uniting them through a common passion and interest for football.

Example 4.2.2d   Streetfootballworld [@streetfootballworld]. (2018, April 27) ""I have never ex-
              perienced a job that makes as much sense as this one." Anja's story on leaving
              her old [Instagram photo]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/p/Bi-
   FAn27AR0n/

Example 4.2.2d is a photo not from SFW itself, but from a network member in Colombia (according to the caption). Yet, we can still see how similar it is in nature to other photos from SFW and their other member organisations. Here in the photo, the audience is presented with one typical representation of togetherness: children holding hands and standing in a circle, participating in an activity together. Again, this is another one of those photos where the children and the coach are not on a pitch. One can spot on the edge of the photo that there are cars parked right behind where the children are playing. Some children in the background who are not part of the circle are holding a ball and a hula-hoop. This altogether connotes that not all activities are football. On the opposite side are houses and people in the neighbourhood living their normal daily lives. The venue in which this get-together is happening links back to the "street" element in SFW. The picture tends to portray an activity in which children in the neighbourhood are brought together to learn and play. Not everyone had sports clothes on, the children were boys and girls of different age groups. There were older people and adults (likely from the local organisation) who seemed to be leading the activity. The photo suggests that everyone seemed to be enjoying participating together and having fun.

From these representative photos and even more similar ones in the dataset, one can recognise that regardless of where the participants are in the world, regardless of who they are, what their backgrounds or professions are, they tend to be united by

one common culture: a "football culture", where football is not the main goal, but rather a means of bring people together so they can play and learn together, and connect and enjoy one another's presence. Network members are in touch with this culture and participants seem to live it as well, making each participant and each network member an essential element working towards a common goal on a global scale. This power of togetherness, of synchronised actions and collaborations is made possible and visible to all by SFW's use of Instagram.

4.2.3 "Count smiles, not goals"

This is in reality one of the various taglines that Football for All in Vietnam (FFAV), a SFW network member, uses. However, I have chosen it as the heading for this third theme, as it also reflects very well the positive outlook and energy that SFW strives to communicate through their Instagram images: having a focus on joy, positivity, growth, etc. instead of the winning or losing component of football. Through this aspect, they are taking a step forward in redefining football within this context as a tool for practising teamwork and community empowerment rather than a competitive professional sport. As I have listed above in the summary of the tabulation step, about 60 percent of all images analysed captured smiles of participants and other subjects in the images, while up to almost 70 percent portrayed gestures of joy, excitement and positivity. These gestures, for example, included jumping up, raising hands in joy or excitement, clapping, laughing, or giving thumbs ups, etc.
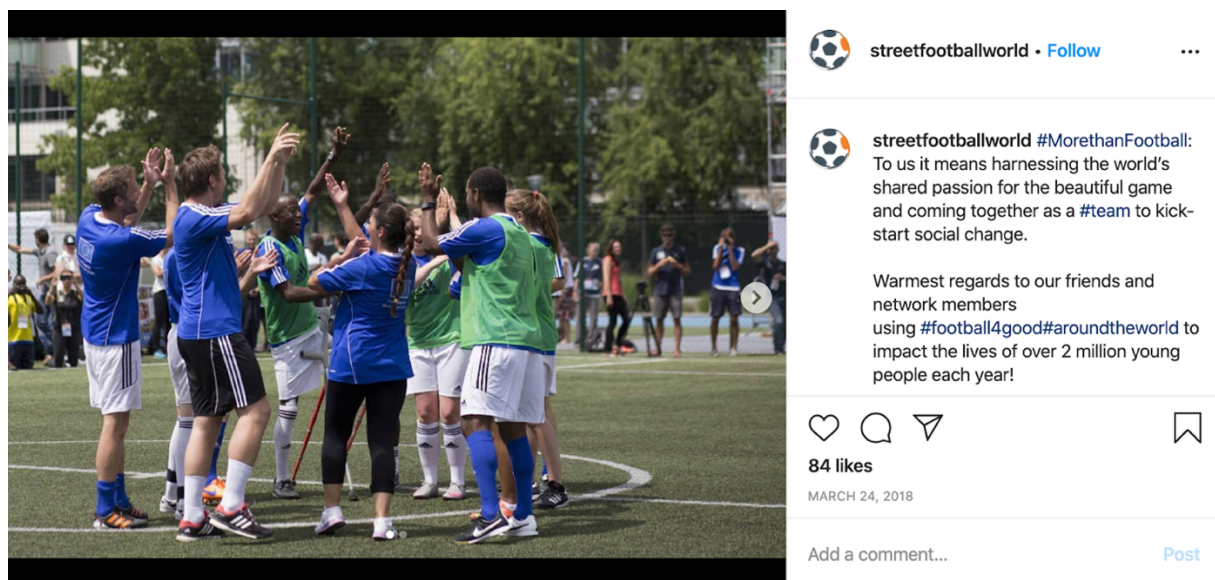
Example 4.2.3a   Streetfootballworld [@streetfootballworld]. (2018, March 24) "#MorethanFootball: To us it means harnessing the world's shared passion for the beautiful game and coming together as a #team [Instagram photo]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/p/BgtZF_VFj45/

SFW brings together many youths through football games. Example 4.2.3a was one of the photos that featured young people collaborating in a game/activity. In this photo, it can clearly be seen that the youth's being together or the activity that they take part in, or maybe just even being there at the event, brings them a lot of joy and excitement. This joy is exhibited through the act of collectively throwing their hands and arms into the air, clapping while looking at each other and at the audience in excitement. In the photo, there are members who wore only their blue football shirts, while others had a green "vest" worn over. It seems from what the participants are wearing that they might have been divided into two teams. Yet, at the moment of the photo, they are mingled up together in joy. The long shot allows the viewers to see, though out of focus, spectators in the background who are seemingly cheering and shouting to the group. Besides, the process code of orienting and placemaking of the football pitch and football attire were also used to guide the viewer's thoughts to associating the photo's content to SFW and its causes. Photos such as this one trigger an association of the NGO's activities, network members and image to positive feelings and outcomes.
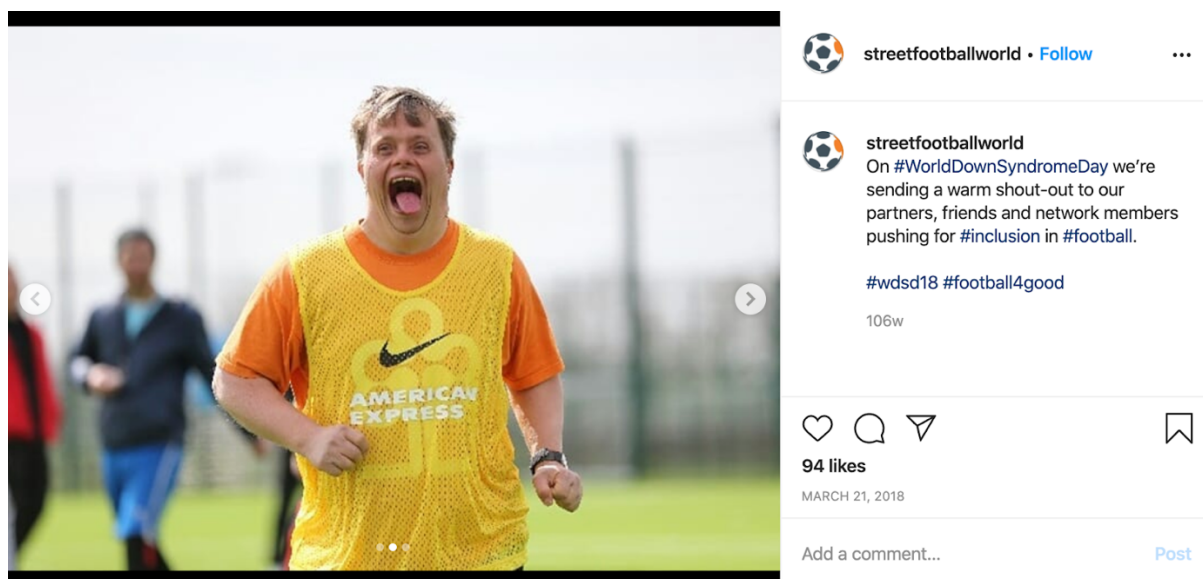
Example 4.2.3b   Streetfootballworld [@streetfootballworld]. (2018, March 21) "On #WorldDownSyndromeDay we're sending a warm shout-out to our partners, friends and network members pushing for #inclusion in #football. #wdsd18 [Instagram photo]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/p/Bgl9_GcDd8K/

Another photo (Example 4.2.3b) shows the excitement of participants when taking part in SFW events. As discussed in a previous section, elements that embody equality tend to frequently occur and seem to be embraced in SFW's and their network members' events. In this photo, the portrait of a football player with down syndrome (with reference to the caption) was taken while he was running on the pitch in a football game. His facial expression showed pure joy and excitement: his mouth wide open; he had his tongue out while he was running towards something. The bright colours of his shirt accentuated the light and happy mood. The content and the way the image was taken, the way the colours were kept natural, invited some positive

links between the equality that SFW embraces (as discussed in an earlier section on equality) and how the result of this was people from all backgrounds and walks of life are given a chance to live well and live positively.
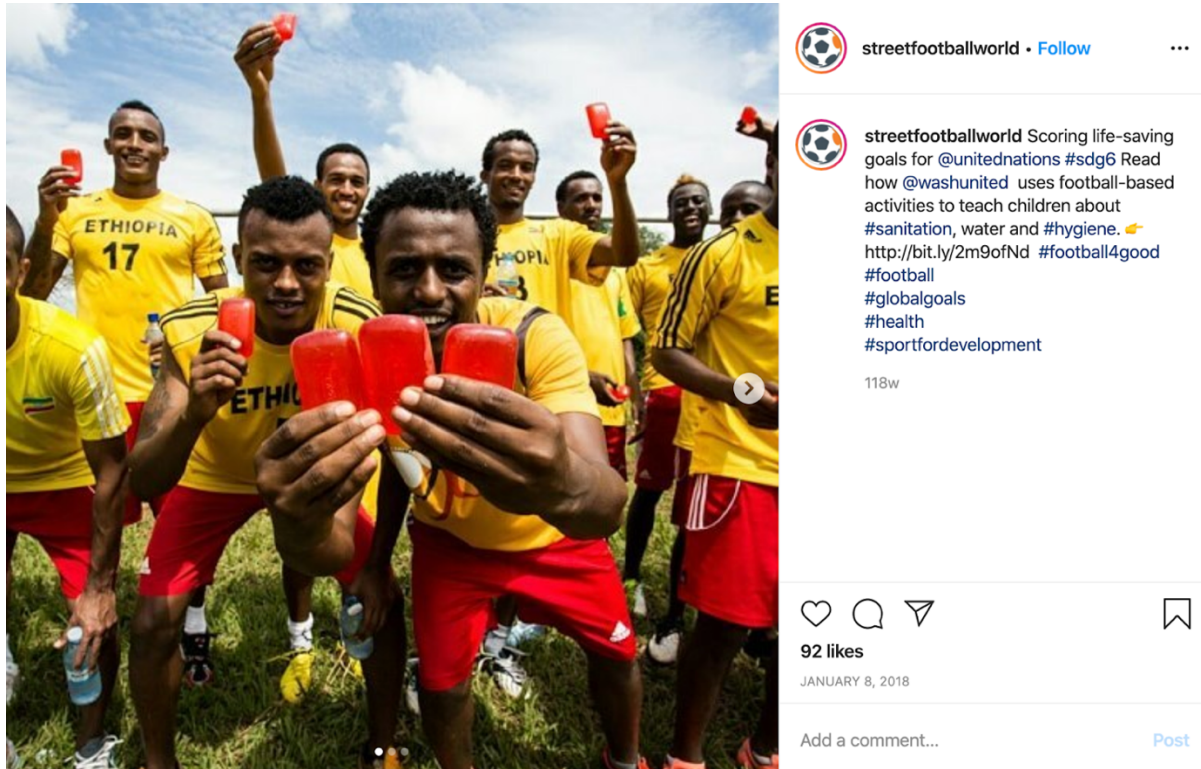
Example 4.2.3c   Streetfootballworld [@streetfootballworld]. (2018, January 8) "Scoring life-saving goals for @unitednations #sdg6 Read how @washunited uses football-based activities to teach children about #sanitation, water and #hygiene. [Instagram photo]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/p/BdsfLyrFUL8/

At first glance, the photo in Example 4.2.3c can capture one's attention well due to the brilliant and saturated colours of yellow and red. This itself creates an energetic atmosphere for the photo. The photo depicts a group of football players on a grass pitch. However, they were not playing football when the photo was shot. Instead, it is a posed photo in which the players are holding up bright red bars of soap that matched the colours of their shorts. There tends to be a slight disassociation in the photo elements here where elements that do not usually belong to the football pitch are shown there, being held by the players. They exhibit positivity and enthusiasm in the way they smiled, and the way they held the soap up, or up close to the camera. This is not a typical photo of football players. However, it fits into the type of photos that are displayed on SFW's Instagram account. It suggests that football-based activities are used by SFW and its network members to educate children about sanitation, water and hygiene, which is illustrated through the bars of soap.

The photographers who took these photos made full use of the natural lighting and the colourful football clothing and pitch to radiate even more energy and positivity through their image posts. Sometimes, the joyful state and the bright colours contrasted with the very basic conditions that the image subjects were in, or with their

situation or condition. However, this has helped to make the uplifting effect of these images even clearer, spilling the positivity over to SFW's audiences on Instagram as well. It is as if these kinds of images have the capability of instilling in the viewers a feeling that they could hear the sounds, feel the dynamism and the energy from captured events. Unlike competitive football, where winning or losing matters, SFW and their network members' events makes football the medium to make participants feel good about being active, learning together and growing as a community, which is the main goal of football events by SFW. Therefore, it is safe to say that the goal here is not to score goals in football, but to score goals in spreading smiles, empowering a community and creating change for good, hence the quote, "count smiles, not goals".

5   DISCUSSION

The current study was based on the tabulation and qualitative visual content analysis of 113 photos on the NGO's SFW Instagram account, spanning four months from January to April 2018. These photos reflect the kinds of activities and events that SFW and its network members took part in or organised, which then reflect the causes towards which the organisations are working. Development communication has gone in the direction of embracing empowered participation, empowering local communities, as discussed in previous chapters. With the burgeoning of social media comes also a change in how development is communicated, and specifically in this case, how these international NGOs are communicating such development and such action towards development. How do they present themselves to other organisations, stakeholders, donors and participants beyond the boundaries of a country? Does their communication reflect the shift towards empowerment in development communication? How do they make use of the functions of Instagram communicate change?

SFW's bio on Instagram says, "We're a global NGO that harnesses the power of football for good" (Street Football World, n.d.). Being a global NGO that empowers communities and connects organisations all over the world to nurture sustainable impact and change is no easy task. Yet, SFW has managed to maintain their work and grow their network for the past 18 years, creating an impact in many countries around the world. As Instagram has been one of their channels of communication that has gained many followers compared to other social media platforms, photos from their Instagram page were looked into in this study. Having gathered findings in the last chapter, three main themes were identified from the analysis of the images: equality, togetherness, and "count smiles, not goals." In this chapter, I will now go on to discuss and reflect on these findings on the grounds of the stated research questions, as well as incorporate an intercultural communication perspective into this discussion. For convenience, I will list the research questions again below:

1. How does Street Football World's visual communication (through their Instagram images) relate to the paradigm shifts in development communication and intercultural communication?
2. In what ways do Instagram images allow Street Football World to depict football as a tool for empowerment?

5.1   The intercultural communication and development communication paradigm shift reflected in SFW's Instagram images

In this section, I will discuss the first research questions regarding how SFW's visual communication through their Instagram images relate to the paradigm shifts in development communication and intercultural communication. Here, I will again place the table (Table 1) summarising these paradigm shifts from the theoretical background chapter for ease of reference.

Development communication	Intercultural communication
Modernisation - Linear, top-down communication. - Delivering to assisted communities what they are lacking. - Difference/gap between the donor/expert/benefactor and the recipient/helped. - Power difference (donors belong to "more developed" communities and claim more power). - Creates a dependency dynamic	**Essentialism** - People belong to different cultural categories and are defined traits from those cultures. - Someone from one culture is at their core different, distinguishing them from someone else who is from another culture. - Certain cultural traits tend to be more "desirable" or hold more power than others - Unchanging cultural traits/categorisation
Empowerment - Participatory, non-linear communication - Collaborate with local communities to facilitate the use of resources and ideas from within the communities themselves - Aware of power imbalance; empower people and local communities; strive for social justice - Build equal, collaborative relationship with communities	**Critical cosmopolitanism** - There is cultural fluidity and complexity even within a community or system; diversity is the norm - Brings attention to the voice of the "Periphery" (away from "center") due to acknowledgment of the inequality in between - De-centered cultural empowerment for marginal communities - Encourages the use of cultural non-essentialist "threads" (instead of "blocks") to relate and communicate with others

TABLE 1   Summary table of paradigm shifts in development communication and intercultural communication (from section 2.2)

As discussed earlier, the fields of intercultural communication and development communication have both undergone paradigm shifts. The current paradigms, empowerment and critical cosmopolitanism, are closely connected in principle, despite being from two different fields. Through the data analysis process, the findings have shown that the SFW's Instagram images reflect and relate to the shift of both paradigms in various ways.

Firstly, the new thinking in development communication (empowerment) and intercultural communication (critical cosmopolitan, cultural "threads") are consistently present in each of SFW's image, and is conveyed through the three themes: equality, togetherness and positive outlook ("count smiles, not goals"). To begin with, the theme of equality does not stop at focusing on female participation and gender equality. The images tend to promote a vast array of types of equality that could be encouraged in society, such as equal participation and opportunities in terms of ability, occupation, age and background. This resonates with the acknowledgement that there may be complexities within a community, and that "culture" may not be a homogenous entity to which people in a country belong. Being aware of groups whose voices might not have been heard and empowering them, giving voice to them is also an aspect of empowerment. The second theme, togetherness, reflects the collaborative

nature of SFW's and its network members' activities. Collaboration is an important factor in the empowerment framework. The collaboration here occurs through football, which acts as a cultural thread. Collaboration happens where there is equality. In this case, not only is there collaborating and working together among the participants, but the fact that there are a wide range of photos from different member organisation suggests a collaborative relationship among these organisations as well. With this in mind, knowledge and inspiration is shared, not delivered from those with more to those who lack. "Count smiles, not goals" is the third theme. This theme neatly embodies the cultural thread where positivity is something that is mutually aimed for or desired by many. Bringing positivity instead of competition into the picture not only balances out power and relationships among participants and members, it can bring people together due to a shared enjoyment and feel-good experience.

Secondly, while embracing the diversity among their network members in the world as well as the similarities (e.g. sharing the common football culture), the images SFW posted seem to also acknowledge the possible cultural complexities and diversity that may exist within a local community. Some photos portray people from different age groups, of different genders, abilities, backgrounds and professions all taking part in whether it is a football or non-football related activity together. Sometimes photos suggest a specific community or country the players are from (e.g. Example 4.2.2b of Lebanese women playing football together in their everyday traditional clothing), while some other times, some photos show people from different groups within the same community participating together (e.g. Example 4.2.1d of police officers being trained in football mediator training with young girls). This links back to the critical cosmopolitanism framework, in which the line between cultures are blurry, and that there exists cultural fluidity and complexity even within a community or system (Holliday, Hyde & Kullman, 2010). Bringing this framework into development helps to empower communities who take part in the movement, as they are reminded of the various qualities that they share—such as the interest in football, the mutual striving for equality, or the joy of being together. Meanwhile, each image of all the images posted tended to feature a different story, community or walk of life. The harmonious mélange of the similar and the diverse in SFW's image posts makes variations a norm that we all share as a society. It seems that through similarity and the transcendence of perceived differences, that real understanding and development is attained.

Thirdly, the choice of images posted on SFW's Instagram page tends to reflect the pulling of cultural "threads". Cultural threads are non-essentialist elements of intercultural interaction in which the parties involved are able to connect with one another (Amadasi & Holliday, 2017). In this case, SFW's images tended to extend many threads to which the audiences of its Instagram page may be able to relate and connect. The first main thread that is shared by all parties is that of the common football culture. Most images were of football games or football-related events. This is the overarching theme of the organisation; it is an interest shared not only between the participants and SFW, but also those who follow the page, network members and those who may take interest in supporting the events and programs. The presence of this thread seems to bring all those involved to the same level grounded by a common interest. To this effect, the difference or gap among different parties may be shortened or, in some cases, even eliminated. For instance, in the example of the amputee players playing

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football together on the dirt pitch (Example 4.2.1c), if it had not been for the fact that they were playing football with much engagement, the subjects in the photo would have felt rather distant to the viewers. However, it is the very portrayal of them enjoying their game of football that extended the cultural thread. Most of SFW's photos are of the activities and events that their network members organise, regardless of where they are in the world. This suggests a sense of equality amongst itself and its members, where every organisation and event are of equal importance, and any one organisation can learn and be inspired by another (i.e. equal and collaborative relationships (Melkote, 2003)). Togetherness and positivity are also cultural threads, as they are common traits that people strive for.

In addition, the images on SFW's Instagram also tended to avoid depictions of suffering or other imageries that could potentially lead the viewers to experience compassion fatigue. In a way, compassion fatigue can be connected to cultural differences. As discussed before, compassion fatigue results from the feeling of numbness and helplessness people may feel from being overly exposed to images of suffering (Vestergaard, 2008). Many organisations use such imagery of misfortune, othering the subject(s) in the photo, which then leads to a sense of difference in culture. Stirring feelings of pity or guilt can cause that distance, creating a "block", for the felt pity or guilt arises due to a difference between the viewer and the image's subject, together with a sense of helplessness. Yet, this creates a distance, not only in culture because one merely sees the other person living a life so different from their own, but also in power (i.e. the other needs to be helped). This can be linked back to the old modernisation mindset where those who help see those who need help as lacking something, and they see a need that they or someone else delivers it (Anderson et al., 2012). Contrarily, SFW often makes use of dynamic photos of participants in action, whether it is playing football on the pitch or taking part in a group activity. This, to an extent, seems to send the message that these participants are taking action in their own development and change, and if there are partners involved, they are actively collaborating with the locals and not showing them what must be done. This is another element of empowerment.

In short, many elements of the current empowered participation paradigm in development communication and critical cosmopolitanism in intercultural communication were reflected in SFW's Instagram images in the sample. Moreover, the two new perspectives were, in a way, intertwined and reinforcing each other in various aspects of the images.

5.2 Depicting football as a tool for empowerment through Instagram images

An international NGO can make use of the many affordances of Instagram in communicating its mission. In this case for SFW, it is "changing the world through football". Football has, through the photos, been used as a tool in development. This question will delve into the ways in which using Instagram images can help depict football as a medium to empower communities and bring about change.

According to McNely (2012), Instagram uses images as a means of communicating vision. He, in his study, devised process categories of how Instagram can be used to shape their image power. As discussed earlier, an organisation can hone their image power by shaping how they are perceived by outsiders (McNely, 2012). For SFW, the use of Instagram is a means of showing how they are using football to empower communities, and they wish to be viewed in such a way. Through analysis, I found that SFW's Instagram images belonged to three of those process categories: placemaking, orienting and humanising (McNely, 2012).

Most photos were placed in the context of a football pitch (i.e. a real pitch for football playing, or a make-do one that clearly functioned as a pitch) be it a football game, or just a non-football related activity that took place on the pitch. This *placemaking* reinforces SFW's use of football for change by bringing the context back to the football pitch, a vital element in football. *Orienting* was another way the Instagram images helped to convey football. If placemaking had to do with locations and venues, orienting calls for artefacts that would immediately help the audience recognise the organisation. In this case, SFW's Instagram photos were filled with artefacts such as the football attire that participants wear and the ball itself. In many photos, even though the activity that was taking place showed no clue that it is a football game, one is able to recognise that it relates to the NGO because participants still, for example, wore football clothing. These artefacts, along with the equality, togetherness and positive outlook themes that are present in SFW's photos may act as links in the audiences' minds of how SFW is using football for empowerment. *Humanising* was achieved through the NGO's featuring of someone who plays a role in the organisation, such as a volunteer, a famous football player, or simply a participant and their stories. The humanisation of an organisation helps convey a more approachable nature for the organisation, and at the same time makes the organisation feel more authentic and human. This particular process category tends to humanise the empowerment story, making it more relatable and human to the viewers of the images. Empowerment is participatory and collaborative, and telling real stories will help the audience to feel more in touch with these empowering effects and how they are impact someone's life in reality.

Secondly, being a visually focused platform, images that SFW share can collectively create an atmosphere, style and feel about the NGO and its football activities that is empowering and unique. To start off, most of SFW's images (81 of 113) portray activities or happenings that are of a dynamic and active nature. Images of people joyfully engaged in activity together not only communicates the togetherness and a positive outlook that these football activities bring, but they also give the agency to the people or community. This is opposed to possible images of participants receiving aid or watching as they receive training, which were not used. In other words, these images are empowering in the sense that they touch the principles of empowerment and avoid portraying participants as passive recipients. Furthermore, SFW post on their Instagram account often and consistently. Together with this, the dynamic photos tend to create a feeling that the NGO is active, that events are happening often, and that there is always something being done. In addition, SFW features photos of its own organisation alongside those of other member organisations who share the same cause. Doing so allows good Instagram content to be consistently and regularly

generated. The use and featuring of network member photos also communicate the bond, close relationship or network that SFW has with other organisations. Another phenomenon that occurs is that SFW sometimes reuses certain images, or assembles a post showing different images or different organisations from various places/locations, especially when those images can together illustrate one caption. The effect this has is not only does it reinforces certain ideas or messages, or that organisations all over the globe are all in this together, it also acts as repetition, increasing the chances that the target audience will see, receive or retain the message and image of the organisation (Wilcox et al, 2015).

Through their Instagram page, SFW's images have a tendency to redefine football. The tabulation clearly shows that there are a lot of smiles present in the photos; many of the photos are also very positive and empowering. These factors create positive associations with football, offer a different perspective on football, or at least with community and grassroots football. Football is not without any negative associations in the first place. Sometimes when people think of it, some may associate it with, for instance, football hooliganism. Football hooliganism can be understood as competitive violence that competing football fan groups direct towards each other (Spaaij, 2007). Such violence poses a lot of threats to society and its functioning. Therefore, the way football is presented on SFW's Instagram page, in a way, challenges this view on football. This kind of football for development aims to "count smiles, not goals". When the competitive element is taken away, or when the game is no longer the focus, an element that may lead to conflict and violence is also removed. With that in mind, football then becomes a healing agent rather than one that causes violence and disorder in society. SFW seems to be doing that with its images: showcasing football as a force to unite, not divide.

Moreover, SFW is also redefining football in terms of gender equality. Many of SFW's Instagram images of football also feature both genders playing or participating together, whether or not it is a football related activity. According to Caudwell (2011), the field of football has been male dominated; male players have been entitled to more privileged positions and opportunities in the football field. Women, on the other hand, have sometimes encountered discrimination and even harassment throughout history when participating in football, while male participation in football is seen as "normal" (Caudwell, 2011). This in turn others female players in football. Many movements, such as the SDP movement, have therefore embraced and pushed for female participation in sport. However, even in the SDP movement, sports have also become more and more gendered: girls and women's participation has become the focus instead (Hayhurst, 2014). SFW's images have tended to empower its participants not through gendering or differentiating, but through the encouragement of all genders participating in activities together. The fact that SFW's football activities are of a non-competitive nature makes this easier, as it shifts the focus from competing to the focus on learning and equality. This element of empowered participation becomes signature to SFW, as the collection of Instagram images that SFW posts continuously reinforces this idea. The fact that posts are presented in a reverse timeline fashion suggests that this is not something that is done in day one or day two, but it is something that SFW has encouraged and practiced in the long run.

To sum up, the use of Instagram images has offered SFW many functions to hone its image power and control how it is perceived by its audiences through placemaking, orienting and humanising, to reinforce its use of football as a tool for empowerment. The Instagram images also present SFW's image and activities in its redefining of football.

6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I will first conclude the study, then. I will proceed to point out the limitations and recommendations for further research, as well as reflect on the implications that the study might have.

This study was set out to investigate how the international NGO, SFW's, visual communication on Instagram relates to the paradigm shifts in both fields of intercultural communication and development communication. It also explored how Instagram images helps SFW to convey football as a tool for empowerment. Taking into account models and knowledge from various fields such as development communication, intercultural communication, PR and sports/football for development has allowed me to view the subject of study from an interdisciplinary point of view. Many NGOs today are operating in diverse contexts worldwide, and the adoption of social media and new ways of communicating in their communication schemes allow them to reach even more audience. Many surveys and studies have shown that although the paradigm in development communication is shifting towards empowerment, the reality is that many NGO's practices are still tied to the old paradigm of top-down aid and delivering. Examining an NGO's content on social media, in this case SFW's images on Instagram, gives us a peek through the window to gain insight into how an NGO is functioning in practice.

This study has revealed that the image and activities that SFW presents through its Instagram images show a connection to the paradigm shifts in both communication fields. The three themes—equality, togetherness and "count smiles, not goals"—were consistently interwoven into each image, tying together the elements of empowered participation and critical cosmopolitanism. By doing so, the NGO reinforces what it strives to do and its image to its publics. On the other hand, the visually focused affordances that Instagram provides its users has allowed SFW to portray football as a tool for empowerment. Images SFW posts direct its viewers mind and attention to elements that point towards football, aspects of empowerment and the image of "street football" (a friendly, non-professional connotation). Additionally, all these Instagram images altogether appear to redefine football as a sport that can promote peace, and a medium to work towards equality.

6.1 Limitations and recommendations for further research

This study itself does have its limitations. There are many routes in which further research could go to delve more into the topic and achieve a more holistic insight.

First of all, due to the scope of this study being a master's thesis, only images from a certain period of time were tabulated and analysed. Although within that time frame, the results yielded showed signs of saturation, it may also be helpful to look, for instance, at their posts in the past, or those that are most recent. There may have been a change in the way they manage their social media posts, or perhaps even a change in the staff who decides what to share with followers. A comparative study on

this may help researchers gain more insight into what kinds of posts may be more effective, what works, or what the audiences prefer to see or with what content they prefer to engage. As Instagram supports both images and videos, looking at videos in addition to images may help bring new perspectives into the study.

Secondly, an Instagram post does not stop at an image or video, but their captions, comments and even likes may be quite telling. Another limitation of this study is that it has not taken into much account the captions, and as the scope and time frame were limited, engagements (i.e. likes and comments) were not taken into consideration. In some cases, captions tell a lot about the photos, or they may add information to what the organisation wants its audiences to know. For instance, from observation, some of SFW's posts consist of many images of activities that happened in many different countries or member organisations, however, they were threaded together with one caption. This, perhaps, connotes that although organisations may be countries apart, they are working towards a common goal. I have also noticed that captions on SFW's Instagram accounts are quite long, and they often include a link, and most of the time, tagging of other member organisations or hashtagging. Looking at the visual components and the written ones should offer researchers a better idea of what SFW is trying to do with its Instagram posts.

Another observation that caught my eye was the fact that there were very few comments on SFW's posts (in the study's sample), and if there were, there were no replies on behalf of SFW. From that observation, some questions arose: is SFW only using Instagram as a means of one-way communication? Would SFW gain followers, engagements or coverage if they replied? Do they want or need to increase followers, engagements and coverage? What is their main channel of acquiring supporters and followers? Social media often encourages two-way communication (i.e. "social), and online communities' success and improved engagement counts on conversations (Burke et al, 2007). Thus, understanding the organisation's intention and choices may be interesting. These questions can also be applied if other social media platforms are looked into.

Understanding SFW's intended audience, as well as who follows SFW and who SFW follows may be helpful in understanding their intention as well. All these limitations and recommendations can be overcome and very much benefit from further research.

6.2 Implications

Insights acquired from this study can benefit other NGOs whose work is on a global scale. There have been cases where NGOs compete with one another for support, funding, or recognition. However, there is another way of growing an NGO. If the cause is for a greater good of everyone, NGOs should perhaps collaborate rather than compete. In the case of SFW, the organisation managed to do this wonderfully by showcasing the connections they have through posting images from all their network members. In a way, this brings about more change, more support (not only from outside donors, but also from within the network) and more positivity. On the other hand,

it is also important to take into account that Instagram is a media-abundant, visuals-heavy platform, and for the content of any organisation (NGOs included) to stand out and capture the attention of the audience, a good grasp of the platform, and research on the audience and what engages them are key to creating effective and engaging content.

Communicating with an audience from different organisations and places may differ from communication solely within a community. The former requires more understanding of different audiences and what kind of common culture they wish to create. Understanding the audiences ensures that the NGO's messages are received positively, and from there on, deciding on how their identity and the way their messages can be further constructed to gain support in the best possible way.

In a nutshell, other NGOs, especially NGOs that operate internationally, can improve their visual communication strategies by reposting pictures of their member or partner organisations. Images that convey a collaborative relationship with other NGOs or organisations can help create an impression of partnership and equality. Furthermore, images posted can benefit from communicating consistently the "personality" or themes that can uniquely be associated with the organisation. This can act as a signature that is easily recognisable by the organisation's follower's or audiences. Although SFW's Instagram page and images exert a light, positive feel, the organisation and other similar organisations can benefit from more personal visuals (rather than just posting photos that report events) that would capture the attention of its audiences in a more personal way. Humour can also be added to add light-hearted and personal associations to the organisation.

With regards to scientific implications, the study has offered a new, combined perspective of development communication and intercultural communication. Understanding that the empowered participation framework and the critical cosmopolitan framework are closely connected, organisations can adopt the principles of the frameworks into their public relations to better communicate for empowerment and change. Applying this theory into practice can provide guidelines for crafting of images and messages on social media that could strategically communicate with various audiences, as well as build and maintain an organisation image and relationship with them.

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